HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION

(Plates 105-110)

PART I: THE VASE AND ITS SCENES RECONSTRUCTED

The red-figured louterion published herein was found in a well in the Athenian Agora on May 5th, 1938, shattered in many fragments. Not enough is preserved to reconstitute the entire shape physically, though there can be little doubt about the main elements of the reconstruction on paper shown in Figure 1. The same can be said about the painting on its two sides. There are large gaps, but again the main lines are clear and a drawing with restorations can be attempted (Fig. 2).¹

The paintings on the vase, which can be attributed to the group of Polygnotos,² date the pot to the late forties or early thirties of the 5th century. It is a piece of exceptional interest not only on account of its shape, which is rare indeed, but also

The proof of this article, presented for publication in 1960, has not been read by the author.

¹ My thanks are due to Professor Homer A. Thompson for allowing me to work on Agora material when I was first in Athens as a Student of the British School, and more specifically for his permission to publish this louterion. Both he and Miss Lucy Talcott have put me under deep obligation for help and kindness in many ways. Mrs. S. Karouzou gave me cordial welcome and help at the National Museum in difficult times. It was she who first suggested to me that the shape of the pot might have been a louterion. The restored drawings and the profiles of the vase are, apart from some minor alterations in the restorations made at a later stage, the work of Miss Marian Welker, whose skill and devotion put me and the users of her drawings under great debt. The photographs of the louterion were taken by Miss Alison Frantz. Sir John Beazley read an early draft of the article and I owe much to him.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, I have used the following short titles:
Pfuhl, MuZ: E. Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, Munich, 1923.
² ARV, p. 689, middle “near the Curti painter: cf. also the Peleus painter.”
because of important evidence it supplies to our knowledge of the iconography of its two subjects, "Herakles and the bull" and "the centauromachy at the wedding feast of Peirithoos with Theseus as one of the fighters" respectively.\(^a\)

**Shape and Function**

By louterion I understand a particular ceremonial shape which may have been used to carry the λαυρπόν (see p. 332 below) for the dead, without prejudice to the quite proper use of the term for the stooded wash bowl or laver. I do not apply the term to the low spouted bowls such as the one in Berlin (from Aegina) by the Nettos painter (ABV, p. 4, no. 4), to which it has recently been given by Miss Kenner (Jahresh., XXIX, 1935, pp. 109 ff.) and since then by Mrs. Karouzou (Arch. Ana., LV, 1940, col. 127; cf. Beazley, ABV, p. 5, no. 4; p. 40, no. 19). On all this the remarks by Miss Eva Brann in Hesperia, XXX, 1961, pp. 314-316 and Athenian Agora, VIII, p. 43 should be consulted.

Only two certain red-figured louteria are known.\(^4\) Ours is one, the other (a spout alone survives) also Attic is of 4th century date, and is now in the Vienna University Collection (Pl. 105\(^5\)). This spout has painted on it a picture of a complete louterion, which has been of the greatest help in recognizing and restoring on paper the shape of our pot, which had the following characteristics: a wide open bowl, rather like a dinos, the inside of which is covered with shiny black, a spout, elaborate handles

\(^a\) The following are details of the vase: Agora P 12641 from a well to the northeast of the Areopagus (Deposit O 19:4). The accompanying filling contained material of the latest 5th century, but also one or two earlier pieces amongst which were a fragment of a late black-figured stand (P12631), and a fragment of a column-krater (P 12511) by the Leningrad Painter (ARV, p. 374, no. 18).

The vase (pres. H. 0.21 m.; max. diam. est. 0.52 m.) mends up to nine fragments, a-i. The extent of the preserved profile is shown in Figure 1. In the painting there is free use of relief lines for contours and inner markings. Dilute is used for the dappling of cloth on the chiton of the left-hand woman on face A, also for the outside of the lionskin worn by Herakles and for the bellyfolds of the bull. On face B it is used on the leftmost woman for the line of her chin, for marking round the navel and for the pubic hair of the nudes, and for some markings just below the junction of the collar-bones on the rightmost woman. Purple is used for the boots of the left-hand male on side A and for the inside of Herakles' lionskin.

The inside of the pot is shiny black up to a little short of the shoulder curve. The pot is thick-walled, ranging from about 0.01 m. at the topmost preserved parts to 0.016 m. at the lowest edge. The projecting plaques on fragments a and e are separate attachments added after the vase had been thrown.

Applied pigment which has now disappeared but left a dull surface where it had been was used for an alpha next to the club of Herakles, no doubt part of καλός.

The vase has been mentioned in the report on the Agora Excavations for 1938 (Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 215) and it has also been referred to in J.H.S., LIX, 1939, p. 20 (J. D. Beazley).

\(^4\) For the less certain red-figured fragments from Menidi, see p. 332, note 9, below.

\(^5\) Taken from CVA Vienna University, pl. 26, 3; original publication, H. Kenner, Jahresh., XXIX, 1935, pp. 109 ff.
on both sides (more particularly an upright handle flanked by two which arch sideways), and finally a stand which appears regularly to have been in one piece with the rest of the pot.  

Such vessels are extremely rare and of those which are known—all in a very fragmentary state, so that one often cannot be sure that they are louteria—the majority come from the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos tomb in Menidi, where they were evidently used in the cult of the heroized ancestors.  

The earliest one from Menidi goes back to the end of the 7th century, whereas what apparently are the latest reach well into the 5th century, and are red-figured.  

Apart from Menidi there are only the Agora fragments, which were found in a well filled with household pottery, and the 4th century Vienna spout bought in Athens, without known provenience.

So peculiar a shape suggests a specialized purpose, and here the prevailing opinion which goes back to P. Wolters' publication of the Menidi louteria in Jahrb., XIV, 1899, pp. 132 ff., takes the vessels to be containers of bath water for the dead (louteria), a view which was also adopted by S. Eitrem, M. Nilsson, and Miss H. Kenner. A contrary opinion strongly argued by P. Stengel maintains that louteria were used for water offerings to the dead, the kind of offering which is enjoined, so it is thought, by the mid-6th century Attic grave epigram, I.G., I, 972:


Wolters, Jahrb., XIV, 1899, pp. 133 ff. The fragments by Sophilos there may come from two louteria, as Payne thought (cf. ABV, p. 40, no. 21, p. 42, no. 36). On examining them it seemed to me from the wheel marks that they all (Jahrb., XIII, 1898, pl. 1) belonged to one pot with the possible exception of the signed fragment (ibid., pl. 1, 3: ABV, p. 42, no. 36) where the wheel marks do not match those of the corresponding pieces. On the other hand there are no very deep grooves and the lack of correspondence with the other fragments may be deceptive, and Wolters' restoration with all pieces included in one pot may be right after all. As to the shape of the Sophilos louterion, the upright handles restored by Wolters should probably (as we know now) be flanked by two which arch sideways.

Jahrb., XIV, 1899, p. 108, fig. 10; Payne, Necrocorinthia, pp. 344 ff., fig. 200.

See especially Jahrb., XIV, 1899, p. 105, figs. 4, 5. The bowl is joined to the stand, cannot therefore be part of a dinos; is said to be shiny black inside, cannot therefore be from a lebes gamikos, which as a rule has no shiny or any black inside. A louterion therefore seems to remain after elimination. The Menidi fragment, Jahrb., XIV, 1899, p. 126, fig. 31, more advanced red-figure, could also come from the stand of a louterion, but that is less certain.

One more candidate for consideration as louterion is: Wroclaw, fragments by or near Sophilos. Archeologia (Warsaw and Wroclaw), VIII, 1956, pp. 185 ff. Komasts; animal friezes.

Opperritus und Voropf, Christiania, 1915, pp. 117 ff.; idem, Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte, III, Christiania, 1920, pp. 11-12.


Jahresh., XXIX, 1935, pp. 109 ff. See also Buschor, Jahresh., XXXIX, 1952, p. 15, referring to the towel on top of the hydra resting on the tomb steps on a white ground lekythos in Bologna (Pellegrini, Vasi... delle Collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria, no. 364, pl. 4).


The restorations are by A. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde, Vienna, 1909,
HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION

[\'Α]ντιλόχο ποτὶ σέμʿ ἀγαθὸ καὶ σόφρονος ἀνδρός,

Whatever the answer here may be, both parties are agreed in connecting the louterion with the cult of the dead, and this seems probable enough in view of the strong concentration of finds at Menidi. Yet it is surprising that with the exception of the Vienna fragment, which has a funerary scene, none of the surviving louteria, be they black- or red-figured, have any link of subject with the presumed purpose of the vessel. The earliest louterion has an orientalizing animal frieze; later ones, such as the Sophilos louterion and the Agora fragments, have subjects from heroic mythology. How different this is from, say, the lebes gamikos (the earliest of which goes back to the first half of the 6th century),\(^{16}\) where wedding scenes are almost de rigeur.

On the question of the purpose of the shape the Agora fragments do not shed any new light.

Reconstruction of the Agora Fragments

We must now look more closely at the fragments and see how far they justify our restoration of the shape. Of the spout nothing survives except an incipient projection, bordered with an egg pattern just above Heracles’ club on the right hand edge of fragment \(a\) (Pl. 105). Here the evidence, though exiguous, is nonetheless unmistakable. The handles however are more difficult. The root of one, above a palmette, has survived on fragment \(i\) (Pl. 106); between it and the projecting edge belonging to the flat plaque, which is part of fragment \(a\) (Pl. 105), is a woman somewhat withdrawn from the central scene of the centauromachy. Another such woman, again next to a flat plaque, is at the opposite end of the same face of the vase; this and symmetry suggest that there was a handle there too. Again, the position of the two seated women on the other face of the vase makes it likely that there was on that side a corresponding arrangement of handles. We thus have four handles. They presumably curved sideways, above the women, and then descended to join the sides of two projecting flat plaques at either end of the vase, for the breaks there suggest by their raised edge that a handle was once attached. The total effect would thus be

pp. 14-15. See there also for the meaning of the crucial κατάρξον, and its relevance here. For what is preserved on the stone I have taken the indications of W. Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I, Berlin, 1955, no. 1227. Wilhelm’s restoration has been disputed by P. Friedländer and H. Hoffleit, Epigrammata, Berkeley, 1948, no. 85.

\(^{16}\) Lebes gamikos from Old Smyrna, decorated by Sophilos (\(ABV\), p. 40, no. 20; part now in L. Ghali-Kahil, Les enlèvements et le retour d’Helène, Paris, 1955, pl. 87, 1); see Boardman, B.S.A., XLVII, 1952, pp. 30 ff., who considers this vase to be the earliest lebes gamikos. However the fragments Acropolis 474 by the Gorgon painter (\(ABV\), p. 8, no. 2) can scarcely come from anything but an earlier lebes gamikos. The inside of the pot is reserved, the subject uncertain.
quite like that of the louterion drawn on the Vienna spout (Pl. 105), particularly if we take the plaques to be the lower end of the two upright handles that once rose vertically and then bent down to rejoin the rim of the vase (Fig. 1).\(^{17}\)

\[\text{Fig. 1. Reconstructed Drawing of Louterion, Agora P 12641.}\]

As to the foot there is no evidence. However, as louteria do seem to have stands attached to them, ours will probably have had one too.

The upright handles had figures on them, figures evidently on a large scale to

\(^{17}\) On the Sophilos louterion from Menidi (\textit{ABV}, p. 40, no. 21) we also find a vertical handle; see note 7 above. The two horizontal handles which flank this vertical one on our louterion are frequently found on vases in the Geometric and Orientalizing period and survive on the so-called lebes gamikos; cf. Boardman, \textit{B.S.A.}, XLVII, 1952, pp. 30-31. The combination of these two types of handle, however, is rare.

Since the above reconstruction was made, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has acquired fragments of a bronze basin (N.Y. 59.11.23: handles and tripod feet; Greek, first quarter of 5th century B.C.) which shows some relationship to our piece. I am indebted to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer for knowledge of this acquisition and for permission to mention it. On it, the two arches of the horizontal handle are separated by a vertical ornamental member which rises above them but does not return to the rim to form an additional handle. It is possible that some similar scheme was used on our vase, but in view of the limited evidence we have preferred to adhere to the suggestion of a triple handle, as provided by the Vienna fragment.
judge by the size of the surviving feet.\textsuperscript{18} Unfortunately the subject matter and its possible relationship with the main pictures must remain the object of guesswork. I take the figure on fragment \textit{a} to have been standing, as the feet are in the center of the available space. Also, the lower edge of the cloak suggests that the figure was male. The handle on the other side, fragment \textit{e}, carried another figure, possibly seated, since its feet are over against the side of the picture. If there was a relationship with the subject of Herakles and the bull, the side towards which the two figures seem to be turned, we might think of Zeus seated and Apollo standing, both watching, as they do on the Adolphseck calyx-krater by the Kekrops painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 853, no. 1; see also references on p. 345 below). But then, though the two figures are surely related to each other,\textsuperscript{19} there is no real reason for thinking them to be also connected with the main picture.

**FACE A: HERAKLES AND THE BULL**

I take the side with Herakles and the bull to be the main picture. This side has the spout and towards it the two handle figures are turned, so far as we can tell.

The restored drawing in Figure 2 will be more eloquent than the minute explanation in print of the fragmentary remains.\textsuperscript{20} I have therefore only argued the case where there seemed room for doubt.

Herakles with lionskin\textsuperscript{21} and club meets the charging bull. Behind him are Athena and a youth, who will be Iolaos, Herakles’ boon companion on many adventures.\textsuperscript{22} He carries two spears.

Behind the bull and filling the space immediately to the right of the spout there appears to have been a woman moving to the right. She is not shown in the restored drawing, as almost nothing of her has survived except the trailing garment which appears behind the bull’s hoof on fragment \textit{b}, and her right foot, which is barely

\textsuperscript{18} There are no parallels for handles with figure decoration amongst surviving louteria. The nearest parallels to ours are perhaps the rare examples of volute-krater handles with figure decoration on them: François Vase, \textit{ABV}, p. 76, no. 1 (“potnia theron,” Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, gorgon); Louvre G 194 in the manner of the Syriskos painter, \textit{ARV}, p. 199, no. 2 (deeds of Theseus); Heidelberg 176 by the Niobid painter, \textit{ARV}, p. 419, no. 13 (citharode); Athens, Vlastos collection (tripod); cf. also the decorated handles of Nikosthenic neck-amphorae.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. e.g. the neck-figures on the Philadelphia battle-loutrophoros by the Sabouroff painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 558, no. 54; father and son going out to battle) or Dionysos and Herakles below the two handles of the Brussels pelike by an undetermined mannerist (\textit{ARV}, p. 397, no. 43; see especially D. Feytmans, \textit{Ant. Cl.}, XIV, 1946, p. 286, pl. 3).

\textsuperscript{20} In almost every case the “longitude” of the fragments is fixed by characteristic wheel marks on the back. There is room for maneuver only in their “latitude.”

\textsuperscript{21} Note the unusual use of purple for the inside of the skin.

\textsuperscript{22} A very similar Iolaos on the Castle Ashby amphora by the Nausicaa painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 384, no. 1) also wears heavy travelling boots with horizontal lacing, as our Iolaos does. The lacing on his purple boots is now very faint indeed, and had to be reinforced in the drawing, Figure 2.
visible, being almost obscured by the bull’s hoof. She was evidently seen frontally and moving away rather like Hekate on the New York bell-krater by the Persephone painter (ARV, p. 651, no. 1; Pfuhl, MuZ, III, fig. 556).\(^{23}\) We may think of her as the local nymph, perhaps Krete, frightened by the events here as she was on the Talos krater (ARV, p. 845, no. 1).\(^{24}\)

To the right of the bull we see a man leaning on a stick with one leg exposed and raised on a stone or rock. It looks by the concentration of folds as though his himation is let halfway down his back. Most probably he is Minos, for we find him as an oldish man carrying his himation in almost identical fashion on at least two other vases with the same subject.\(^{25}\) He wears, as we might expect, light shoes in contrast to the heavy travelling boots of Iolaos.\(^{26}\) We know from the mythographers that Minos was sympathetic to Herakles’ quest.\(^{27}\) Diodoros even calls him a σωφρός of Herakles in this adventure.\(^{28}\)

We come now to the puzzling object behind Minos. It is a smooth shaft, the

---

\(^{23}\) If we have placed our women correctly to the right of the spout—and there seems no alternative—it follows that the hoof on fragment \(b\) belongs not to the bull’s advancing front leg, but to the second leg. This fact, in turn, is crucial in establishing that the bull is not collapsing (the second leg would then have doubled up under the body), but charging.

\(^{24}\) Heydemann read \(K\[\alpha\]y\[\tau\nu\]\) against the frightened woman on the right of the picture there; but see FR, I, p. 199, also H. Philippart, Collections de céramique grecque en Italie, II, Paris, 1933, p. 19. On our louteron the woman is on the bull’s side of the picture; she was probably thought of, therefore, as being on his side in the struggle; cf. Shefton, A.J.A., LX, 1956, p. 161, note 18.

\(^{25}\) The Leningrad calyx-krater (p. 345), and the Etruscan calyx-krater by the Perugia painter in Chicago (pp. 352-353).

\(^{26}\) For such shoes see in general K. Erbacher, Griechisches Schuhwerk, Würzburg, 1914, pp. 49 ff. On the Berlin centauromachy fragments by the Niobid painter (ARV, p. 418, no. 8; see here Appendix, no. 2) the king wears similar shoes; they are also worn by the seated man on the Brussels neck-amphora by the Hector painter (ARV, p. 684, no. 2; now D. Feytmans, Vases de la Bibliothèque Royale, pls. 34-37), whereas the departing warrior in the same picture wears laced travelling boots.

\(^{27}\) Apollodorus, II, 95.

\(^{28}\) IV, 13, 4. It is, however, by no means certain that Minos on our picture is thought of as being in sympathy with Herakles. He stands behind the bull and should be on his side. Minos appears similarly watching on a number of representations of Theseus and the Minotaur, where he certainly did not side with the hero! Painters of the mannerists group seem to have been particularly partial to including Minos in their pictures of this subject, thus on the Ferrara column-krater by the Pig painter (ARV, p. 370, no. 5; now also Alfieri and Arias, Spina, Munich, 1958, pl. 8), on the Leningrad and Naples column-kraters and the Bologna stamnos, all three by the Agrigento painter (ARV, p. 378, nos. 12 and 13; p. 380, no. 43), and a new pelike in Florence by the same painter (Studi Etruschi, XXIV, 1955-1956, p. 257, fig. 1), on the Vatican amphora by the painter of Louvre G 231 (ARV, p. 382, no. 1) and the Syracuse column-krater by the Nausicaa painter (ARV, p. 386, no. 35). The inclusion of Minos in pictures of the killing of the Minotaur was not however confined to the mannerists, cf. the Acropolis calyx-krater by the Syriskos painter (ARV, p. 195, no. 1) or the Nolan amphora, Naples 3127, by the Dwarf painter (ARV, p. 650, no. 1).

For a picture, however, where Minos does seem to side with Herakles in the bull struggle see the cup London E 104 treated below (p. 346).
further end of which is fortunately just preserved. Most likely it is the lower end of a palm tree, such as we find on two other representations of the subject following an iconography closely similar to that of the louteron.\footnote{See p. 345, note 65. The parallels there suggest that there was an olive tree too somewhere in the lost portions of our picture, perhaps behind the bull. No convincing reason for the presence of the palm tree has yet been put forward; perhaps none need be.}

Finally there is the pair of seated women, one under each handle at the two extremities of the picture. They are not easy to name, but I take them to be local deities, nymphs, such as are sometimes found sitting in the open, on a rock perhaps, in this posture.\footnote{Perhaps the most explicit example is the Πορθία on the Naples bell-krater by the Komaris painter (ARV, p. 717, no. 2; now Rend. Accad. Arch. Nap., XXVII, 1953, pls. 7-9), see A.J.A., XXXIX, 1935, pp. 483-485 (Beazley). We may also compare the seated woman on two contemporary representations, very similar to each other, of Herakles and the lion, one on a bell-krater in Utrecht, Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson, II, pl. 35; Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art, V, 1954, p. 145 (ARV, p. 697, no. 40, Group of Polygnotos), the other on a bell-krater in Salonika, Epitombion Tsountas, p. 382, pls. 3-4 (Paralipomena to ARV, p. 109, “near the outskirts of the Group of Polygnotos”). The woman on both these vases must surely be the local nymph. For a similar interpretation of the seated woman on two vases in New York (ARV, p. 426, bottom, and p. 674, no. 5) with pictures of Kadmos and the dragon see A. Rumpf, “Dirke,” Concordia decennalis, Cologne, 1941, p. 43. In general see also E. Langlotz, Mus. Helvet., VIII, 1951, pp. 162-3 and here p. 341, note 49 on the corresponding pair of women on the other side of this vase.}

Their presence here needs perhaps no special explanation. They are matched by a similar pair of women under the handles of the other side of the vase.

We have yet to mention the remains of an inscription to the right of Herakles’ club. An alpha is all that is left of καλός acclaiming the hero.\footnote{A mere καλός taking the place of a love-name becomes common in this period, see Furtwängler, “Orpheus,” 50th Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm, 1890, p. 150 = Kleine Schriften, II, p. 526. Before this it is rarer, though by no means unknown, thus ARV, p. 125, no. 49 (Kleophrades painter); ARV, p. 193, no. 9 (Copenhagen painter); ARV, p. 331, no. 15 (Aegisthus painter); ARV, p. 397, no. 44 (undetermined mannerist). Usages like καλός Εκτορ on the Vatican amphora by the Hector painter (ARV, p. 684, no. 1), Διόνυσος καλός on the Munich krater belonging to the Group of Polygnotos (ARV, p. 699, no. 72), and similar contemporary and later examples (e.g. Φών καλός on the Palermo calyx-krater, perhaps by the late Meidias painter, ARV, p. 833 foot; cf. Beazley, A.J.A., XLV, 1941, pp. 595-6; Langlotz, Zur Zeitbestimmung d. strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei, Leipzig, 1920, p. 45) show that καλός often refers to the person next to whom it is written. See also Beazley in Caskey and Beazley, Vase Paintings, p. 16. Thus we find καλός and καλή placed correctly against male and female respectively on numerous vases of this period, e.g. the New York bell-krater by the Cassel painter (ARV, p. 674, no. 5); stamnos in Boston (ARV, p. 696, no. 18, group of Polygnotos; Bull. Mus. F. A., XXXVII, 1939, p. 79, fig. 10); stamnos in Munich (ARV, p. 784, no. 2, Kleophon painter). Nor must we forget the early 5th century red-figured lekythos in Oxford (Hasels, A.B.F.L., pl. 22, 1, p. 75), where the cock is καλός, the hen καλή. On other contemporary vases, however, the careful correspondence of gender and sex is not observed (see Furtwängler l.c.), as on the Brussels neck-amphora by the Hector painter (ARV, p. 684, no. 2; now D. Feytmans, Vases de la Bibliothèque Royale, pls. 34-37); the Munich stamnos by the same hand (ARV, p. 684, no. 5); the Munich pelike by the Kleophon painter (ARV, p. 785, no. 27).}
FACE B: CENTAUROMACHY AT THE WEDDING OF PEIRITHOOS

In the Appendix (pp. 365-367, below) representations of the centauromachy at the feast have been collected and we shall in what follows refer to any particular monument by the number assigned to it there.

To begin with the center, a youth striding to the right has seized a centaur by the hair. This centaur in turn was about to carry off a girl, surely the bride, particularly so if we have interpreted correctly as part of her veil the remnants on the left edge of fragment g. She has stretched her right arm toward her rescuer in a gesture as old as the earliest known representation of a girl rescued from a centaur. Her legs are off the ground and elegantly straddle. We make bold to give names to each of these three now and reserve our reasons for later: Theseus coming to the rescue of Hippodameia to save her from the centaur Eurytion.

To the left another youth, back to back with Theseus, faces the other way to cope with a centaur who is attacking him with a lampstand. We should like to call him Peirithoos, boon companion of Theseus and the bridegroom on this occasion.


On fragment f, immediately under the centaur's beard there are traces of the same pattern. This is where the veil came down her other side. These small circles must not be confused with the hem pattern adjoining, a continuous row of circles between two pairs of lines, which mark the extremity of her overfall or more likely her sleeve.

In the restored drawing the veil has slipped down her shoulder, as has happened to Deianeira's wrap in similar circumstances on the Leningrad cup, perhaps by the Meidias painter himself (ARV, p. 834, no. 4). The fringed border we copied from the bridal veil worn by Thetis on the Ferrara calyx-krater by the Peleus painter (ARV, p. 686, no. 1; now also Alfieri and Arias, Spina, pls. 91, 93).

A small remnant of the arm is preserved on the extreme edge of fragment f.

See the 7th century Protoattic stand from the Argive Heraion, Waldstein and others, The Argive Heraeum, II, pl. 67, 3; B.S.A., XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 52, f.

Similarly so on the two Aristophanes cups (11, 12), on the Leningrad cup (ARV, p. 834, no. 4) and on the Berlin squat-ekyllthos (15). On all these Hippodameia, or Deianeira, as the case may be, has stretched her right leg forward in a graceful, if affected pose. In contrast we see on Parthenon metope south 29 the bride pressed against the centaur's body and her legs wide apart with the right leg back—less elegant, but more true to life.

Lampstands, logs of firewood, roasting spits, wine amphorae or kraters, tables, the heavy hammer or axe used for the sacrifice and other utensils for the banquet all belong to the iconographic stock-in-trade of this type of centauromachy. They contribute to the setting and local color of the brawl which broke out so unexpectedly at the feast. Lampstands in particular are used as weapons on the Vienna calyx-krater (8), the two Boston cups (11, 12), and the Spina krater (13). On the New York fragment (14) it is still standing, but will no doubt be snatched up at any moment.

Peirithoos is difficult to restore. We notice that the cloak over his left shoulder clings to his side quite closely, more so than the corresponding portion on Theseus. This might suggest a left
On the very left, under the handle, there is a woman; of her more will be said presently.

In the right half of the picture we again have a fight between a nameless Lapith and a centaur. This time the centaur is already down and will be pierced by a spear, or spit, held in the Lapith’s hands. On the extreme right, under the handle, there is a second woman, to match the one under the other handle. She wears a stephane with metal leaves. Of her too more presently.

So much for the description, now to some other details, for there is much to note. First of all there is the remarkable interlocked group of Theseus and Peirithoos fighting back to back, each losing his cloak in the same characteristic way. These motives are discussed in detail below (Part III, pp. 356-360); at this stage we merely draw attention to them. The same fall of the cloak is found on a number of other centauromachy pictures of this type and we are thereby able to restore the missing lower part of the cloak across Theseus’ right leg with confidence.

Eurytion, the centaur, has a small tuft of hair growing at the juncture of equine arm raised or bent. The following alternatives have occurred to me. Peirithoos’ right hand may have seized or struck the centaur, whilst his left was back to prepare a follow-up. He would then be in perfect symmetry with Theseus.

Alternatively Peirithoos may be wielding a hammer or axe using both arms to smash it down on his opponent. Such a hammer-swinging (entirely naked however), also turned to the left, occurs on the Berlin fragment by the Niobid painter (2). Again, an axe-swinging with his cloak falling in a way not unlike that of our Peirithoos (and evidently inspired by its manner) occurs on the Spina krater (13), and, in a different context (the madness of Lykourgos), on a very late 5th century hydria in the Villa Giulia, perhaps by the painter of Louvre G 433 (ARV, p. 965 bottom; add to reference there: Jahrb., LV, 1940, p. 495).

The solution adopted in our restoration is different again and is based upon considerations set out in detail on pp. 358-360. It is possible, however, that one of the alternatives suggested above might be preferable in this picture; in the attitude adopted by Peirithoos in our restoration one would expect his left arm to come backwards at a lower angle than is shown in our restoration and therefore still be visible on the preserved parts of the vase.

A spit rather than a spear for the reasons given above in note 37. Cf. also FR III, p. 43 (Hauser). Our weapon, such of it as is preserved, looks a little thin for a spit, but it is no thinner than the implement, whatever it is, used by the Lapith on the Vienna krater (8) to stick into the centaur’s haunches. A spit may conceivably have been held also by Theseus in his right hand and been lost in the crack across his chest. His action would then correspond with the parallel figure on the Spina krater (13).

The other women on this side all lack their heads and we cannot therefore say what they wore. Hippodameia, the bride, will have worn a stephane or a headband certainly.

The men, since they are feasting, are wreathed in almost all representations of the subject. Of centaurs, Eurytion too and sometimes the others are wreathed. On the Olympia pediment Eurytion was distinguished from the other centaurs by his wreath (cf. Treu, Olympia, III, pp. 73, 135).

See below, p. 357.

On a straight leg the cloak would of course slip down further than on one bent at the knee as our Peirithoos. This distinction is observed well enough by the excellent painter of the New York Centauromachy (14, Pl. 107, a), but not by Aristophanes on his two Boston cups (11, 12, Pl. 108).
and human body, roughly where a satyr’s tail would have its root. This is a peculiarity found on many centaurs from this time onwards; ours is one of the earliest instances. Sometimes the tuft grows into a crown of hair right round the centaur’s middle. We cannot say for certain whether the other two centaurs on our vase also had this tuft. The left-hand one has lost the relevant portion, but on the right hand one we would have expected traces to show up at the small of the back, which is preserved. It looks then as though only the great one amongst the centaurs on our vase had this extra growth.

A word still on the two women under either handle. One’s first reaction is to call them Lapith women. But if so, what are they up to? They are strangely calm in the presence of all this turmoil. Moreover they can only be sitting, because their height, fixed by the position of the fragments, is very low. Yet it is inconceivable that Lapith women should be seen sitting in the wings, whilst their menfolk battle away in the center. Remembering then how we interpreted the sitting women on the other side of the vase as nymphs, we are inclined to seek the same explanation for this side. In that case the nymphs or other minor deities could have been depicted seated (or emerging?). Some support for this may perhaps come from the back of a volute krater in the Louvre (Camp. 10749) which has recently been assembled by Beazley from Campana fragments (5; Pl. 109). It is by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs. Here two out of three women wear a stephane and are carrying a scepter. The third woman is without head, has no scepter, but carries an oinochoe. These three women look very different from the frightened Lapith girl on the front of the vase.

43 It is found on most centaurs on the Parthenon metopes and on the Hephaisteion west frieze, on contemporary vases, such as Naples painter nos. 1 and 3 (ARV, p. 705), and also on some roughly contemporary works, preserved in copies or adaptations only. Thus on the relief in the Lateran Museum (Einzelauflnahmen 2195, whence Langlotz, Phidiasprobleme, Frankfurt, 1947, pl. 12, top), and the marble loutrophoros in Madrid (Archivo Español de Arqueología, XVIII, 1945, pp. 332 ff., whence G. Becatti, Problemi Fidiaci, Milan, 1951, pl. 60). Cf. also the Ince relief (B. Ashmole, Ancient Marbles at Ince, Oxford, 1929, pl. 42, no. 267), which goes with the Lateran relief.

This miniature tail becomes frequent in Attic and Italiote vase-painting, though by no means universal. We find it also on the Phigaleia frieze, and in Etruscan art (e.g. cista, Villa Giulia, 13134). See further E. Robinson, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report for 1900, p. 54.

44 Smaller size women do however occur very occasionally, for example one on the Iliopersis calyx-krater by the Niobid painter in Ferrara (ARV, p. 419, no. 16; now Alfieri and Arias, Spina, pls. 37, 38).

45 See above p. 337.

46 Paralipomena to ARV, pp. 1501, 2526. I owe the photographs and permission to publish to the kindness of P. Devambez and the generosity of Sir John Beazley. A fragment in Tübingen (Watzinger, pl. 28, E 97) belongs to the same vase.

47 The woman wearing a stephane on the extreme right of the centauromachy on our louterion may of course also have held a scepter in her right hand, and so might the left hand woman in her left hand. There is no telling now.

48 For a description of the front of the vase see below, p. 362, note 122.
and they must surely be more than mortal. Yet we can scarcely disassociate them from the events on the front of the vase. They are therefore presumably minor deities, local nymphs, who are witnesses of the outrage.\textsuperscript{49}

There is no doubt that the centauromachy on our louterion is a skillfully composed picture. Though much has to be restored, the main elements are not subject to doubt. The picture is constructed in three planes. Theseus alone is in the front plane, the rest are in the middle plane, apart from the two women under the handle, who are even further in the background. Practically all figures overlap and are interlocked; the lines of the composition undulate up and down until they descend finally on either side along the handles. In its way it is a good picture, even though no one figure is particularly memorable.

\textit{Identification of figures}

The rescue of Hippodameia by Theseus from Eurytion, so we called the central group. Eu(rytion) indeed stands written against the centaur corresponding to ours on the fragment of a volute-krater in New York (14; Pl. 107, a) where the grouping and a number of details correspond very closely to our louterion, apart from the apparent absence of women.\textsuperscript{50} If our centaur then is Eurytion, the bride will be Hippodameia.\textsuperscript{51} But what of the youth who rescues her? I have no doubt that he is Theseus, the counterpart of Herakles on the front of the vase. Yet it has been forcefully pointed out that the ancient mythographers did not assign the rescue of Hippodameia to Theseus, a task which indeed should properly fall upon the bridegroom! Ovid alone (\textit{Metamorph.}, XII, 210 ff.) would support our identification of Theseus. Accordingly Carl Robert,\textsuperscript{52} commenting on a painting found in Herculaneum, where the rescue of Hippodameia is depicted on rather similar lines (Pfuhl, \textit{MuZ}, III, fig. 630), called the hero there Peirithoos, and he may well have been right in this. Yet a bride-rescue in 5th century Attic art, which is as closely modelled on the traditional Herakles-Deianeira-Nessos group as ours, could have but one hero, Theseus.

\textsuperscript{49} For an unidentified deity holding a scepter and an oinochoe, see the Boston cup by the Penthesilea painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 587, no. 94; add there: Caskey and Beazley, \textit{Vase Paintings}, pl. 54, 103). Cf. also the woman with stephane seated on a rock (a local nymph?) on the Catania calyx-krater by the Mykonos painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 355, no. 7); also the woman with stephane on the Madrid bell-krater by the painter of Munich 2335 (\textit{ARV}, p. 780, no. 33; \textit{A.J.A.}, LX, 1956, pl. 60, figs. 2, 3; the local nymph of Marathon (?), but Marathon ought to have its male heros, as in the Stoa Poikile, Pausanias I, 15, 3); again “Thebes” with stephane, on the Berlin hydria by the Kadmos painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 805, no. 22) and, looking back in time, “Eleusis” with stephane on the London skyphos by Makron (\textit{ARV}, p. 301, no. 3).

\textsuperscript{50} But see below, note 57.


\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Kentaurenkampf}, pp. 8 ff.
No doubt in strict mythology that was incorrect. Theseus had usurped the place of the bridegroom.\(^5\) Hence we sometimes find hesitation, if not inconsistency, in representations of this subject. For example Aristophanes on his two cups in Boston (11, 12, Pl. 108) puts the centauromachy at the wedding of Peirithoos on the outside of the cup, but in the roundel inside (Pl. 107, b), having painted what in effect is Theseus rescuing Hippodameia, he boggles and writes Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira against his figures, not forgetting to give Herakles his club, yet leaving him with a cloak falling off in the manner we see on our louterion as being peculiar to Theseus. He prefers to change the subject rather than face what he might feel to be faulty mythology! \(^6\)

Outside Athens, where there was no reason for giving Theseus more than his due, there was no problem. At Olympia the bride is rescued by the bridegroom, Peirithoos,\(^5\) whilst Theseus does his bit for some other Lapith woman.

In the art of 5th century Athens then we take the hero rescuing the bride to be Theseus and not Peirithoos. Unfortunately we cannot bring strict proof of this, because, as it happens, our vase-representations are broken in just those places where we might have expected a name to be written against the figure to settle the point. This is the case on our louterion, and also on the New York fragment (14, Pl. 107, a) where the youth pulling up Eurytion (name inscribed) by his hair recurs,\(^6\) though without the bride to be rescued.\(^7\) We are a little more fortunate with the early 4th century giant pelike in Barcelona (16), for though the crucial part is missing too, the hero rescuing the bride\(^5\) cannot be Peirithoos, because that name is written

\(^5\) For more on this, see below, pp. 343-344, 354-355.

\(^6\) I do not put this forward as the only possible reason for this inconsistency. Some, considering the painter's capacities, will no doubt think this explanation too flattering.

\(^5\) His victim is the only centaur to have had a wreath, hence Eurytion (cf. above note 40), and the girl in his grasp must be Hippodameia. As to the identification of Peirithoos on the pediment, I follow the common view.

\(^6\) This youth seems to be on a larger scale than any of his companions on the fragment, Theseus therefore likely enough.

\(^7\) I am puzzled by the white object over Eurytion's left arm. It is generally interpreted as a skin, but it does not look like one, and anyway he owns one already, worn as chlamys! Could it be Hippodameia's dress torn off? Cf. the Lapith girl on the Phigaleia frieze, block 524 (Kenner, pl. 5). In that case women were present in the picture.

\(^8\) The vase will, I hope, be properly published before too long. The drawing published early this century by Frickenhaus and since reproduced again and again is misleading in many respects, though it was a worthy enough piece of work for its time considering the state of the vase. Meanwhile the following corrections are essential to my argument:

(a) The centaur in the upper center of the picture was carrying off a woman (as Hauser divined in FR III, p. 54); her feet and the edge of her dress are preserved (but not shown by Frickenhaus) on the extreme right of the fragment giving the centaur's body.

(b) The head of this woman (no doubt Hippodameia) is also preserved. It is the leftmost
against a figure elsewhere in the picture.\textsuperscript{59} Theseus therefore is the only practical alternative.\textsuperscript{60}

It must not be concealed however that there are at least two Attic representations of the same subject where we cannot be sure whether the hero rescuing the bride is Theseus or Peirithoos; indeed the evidence, such as it is, supports Peirithoos rather than Theseus. They are the fragments of a volute-krater in Berlin by the Niobid painter (2)\textsuperscript{61} and a volute-krater recently discovered in the Valle Pega and now in of the two heads on the upper right fragment. However Frickenhaus is wrong in showing the head facing to the right. It turns back to the left towards her rescuer.

(c) The second woman on this fragment is a fleeing Lapith. Her lower body and left hand (not foot!) are seen on the fragment below. The apparent discrepancy between upper and lower body is due to the considerable displacement to the right of the upper fragment in the physical reconstruction of the vase.

(d) The name Lykourgos inscribed on the left of the bride-rescuer refers, of course, to the boy on his left, and not to the hero (as is wrongly supposed by Hauser in FR III, p. 55).

It should also be noted that the bride-rescuer, Theseus, in this picture probably wielded a club, to judge by his raised right arm. This would not be unparalleled for the 4th century as the following show:

1. Berlin 4529, calyx-krater, Kerch style (17). The hero appears to have a skin hanging over his arm; therefore Herakles, rather than Theseus? The club is lost, but the import of the action is clear.

2. Leningrad St. 1787, pelike. Kerch style (18).

3. Leningrad St. 2016, pelike. Kerch style (19). The hero appears to have a skin hanging over his arm, therefore the same case as the Berlin krater (17). The second of these Attic vases probably represents Theseus rather than Herakles wielding his club against the centaur to save the bride. (The heavy type club was by this time used by Theseus too, as on the "Theseus and the bull " kraters by the Filotranano painter; cf. \textit{A.J.A.}, LX, 1956, p. 159, no. 7).

4. Berlin F 2939 (20), bell-krater of uncertain fabric (Corinthian red-figure?). I know the vase only from the descriptions in Furtwängler's and Neugebauer's catalogues.

5. London F 272, calyx-krater, Apulian (22).

\textsuperscript{59} Peirithoos is wrestling with a centaur in the lower right of the picture. This important group recurs in a number of other centauromachies (1, 10, 11, 12, 25, block 529) and also on some of the Italiote mixed centauromachies, which are armed, yet not uninfluenced by motives derived from the centauromachy at the wedding. A good example is on the lekanis lid, Bari inv. 1616, \textit{Jahresh.}, XVI, 1913, p. 158, fig. 81, a. See on this Watzinger, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 160 ff.; also Noël Moon (Mrs. Oakeshott), \textit{P.B.S.R.}, XI, 1929, pp. 43 ff.; Buschor in FR III, p. 289. On the two Boston cups (11, 12) this wrestler is called Theseus and Miss A. Bruckner (\textit{Palästradarstellungen auf frührot-figurigen attischen Vasen}, Basle, 1954, p. 21) thought that the wrestler on the Florence krater (1) should also be called Theseus, because the grip employed is one Theseus uses regularly against Kerkyon. I doubt whether we can say more than that the figure was a notable one in this iconography, prominent enough to be called Theseus or Peirithoos in some representations, but nameless in others.

\textsuperscript{60} Cf. also the Apulian calyx-krater, London F 272 (22) where Theseus (so named) advances from behind with hand outstretched to seize the bride-snatching centaur. (The vase has been suspected; the style certainly is strangely precious, but recent cleaning claims to have vindicated its genuineness).

\textsuperscript{61} Interpretations in Furtwängler, \textit{Vasensammlung im Antiquarium}, no. 2403; Curtius, \textit{Arch. Zeit.}, XLI, 1883, col. 347 ff.; C. Robert, \textit{Marathonschlacht}, pp. 48 ff., Furtwängler, FR I, p. 130,
the museum in Ferrara (13). On both vases there is besides the familiar trio of Greek, centaur and girl another prominent figure, an axe- (or hammer-) swinger about to fell his opponent. Since there is reason to think that the axe-swinger in the centauromachy at the feast is meant to be Theseus, the hero who rescues the bride in the same picture ought not to be Theseus, but rather, by elimination, Peirithoos. Yet in view of what has been said about the bride-rescue we can fairly pose the question the other way round, if the rescuer of Hippodameia is to be Theseus, then the axe-swinger in the same picture cannot. The dilemma either way is the same; we have two candidates for Theseus in the same picture.

We note this dilemma without being able to resolve it. Yet we may not unreasonably suspect that its cause lies in that the two types for Theseus, the bride-rescuer and the hammer-swinger, have separate origins, perhaps in two different representations of the centauromachy at the wedding feast, both of which cast their spell over succeeding representations and that sometimes elements from these two different prototypes have crept into the same picture to trouble pedants and archaeologists.

Returning at last to our louterion we see now that the identification of the bride-rescuer on our picture as Theseus cannot be absolutely established until we know for certain (which we cannot) that his companion on the left was not a hammer-swinger. Yet for all that I like to think of the bride-rescuer as Theseus and of his companion as Peirithoos and this view is reflected in the reconstructed drawing in Figure 2.

PART II: HERAKLES AND THESEUS AGAINST THE BULL: AN ICONOGRAPHIC COMPARISON

Herakles

Red-figured vases with pictures of Herakles and the Cretan bull are not plentiful, but apart from a certain change in emphasis which took place sometime toward the middle of the 5th century they show a fairly uniform development in the treatment of their subject for more than a century. In this they differ remarkably from the parallel representations of Theseus and the Marathonian bull. These, though very similar to the Herakles series at first, go their own way from the early Classical period

note 1; Hauser, FR II, p. 246; Oelschig (op. cit., note 32 supra), p. 37. There are still several open problems here.

62 The reasons are not perhaps conclusive, but weighty nonetheless. The axe-swinger at Olympia is Theseus according to Pausanias. The mighty figure swinging an axe on the neck of the New York volute-krater (4, Pl. 107, a) ought to be Theseus, if anyone. The axe- (or hammer-) swinging hero, being so memorable an invention, is naturally associated in one's mind with the premier hero of the occasion, Theseus.

63 Some suggestions on that score will be found below, pp. 353 ff.

64 For the equivalent figure on the New York fragment (14, Pl. 107, a) as Peirithoos see below, pp. 358-359, note 112.
onwards—a useful, but not always remembered means of distinguishing two subjects that are difficult to keep apart, especially when a vase is fragmentary.

First, then, some pictures of Herakles and the bull. We begin with two vases which are later than the Agora louterion and which repeat very strikingly its composition and even details of iconography. The calyx-krater in Adolphseck by the Kekrops painter (ARV, p. 853, no. 1; now published in F. Brommer, Herakles, Münster, 1953, pl. 22; CVA, Schloss Fasanerie, fasc. 1, pl. 47) was painted towards the end of the 5th century. The bull charging along and the Herakles in his lionskin about to strike with his club are in similar attitudes to their counterparts on the louterion. Athena is present too; so are Apollo, Nike and another woman. We also see a miniature palm tree and two stumps with shoots of olive growing out of them. We note these particularly as we have reason to think that the palm tree at any rate was depicted on the louterion too.65

Roughly contemporary, but perhaps already beyond the turn of the century, comes a calyx-krater in Leningrad.66 Again the same head-on collision between the bull and the hero, who is armed with club and bow. Athena is present with others, amongst whom we pick out an elderly man touching his beard in expectancy and whose himation is let halfway down his back. He must be Minos, watching the outcome of the struggle, even as he does on the Agora louterion.

At this point we must mention a votive relief of the same subject in Sounion which was published by J. H. Young in Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 171, fig. 3 and dated by him to about 400 B.C.67 It closely reproduces the pattern of the struggle familiar from our louterion, the Adolphseck and the Leningrad kraters. Herakles is identified by his lionskin, and we also find the olive and the palm tree in the picture. Evidently there is a close iconographic connection between all four works, which cannot be accidental.68

65 See on this C. M. Robertson, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XX, 1957, pp. 2-3. On the other hand the combination of palm tree and olive is found elsewhere too, as on both sides of the Ruvo volute-krater by the Kadmos painter (ARV, p. 803, no. 1; A, Dionysos with entourage; B, Apollo and Marsyas).
66 I owe my knowledge of the vase and photographs to the kindness of Dr. Ulrich Hausmann, who has now published it in his Reliefbecher, pl. 55. The piece is placed by Beazley near the Pronomos painter (Paralipomena to ARV, p. 2446; cf. also A.J.A., LXI, 1957, p. 111).
67 I ought to say that Mr. Young now thinks that the relief is of Roman date. The conception of the scene however is that of about 400 B.C.
68 A little more remote is a fragmentary bell-krater in Bonn of the end of the 5th century (ARV, p. 966, "recalls the early work of the Meleager painter"). Its subject has been interpreted as Theseus and the bull. Herakles and the bull seems to me a little more likely, because the representation differs so greatly from other pictures of the Marathonian bull current at that time (see Shefton, A.J.A., LX, 1956, pp. 159 ff.). On the other hand the subject may be something else entirely. Apart from Athena none of the characters in the picture can be identified with certainty. Is the enthroned figure Zeus? If so, who is the girl engaged in conversation with him, whilst an Eros hovers in front of her eyes? Hera, or rather Hebe? If he is a king, the girl could be Medea,
There are two more representations also later in date than our louterion, which claim our attention before we can glance at earlier works. They are linked to each other, but differ from the representations just discussed. The cup London E 104 \((\text{ARV}, \text{p. 777, no. 1}; \text{painter of London E 105})\) must have been painted towards the end of the third quarter of the 5th century, or even a little later. The exterior shows on one side a naked and beardless youth meeting a bull frontwise and grappling it by both its horns. He is about to strangle the beast by forcing its gullet against his shoulders. Behind the bull stands a bearded man leaning on his stick waving an encouraging gesture, Minos we may call him. Behind Minos stands a partisan of Herakles, likewise bearded and carrying the club and an animal skin. This cup is of special value because we have by the same hand a companion picture of Theseus and the bull on the cup London E 105.\(^69\) A comparison of the two shows clearly the difference in the way the same painter has treated the two parallel subjects. Another companion piece by the same painter, also a Theseid, which was once in Frankfurt but is now lost, reinforces the comparison.\(^70\)

With the aid of this cup, London E 104, we can safely interpret the picture on a cup in Enserune \((\text{CVA Collection Mouret, pl. 8, 7 and 8})\), the inside of which all but repeats the outside of the London cup. The date is the beginning of the 4th century, contemporary with the works of the Jena painter. The large-eyed beardless youth must be Herakles. His club rests on the ground. Behind him are what might be the remnants of his quiver; a laurel bush is in the background.

This is as far down as we shall carry the survey at present. If we move back in time, taking again our louterion as the starting point, we shall meet first of all the late archaic cup in the Louvre in the manner of the Antiphon painter \((\text{ARV}, \text{p. 237, no. 69})\). Here a bearded Herakles stoops over the bull, which has collapsed forward, and is in the act of completing the tying up of the beast.\(^71\)

\(^{69}\) See below p. 350, no. 9.

\(^{70}\) See p. 350, no. 10.

\(^{71}\) The Adria cup by the Antiphon painter \((\text{ARV}, \text{p. 233, no. 74}; \text{now CVA, Adria, fasc. I, Italy, pl. 1254, 8 b})\) might show either the same subject, or Theseus and the bull; not enough is preserved to go by. Theseus is perhaps more likely, as what remains of the scene resembles in type the Vienna cup in the manner of the Triptolemos painter \((\text{ARV}, \text{p. 243, no. 7})\) and the Philadelphia stamnos by the Kleophrades painter \((\text{ARV}, \text{p. 125, no. 55})\). Both these are undoubted Theseids, cf. La Coste-Messelière, \textit{Trésor}, p. 59, note 1). A new cup by Douris has recently been put together by Beazley from Campania fragments in the Louvre \((\text{Paralipomena to ARV}, \text{pp. 763, 1185-1186}; \text{also A.J.A., LVIII, 1954, p. 190 and } \text{ArpX. Eφ}, 1953-1954, \text{p. 201})\). A youth ties up the bull, stooping over it. He might be either Theseus or Herakles. When I saw the fragments there seemed nothing there to decide between the two.
Earlier still, some ten years before the end of the sixth century, is the Boston kantharos by the Nikosthenes painter (*ARV*, p. 100, no. 20), where a beardless Herakles has laid aside his bow and quiver and forced the bull down to apply the fetters.

What is common to all these pictures is that the struggle is frontal; the opponents face each other, however different the stage of contest represented.

Against the comparative scarcity of the subject in red-figure can be set a substantial number of late black-figure pictures; many are on unpretentious vases, lekythoi, some of which go down well into the 5th century. These vases, with the few exceptions to which we shall allude later (p. 349, note 79), repeat the frontal struggle. In this respect the whole series of pictures, extending from the later 6th century to the end of the 5th, presents a remarkably uniform appearance, with one proviso. On the louterion and certainly in the subsequent pictures we considered, Herakles is either about to meet the charging bull head-on, or he is actually wrestling with it, whereas in the earlier, that is to say, the archaic pictures, the struggle is usually over. The bull is down, often the fetters are being applied. This shift of emphasis will gain additional interest when we come to contrast it presently with what happened at the crucial time to the parallel series of Theseus and the Marathonian bull.

**Theseus**

It is time now to look at the kindred subject of Theseus and the Marathonian bull and see how its iconography compares with that of Herakles. The rise to popularity of this story occurs a little after the first appearance of the Herakles adventure. There is, however, one much earlier vase, the amphora in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 174 (*ABV*, p. 315, no. 2; painter of Würzburg 252) painted towards the end of the second quarter of the 6th century, which seems already to show the struggle with the Marathonian bull. Yet the bulk of the black-figured examples (which are distinctly fewer than the black-figured pictures of the Cretan bull, and which almost all appear on small and slight vases) were produced at the turn of the 6th and 5th century and later.

---

73 For some observations on differences in detail see Appendix, pp. 367-368.
74 On the time and occasion of the introduction of the complete Theseus cycle see now Dugas, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LVI, 1943, pp. 17 ff. and K. Friis Johansen, *Thésée et la danse à Délos*, Copenhagen, 1945, pp. 55 ff., also below, p. 354, note 97. The increase in popularity of representations of Theseus is often put too early and wrongly attributed to the time of Peisistratos (see on this the pertinent remarks by Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* III b, Supplement II, notes, p. 344, note 20, expanding what he had said earlier in his *Attis*, Oxford, 1949, p. 394, note 23). At the end of the 6th century this increase is very notable (cf. some points made by Schefold, *Mus. Helv.*, III, 1946, pp. 65 ff.), but the tendency was evidently progressive as will emerge from the present study. It reached a peak
These vases and their much more numerous red-figured contemporaries and successors down to the beginning of the early classical period show Theseus' adventure with the bull in a scheme which is in no way different from that we found used for Herakles (apart from certain criteria which we shall note below in Appendix, pp. 367-368). The hero may club the bull, force it down, or apply the rope to bind it; he always faces the beast over which he has already established his ascendency. No examples need be given of this all but universal type, to which the Kleophrades painter's cup in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ARV, p. 128, no. 92) is so notable an exception. They are gathered by Buschor in his treatment of the Louvre Theseus cup by the Panaitios painter (FR III, p. 122) and also by Beazley in the mythological index to ARV. In sculpture the same type of representation is found on the metope of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.

With the early classical period, however, a new scheme appears. The bull no longer collapses forward at the feet of Theseus, but is on his way to Athens under leash. The moment chosen is when the animal (moving to the right) has become restive and requires chastening. Theseus (often wearing a distinctive hat, a petasos or pilos) comes up from behind, grasps one of the horns and is about to subdue the temper of the animal by a blow of his club. Here, then, as in the Herakles representations of the same period or somewhat later, a change comes about; but whereas Herakles was now seen as the hero bracing himself to meet the brute strength of the bull charging headlong towards him, Theseus is conceived of as having already established an effortless superiority. Theseids for the remainder of the early
during the active life of Kimon, who indeed brought Theseus' bones to Athens. Cf. also Herter, Rhein. Mus., LXXXVIII, 1939, pp. 292 ff.

For references to black-figured pictures of the Marathonian bull see Haspels, A.B.F.L., index, s.v. Theseus, and the subject index of ABV s.v. Theseus; also Brommer, Vaseinlisten, pp. 150-151, and La Coste-Messelière, Trésor, p. 59, note 1.

75 For some other exceptions see note 79, below.

76 See also now the important discussions and analyses by P. de la Coste-Messelière, Trésor, pp. 59 ff. and by U. Hausmann, Reliefbecher, pp. 71 ff. Some recent additions to the late archaic repertoire of the subject have not changed this picture. Thus a fragment of a cup in Barcelona, from Ampurias, by the Boot painter and already at the beginning of the early classical period is, as far as it goes, a replica of the Tartu cup by the same artist (Paralipomena to ARV, p. 1737). Mrs. Ghali recently showed me a photograph of a fragment from Thasos. It too conforms to the expected pattern. The same applies to the new Douris cup in the Louvre, whether it be the deed of Herakles or of Theseus (see note 71 above).

77 See p. 347. We cannot be certain of the date when the new type of Herakles and the bull was introduced. The Agora louteron is the earliest example and is of full classical date. Since, however, we have no early classical vase-painting of the subject, there is a gap in our evidence between the late archaic and the classical periods.

78 Cf. here Nilsson, Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece, Lund, 1951, p. 55: "While Herakles only too often represents brute force, Theseus is the Athenian youth educated in the palaestra"; see also Herter, Rhein. Mus., LXXXVIII, 1939, p. 285, and ancient passages like
classical period tend to conform to this type, which in its most formal and elaborate setting is represented by a series of vases which I have described and discussed in *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 159-60. On these the bull moves to the right and Theseus in pursuit has seized the bull by one horn and is about to use his club. In all cases the club is light-weight, as compared to what we are accustomed to see in Herakles’ hand, and is of a peculiar shape. On several of these vases an old man stands to the left of Theseus. He will be old Aigeus. There is also a woman on the right holding a phiale and moving away in fright.

The earliest vases in this group, a column-krater in Sèvres (*ARV*, p. 390, no. 5, Hephaistos painter) and the column-krater Bologna 264 (Pellegrini, *Vasi delle necropoli felsinee*, fig. 64), are later than the mid-century; but there are other pictures of Theseus and the bull in the new, post-archaic, composition which go back further and show that the change took place during the early classical period some time towards the later part of the second quarter of the century.

Of the three cups by the Penthesilea painter which provide this evidence, two have recently been recovered by Beazley from amongst the Campana reserves in the Louvre, which have given us so many new and unexpected riches. The cups belong to a group of pictures which show the hero and bull only without any accompanying figures. Theseus with his club checks the bull, usually roped, from behind. Movement in these representations is generally from left to right. Some of the pictures indeed are complete Theseus cycles or at least they show several adventures. I shall point out these cases in the following list:

Pausanias I, 39, 3: Θησείς δὲ κατατέλαιων αὐτὸν σοφία τὸ πλέον παλαιοτικῆς γὰρ τέχνης εὑρε Θησείς πρῶτος . . . . πρῶτερον δὲ ἔχρωντο μεγεθὺς μόνον καὶ ῥόμη πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

79 There were archaic precursors, particularly in black-figure, showing the attack from behind both for Herakles and Theseus, thus for example, a black-figured amphora in Turin, Herakles (P. Barocelli, *Il Museo di antichità di Torino*, pl. 40); black-figured lekythos in Palermo, Herakles (*ABV*, p. 385, no. 30, Acheloos painter); black-figured lekythos in Syracuse, Theseus (Haspels, *A.B.F.L.*, p. 216, no. 17, Edinburgh painter); oinochoe in Paris, Petit Palais, Theseus (*ABV*, p. 519, no. 6, Theseus painter); black-figured oinochoe, Herakles (*ABV*, p. 385, no. 29, Acheloos painter); black-figured pelike in Berlin, inv. 3228, Herakles (described *Arch. Anz.*, VIII, 1893, col. 85, no. 16); black-figured neck-amphora in Hobart, Theseus (*ABV*, p. 695, no. 219, bis, Leagros Group); red-figured cup in Madrid, Theseus, (*ARV*, p. 38, no. 46, Oltos; *CVA*, Spain, fasc. 2, pl. 62,1); red-figured cup in Florence, Theseus (*ARV*, p. 82, no. 4; now Dugas and Flacelière, *Thésée*, pl. 5).


81 See below, Appendix p. 368 under f.

82 This does not quite apply to the Spina cup by the Penthesilea painter (no. 3 in the list below) which has turned up even more recently than the Louvre fragments. On this, the largest of all red-figured cups, there are two sceptered ancients present too, possibly Aigeus and one of his brothers, not unlike the scene on the Acropolis calyx-krater by the Syriskos painter (*ARV*, p. 195, no. 1).

83 On these see Miss Kardara’s remarks in *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 293 ff.
1) Louvre, fragment of cup by the Penthesilea painter (no. 7ter, Paralipomena to ARV, pp. 722, 723, 728). Interior tondo. Preserved is the lower left with the hind parts of the bull and one leg of Theseus. Probably similar composition to the next, but Theseus is on the hither side of the bull.

2) Louvre, fragment of cup by the Penthesilea painter (no. 7sester, Paralipomena i.c.). Interior tondo. Theseus moving quickly to the right grasps the bull, also moving to the right, by the horn with his right hand; in his left he carries a club. He is seen on the far side of the bull.

3) Ferrara, cup from Spina by the Penthesilea painter (no. 21bis, Paralipomena, p. 2640). Alfieri and Arias, Spina, pl. 28; I.L.N., 5 Jan., 1957; The Times (London), 28 Dec. 1956. Theseus cycle. The bull scene does not quite conform to pattern, see above, p. 349, note 82.

4) Prague, small pelike about 440-430; Theseus with petasos and cloak holds a lagobolom. (I owe my knowledge of this piece to Sir John Beazley who has kindly shown me a photograph of this vase.)

5) London E 84, cup by the Codrus painter (ARV, p. 739, no. 4; add to references there; A and B, AJA, LV, 1951, pl. 22). Theseus cycle.

6) Harrow School 52, cup near the Phiale painter (ARV, p. 660). Theseus cycle.

7) Florence, fragment of cup from Populonia. The center of the inside is preserved. A naked torso twisted not unlike the Herakles in the bull metope from Olympia. Behind him there is an animal which I take to be moving to the right. The subject ought to be Theseus and the bull, but too little remains for certainty. The date is the time of the Codrus painter. (Sir John Beazley has shown me a drawing of this fragment).


9) London E 105, cup by the painter of London E 105 (ARV, p. 777, no. 2). Theseus wears a hat. The painter of this and the following cup has also left us a picture of Herakles and the bull with an instructively different treatment of the subject (see above p. 346).

10) Once Frankfurt, Leibighaus 670, cup 84 by the painter of London E 105 (ARV, p. 777, no. 3). I quote from Beazley’s notes: “youth with club, cloak and pilos moving to left holds with his right hand the bull by horn; bull’s head in three-quarter view. On the left a tree.”


12) Madrid 11265, cup by Aison (ARV, p. 800, no. 20; now also CVA, Spain, fasc. 2, pls. 84-88). Theseus cycle.


The changed conception of Theseus’ struggle with the bull had thus become canonical 85 and the few exceptions known are due to a specific cause, probably the influence of Euripidean mythopoeia. 86

84 The cup came there in 1919 as a gift, but was soon withdrawn and is now “lost.” I owe this information to Dr. Schwarzweller of the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt.

85 On the Hephaisteion metope South III Theseus also approaches the bull from behind, but having no club he uses both hands to grapple the bull’s head (cf. B. Sauer, Theseion, pl. 5; Arch. Class., I, 1949, pl. 6, 3; the reconstruction by H. Koch, Studien zum Theseustempel, Berlin, 1955, p. 206, fig. 117, seems to ignore Sauer’s warning, op. cit., p. 161, about the direction of Theseus’ right arm). The sculptor had already used a composition similar to the then canonical Marathonian bull struggle in the metope of Herakles and the horses of Diomedes.

The subject of the mutilated frieze-block from Sounion, which has been held to be Theseus and the bull (Fabricius, Ath. Mitt., IX, 1884, pl. 19, no. 13) has now been explained by Herbig (Ath. Mitt., LXVI, 1941, p. 101, pl. 47) as the sow of Krommyon, which is attractive. The iconography differs from any bull struggle known to me.

86 See Shefton, AJA, LX, 1956, pp. 159 ff. More evidence has accrued since on the point
Iconographic Variants

We have seen then that after the beginning of the early classical period the two great bull struggles, that of Herakles and that of Theseus, had each found its own mode of representation. This divergence of iconography can be followed into the 4th century and probably had its effect beyond Attica too, at least in vase painting.

discussed there p. 161, note 15, and it seems more doubtful now whether Medea played any part at all in the story of Theseus’ first meeting with his father before Euripides. The evidence of the Oianthe painter’s amphora in London is now reinforced by another picture of Theseus’ arrival in Athens, on the skyphos, Louvre G 195, of which Beazley has found new fragments (Paralipomena to ARV, pp. 800, 1506-7, 1633—late Brygos painter). Here too the handclasp of father and son; a woman offers a wreath; again no suggestion of foul play just overcome; therefore presumably no Medea. If indeed Euripides was the first to introduce Medea into the story, in what we called the “variant” version, then the “canonical” version in Plutarch (Theseus, 12-14) may be a later compromise between traditional myth and the Euripidean invention. Radermacher, Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen, Leipzig, 1938, p. 209, also believes, for different reasons, that what we call the “variant” version was earlier than the “canonical” one; see also Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist., III b, Supplement II, notes, p. 336, note 3 and p. 341, note 22, though I am not sure whether I understand his position.

Dugas and Flacelière, Thésée, p. 85 (on pl. 10) interpret the Oianthe painter’s London amphora as Theseus’ departure from Troezen, and would no doubt similarly interpret the skyphos Louvre G 195. If these interpretations are accepted, then the grounds for the doubts aired in this note would disappear.


88 The head-on struggle associated in Attica with Herakles is found on the Lucanian nestoris, Berlin F 3145, by the Primato painter (Millingen, Peintures de vases grecs, ed. S. Reinach, Paris, 1891, pl. 11; attributed by Beazley in A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 635, note 3) where Herakles’ identity is attested by the lionskin in the field. The same arrangement of the antagonists is found in Apulian pictures of Jason and the bull in Kolchis, thus: once Rome, De Luca Resta, volute-krater ex Caputi 377 (Jatta, Catalogo Caputi, pl. 7); Naples 3252, volute-krater (Arch. Zeit., XLI, 1883, pl. 11); Naples 2413, bell-krater (Heydemann, Jason in Kolchis, fig. 1).

On the other hand something approaching the “Theseus composition” (the hero, however, has leapt with one knee onto the back of the bull) is found on the Apulian bell-krater, Naples 2865 (Inghirami, Piture di vasi fititi, Fiesole, 1835, I, pl. 54). The hero should be Theseus rather than Herakles, but one cannot be sure.

Beyond the 4th century, however, we cannot trace the influence of the classical Attic distinction. The attack from behind is now used for Herakles and Theseus indifferently. For examples see Ippel, Guss und Treibarbeit, Berlin, 1937, pl. 3 (Herakles); F. Brommer, Herakles, Münster, 1953, pl. 31 (Herakles on Roman mosaics); Rohden and Winneweld, Architektonische römische Tonreliefs, pl. 97 (Herakles on a Campana relief); ibid., p. 104 (Theseus); Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen, pl. 35, 29 (Herakles, Hellenistic).

In these representations the hero has walked up from behind and in all but one he twists the bull’s head round by seizing the nostrils and one horn. Brute physical force here and no trace of the 5th century use of the attack from behind to suggest easy superiority.

It was surely a representation like these that the author of the epigram in the Anthology (XVI, Appendix, Planudea, 105) had in mind, these and the type associated later with Mithras tauroktônos, where the bull has collapsed on his hind-quarters (cf. F. Saxl, Mithras, Berlin, 1931; L. Campbell, Berytus, XI, 1954, pp. 5 ff.):
In other forms of art, however, we find that what was becoming the "Theseus composition" in Attica was at the same period used outside Athens for Herakles and the bull. At Olympia there was the well-known metope, a masterly adaptation of the motive,\textsuperscript{89} and to roughly the same time, the mid or late sixties, belongs the introduction of certain didrachms at Selinus, with the subject of Herakles and the bull, again in a similar composition.\textsuperscript{90} It is true that there is no reason why all these should not be independent inventions (the motive is simple enough) yet it is worth pointing out that at Athens, Olympia and Selinus a closely similar conception of hero against bull became prominent at the same time.\textsuperscript{91}

Herakles and the bull in the "Theseus composition" also occurs on the relief on a corslet flap (πέρυξ) from Dodona, now in Athens (C. Carapanos, Dodone, Paris, 1878, pl. 16, 4; photograph in Hausmann, Reliefebecher, pl. 53, 1), which has been held to be of 5th century date. Dr. Ulrich Hausmann, who kindly discussed the piece with me in front of the original and since, has, however, convinced me that it must be of late Hellenistic or Roman date,\textsuperscript{92} even if the treatment of the subjects goes back to a much earlier source.

We round off our survey with an Etruscan calyx-krater in the Chicago Art Institute.\textsuperscript{93} Here Herakles, clad in lionskin, comes out of the background and tackles

\begin{quote}
\textit{Θαιμα τέχνης ταύρου τε και ἀνέρας, δὴν δὲ μὲν ἄλκα θηρα βηβ βρίσει γώα τιτανόμενος, ἵνα δ’ αὐχείνους γράμματον, παλάμην ἐμφάσει, λαῖα ἑκτήρας, δεξιάρη τῇ κέρας, ἀντραγάλους δ’ ὀδέλξε, καὶ αὐχένα θηρ ὑπὸ χειραῖ δαμάκμενοι κρατεραῖς ἄκλασεν εἰς ὀπίσω.}
\end{quote}

For Theseus and the bull on Megarian bowls see also G. Roger Edwards in Hesperia, Suppl. X, pl. 50, 120 (references in the text there to the Panagurishte gold rhyton no. 2, on which see now H. Hoffmann, Röm. Mitt., LXV, 1958, pp. 121 ff.), and Hausmann, Reliefebecher, pp. 93-94.

For the subject of Herakles and the bull on coins see R. Braüer, Zeit. f. Numismatik, XXVIII, 1910, pp. 69 ff. Add there the 4th or 3rd century b.c. diobol from Tarentum, S. W. Grose, Catalogue of the McClean Collection, I, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 27, 16.

\textsuperscript{89} See Treu, Olympia, III, p. 162 for the evidence for the rope; ibid., p. 163 for the club.

\textsuperscript{90} C. Seltman, Greek Coins, pl. 24, 8; cf. Lloyd, Num. Chrom., 1934, pp. 73 ff. It has been suggested that the subject was on the seal of Selinus (Salinas, Not. Sc., 1883, pp. 481 ff.; G. E. Rizzo, Intermezzo, p. 63). The impressions published by Salinas, op. cit., pl. 5, 11, give a somewhat different type and seem later than the coins. The mutilated early sixth century metope in Palermo from Selinus (Mon. Ant., I, pl. 3, next to col. 962), which also shows the attack from behind, may not depict the Cretan bull, but Herakles wrestling with Acheloos (cf. L. Curtius, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1905, col. 1667).

The coins of Larissa also show a bull struggle. A youth with petasos grapples a bull from behind. The type seems to go back a little earlier than the Selinus coins and it reminds one of some of the late-archaic precursors of the "Theseus composition," assembled on p. 349, note 79.

\textsuperscript{91} For a suggestion that there was in fact a common source, namely the Acropolis dedication mentioned by Pausanias I, 27, 9 ff., see Hausmann, Reliefebecher, pp. 75 ff.

\textsuperscript{92} See also A. Hekler, Jahresh., XIX-XX, 1919, pp. 208-209, and now, Hausmann, Reliefebecher, pp. 133 ff. The πτερυξ with a two-row decorated field was a favorite with the Romans, cf. the statue of Mars Ultor in the Capitoline Museum, Jahresh., XIX-XX, 1919, p. 191, fig. 119.

\textsuperscript{93} Beazley, Festschrift Andreas Rumpf, Krefeld, 1952, pp. 10 ff., pl. 3.
the bull with his club from behind. The bull’s front legs are tied up and the scene is
set in the presence of Athena, Hermes and other divinities. There is also a bearded
man of royal appearance who stands watching the struggle, Minos as on our louterion.
Though in some ways the picture resembles an Attic Theseid, it really derives its
inspiration from the iconography of the hunt of the Kalydonian boar and similar
representations. We may compare the Gallatin cup in New York by the Penthesilea
painter (ARV, p. 584, no. 25; cf. H. Diepolder, Der Penthesilea Maler, Leipzig, 1936,
pl. 31, 1, p. 19, note 52 for references to other examples of the type). The date of the
krater, which is ascribed by Beazley to the Perugia painter, should be about the last
decade of the 5th century.

PART III: THE CENTAUROMACHY AT THE WEDDING OF
PEIRITHOOS: AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY OF
SOME MOTIVES

1. CENTAUR SEIZED BY HIS HAIR: BRIDE-RESCKUES BY HERAKLES AND THESEUS

Early history of the theme

We begin our consideration of the iconography of this subject with the central
trio of our louterion, Theseus, Eurytion and Hippodameia. The motive of a hero
coming up from behind and seizing the centaur by the hair had been known in Attica
since the days of the Nettos painter. Then and for a long time to come the Greek
is Herakles,94 the centaur usually Nessos and the woman rescued Deianira. It is not
until the 5th century that we find Theseus in a similar role, and then it is in the
centauromachy at the wedding feast, in the very act depicted on the louterion. That
we have here another case of assimilation to Herakles becomes probable enough when
we consider the development of Theseus’ part in the centauromachy. His earliest
unambiguous appearance in representative art is on the François Vase, though in

94 For the role Attic art played in the development of the theme see Schweitzer, Herakles,
Tübingen, 1922, p. 170. There are however early examples from elsewhere too, as is pointed out
by V. H. Poulsen, Der Strenge Stil, p. 129. On the manner of Nessos’ death and the divergence
between literary and monumental evidence see Snell, Hermes, LXXV, 1940, pp. 177 ff. and Dugas,

In some 5th century representations with Herakles the identification of centaur and woman is in
doubt. The centaur seems to be Eurytion as on the stamnoi in London by Polygnotos (ARV,
p. 677, no. 2) and in Naples, attributed to the group of Polygnotos (ARV, p. 696, no. 17), and
perhaps also on the Agrigento painter’s calyx-krater in Agrigento (ARV, p. 380, no. 45). Cf. for
this C. Robert, Mon. Ant., IX, pp. 5 ff.; Wilamowitz, Glaube der Hellenen I, p. 196, note 3 and
Dugas, loc. cit.

For another 5th century treatment of the story of Herakles and the centaur Eurytion see
poetry this connection goes back to Hesiod (Scutum, 182) if not to the Iliad (A, 265). On the François Vase Theseus takes his place by the side of the Lapiths as an ordinary warrior, undistinguished except by the inscription set against him. The scene is set on the battle field, no women are present. This is in fact the general setting for the subject in the 6th and early 5th centuries. There are, it is true, some centauromachies of this period where women do occur, raped or rescued, but in none of them is there anything to identify the hero as Theseus (nor is the scheme in most cases particularly like that of Herakles and Nessos). This is indeed as it should be, for it would be a poor day for Peirithoos, if he had to turn to Theseus, on the very wedding day to get his bride back from the centaurs.

Yet there was undoubtedly a strong tendency in Attic art to assimilate the ἀριστεία of Theseus to that of Herakles, a tendency particularly potent from the end of the 6th century onwards. Its effect on the iconography of the centauromachy is strikingly shown by two vases, one of the turn of the 6th and 5th century, the other of the sixties of the 5th. There is no bride as yet on either vase, but in other respects the scheme is now entirely assimilated to that of Herakles and Nessos. We cannot be sure whether the youth, wreathed and with his sword hanging down at his side, who is about to smite the centaur with his club on the earlier of these two vases, the Acropolis column-krater by the Chairippos painter (ARV, p. 160, no. 7), should really be called Theseus though it is probable enough. On the second one however, an oinochoe probably by the painter of Florence 4021 partly in Florence (P.D. 376), partly in Professor Buschor’s possession in Munich (Pl. 109, d), the name Theseus

95 Neither of these two passages is undisputed, see for instance Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist., III b, Supplement II, notes, p. 342, note 7.

96 Cf. P. Courbin, B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, pp. 370 ff. Beazley in such cases, e.g. ABV, p. 470, no. 99 and p. 477 (referring to the neck amphora, Naples 2537) calls the subject “Herakles and a centaur (and a woman)” but in neither case is the hero likely to be Herakles or perhaps anybody in particular.

97 See above p. 347, note 74, and Buschor in FR III, pp. 117 ff., also, of course, Plutarch, Theseus, 11 and 29. Cf. also pp. 347 ff.

98 The use of the club is no bar to his being Theseus, as clubs are liable to be used by any hero (cf. CVA, Oxford, fasc. 2, p. 105, on pl. 51, 3) and in this instance there may be the specific attraction to the Herakles type, cf. below p. 368. He is Theseus rather than Herakles as, apart from the don on his cheek, he is beardless (cf. the contrast of beard and no beard on the Philadelphia stamnos by the Kleophrades painter (ARV, p. 125, no. 55). If Acropolis fr. 792 belongs to this vase, as Beazley thinks, then there is a second centaur hastening into the picture to help his comrade.


100 Our plate shows a composite photograph, and I must thank Professor Buschor for his help in achieving it. The fragment in his possession (ex Hauser) gives the whole of Theseus’ head and the upper part of the centaur’s. Some locks near the centaur’s left eye are hidden in a highlight in our picture. For these details the photograph in FR III, p. 160 must be consulted. The
is spelled out by the artist and the identity thus put beyond cavil. The theme is still the armed Thessalian centauromachy on the battle field, where Theseus as swordsman is about to despatch an unidentified centaur, who, bleeding from several wounds already, is still kicking viciously with his hind legs and desperately trying to get a grip on his adversary with his naked hands. But now that Theseus has gone so far in usurping Herakles' place, a maiden in distress was bound to turn up sooner or later to complete the trio of hero, centaur, maiden.

We find her in vase-painting for the first time on our louterion, but her introduction into the picture was not the invention of our vase-painter.\textsuperscript{101} There can be no doubt that Theseus' new prominence in the centauromachy was part of the artistic innovation which had set the scene at the banquet, brought women, boys and the implements of the feast \textsuperscript{102} into the depicting of the subject and of which we have one of the earliest surviving reflections on the west pediment at Olympia.\textsuperscript{103} It is generally accepted that these innovations originated at Athens in the seventies or early sixties of the 5th century in one or more of those famous, but irretrievably lost works of art in which Athens became so rich as a result of rebuilding after the Persian sack at the time of her military and political expansion. What had once been but a dim myth of beastly incidents at Peirithoos' home, where Eurytion full with wine \textit{μανόμενος κακ' ἐρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθώο} (Odyssey, XXI, 298) was now at one stroke transformed into the brilliant setting for a great exploit by Theseus. The literary counterpart, if there was one, to this transformation is unfortunately lost too. Pindar fr. 166 (Schroeder; Snell) is too brief to help much \textsuperscript{104} and we do not know the source from which the later mythographers and Ovid drew their accounts of the centauromachy at the wedding feast.

oinochoe (Shape 4) is of large size. There are double palmettes at the lower junction of the handle. The foot is modern.

\textsuperscript{101} Women in distress, but not actually rescued from the grasp of Eurytion, do occur on other vases rather earlier, thus on the Florence krater (1), the Berlin fragments (2), the new Louvre krater (5), the Erlangen krater (7) and the Vienna krater (8). In none of these, however, is the trio present in the scheme we have just traced down, with the possible exception of the Berlin fragments (2).

\textsuperscript{102} See above p. 338, note 37.

\textsuperscript{103} For Theseus' role there see above p. 342. The Florence krater (1) may be a little earlier than the Olympia pediment.

\textsuperscript{104} Cf. also Roscher, \textit{Myth. Lexikon}, s.v. Peirithoos, col. 1765 (Weizsäcker) and R.E. s.v. Kentauren, col. 175 (Bethe). C. Robert, \textit{Heldensage}, II, 1, 17 believed that this 5th century version was based on an earlier epic or lyric poem; but there is no evidence for this. Even if the Protocorinthian aryballos in Boston (Payne, \textit{Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei}, pl. 11, 1 and 5) did show a centauromachy at a banquet (symbolized by the cauldron on a stand) in the house of Peirithoos, as Fr. Johansen thought (\textit{Vases Sicyoniens}, pp. 146-147), we cannot get much more out of it than from the Odyssey passage. In any case the connection of the aryballos and our myth is far from certain, cf. Buschor, \textit{A.J.A.}, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 128 ff.; Hampe, \textit{Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien}, p. 67; Kunze, \textit{Archaische Schildbänder}, p. 83, note 3; T. J. Dunbabin, \textit{The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours}, p. 78, no. 6.
The himation motive: Theseus and Peirithoos

The links between Olympia and certain Attic vase-paintings of the centauromachy have often been stressed and worked out,\textsuperscript{105} but there is more to say now as a result of the new evidence of the louterion. The new links consist not only of the interlocked group of Theseus and Peirithoos facing outwards in symmetrical advance, but also, and most importantly, in the motive of how the heroes cast off their clothing as they stride into action. The same motive occurs at Olympia on the Peirithoos,\textsuperscript{106} and it is indeed well conceived, for it expresses by the very fall of the cloak the suddenness of the uproar at the banquet, where everyone, host and guests alike, had been decently dressed, and expecting anything but sudden violence. The himation on such occasions was worn as we see it on the dignified old man on the Berlin fragment by the Niobid painter (2). At the outbreak of the fracas the men would of course leap up to intervene in the drunken excesses of their guests. Their left arms would come forward to arrest or to ward off, the right arms would go back to prepare a blow. As a result of these impetuous movements their himations would slip off. That part which had been wound across the front to hang over the left arm would come undone and drop down to be caught for an instant over the right thigh and leg, until presently it would slip even further to clear the right side altogether and hang down across the left arm only, as it does on the Lapith to the right of the main group on our louterion. The artist chose to perpetuate that fleeting moment when the cloak was still clinging to the right leg, the very moment when violence had broken out.

We think that this motive is so uniquely fitted to just this occasion that it must have been invented together with the other characteristics of the new iconography of the subject. We have mentioned these already, the setting at the banquet, the presence of women, boys and utensils of the wedding feast. If we survey the use of this himation motive in art, we shall find this remarkable fact. Not only does it not occur before the early classical period, but also until the last quarter of the 5th century it is found in the iconography of two subjects only, the centauromachy at the feast and the death of Orpheus.\textsuperscript{107} From the last quarter of the century onwards, in addition to its continued connection with the centauromachy, the motive is applied more widely in a variety of other themes, but primarily in two subjects, where, exactly as Theseus in the centauromachy, the hero pulls his adversary by the hair. These two subjects are the amazonomachy and the Ilioupersis. At this stage we shall note just


\textsuperscript{106} Though he is entirely shattered to pieces, what remains is sufficient to make the restoration of the motive certain, see Treu, \textit{Olympia}, III, pp. 74-75, fig. 119; Buschor and Hamann, \textit{Skulpturen d. Zeustempels}, pl. 56 includes the additional fragment found after the original publication.

\textsuperscript{107} I hope to say more elsewhere on the occurrence of the motive in the iconography of the death of Orpheus.
this about these secondary applications of the "himation motive." Whereas its use is well founded in the centauromachy at the wedding feast, it is on the score of context surely out of place in the amazonomachy and Ilioupersis, whatever might be said for it on purely artistic grounds. Neither Herakles nor Ajax nor Neoptolemos is likely to have gone into battle dressed in a himation! 108

Fascinating though it is, the story of this linkage of two motives, the hero seizing his adversary by the hair, and the "himation motive," must be told in detail elsewhere. It is an important illustration of the process of creation and adaptation amongst Greek artists. In this paper I shall confine myself to the original use of the "himation motive" in the centauromachy at the feast.

The following is a list, roughly in chronological order, of representations of the centauromachy where the motive of the himation falling diagonally across the back occurs on one or more figures. The number in front of each item refers to the list in the Appendix.

23 West pediment at Olympia (Peirithoos).
9 Agora louterion (Theseus and Peirithoos).
11, 12 The two Boston cups, replicas of each other, by Aristophanes (a Lapith boy and the Herakles of the inside tondo; cf. above p. 342).
25 The Phigaleia frieze (a Lapith on block 525, Kenner, pl. 6).
14 Fragment of a volute-krater in New York by the painter of the New York centauromachy (Theseus, Peirithoos and at least one other Lapith).
13 Attic volute-krater in Ferrara (Theseus? and a Lapith). The fall of the himation does not in all respects correspond to that on the preceding representa- tionstions, but is a degenerative adaptation.
16 Attic pelike in Barcelona (a Lapith). Again the motive is slightly different and the remark on the last vase applies here too.

108 I hope to come back to this in some detail elsewhere. Meanwhile here are some of the salient points in the evidence for the later use of the himation motive in these two themes:

Amazonomachy: Roman period sarcophagi, Louvre 2119 (C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, II, pl. 29, no. 69 b) and one in Selçuk (Jahresh., XXVII, 1932, Beibl. p. 71, fig. 48). On both a Greek is dragging a fallen Amazon by her hair. The prototype must go back to a model, of the last quarter of the 5th century, immediately post-Parthenonian, one imagines. Cf. also for the himation motive, von Stern, Theodosia und seine Keramik, Odessa, 1906, pl. 3, no. 16.

Ilioupersis: Panciatichi relief in Boston (Caskey, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture, no. 99), Neoptolemos-Priam; Epidauros museum, inv. 93 (F. Robert, Epidaure, Paris, 1935, fig. 12, also ibid., pp. 24-25; there and in subsequent publications the action is misreported and mis- interpreted), pedimental statue of a youth who had been pulling someone by the hair. The remnants of the victim's right hand are still preserved on the elbow of the youth. One would imagine the youth to be either Ajax or Neoptolemos, and the victim therefore Cassandra or Priam. For the use of the himation motive in the Ilioupersis cf. also a Faliscan calyx-krater in the Villa Giulia (Beazley, Etruscan Vase Painting, p. 92, no. 2).
This list ranges from the late sixties or early fifties of the 5th century, the date usually accepted for the Olympia sculptures, to the early 4th century. The Olympia pediment and our louterion provide by a good margin the earliest known occurrences of the "himation motive." This together with what has been said already about the aptness to the occasion of the way the cloak slips down the side of the heroes suggests an intimate, even integral connection with the rise of the new iconography of the centauromachy at the wedding feast, a connection which, as is apparent from the examples in the list, continues into the last quarter of the century and even beyond. But as can be seen from the last two entries in the list, the connection had by the beginning of the 4th century become less intimate, for the motive is garbled on these two vases.

On our louterion, the Boston cups by Aristophanes, the New York fragment, the Ferrara krater, on all these the motive of the falling himation is associated with a hero who has caught his opponent, a centaur, by the hair. The later history of the motive, outside the centauromachy, would bring out the iconographic link between hair pulling and the slipping off of the cloak even better. So much indeed has been indicated before. Theseus rescuing Hippodameia was the iconographic ancestor here. But Peirithoos does not leave the stage without fame either. Only in his case the evidence is more complex and difficult to assess; we feel more keenly the gaps on our louterion and on the New York fragment.

To begin with what is certain, the Peirithoos at Olympia faces left, just as the Peirithoos on our louterion; the motive of the falling himation is the same, bearing in mind that in free sculpture the treatment of the cloak was bound to be different. The cloak there is spread out, its volume has to contribute to the stability of the statue in appearance and reality.\(^{109}\) The restoration of the sword in his right hand is highly probable, virtually certain;\(^ {110}\) it is in all essentials the stance hallowed by Harmodios in the group of the tyrannicides.\(^ {111}\) I would like to suggest that the Peirithoos in the centauromachy had developed a type too, just as Theseus had, and that this type is the one preserved at Olympia—a hero striding to the left, right leg forward, his sword raised above his head ready to cut down. At the same time he sheds his himation in the way familiar to us.

No other Peirithoos of this type happens in fact to have survived. A similar figure did exist on both the Agora louterion and the New York fragment (14), someone facing left, his himation falling in the way described, and probably to be called Peirithoos, since he is a prominent hero fighting next to Theseus.\(^ {112}\) Yet in each case

---

\(^{109}\) For the importance of considerations of this sort see H. Bulle on the *pentimenti* on the Apollo of the west pediment (*Jahrb.*, LIV, 1939, p. 191).

\(^{110}\) See Treu, *Olympia*, III, p. 76.


\(^{112}\) For the Theseus on the New York fragment see above note 56. His companion on the left
HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION

359

the action is lost together with that part of the vase on which it was represented. Nevertheless looking at such pictures of Peirithoos fighting the centaurs as have survived intact this much at any rate can be said, that he was often thought of as having a sword, even when everyone else had to make do with other weapons. Thus at Olympia he appears to be the only one to use a sword, everyone else having seized makeshift weapons;\(^{113}\) he certainly is the only one to use a sword (and for that matter any regular weapon at all) on the Vienna calyx-krater by the Nekyia painter (8),\(^{114}\) and again only he owns a sword on the Apulian calyx-krater in London (22). On both these vases Peirithoos is identified by an inscription. As host Peirithoos no doubt was more likely than anyone else to have had quick access to a regular weapon, whereas his guests, both Lapiths and centaurs, having reclined unarmed at the banquet\(^ {115}\) were obliged to make do with what came easily to hand, lampstands, logs of firewood, spits, wine-vessels, sacrificial knives, tables and other implements.\(^ {116}\)

is distinguished by an elaborately patterned himation, worn also by Theseus, but by no one else in the picture. Surely therefore Peirithoos. At Olympia too Theseus and Peirithoos are distinguished from the rest. They alone amongst the human males wear their hair long; cf. Treu, *Olympia*, III, p. 134.

\(^{113}\) See Treu, *Olympia*, III, p. 135; also ibid., p. 87.

\(^{114}\) The sword though largely restored is certain; see Arch. Zeit., XLI, 1883, col. 351, note 3.

\(^{115}\) Cf. Odyssey, XIX, 10-13:

\[ \text{τρός δ' ἐτι καὶ τόδε μεῖζον ἐν φρεσὶν ἐμβαλε δαίμων} \]
\[ \text{μὴ πώς οἰνωθέντες ἔρυν στήσαντες ἐν ἱμάν,} \]
\[ \text{ἄλληλος τρόσυτε κατασχύνητε τε δαίτα} \]
\[ \text{καὶ μηστόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλεκται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.} \]

The parallel, though, cannot be pressed, as the suitors kept their personal arms.

\(^{116}\) See above p. 338, note 37. Centaurs anyway tend to seize as weapon what is at hand, rocks and branches in the open, and now, in civilized surroundings, the utensils of the banquet.

Peirithoos’ monopoly of the sword is not respected everywhere. On the New York volute-krater (4) the axe-swarmer, who is probably to be thought of as Theseus (see p. 344, note 62), has a sword hanging on his side, but does not use it; on the Aristophanes cups in Boston (11, 12) the sword is used by two ordinary Lapiths, whereas Peirithoos (name inscribed) wields a spat (and Theseus wrestles); on the New York fragment (14) the sword is used by two Lapiths, both of whom are turned to the left. The sword is also used by an ordinary Lapith youth on the Spina krater (13) where indeed all Lapiths wear baldricks. On the Berlin squat lekythos (15) both Lapiths appear to have swords; on the Ampurras pelike (16) the Lapith in the lower center may have been a swordsman, the Peirithoos (name inscribed) on that vase is wrestling with a centaur. We notice that, as far as one can generalize from so few instances, Peirithoos’ special status is underlined in almost all earlier representations, whereas the later ones tend to be less discriminating.

This is the place to mention a fragment of a column- or volute-krater in Florence, inv. 12220 (Populonia 94) (6; Pl. 109, c), dating probably to the early forties of the 5th century, which may be part of a centauromachy and show a Lapith, perhaps Peirithoos, using the sword. A wreathed youth turned to the left is about to slash down with his sword. On the right lower edge of the fragment there is the soft outline of living flesh, possibly therefore part of his neighbor’s arm? Above these looms a piece of furniture, part of a table? The reserved band on top belongs to the upper border of the picture. The ingredients therefore, so far as they can be explained, all go
For an actual repetition of the Olympia Peirithoos with his particular sword cut and the "himation motive," we must go outside the preserved representations of the centauromachy, where the chances of preservation happen to have been kinder. The Apollo on the Berlin gigantomachy cup by Aristophanes (ARV, p. 841, no. 1) is an instance and so is the warrior on the 4th century Attic hydria in London, E 234 (CVA, G.B., fasc. 8, pl. 373; K. Schefold, Untersuchungen zu den kertcher Vasen, Berlin, 1934, pl. 14). This type then, the swordsman with the "himation motive" striding to the left, occurs in several subjects, but in its origins it seems to have been rooted in the iconography of the centauromachy at the feast, as is suggested by its earliest occurrence as the Peirithoos at Olympia, and also by its use of the "himation motive." Moreover the aptness of invention to myth, Peirithoos as the only swordsman on the scene, has been stressed already.

It has by now become probable that both Theseus and Peirithoos, hair-puller and swordsman as we have conceived their types to have been, have a common origin, presumably in that work of art now lost, in which the "himation motive" was used for the first time. We may go even further and suggest that, if we are right in the last supposition, then it is almost equally probable that in the lost prototype Theseus and Peirithoos fought back to back in a group not unlike the pair on the Agora louterion. It is no good looking for certain proof here. But let it be said that there is evidence that the particular sword blow which we found used by Peirithoos on the Olympia pediment is peculiarly associated with the left-hand partner of a pair fighting back to back bifrontally. This is, I believe, as far as we can go in an attempt to visualize the lost prototype of our centauromachy.

The Hammer Swinger

The New York krater and its group

Until the discovery of the Agora louterion the most important early representation of the centauromachy at the feast was, apart from the Olympia pediment, the neck frieze on a volute-krater in New York by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs (4, Pl. 110). Even now it is perhaps the most striking and original picture of the subject in two dimensions we possess, and no account of the iconography can be adequate, with the centauromachy at the feast and I take that to be the subject rather than the gigantomachy, as is suggested by F. Vian, Répertoire des gigantomachies, Paris, 1951, text p. 74, no. 336. The other two fragments (inv. 12218 and 12219), belonging to the same pot and figured together with our fragment in the original publication, show Herakles, but there is no reason for believing them to come from the same side of the vase as our presumed centauromachy.

We ought perhaps to mention the New York centauromachy fragment (14), where Chrysippos, the boy on the bottom left, faces left, uses his sword in much the same way as Peirithoos does at Olympia, and may have cast off his cloak in the same way too. Everything below his shoulder is missing however.

I have discussed this matter in some detail in AJA, LXIV, 1960, pp. 173-179.
which does not face up to the problems it raises. Its date is about a decade or so earlier than the louterion, and is only a little later than the pedimental sculpture at Olympia. It is plain at first sight that the treatment of the theme is very different from that on the louterion and the group of centauromachies associated with it; no hair-puller here, no heroes fighting bifrontally back to back, no garment motive of the kind we have discussed so far. Instead we see a great hammer swinger in the center, with his cloak falling from him in quite a different way. It has been thrown right off, and gliding down has for an instant draped itself over both thighs. The centaur who is about to be struck seeks protection behind a pillow snatched from the couches, a feeble defence against the blow to come.\textsuperscript{119}

Nearly enough contemporary with the New York krater are the fragments of a volute-krater in Berlin (2). Here a table is used by a centaur as shield against the hammer blow of the hero.\textsuperscript{120} A rather later calyx-krater in Vienna by the Nekyia painter (8) resembles the New York krater in the point it makes of the setting of the struggle, indicated by the bedding with cushions arranged for the banquet; a torch has taken the place of the hammer, but neither pillow nor table is used by the centaurs for taking cover.

Undoubtedly there is much coherence amongst the elements of the iconography presented by these vases, especially the New York krater. The character of the falling cloak fits the action of swinging an implement with both arms high above the shoulders, and the use of cushions and tables on the part of the centaurs to shield themselves is in perfect correspondence with the prominence given to the hammer as attacking weapon. Again, seeing that pillows and tables play the part they do in the struggle we may reasonably expect much to be made of the setting and furnishings of the banqueting hall. All this is so different from the centauromachies we have compared to our louterion that we are bound to separate this new group and seek a different origin for it.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{119} Another notable motive on this vase is the violently foreshortened back view of two centaurs. A similar motive occurs on the earlier column-krater in Harrow by the Cleveland painter (\textit{ARV}, pl. 351, no. 5) and on the two later column-kraters by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, one in the Louvre, G 367 (\textit{ARV}, p. 709, no. 1), the other in Tarquinia, RC 1960 (\textit{ARV}, p. 709, no. 2; phot. Anderson 41007, 1). To these must be added the neo-Attic puteal in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg, no. 284, \textit{Billedtavler} pl. 20; Arndt, \textit{La Glyptotheque}, pl. 84 ff.). Prof. E. Bielefeld in a recent lecture has discussed problems connected with this puteal and he generously put his manuscript at my disposal, now published in \textit{Philologische Vorträge}, edited by J. Irmscher and W. Steffen, Wroclaw, 1959, pp. 107 ff. Oelschig (\textit{op. cit., supra} note 32), p. 37 suggested that the centaur on the left of the Berlin fragments by the Niobid painter (2) should be restored in a similar foreshortened back view. This is a bad idea.

\textsuperscript{120} For the difficulty of giving him a name see above pp. 343-344 ff.

\textsuperscript{121} It is worth noticing that, unlike the centauromachies discussed before, examples of this new group and its influence are not found beyond the forties of the 5th century. They are in fact concentrated about 450-440 (whereas the reflections of the centauromachy associated with our louterion are particularly frequent in the last two decades of the century, see list p. 357).
On some vases indeed we find only one or other of these elements without the fulness of the repertoire of the New York krater. Thus the table, unmotivated however by a hammer swinger, recurs on the column-krater by the Florence painter (1), on the new Louvre volute-krater by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs (5; Pl. 109, a, b)\(^{122}\) and perhaps on the fragment in Florence, mentioned on p. 359, note 116 (6; Pl. 109, c), whilst the hammer (or axe) swinger is found in the West pediment at Olympia (where he is called Theseus by Pausanias and where his cloak falls away quite in the way seen on the New York krater, 4) and on the Spina krater (13); on neither of these are tables or cushions used in the fight.

**Prototypes in major art**

Vases of this group (first the Berlin fragments by the Niobid painter, 2, and the Vienna calyx-krater, 8, as having been known longest, then also the New York krater) have always taken a prominent place in any discussion of the iconography of the centauromachy at the feast and the relationship of the Olympia pediment with Attic painting.\(^{123}\) With almost common consent their characteristic motives have been derived from a wall painting, possibly by Polygnotos, of Theseus and the centaurs, which according to Pausanias (I, 17, 2) was part of the decoration of the Theseum, a sanctuary built in Athens probably in the late seventies of the 5th century or a little later.\(^{124}\) Pausanias tells us very little about the painting: γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ the motive of the hammer swinger, as an isolated element, appears to have had a later career, in the Gjölabashi frieze for example (26), where the implement used is an axe, and again on two early Italiote vases by the Dancing Girl painter, dating to the last but one decade of the 5th century, a calyx-krater in Providence, and an oinochoe in the Louvre (Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 38 ff., nos. 8, 12), where a hero swings his club against a centaur quite in the manner of our hammer swinger. Notice also the odd use of an axe (or hammer?) in the earlier column-krater, Louvre G 367 (armed centauromachy) by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy (*ARV*, p. 709, no. 1).

\(^{122}\) See above p. 340 for details of the back. The main picture is of a huge centaur attacking a Lapith with a spit whilst using a table as shield. The wreathed Lapith youth on the right is seen in back view, moving away to the right, but looking back at his attacker. His left arm, from which a chiton hangs, is held out as guard, in his right hand he holds an uncertain object, probably a log of firewood, such as occur in other pictures of the subject (4, 8, 17). On the far side of the centaur is a lebes on a tripod stand. On the left a woman runs away with both her arms raised in terror. She wears a band round her hair, chiton and girt himation.

\(^{123}\) See the bibliography on p. 356, note 105.

\(^{124}\) For the date of the Theseum see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, Munich, 1931, p. 352. It was probably built soon after the transference of Theseus' bones from Skyros to Athens by Kimon in the mid-seventies or a little later (cf. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, i, p. 105, note 2; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note 1).

The author of the painting of the centauromachy cannot be determined. Pausanias (I, 17,2) referring to three pictures in the sanctuary, mentions Mikon as painter of one of them (Theseus visiting Amphitrite), and leaves the other two anonymous. Robert, *Marathonschlacht*, p. 46, has attributed these two (centauromachy and amazonomachy) to Polygnotos basing his claim on a
HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION 363

tov Θησέως ἱερὸ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Δαπτθῶν μάχη Θησέως μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονός ἐστιν ἡ Ἐν Κένταυρον, tois de ἄλλοις εἴ τι Καβέστηκεν ἐπὶ ἡ μάχη. This presumably does not envisage Theseus as rescuing the bride, but does not tie up very closely with any other known representation of the subject either. Yet the subject of the painting can hardly have been any other than the centauromachy at the feast, since in this version alone of the story Theseus appeared in the dominant role we know him to have acquired in the art of the period and which Pausanias implies for the Theseum.

If then the link between the Theseum painting and the vase representations is not quite as certain as is often claimed, it is yet likely enough that a wall painting stood behind these vases. It is implied, I think, by the frieze-like character and the looseness of composition with its long rows of couches, a character which perhaps encouraged its adoption for the long and narrow friezes on the neck of a volute-krater (4) and the single field of a double-decker calyx-krater (8). It differs in this from the more self-contained, closely knit groups on the louteron and associated pictures. The frieze-like character and looseness of composition of the New York and Vienna centauromachies (4 and 8) seem to me integral and not just due to adaptation to the vases in question; they are maintained to some extent in the excerpt on the new Louvre krater by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs (5). Moreover an origin from a wall painting for this type of centauromachy is suggested also by another argument. Two of the motives described just now as characteristic of the centauromachy on the New York krater, the use of tables as shield and the way the himation falls over both

statement by Harpokration, as emended by Reinesius: s.v. Πολύγνωστος: . . . ἐγραφὲ . . . τὸς ἐν τῷ Θησέως ἱερῷ (codd. ἰησαυρῷ) καὶ τῷ Ἀιακείῳ γραφάς.

126 The Berlin fragments by the Niobid painter (2) are by some thought to tally with the situation described by Pausanias, so Robert, Marathonschlacht, pp. 48 ff.; Furtwängler, FR I, p. 130, note 1; Hauser, FR II, p. 246. There can be no certainty however.

128 See above p. 355. In none of the many so-called “armed centauromachies” of the 5th century can either Theseus or Peirithoos be identified. This points strongly against Fontenrose’s view (R.E. s.v. Peirithoos, cols. 120, 135) that the subject of the Theseum painting had been the “armed centauromachy” with Theseus as one of the combatants. In fact none of the identifications of Theseus in 5th century “armed centauromachies” quoted by Fontenrose are convincing. Thus on the Bologna krater by the Niobid painter (ARV, p. 418, no. 1) there is no reason to think that the Lapith warrior wearing a petasos is Theseus, or that he is the figure with a pilos on the Munich volute-krater by the Sisyphos painter (FR, pl. 99; Pfuhl, MuZ, III, fig. 796). Warriors in mid-5th century vases often wear a petasos without any special significance; thus on the Bologna column-krater by the Naples painter (ARV, p. 705, no. 2) of two armed Lapiths one has a petasos. Again on the Naples volute-krater by the Niobid painter (ARV, p. 419, no. 12) Theseus, if he be fighting against Antiope, wears a helmet, whilst some of his companions have the petasos.

127 This may be an incautious deduction seeing our ignorance about these wall paintings. Yet the frieze-like character on the vases is a fact.

128 Another double-decker calyx-krater with a centauromachy at the feast (woman and spits!) is at Erlangen (7), belonging to the forties and inferior work. The treatment of the subject is without interest.
thighs, also occur on representations of another mythological theme, a version of which we know to have been depicted in a wall painting of the early classical period, namely the slaying of the suitors by Odysseus. Both motives occur on the Berlin skyphos by the Penelope painter (ARV, p. 721, no. 1) and on the sculptured friezes in Vienna from Gjölbaschi (F. Eichler, Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa, Vienna, 1950, pls. 6-7). They must therefore have been notable on their common model, presumably a wall painting. The peril to ward off with the tables this time was not the hammer, but Odysseus’ arrows; and the suitors’ cloaks slip down their thighs as, mortally wounded, they desperately try to tug at the arrows which have pierced their backs.

It is worth noting that both motives are as appropriate to the slaying of the suitors (where the use of the tables at any rate may have had mythological priority) as to the centauromachy; no stricture here on an inept taking over of a motive from one subject to another such as we had to make in connection with the later adoptions of the himation motive of the louterion. This does suggest that the models for both themes, the slaying of the suitors and the centauromachy as found on the New York krater, were unusually closely connected with each other; one mind may have conceived them both, the mind of a fresco painter working in Athens. It is tempting to think in this connection of Polygnotos’ painting of the slaying of the suitors in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea, but Pausanias’ words (IX, 4, 2) warn us—'Οδυσσέας τοὺς μαχητὰς ἁδη κατεργασμένος evidently describes a different scene.

In fine, we have no grounds upon which to speculate about the name of the artist who created the pictorial conception of the slaying of the suitors, a man who, we suggested,

129 The use of tables here has of course warrant from Odyssey XXII, 74 (Eurymachos’ advice): φάσγαν τε σπάσασθαι καὶ διώσασθε τραπέζας ἰῶν ὕκυμώρων.

5th century artists knew their Homer well (see the remarks by F. Dornseiff, Der sog. Apollon von Olympia, Greifswald, 1936, pp. 12 ff.). It would be interesting to collect the instances where a single line or phrase in Homer has germinated into an elaborate theme in the 5th century. Here is one instance from the Odyssey (cf. also above p. 359, note 115); as another, from the Iliad (XXII, 351), we note Hector’s body being ransomed against his weight in gold in Aeschylus’ Φρύγος, and now also on a Melian relief inspired by the play, see A.J.A., LXII, 1958, pp. 314-315.

130 Further on these motives see Curtius, Röm. Mitt., LIV, 1939, pp. 220 ff. The motive of the cloak slipping down the thighs is also found on early classical and later representations of the slaughter of the Niobids, thus on the Louvre calyx-krater by the Niobid painter (ARV, p. 419, no. 20) and also on later representations such as the fragment from Populonia, now in Florence (Not. Sc., 1908, p. 227, figs. 35- 35a; Jahrb., XLVII, 1932, p. 49, fig. 1, photograph) and on the Pheidian Niobid frieze (B evilacqua relief and replicas, figured e.g. in Becatti, Problemi Fidiaici, pl. 74). The literature for the early classical tradition of the theme is collected by Greifenhagen in the Bonn CVa, fasc. 1, p. 23; add Jacobsthal, J.H.S., LIX, 1939, pp. 68 ff.

131 See above, p. 357.

132 C. Robert, Marathonenschlacht, p. 49, pointed to the use of tables as cover on the Berlin fragments (2) as “Polygnotan” and compared it with the same motive in the slaying of the suitors. Körte, Jahrb., XXXI, 1916, pp. 257 ff.; Weickert, Polygnot, Berlin, 1950, pp. 7 ff.
May also have been ultimately responsible for the centauromachy which appears on the neck of the New York volute-krater. Nevertheless we have seen that there is some internal evidence for believing that the model was a wall painting rather than something else. On the other hand we see no grounds for a similar belief about the centauromachy of our louterion; its source of inspiration has yet to be found.\textsuperscript{184}

APPENDIX

CENTAUROMACHIES AT THE WEDDING FEAST

(See p. 338)

Painted representations (Attic unless stated otherwise) come first; the sculptures are placed together at the end under their original architectural placement rather than their present whereabouts. Within each of these two groups the order is roughly chronological. Some references to convenient illustrations are cited and more details are given where a vase is not in \textit{ARV} (I owe some bibliographical references to the kindness of Mrs. Martina Mandera of Marburg).

1. Florence 3997, column-krater by the Florence painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 341, no. 1). Pfuhl, \textit{MuZ} III, fig. 489; E. Löwy, \textit{Polygnot}, Vienna, 1929, fig. 3.
3. Erbach, volute-krater fragments by the Niobid painter (\textit{ARV}, p. 419, no. 9). Replica of our no. 2?
5. Louvre, Camp. 10749 and Tübingen E 97, volute-krater by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs (\textit{Paralićomena} to \textit{ARV}, p. 1501; the Tübingen fragment is \textit{ARV}, p. 426, no. 28; see now, \textit{Paralićomena}, p. 2526). Here pp. 340, 362, note 122, Pl. 109, a, b.

\textsuperscript{184} Pausanias I, 28, 2 comes to mind describing the shield reliefs on the Athena Promachos, \textit{καὶ ὁ Ὠραμάτως Δαμάστην πρὸς Κένταυρον (μέχρι) καὶ δῶς ἀλλὰ ἐνώπιον ἐντευθείσαν λέοντας τρέῳν Μύν. τῷ δὲ Μύλ ταῦτα τέ καὶ τὰ λυπαὶ τῶν ἔργων Παρράσιων καταγράψαι τὸν Εὐθύρος}. At first sight it is tempting to associate the louterion centauromachy with these shield reliefs; the composition with its separate groups would fit well enough. Further, could not an antithetic group of Theseus and Peirithoos on that shield have been precursor to the “Perikles-Phedias” pair on the Parthenon shield amazonomachy as shown on the Strangford and Lenormant shields? (For the identification of the “Perikles” with Theseus cf. S. Ras, \textit{B.C.H.}, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 191-192; for “Phedias” = Daidalos see Schweitzer, “Daidalos,” \textit{Winckelmann Festgabe}, Leipzig, 1939; \textit{id.}, \textit{Studien zur Entstehung d. Porträts}, 1940, pp. 60 ff. These identifications are attacked by G. Haffner, \textit{Jahrh.}, LXXI, 1956, pp. 13 ff., who also rightly reminds us, \textit{ibid.}, p. 12, that there is apart from the Strangford and Lenormant shields no evidence that these two figures fought side by side as a pair). There are however difficulties in thinking of the shield reliefs as prototype, as the evidence of the Olympia sculptures takes the date of this prototype back to the early fifties or even the sixties (see p. 358). The conventional dates for Parrhasios and Mys are later than this (see Rumpf, \textit{A.J.A.}, LV, 1951, pp. 1 ff.) and indeed the erection of the Promachos statue is usually put later than the sixties too. Though these dates are not very securely based, there is no evidence at present to make a reassessment more than hypothetical.

8. Vienna, Kunsthistor. Museum, 1026, calyx-krater by the Nekyia painter (ARV, p. 717, no. 2). Löwy, Polygnot, fig. 5; Schrader, Phidias, p. 168, fig. 148.


12. Boston 00.345, cup by Aristophanes (ARV, p. 842, no. 3). Löwy, Polygnot, fig. 36 a-c. Here PIs. 107, b, 108.


16. Barcelona from Ampurias, pelike. Anuari Institut d' Estudis Catalans, 1908, figs. 54-56 (Frickenhaus) ; whence FR III, p. 54, fig. 25, and Garcia y Bellido, Holasgos griegos de España, Madrid, 1936, pl. 88, and idem, Hispania Graeca, II, Barcelona, 1948, p. 167, no. 133 (there references to the plates and figures of that work). Here p. 342, note 58.


18. Leningrad St. 1787, from Kerch, pelike. C.R. St. Pétersbourg, 1873, pl. 4, 2; S. Reinach, Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien, Paris, 1892, pl. 53. Schefold, Untersuchungen, figs. 62-63. The hero is usually taken to be Herakles; since, however, he has no lionskin, but a himation over his left arm, he may equally well be Theseus. Here p. 343, note 58, no. 2.

19. Leningrad St. 2016 from Taman (Great Blinitza), pelike. C.R. St. Pétersbourg, 1865, pl. 4,1. Schefold, Untersuchungen, pl. 31, 1. The hero appears to be carrying a skin over his left arm; therefore Herakles rather than Theseus? Of the three Kerch-style vases (nos. 17-19) this is the one least likely to have a claim for inclusion in this list.

20. Berlin F 2939 from Corinth, bell krater. Corinthian red-figure? Neugebauer, Führer, II, p. 140, places the vase at the end of the 5th century; I know it only from Furtwängler's and Neugebauer's descriptions.


23. Olympia, West pediment of temple of Zeus.


The earliest representation in our list is no. 1, in the sixties of the 5th century, but the conception at least of no. 23, the Olympia pediment, cannot have been much later. The latest fifties and the forties of the century are well represented by nos. 2-9 and no. 24. The thirties and twenties are entirely empty, but then the monuments become frequent again; nos. 10-15 and no. 25 are all within the last two decades of the 5th century with perhaps a slight overspill in either direction. No. 16 is quite early in the 4th century. The 4th century sees the break-up of the iconographic tradition, though there are a good number of representations preserved (nos. 16-22, 26, 27), which now are spread beyond the borders of mainland Greece.

**Herakles and Theseus: Some Distinguishing Characteristics**

(See p. 347, note 73)

The following observations collect some distinctions of detail between Herakles and Theseus in their respective fights against the bull. These distinctions are particularly important for the late archaic period, when the general iconography of the two subjects was so much alike.

a) Theseus never has a beard in this exploit. It was the first deed after his arrival in Athens as a young man. Only a few days before he had been taunted on his girlish appearance (Pausanias, I, 19, 1; cf. also Herakles on the Olympia metopes, bearded except in his first exploit, the lion of Nemea). Herakles on earlier representations of the subject commonly has a beard; later not. On beardlessness of heroes, see now Oikonomos, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI-II, 1948, pp. 777 ff.; J. Fink, *Hermes*, LXXX, 1952, pp. 110 ff.; cf. also H. R. W. Smith, *CVA* University of California, fasc. 1, p. 25 (to pl. 15).


c) Theseus in late archaic representations (and occasionally later, as on the cup London E 105) quite often wears a Robin Hood hat, perhaps

\[ \kappa' \gamma\varepsilon\upsilon\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\nu\varepsilon\alpha\nu \Lambda\acute{d}k\acute{a}v\nu\nu \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\epsilon\iota \pi\upsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma\alpha\xi\alpha\iota\upsilon\nu \]  

*Bacchylides* 18 (17), lines 50 ff.


d) Theseus does not, in respectable 5th century traditions at any rate, acquire a lionskin. It should not be necessary to say this, were it not that Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8: Ηνθείς δὲ τῇ κορώνῃ λαβόν τόπλων ἐπιφύξατο καὶ διατέλει χρόμων ὄσπερ ό Ἡρακλῆς τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος. has recently been curiously mistranslated and used as evidence that Theseus took over the lionskin! The Bassae amazonomachy frieze (block B.M. 541; Kenner, *Der Fries des Temples von Bassae-Phigalia*, Vienna, 1946, pl. 21)

---

135 Except for no. 20? See under the entry.
shows Herakles, not Theseus, as was clearly seen by Brunn (cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. klassischen Altertum*, III, p. 1322) and Furtwängler (Roscher, *Mythol. Lexikon*, I, col. 2226). Schefold (*Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*, II, 1949, p. 83) also takes the hero to be Herakles, though he misinterprets the Plutarch passage. Kenner, *op. cit.*, p. 47, misinterprets both Plutarch and the frieze.

e) Herakles, as Furtwängler pointed out (Roscher, *Mythol. Lexikon*, I, col. 2201), does not wear his hair long; Theseus does at times. In the black-figured lekythos, *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, p. 484, fig. 343 (Haspels, A.B.F.L., p. 207, no. 48, Gela Painter) the artist gave his hero Theseus' hair and Herakles' bow and quiver! On a low level, there is often confusion of type as on the small kalpis, London B 350 (Haspels, A.B.F.L., p. 245, no. 87, Haimon painter)—long hair, but bow and quiver in the field! More examples in La Coste-Messelière, *Trésor*, p. 59, note 1; cf. also W. Klein, *Euphronios*, Vienna, 1886, p. 207.

f) The club carried by both Herakles and Theseus does not help to distinguish the two stories (for Herakles' acquisition of the club cf. Bowra, *op. cit.*; P. Amandry, *Mon. Piot*, XL, 1944, p. 40; P. Zancani-Montuoro, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff.; Dornseiff, *Archaische Mythenerzählung*, Berlin, 1933, p. 60). One fact of possible significance is, however, worth noting. Theseus on a number of vases from the early classical period onwards carries a club which is less rude and hefty than Herakles' weapon and resembles the hunter's *lagobolon*. On some vases, for instance the Athens pelike by the painter of the Louvre centauromachy (*ARV*, p. 712, no. 65), this club appears to have a stick shaft.136 Is it conceivable that the artist intended to convey that Theseus had seized this club as spoils from Periphetes (Apollodoros, III, 217), and that it was in fact the *kopívν* made of metal by Periphetes' father Hephaisitos, to serve not only as a weapon, but also as support for his lame son?137 (*Per contra* Herakles' club often is shorter and stockier and therefore has occasionally to be propped up as on the early Italiote column-krater in New York, *Bull. Met. Mus.*, 1951, p. 157.) The earliest appearance of this kind of club (on the Sèvres and Bologna column-kraters mentioned on p. 349) occurs not much after the earliest known representation of Theseus' encounter with Periphetes, some ten to fifteen years before the middle of the 5th century, on the Munich cup by the Pistoxenos painter (*ARV*, p. 575, no. 8). If, as is possible, this cup marks the time of the incorporation of Periphetes into the Attic Theseus cycle (and the fact that he is still absent in Bacchylides' Theseus dithyramb, fr. 18 (17), perhaps a little earlier than the cup, has been quoted in support of this view), it is quite plausible to think that there is some connection between the use of the special type of club for Theseus and the nature of Periphetes' weapon. But then what are we to think of the 6th century amphora in the Bibliothèque Nationale (p. 347), the Syracuse lekythos by the Edinburgh painter (p. 367, under c) and the various other ripe and late archaic vases (cf. also p. 349, note 79), on which Theseus wields some kind of club against the bull? We take this to be the generalized use (without any specific warrant in legend?) of the club in heroic combat, no doubt influenced in some degree by Herakles' choice.

**BRIAN B. SHEFTON**

**KING'S COLLEGE**

**NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE**

---

136 This stick shaft, it is fair to add, also occurs in the hands of Kephalos and his companion on the Niobid painter's neck-amphora in Leyden (*ARV*, p. 422, no. 47). On the *lagobolon* see J. E. G. Roulez, *Choix des vases, peints du Musée de Leide*, Ghent, 1854, p. 22, note 3.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 4, paragraph 2, a line has dropped out between lines 6 and 7. The sentences should read: “The steps are cut out of the hard native clay. The west entrance leads down to a corridor that terminates in a niche with a throne-like seat on one side.”

Some additions and corrections to the article on Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion, received after the article had been printed, are listed below:


p. 332, note 7, line 2. Read: (Necrocorinthia, p. 200, note 1)

p. 332, note 7, end. Add: (see also Boardman, B.S.A., LIII-LIV, 1958-1959, p. 156, note 10).

p. 332, note 12, line 2. For p. 102, note 4 read p. 180, note 4; p. 187.


p. 335, notes 18 and 19. Add: Bologna 278, CVA 5, Italy, pl. 1480, 2, 3.

p. 337, note 30. For Πόρυνα read Πόρυνα.

p. 337, note 31, line 12. Add after Paintings: II.


p. 340, line 4. Add after “middle,” footnote: This is paralleled, perhaps influenced, by an increasing shagginess of the satyr-player’s drawers; cf. Buschor in FR III, p. 142.

p. 341, note 49. Substitute: Three similar women, one of them sceptered, must be local nymphs on the back of the Phiale Painter’s white-ground calyx-krater in Agrigento. The front has Perseus to the rescue of Andromeda (cf. Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 368). Cf. also the woman with scepter and oinochoe on the Boston cup by the Penthesilea Painter (Caskey and Beazley, Vase Paintings, II, pl. 54, 103); “Eleusis” with stephanie on the London skyphos by Makron, ARV, p. 301, no. 3; the nymph of Marathon with stephanie on the Madrid bell-krater, ARV, p. 780, no. 33; A.J.A., LX, 1956, pl. 60, fig. 2, 3. (Both Eleusis and Marathon are otherwise only known as males, king or hero!) Cf. also the woman with stephanie seated on a rock (a local nymph?) on the Catania calyx-krater by the Mykonos Painter (ARV, p. 355, no. 7) and “Thebes” seated and with a stephanie on the Kadmos Painter’s Berlin hydria (ARV, p. 805, no. 22).

p. 342, note 55. Add: He and his bride are being protected by Apollo’s gesture.

p. 342, note 57. Add: Parthenon metope South X; Florence krater (1).

p. 344, note 61, last sentence. Substitute: The back of the fragments show them to belong both to the same side of the vase, therefore the trio, but perhaps not the familiar one after all.

p. 344, note 62, line 3. For Pl. 107 read Pl. 110.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 349, note 82. Add: or his father Pandion, the latter being present in the Syleus Painter's picture (ARV, p. 165, no. 5).
p. 350, no. 3, end. Add: (Valle Pega T. 18 c)
p. 350, no. 10. For Leibighaus read Liebighaus.
p. 351, note 86. Add: (Cf. also ARV, p. 317, no. 10, Leningrad stamnos by Hermonax).
p. 351, note 88, line 7. Add: Thus also the Apulian volute-krater, Ruvo, Jatta 1097 (Japigia, III, 1932, p. 269, fig. 50; cf. FR III, p. 349, no. 18), Herakles (beard, club, skin).
p. 352, note 88, line 7. For Braüer read Bräuer.
p. 355, note 101, line 5. For (2) read (2; see note 61).
p. 355, last line. Add: (Metamorphoses, XII, 210 ff.; cf. also Valerius Flaccus, I, 141-148, centauromych at the feast in a picture aboard the Argo).
p. 357, note 108. Add: (A himation encumbers Neoptolemos already on the Brygos painter’s Louvre Ilioupersis!).
p. 361, note 119. Add: These back views are not unknown in late archaic.
p. 365, no. 2. Add: Here notes 61, 119, 125.
p. 367, note 135. Add: Trendall, op. cit., seems to imply, however, a date in the second quarter of the 4th century.
p. 367, no. d, line 7. For III read II.
Plate 109, a and b. Add: and Tübingen University.
Plate 109, d. Add: (note 100).
Agora Louteron: Face A

Brian Shefton: HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION

Louteron: Spout in Vienna University (after CV A, Fac. 1).
Agora Louterion: Face B

Brian Shefton: Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion


Brian Shefton: Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion
Cup in Boston, outside (Appendix No. 12). Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

BRIAN SHEFTON: HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION


d. Oinochoe in Florence and Munich, Professor Buschor.

BRIAN SHEFTON: HERAKLES AND THESEUS ON A RED-FIGURED LOUTERION
Volute-krater in New York, Neck frieze (Appendix No. 4). Courtesy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1907.

Brian Shefton: Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion