

## A RELIEF PITHOS FROM MYKONOS\*

The large archaic pithoi known as «Boiotian», many of which were found in Boiotia during the last years of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, have long been recognized as a group<sup>1</sup>. Their importance has been further emphasized by discoveries during recent years of similar pithoi, both fragmentary and whole, on various of the Cyclades islands. The discovery of a rich collection of these pithoi on the island of Tenos opens the possibility of grouping the known pieces into workshops, and even of attributing some of them to individual hands. Another important result of the recent finds is that the long accepted theory of the Boiotian origin of the pithoi found in Boiotia is now open to serious question, the problem being more complicated than originally supposed.

Although a few fragments of pithoi were found on Delos, Tenos and Eretria at the end of the last century, these were interpreted either as local work dependent on Boiotian relief ware or actual imports from Boiotia<sup>2</sup>. The pithoi found in Boiotia were, naturally enough, assumed to be of Boiotian origin, although Hampe

### \* Abbreviations.

<i>Agora VIII</i>	E. Brann, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> vol. VIII, <i>Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery</i> , 1962.
<i>Artemis Orthia</i>	R. M. Dawkins, <i>The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta</i> , 1929.
<i>Atti</i>	Nikolaos M. Kontoleon, «Das heutige Bild der archaischen Kunst der Kykladen», <i>Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica</i> , Vol. I, Roma, 1961, pp. 267-272.
<i>Bronzereliefs</i>	Emil Kunze, <i>Kretische Bronzereliefs</i> , 1931,
<i>Délos</i>	<i>Exploration archéologique de Délos</i> , École française d'Athènes.
<i>Hélène</i>	Lilly B. Ghali-Kahil, <i>Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène</i> , dans les textes et les documents figurés, 1955.
<i>NC</i>	Humfrey Payne, <i>Necrocorinthia</i> , 1931.
<i>Parastasis</i>	N. Kontoleon, «Παράστασις ἐκ τῆς μυθολογίας τῆς Δήλου». Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Κ. Ἄμαντον, 1940.
<i>Reliefpithoi</i>	Jörg Schäfer, <i>Studien zu den griechischen Reliefpithoi des 8-6 Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Kreta, Rhodos, Tenos und Boiotia</i> , 1957,
<i>Sagenbilder</i>	Roland Hampe, <i>Frühgriechische Sagenbilder in Böotien</i> , 1936.
<i>Schildbänder</i>	Emil Kunze, <i>Archaische Schildbänder, Olympische Forschungen</i> , Band II, 1950.
<i>Vroulia</i>	K. F. Kinch, <i>Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)</i> , 1914.

1. I should like to thank greatly Mr. Zappeiropoulos and Mr. Doumas, Ephor and Epimelete of the Cyclades, for their generous permission to publish the Mykonos pithos, and for their kindness in giving me so much of their time in the museum of Mykonos. For the relief pithoi, cf. *Reliefpithoi*, p. 67 f., and more recent finds mentioned in the *Ergon* of the Greek Archaeological Society from 1958 on.

2. De Ridder, «Amphores béotiennes à reliefs», *BCH*, XXII (1898) p. 514 f.; Graindor, «Vases archaïques à reliefs de Tinos», *Rev. Arch.*, VI (1905) p. 286-91; Courby, *Vases grecs à Relief*, Paris, 1922, p. 81-82.

pointed out that some of them had Cycladic decorative motifs<sup>3</sup>. New light was thrown on the problem when more fragments began to turn up on the island of Tenos, in the 1938 excavation of Kontoleon<sup>4</sup>. It was then suggested that the Boiotian pithoi were of Cycladic origin<sup>5</sup>. More recently, Kontoleon sees in the Boiotian pieces work dependent on the Tenian workshop<sup>6</sup>, while Schäfer, accepting the Tenian and Boiotian pithoi as a single group, leaves open the problem as to whether the Boiotian pithoi were imported from the Cyclades or made on Boiotian soil<sup>7</sup>. It is still too early to draw definite conclusions as to the origin of all the pithoi, but the fact that pithoi of similar style, but with differences of clay and technique turn up in various locations, suggests the possibility of migrant workshops, based ultimately on the island of Tenos, since here are found the earliest of the figured relief pithoi<sup>8</sup>.

The island of Mykonos, overshadowed by its proximity to Delos, both in antiquity and in the antiquity-seeking modern world, has recently been added to this group with the discovery of one of the finest of the pithoi yet known. (Pl. 17). The pithos is not only an important addition to the Tenian-Boiotian class to which it belongs, but it adds considerably to the known range of subject matter of the artists of the seventh century B.C., being a fine illustration of a neglected part of a well-known epic theme, the Fall of Troy.

The pithos was discovered in the summer of 1961, during the digging of a well in one of the houses<sup>9</sup> in the centre of the town of Mykonos. Unfortunately such a find was hardly anticipated, and the pithos was broken before its value was realized (Pl. 30b.). It had been used as a burial pithos, and human bones, discarded with the dirt from the well, were found within it. Near the pithos, but unrelated to it, was found a large krater of Ripe Geometric style. Both pithos and krater are now on display in the museum of Mykonos.

A brief description of the pithos follows. The reader is referred to the plates, which are more eloquent than any description<sup>10</sup>.

Measurements of pithos (measurements in meters):

Height of pithos: 1.339.

Max. diam.: 0.733.

Diam. of mouth (taken on outside edge of rim): 0.615.

(taken on inside of rim): 0.418.

Diam. of foot: 0.143.

Handles—width of side of handle: 0.099.

3. *Sagenbilder*, p. 56.

4. Cf. *AA*, 1939, 261; *BCH*, LXII (1938) 480; *JHS*, 1945-7, p. 115, and n. 27.

5. F. Matz, *Gesch. der griechischen Kunst*, I, 1950, p. 414.

6. *Parastasis*, n. 286; *Atti*, p. 267 f.

7. *Reliefpithoi*, pp. 87-90.

8. *Reliefpithoi*, Group I.

9. House owned by D. Kousathanas.

10. For the photographs, I wish to thank the German Institute of Archaeology and Miss E. M. Czako who went to infinite pains to photograph the pithos in such a way as to show the elusive details for which I asked. I should like also to thank Miss Judith Perlzweig, who first helped me to put the fragments together, and later generously discussed the manuscript with me.

width of front of handle: 0.118.

Thickness of clay at neck: approx. 0.033 at top above relief lines to 0.019 at bottom below relief lines. Greatest thickness of neck at join with rim: 0.033.

Average thickness of neck without relief: 0.019.

Thickness of rim: 0.02.

Thickness of body: 0.018 below bottom panel of figures.

Measurements of the figure panels:

Neck-Horse panel: Height (from topmost relief line to lowest relief line): 0.325.

Width (again including relief lines): 0.51.

Body: Heights of relief panels (measurement taken on the vertical panel dividers):

Top panel: 0.081.

Middle panel: 0.15.

Bottom panel: 0.132.

Clay:

The clay is gritty and coarse, containing small particles of pebble. It is micaceous.

Firing:

The core varies from black to buff, and the surface ranges from a brick orange to a dark red brown. The firing is faultless, and there are no cracks, breaks or dents resulting from damage in the oven.

Slip:

A fine slip is placed over the decorated surface of the pithos, while to the non-decorated areas, a somewhat lighter slip was applied.

Condition:

Traces of fire are visible on the left part of the neck panel, and there are lighter traces, in patches, on the front of the body, centre and left. On the back of the neck are smoke streaks.

The pithos, mended from the many fragments into which it was inadvertently broken, is preserved complete, with the exception of three pieces, missing, one from each of the three pictured panels of the body, and a few smaller pieces from body, neck, handles and rim. These have been restored in plaster.

The form is typical of this group of pithoi, having a flat, flaring, rim, an almost straight offset neck approximately one third the total height of the pot, and a full body, tapering rapidly from the middle to a relatively narrow offset toe with flat base. The handles are the fenestrated handles found frequently on these pithoi<sup>11</sup>.

Typical also is the fact that it is decorated on the front only of neck and body, the lower third as well as the back of the pithos being entirely free. A single panel decorates the neck, while on the front of the body are three horizontal panels, divided into a series of metopes. The panels are separated by horizontal ridges, four in number, with the exception of the lowest border which consists of seven ridges. The metopes are separated from each other by flat vertical bands decorated with incised and stamped patterns with the exception of the final left hand border of the middle

11. Compare *Reliefpithoi*, Tenian-Boiotian group, B2, B6, B7.



panel, which has been left free. The parallel horizontal ridges separating the panels jut beyond the final vertical borders right and left. The metopes are unevenly placed, some being slightly larger than others (the metopes of the middle panel increase in size from right to left), so that the entire field of decoration runs further around under the left handle than on the right side, where the final vertical border overlaps the front line of the handle. The existence of a small metope at the right of the middle panel and at the left of the bottom panel might, at first sight, be taken for the result of miscalculation of space by the artist. The metopes of the lower two panels are, however, of roughly the same size, and it was only by adding these two small metopes at the right of the lower panels that the artist was able to achieve the brick work effect of evenly overlapping metopes.

#### Building of the pithos

Only three joins can be detected on the pithos, that of the rim to the neck, the handle to the neck and body (a join once well concealed, but quite clear now), and the fenestrated section of the handle to the handle frame and neck of the pithos. This last shows a slight groove within the relief line along the inner edge of the handle frame. It has been carefully concealed, but shows quite clearly that the two parts of the handle were made separately. ( Pl. 29a )<sup>12</sup>. The rim slightly overlaps the neck on the inside, and here the clay has been reinforced, the greatest thickness of the neck being at this point<sup>13</sup>. As with the join of the handle to the pithos, the upper surface of the neck was gouged to produce a stronger join.

In her study of the Rhodian pithoi, Miss Feytmans observed that although these great pots were probably built up in sections, there were no traces of any joins in the body<sup>14</sup>. The body of the Mykonos pithos likewise appears to be devoid of joins. There is, to begin with, no indication of a join of the neck to the body. Nor is there any appreciable thickening of the walls at this part, and the body likewise has no trace of a join. Even when the pithos was in fragmentary condition, on none of the wall fragments could a join be detected, and had there been one, it should have shown up clearly in a break. Swellings and shallow valleys on the back of the pithos are the result of the building of the pot in layers of thick clay on a wheel. Although one would indeed expect such a pithos to have been constructed in three separate parts, two for the body and one for the neck<sup>15</sup>, it may not actually have been necessary for the potter to build it in as many sections as is customary today. It is apparently possible to build hollow life-size terracotta statues without armature,

12. See the handle of the Eleusis amphora of the Polyphemos painter, which has an additional cross support behind the fenestrated section, Mylonas, 'Ο Πρωτοαττικὸς Ἀμφορεύς τῆς Ἐλευσίνας, 1957, p. 17, fig. 12.

13. See above, pp. 38-39, measurements.

14. D. Feytmans, «Les pithoi à reliefs de l'île de Rhodes», *BCH*, LXXIV (1950) pp. 139-40.

15. Cf. R. Hampe and A. Winter, *Bei Töpfern und Töpferinnen in Kreta, Messenien und Zypern*, 1962, pp. 31, 61, 74, etc. Modern potters proceed by sections.

and without a regular system of allowing sections to become leather hard before continuing the work<sup>16</sup>.

### *Use of the pithoi*

The absence of relief work both on the back of the pithos and on the lower third, suggests that they were originally designed to stand in the earth against a wall<sup>17</sup>. This observation is supported by the finding *in situ* of a number of vessels at Xobourgo on the island of Tenos<sup>18</sup>. The quality of the decoration shows that they were intended for some important function, and their great size is certainly more than needed for a cremation burial. Many of the large Protoattic amphoras, however, have a similar emphasis of one side, and were used as burial vessels. Of the Rhodian pithoi, the greatest number come from burials, although some are not<sup>19</sup>. Of the pithoi supposed to have come from Boiotia, only one<sup>20</sup> is certainly connected with a burial, although the others were rumored to have been used for burials, and may have been. The Mykonos pithos provides additional evidence in that it contained bones.

Some of the early relief pithoi seem to have been decorated all around, as were the Dipylon amphoras. Although it is possible that the new system of decoration that comes in with the Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing styles is the result of the use of these large vessels in sanctuaries<sup>21</sup>, obviously they served more than one function. It is not known whether burial in vessels such as these was reserved for certain officials, but their monumentality and the fact that they were used in sanctuaries as well, suggest this.

### *Application of the Relief*

Examination of the various groups of archaic relief pithoi shows that for the making of the relief two different techniques were used. The method of application of the relief to the pithos depended on the technique used for making the relief.

The first type is a relief made in a mould, and then applied to the vase. A mould could be used either for individual parts of figures or for repeated figures, groups of figures or decorative patterns. Particularly fine detail could be added on the mould itself.

For the second type of relief, a mould was not used. Strips of clay were cut out

16. Stavros Pappasavas has specialized in making these statues. His workshop is at Nea Makri, on the Marathon road.

17. *Reliefpithoi*, p. 91.

18. Kontoleon, *Gnomon*, 32 (1960) p. 722. *Praktika*, 1952, pp. 538-9; 1953, 259 f.

19. *BCH*, 1937, pp. 19 f.; *ibid.* 1950, pp. 128 f.; *Vroulia*, p. 103 and 106; D. Levi, *Annuario*, vols. X-XII, (1927-8), p. 1 f.

20. *Reliefpithoi*, B 1; *Arch. Ephem.* 1892, p. 213; Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

21. This is too late to be connected, as does Schäfer (*Reliefpithoi*, p. 91) with the introduction of the temple and removal of the cult from the house.

or roughly shaped and then applied to the vase. After application, they were freely modelled and tooled. This method was in general restricted to figures, but simple decorative patterns also were sometimes made in this way.

In addition, details could be added to the relief by incision, or by means of stamps, either flat or cylinder, which produced either a pattern in relief, such as those on the stamped amphora handles, or an intaglio pattern.

Some light is thrown on the technique of decorating and applying these reliefs by a series of fragments in the Naxos museum<sup>22</sup>. They illustrate clearly the different techniques of making and applying reliefs used by the pithos makers of the Cyclades in the seventh century B.C.

A fragment with charioteer, biga and warrior, placed by Schäfer in the Tenian-Bioiotian group<sup>23</sup> but differing from these in both clay and style, and more likely to have been made on the island of Naxos itself<sup>24</sup>, shows a combination of techniques in that the horizontal ridges dividing the zones are, as on the Mykonos pithos, modelled and applied by hand, while the running spiral below this is the result of a narrow rectangular mould used to repeat the pattern in a line. Brock's suggestion of the use of metal strips for similar patterns on the Siphnian pithoi is impractical<sup>25</sup>. The ridges were evidently placed first, then the spirals, a slip being added finally to smooth the edges of the ridges and spirals at their juncture. The central zone with biga, charioteer, and warrior, again shows the use of a mould. The background is included in the relief, and the flatness of the valleys between the strands of the horse's mane indicate that this detail was part of the original mould, rather than the result of subsequent incision.

A second piece, mended in plaster from two fragments, shows this same distinction between mould-made and modelled relief. At the left is the paw and part of the tail of a lion. On the right, separated from it by a vertical strip, is an interlocking spiral pattern. The lion is a modelled relief that has been placed directly on the surface of the pot, and there is therefore no relief ground. A slip was added afterwards, and the outlines and details incised. The interlocking spiral pattern, however, was made in a mould, and here the ground is included with the pattern, as on the biga fragment mentioned.

Two techniques were used for attaching the relief to the pithos. They could be joined either by the simple application of a little water or dilute slip to the surface of the pot, or, as with bone and ivory inlay, stucco and so on, the surface of the pot could be scratched in addition to the use of water or slip. Incisions of this sort show quite clearly beneath the stamped interlocking spiral on the lion fragment. It is a method that appears to be reserved for use with mould-made reliefs, the larger mass of clay (relief including background) being less secure. These in-

22. cf. *Atti*, pp. 267 f. and pl. III; *Reliefpithoi*, p. 72.

23. *Reliefpithoi*, p. 72 c.

24. The clay of the Naxian pieces in general has a much higher mica content than that used for the Tenian pithoi; cf. also Kontoleon, *Gnomon*, 32, pp. 719-722.

25. Brock, *BSA*, XLIV, p. 55.



cisions are not to be confused with the incised vertical and horizontal guide-lines that appear on some of these fragments.

The reliefs of the Mykonos pithos are freely modelled reliefs applied directly to the surface of the pithos while it was still in a leather-hard state. A mould was not used anywhere, either for the handles, for an entire metope, or for separate figures or parts of figures. No figure or part of a figure is repeated with exactly the same measurements. It is likely that some of the initial cutting and shaping of the figures was done off the pot, but most of the modelling could have been done after the clay was applied. There are no incisions for the retention of the relief, and no evidence of the use of a slip to cement the reliefs. A softening of the surface of the pot or the back of the relief with a little water seems to have been the method used.

Courby<sup>26</sup> observed that preliminary sketching on the surface of the pot was characteristic of the Boiotian relief pithoi, and the Naxos fragments show that guide lines were sometimes used. On the Mykonos pithos, however, the only visible evidence of a guide line or preliminary sketch of any sort is the mark of a compass used for the initial drawing of the shields on metopes Nos. 2, 3 and 4. ( Pl. 21a ). In one case at least, that of metope no. 4, it is clear that the application of clay did not follow the circle inscribed. Whether the use of guide lines or preliminary sketches was common practice on the Tenian-Boiotian pithoi remains to be seen. What Courby took for preliminary sketching may well have been the impression of the outlines of the figures, which at times penetrates the slip to leave a fine line on the surface of the pot beneath. These lines show clearly on metopes nos. 14 and 17 ( Pls. 26a, 27b ). The artist of the Mykonos pithos evidently did not find it necessary to rely on preliminary sketching.

After the application of the clay, the figures were modelled and trimmed with a blade and a point. The clay used for the reliefs is noticeably finer than that used for the pithos, and a still finer clay was used in the preparation of the slip. Clay relief and slip show clearly on metope no. 2 ( Pl. 21b ) where the slip has peeled off the leg of the warrior. The faces of nearly all the figures show the use of a blade for trimming, particularly around the noses. The windows in the horse were likewise cut out with a knife, and as there is no trace of a knife cut having gone through to the surface of the pithos, it is likely that the windows were cut before the horse was laid on the pot. A small tool with a narrow straight edge was used for the final trimming of the window, and a similar but still smaller tool was used to work the eyes of the figures after initial incision. This shows clearly on the horse ( Pl. 18b ), and on the warrior in the second window from the front of the body of the horse ( Pl. 18a ). After the slip was added, the outlines of the figures and details were incised with a point, and various patterns ( on the peploi, chitons, shields, helmets, etc. ) were added with a stamp. The outlining of the figures is not consistent, and the nude portions of the bodies are frequently not outlined. As a rule, the faces and feet of the warriors are left without an outline, although occasionally there is an exception. The figures of the lower panel are more completely outlined than

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 68; cf. also de Ridder, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

those of the upper and middle panels. On metope 8, the knees of the child are outlined only to distinguish the two legs ( Pl. 23b ). In spite of the fact that the outline at times penetrates to the surface beneath, the slip was heavy enough to take incision and stamping without penetration. The artist used his fingers to smooth the slip ( finger marks are visible on the rump of the horse ), and to apply it, a brush, the marks of which show, for example, on metope No. 1 ( Pl. 21b ) and on the horse, especially around the third window from the front of the body.

When one considers the rapidity with which clay hardens in this climate, it is apparent that the work was done in a very short time. Moreover, the figures resemble each other so closely that the reliefs were clearly the work of one man.

#### Patterns, stamped and incised

For the patterns used on the garments, and for details such as the rims of shields and the wheels of the horse, clay stamps with various designs were used. Stokes<sup>27</sup> thought that the marks evident on some of the stamped impressions on the Rhodian pithoi indicated the use of wooden stamps, the mark corresponding to a crack in the wood. The same sort of small imperfection occurs on a stamp used for the checkerboard pattern of the helmets on the Mykonos pithos and is more likely to be the result of a crack in a clay stamp. Nowhere are there signs of the grain of wood.

The following catalogue of the patterns used will indicate clearly the stamps and tools responsible for each.

1. A single square punch is used throughout for a single row of squares and a checkerboard pattern on the helmets. A small imperfection is visible on the right of the upper line of the punch indicating a slight crack in the tool. An especially good example can be seen on the warrior standing in front of the horse ( Pl. 8 ). The checkerboard pattern occurs on both Attic and Cycladic pottery of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods.

2. A tool with a thin concave tip, when pushed slightly horizontally, produces the wavy line that is used to form the pattern on the rims of the omphalos shields, and wheels of the horse. This is not strictly a stamp, and could have been made of either wood or metal.

3. A tool similar to No. 2 but with a straight edge is used to make the vertical impressions forming the herringbone pattern used throughout for the hair, and also for the nostrils of the figures. A similar herringbone pattern is used for the hair of contemporary figurines such as the ivory statuette, Athens Nat. Mus. 776<sup>28</sup>. The tool is used to form a series of lines for the borders of the peploi. An example is to be found on metope no. 4 on the side borders of the peplos. The bottom border of the peplos has a similar pattern which is, however, incised.

4. A stamp with concentric circles is used singly for the axles of wheels, centres

27. *BSA*, XII (1905 - 6) «Stamped Pithos Fragments from Kameiros», p. 71.

28. D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, 1953, pl. 30.



of shields, fastening of telamon to scabbard, and decoration on the chiton of the warriors. Concentric circles are combined with lines and dots for patterns on the peploi and on the metope borders. A slight fault due to a crack in the stamp is noticeable in a small tongue joining the two circles ( Pl. 25a ). The stamp is used for two different patterns, one a pattern reminiscent of the running spiral, sometimes with dots in the intervals, and secondly, a double running spiral that appears on the woman on metope No. 7 ( Pl. 22 ). The pattern is common on Attic late Geometric pottery, Cycladic pottery of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods and on bronze tripod legs and other metalwork of the same period.

5. A point is used in rows on the sleeves and skirts of the peploi, in a diamond and dot pattern, the borders of the chitons, rims of shields, rivets of swords, borders of the metope dividers, beards of warriors, and telamon of scabbards.

The diamond and dot pattern appears in Cycladic Geometric and Orientalizing pottery, Rhodian Orientalizing, and also on a Tenian pithos fragment, (*Reliefpithoi*, T 10), where it decorates the garment of a goddess, and on the garments of the women of an ivory group from the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary<sup>29</sup>.

6. A triangular punch is used on the final border to the right of the bottom panel ( Pl. 28b ).

7. A stamp with an eight-spoked wheel is used for decoration of chitons on metopes nos. 16 and 17, (Pl. 27a, b), and for the border of the peplos on metope no. 7 ( Pl. 22 ).

8. A seven-spoked wheel is used for the border of the peplos on metope No. 8 ( Pl. 23b ).

9. A stamp with four concentric circles is used on the chiton of warriors on metopes nos. 6 and 10, 14 and 15, as a shield boss on metope no. 19, and on the divider between metopes nos. 16 and 17 ( Pl. 23a, 24b, 26a-b, 27a-b and 28b ).

10. A tool with a very small straight edge, perhaps that used for the final tooling of the eyes, has been used to produce the rosette on the chiton of the warrior on metope no. 7 ( Pl. 22 ). The lines are undercut due to the fact that the tool was pressed on a slant.

#### DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RELIEFS

##### The neck ( Pls. 18a-b, 19a-b and 20a )

The neck of the pithos shows the descent of the Greeks from the Wooden Horse. The horse faces right. His hooves rest upon little wheels, the rims of which are represented by a series of curved stamps, and whose axles, hardly central, are placed to one side of the hoof in order to show. One is reminded of the votive «hobby horses» placed in the tombs of the period. The artist has not distinguished between right and left, inner and outer sides, with the result that all four feet of the horse are shown in the foreground outside of the wheels.

29. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. 124, c, d.

In the body and neck of the horse are seven windows, in each of which can be seen the head of a warrior facing the front of the animal. Seven warriors have already descended from the horse. Of these, four stride right, along a single low ridge on a level with the back of the horse that could suggest the walls of Troy, but is more likely to be a retention of the Geometric practice of dividing a scene into registers, and placing above and below what is to be considered as being on the side<sup>30</sup>. The warriors are thus understood as simply walking along beside the horse. That one of them appears to be stepping from tail to back, or vice versa, could however be an attempt at literal representation. An Etruscan scarab in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>31</sup> shows a warrior climbing down the back of the horse with one foot on his hind leg.

The men, in good Geometric fashion are bristling with armour, bearing helmet and shield. With the exception of one warrior who hurls a single spear, all those outside the horse are equipped with two of these weapons. None wears greaves or cuirass.

Below the belly of the horse a warrior strides left, helmet on head, holding in his left hand a shield, in his right a spear upraised in battle position. Behind the horse, facing right, is another warrior fully armed. In front of the horse, and facing it, a peculiarly splendid warrior ( Pl. 20a ) mounts a wheel to receive a large scabbarded sword, handed down by the warrior in the foremost window of the body of the horse. A similar weapon is lowered from the rear window. From the second window comes a shield, while the warrior in the topmost window holds out a fine crested helmet. The impossibility of somehow suspending the heads in the body of the horse, without reference to the space available within the animal, matters little; the representation is lively and convincing.

#### The panels on the body

On the body, the panels are divided into a series of one - two - and three - figure metopes showing warriors attacking women and children. The women wear a sleeved peplos, the men a short chiton of the type usual in the seventh century<sup>32</sup>. Hair, beards, shields, helmets, swords, scabbards and garments are decorated by incised and stamped patterns. Blood is represented by incised wavy lines. The warriors are beardless unless mentioned, and the helmets are without the tall or «stilted» crest holder, unless indicated. The legs are frequently indicated as rear and foremost, as in most cases right and left are indistinguishable. The pieces missing from the wall of the pithos have been restored in plain plaster. The many parts of the relief which have broken away from the wall have frequently left traces of outlines which indicate the form of the missing parts.

30. See for example the weapon on a late Geometric amphora in the Benaki Museum, BSA, XLII (1947) pl. 19.

31. See below, p. 37, and n. 46.

32. See Thermon Metopes, Perseus and the Hunter; cf. Karousos, *JdI*, LII ( 1937 ) pp. 182 - 3, and n. 8; Mylonas, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 - 71.

The metopes in each panel are numbered from left to right.

#### Top panel

*Metope no. 1* ( Pl. 21b ): A warrior, wearing a helmet and carrying a shield, sword and one spear, strides to the left and stabs through the body a woman who faces him with arms outstretched in a gesture of supplication. Missing: part of the peplos and right hand of the woman; much of the warrior's legs, his spear butt, part of his sword and the plume of his helmet.

*Metope no. 2* ( Pl. 21b ): A warrior, wearing a helmet, and carrying two spears, a sword in scabbard, and a shield with a flat offset rim, strides to the right. At the right can be seen the arm of a supplicating woman touching the chin of the warrior. On the surface of the pithos are traces of her garment; visible also is the front incised outline of her waist and leg. Missing: the entire right part of the metope and the spear butt, part of the crest of the helmet and the slip on the warrior's ( left? ) leg.

*Metope no. 3* ( Pl. 20b ): A warrior, wearing a helmet, and carrying a single spear and a shield with a flat offset rim, strides to the left. He seizes the arm of a child, who can be seen at the left, held in the arms of a woman who is almost entirely missing. The woman's mouth, nose, chin and hand are visible. Her head evidently extended above the relief border, a greater overlap than on the other metopes. Missing: the entire left part of the metope, including the foremost foot of the warrior, and part of the rear foot of the warrior.

*Metope no. 4* ( Pl. 21a ): A woman faces a warrior to the right, and seizes the top of his spear with her left hand. The warrior is wearing a helmet, and carrying a single spear and shield. Missing: the head of the woman, part of the lower edge of her peplos, and the heel of her foot; the warrior has likewise lost the lower part of his front leg, and the central part of his shield. On the surface of the pithos, where the shield has peeled off, is the mark of a compass point.

*Metope no. 5* ( Pl. 21a ): A woman at the left stretches out her left hand in a gesture of supplication to the chin of a warrior facing her to the right, and seizing her right wrist. He wears a helmet and carries a single spear and shield. His right shoulder shows above the rim of the shield. Missing: part of the front leg and all of the rear foot of the warrior; part of the skirt and rear foot of the woman.

#### Middle panel

The warriors have neither shields nor helmets.

*Metope no. 6* ( Pl. 23a ): A warrior strides to the right, and with his right hand draws his sword from a scabbard held before him in his left hand. To the right,



a woman, facing him, stretches her right hand to his chin, and with her left hand seizes his left arm so that the scabbard appears to be held beneath her left arm. Her body has an incised outline except for the feet and face. The sleeve has been omitted from her left arm. The left border of the metope unlike the others has neither incision nor stamped pattern. Missing: a triangular piece including part of the right leg and lower left leg of the warrior, a strip along the back of the warrior, and part of the sword hilt.

*Metope no. 7* ( Pl. 22 ): A bearded warrior strides to the right. A scabbard under his right arm is supported by a telamon worn incorrectly over the left shoulder. With his left hand he seizes the right wrist of a woman, while with his right hand he threatens her with an upraised sword. At the right, a woman, wearing the most elaborate clothing on the pithos, faces the warrior. With each hand she holds an edge of her shawl, which is worn over her head and hangs down to below her waist. The front lower edge of the shawl has a tassel. Beneath the shawl she wears a himation, and beneath that a peplos. The border of the himation projects front and back, perhaps to represent tassels. At the back, the border of the shawl continues into that of the himation as if the two garments were one. The outline of her body, which is beautifully modelled, shows clearly beneath the shawl; so also the modelled relief of her hair. The nude portions of the bodies of both figures are without incised outline, except for the right arm of the woman. Both of the woman's hands are represented as if they were left hands. The line indicating the top of the warrior's chiton has been omitted. Missing: part of the left leg and front part of both feet of the warrior, the warrior's right hand and part of the sword hilt.

*Metope no. 8* ( Pl. 23b ): A warrior strides to the right. A telamon over his right shoulder supports a scabbard incorrectly shown under the right arm. He threatens a woman, who faces him, with a sword upraised in his right hand, as on metope no. 2. With his left arm, which is crossed over his right arm in an impossible position thus placing it in the foreground, he holds the right hand of a child who is falling backwards. The child has two wounds, one in the chest and one in the left thigh. Blood flows from each. The child has short hair. To the right of the child, a woman supplicates with her right hand extended to the warrior's chin, while with her left hand she seizes his sword hilt. The upper part of the warrior's chiton is not indicated. The warrior's body has an incised outline except for the face and legs. The child is outlined only at the top of the left knee and bottom of the right knee, in order to distinguish the two. The face and feet of the woman are not outlined.

*Metope no. 9* ( Pl. 24a ): A warrior strides to the right. With his right hand he draws or replaces a sword in a scabbard which he holds up in his left hand. To the right, a woman grabs the elbow of the warrior with her right hand, while with her left hand she catches the arm of a child who falls backwards, headlong, between the two of them. The child has wounds in both head and waist, from each

of which flows blood. The face of the warrior, and the face and feet of the woman are not outlined. The child is without an incised outline. Missing: a tiny fragment at the waist of the woman, a small fragment at the lower left of the metope, and a break across the middle and upper right including a fragment missing from the upper right hand corner which went with the piece missing from the upper panel. Missing also are the thighs of the boy, and most of the hair of the woman.

*Metope no. 10* ( Pl. 24b ): A warrior, with scabbard under his right arm, and telamon over his right shoulder as on metope no. 3, strides to the right. He threatens a woman with a sword held in his right hand. To the right is part of the figure of a woman who extends one hand, probably the right, toward the warrior, and one, showing above the other, toward the sword hilt. The left hand probably crossed over or under the right arm ( as on no. 3 ) and across the blade of the sword. With his left hand, the warrior seizes something on a level with his own head, that could be either the hand or hair of a child, held in the arms of the woman, or the hair of a woman. The condition of the metope is poor. It is badly broken, and a large part, together with the next metope to the right, is missing. The fragment at the right has been turned counter-clockwise too much in restoring.

*Metope no. 11*: Missing, except for a small fragment at the lower right hand corner showing part of the peplos and foot of a woman.

*Metope no. 12* ( Pl. 25a ): A lone warrior strides to the left in the narrow metope. His scabbard is held under his left arm, and the telamon is over his left shoulder. With his left hand he holds the scabbard from which he draws a sword. Unlike the other scabbards, this one has no incised decoration. The warrior has an incised outline, except for his face below the nose, the throat and legs.

#### Bottom panel

*Metope no. 13* ( Pl. 25b ): This is a narrow metope like no. 7 of the middle panel. A single woman, facing left, clasps her hands to her breast. The sleeves of her peplos are not represented. Her entire figure, including her face, is outlined. Missing: a fragment at the lower part of the metope, which includes the lower part of her peplos and her feet.

*Metope no. 14* ( Pl. 26a ): A warrior strides to the right. A child, with arms and legs outstretched, leaps into the arms of a woman facing the warrior, who stretches out her arms to the child. With his left hand, the warrior holds the child up by the arm, while with his right hand, he thrusts a sword through the groin of the child from which blood flows. The child has short hair. The right arm of the woman is incorrectly shown on top rather than behind the child. The figures spill over the upper relief border more than on the other metopes, with the exception of metope no. 16. The figure of the woman is completely outlined; the man also,

but the incised outline of his face is very shallow. Missing: chips of the relief along the breaks, the hair on the back of the warrior's head.

*Metope no. 15* ( Pl. 26b ): At the left a boy stands facing right. He has a wound in the chest at the left armpit from which blood flows. With left arm upraised over his head, and right arm extended to the knee of the warrior before him, he looks up at the warrior. The warrior is bearded. He strides to the right, but looks back at the child. With his left hand he holds a scabbard from which he draws a sword with his right hand. To the right, a woman faces the warrior, supplicating. She extends her right hand to his head, and with her left hand she seizes his left arm. The warrior is outlined entirely. The feet of the woman, and the throat and face of the child below the nose are not outlined.

*Metope no. 16* ( Pl. 27a ): A warrior strides to the right, the telamon over his left shoulder, the scabbard hung beneath his right arm. With his left hand outstretched, he pulls the hair of a woman who faces him. Her hair extends up over the border. With his right hand, he points a sword at the top of her head. The woman turns the upper part of her body away from the warrior to protect a child whom she holds in her arms. The warrior is completely outlined. The face, throat, and feet of the woman, and the lower part of the face of the child are not outlined. Missing: part of the hair of the woman.

*Metope no. 17* ( Pl. 27b ): A bearded, unarmed warrior strides to the right. His left arm is outstretched, probably to grab the left arm of the woman facing him. With his right hand he holds by the ankles a child whom he dashes headlong. The child has no sword wound. The woman supplicates the warrior with arms outstretched. The warrior is completely outlined, the child also, except for the upper lip. The woman is outlined entirely, except for her face below the nose, and part of her feet; the sole and heel of her rear foot are outlined, and the ankle of her foremost leg. Missing: the left upper arm of the child has peeled off, leaving the outline only. There are also chips missing along the breaks, which include part of the woman's hair.

*Metope no. 18* ( Pl. 28a ): Missing, except for a bit of the scabbard, the calf of the warrior's leg at the left, and the lower part of the peplos and feet of the woman at the right.

*Metope no. 19* ( Pl. 28b ): This metope has the only fully armed warrior of the middle and bottom panels. He carries a shield, spear and sword. He strides to the right, and stabs through the chest a child which is held by a woman facing him. The child falls forward over the sword, and blood streams from his body. The woman holds the child with her left arm, while with her right arm outstretched, she grasps the warrior's spear shaft. The child also grasps the spear shaft with his right hand, which can be seen below that of the woman. The figures are outlined



completely except for the face of the child, and the face, throat and feet of the woman. Missing: part of the left side of the metope (together with metope no. 6) with all but a bit of the warrior's face and part of his shield. Much of the hair of the child has gone, leaving only an outline, and there are small fragments missing along the break.

#### THE REPRESENTATION ON THE PITHOS

### The Wooden Horse

It is apparent from the representations on pottery that the tales told in the poems of Homer and the Epic Cycle were known in the late Geometric and Orientalizing periods throughout mainland Greece and the islands of the Aegean. Moreover, as the writers of tragedy later found the Epic Cycle a more ample source of inspiration than the *Iliad*<sup>33</sup>, so also the decorators of pots found in them more material for illustration. Like Polygnotos, in his painting of the *Iliupersis*<sup>34</sup> they could pick from different literary versions of the same tale, the wealth of choice being equalled by the variety of graphic types illustrating one theme. The scenes on the neck and body of the Mykonos pithos illustrate two episodes in the tale of the Fall of Troy, the Wooden Horse and the slaughter of the Trojan women and children.

The story of the *Iliupersis* has been told many times, varying in its details although constant in its essential outline, from the days of Homer on down through the centuries. In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. alone, at least four well-known poets sung of the *Iliupersis*: Arktinos and Lesches, Stesichoros, and Ibykos<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, episodes from the *Iliupersis*, such as the deaths of Troilos, Astyanax and Priam, as well as general scenes of destruction, early found their way into the repertoire of the pot painters. It is therefore surprising to find that one of the most important motifs in the Fall of Troy, the tale of the Wooden Horse, received relatively little attention by the artists of the late Geometric and Orientalizing periods. Even in the fifth century, which produced two monumental Wooden Horses, which are known, one dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, and another by the Argives at Delphi<sup>36</sup>, and a painting of the *Iliupersis* on a vast scale by Polygnotos which included a representation of the Wooden Horse<sup>37</sup>, the theme seems to have been neglected by the vase painters. Moreover, among the many Greek plays based on episodes from the *Iliupersis*, only one seems to have been specifically about the Wooden Horse<sup>38</sup>.

33. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 23.

34. Paus. X, 25.

35. Perhaps also Sakadas of Argos. Cf. Athen. XIII, 610; Plut. mus. 8; Paus. X, 7, 3; IX, 30, 2; Albert in Pauly-Wissowa, *Lexikon*, s.v. Sakadas, col. 1769.

36. Paus. I, xxiii, 8; X, ix, 12.

37. Paus. X, 25.

38. Nonius, 475, 10 refers to a *Trojan Horse* by Livius Andronicus; Macrobius, VI, i, 38 quotes from Naevius' *Trojan Horse*.

The list of early representations is not long. Included here are those dating from the eighth through the sixth centuries B.C.<sup>39</sup>.

1. Fibula. British Museum no. 3205. From Boiotia. Second half of the eighth century B.C. *Sagenbilder*, pl. 2.

2. Pithos fragment from Tenos. First quarter of the seventh century. *Praktika*, 1949, p. 131, fig. 15; *Reliefpithoi*, p. 84, T. 15.

3. Black-figure fragment. Berlin F 1723. Ca. 560 B.C. *JdI* LXVI ( 1931 ), p. 54, fig. 5.

4. Aryballos ( Corinthian or local copy ). From Caere. Paris, Bibl. Nat. no. 186. Late Corinthian I. *JdI* VII ( 1892 ), p. 28 f., and pl. 2; *NC*, no. 1281.

The Wooden Horse of the Mykonos pithos is a fine addition to this meagre list of early representations, being a larger and more carefully detailed example than any so far found.

For the appearance of the horse, we rely both on literary sources and actual representations. The horse was made of timber that was felled on Mt. Ida<sup>40</sup>, and it was equipped with a door in its flank<sup>41</sup>. Although it is only the later sources that refer to them<sup>42</sup>, wheels were evidently part of the equipment, for the earliest representations of the horse show a wheel attached to each foot. Rather than the single door in the flank that is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, however, the early horses show a series of windows or doors, following perhaps a description in Lesches or Arktinos. These two features, wheels and a series of windows, seem to have been characteristic of the representations current during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. in the Cyclades, Boiotia and possibly Corinth. The horse on the Mykonos pithos has both, and the British Museum fibula shows a horse on wheels, with hatches on the flanks that are no doubt meant to represent windows<sup>43</sup>. The pithos fragment from Tenos preserves only the wheels. Between the legs of the horse, however, is part of a large shield, possibly Dipylon. As no legs appear below the shield, it cannot have been carried by a standing warrior, and must instead have been handed down from a height. It is likely, therefore, that this fragment represents a Trojan horse similar to that on the Mykonos pithos and the British Museum fibula. On the Late Corinthian Aryballos are a series of doors or windows, but the feet are missing, and with them the wheels, if there were any. No reconstruction is possible for the horse on the black-figure fragment, Berlin F 1723.

Representations of the Wooden Horse from the fifth century on show more variety. Although frequently represented with a door or with wheels or a wheeled platform, they are not always shown with these characteristics. There is, however, in each case some feature by which the horse can be recognized, be it ladders or

39. For a list of the later representations, the reader is referred to N. Yalouris, «Athena als Herrin der Pferde», *Museum Helveticum*, VII ( 1950 ) pp. 67 f. The theme evidently gained in popularity in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

40. Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 14 f.

41. Od. XI. 524 f.

42. Vergil, *Aen.* II, 235 f.; Quintus Smyrnaeus, XII, 424 f.

43. *Sagenbilder*, pp. 50 - 51.

steps, or the walls of Troy itself<sup>44</sup>. The horse of Strongylion, seen by Pausanias upon the Acropolis, stood upon a wheeled platform as did some of the later Wooden Horses, a good example being that on an illuminated manuscript of Vergil in the Vatican, dating to ca. 400 A.D.<sup>45</sup>. By the fifth century, the series of windows or doors shown on the early horses, seems to have been replaced by a single door more in keeping with the notice in the *Odyssey*, and frequently shown with a shutter or hatch. On an Etruscan scarab of the early fifth century B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>46</sup>, a warrior, possibly Odysseus, is shown poking his head out of a door on the back of the horse. Teucer ( by now as good an Athenian as his brother Aias ), Menestheus and the sons of Theseus also were represented by Strongylion as peering out of the horse on the Acropolis, and Gorham P. Stevens in his reconstruction has shown a window in the flank to illustrate this reference. A Homeric bowl in Berlin<sup>47</sup> shows an armed warrior in a window in the horse's flank, and on an Augustan<sup>48</sup> gem is a horse on wheels, with a similar large window in the flank, in which is a warrior with an enormous shield. Above, on the ramparts, is an unidentified female figure who may very well be Helen signalling to the warriors, a version of the tale popular at that time<sup>49</sup>. The above mentioned Vatican manuscript shows, in the horse's flank, a door with two folding shutters, out of which again peers a warrior.

A series of prophesied events led to the fall of Troy which was to take place in the tenth year of the war according to the prediction of Calchas<sup>50</sup>, and with the coming of Neoptolemos from Skyros, the capture of the Palladion, and the building of the Wooden Horse, the last stages of the war began. Only Helenos, the son of Priam, knew the secrets that made Troy impregnable, and when Odysseus carried him off from Troy<sup>51</sup>, these requirements were made known to the Greeks. First of all, Neoptolemos was to be fetched from Skyros. Secondly, the bones of Pelops were to be found, and finally, Philoktetes, abandoned years before on the island of Lemnos, at the orders of Odysseus, was to be brought, together with the bow of Herakles in his possession, to help the Greeks<sup>52</sup>. Three further requirements seem to have been the death of Troilos ( fulfilled long ago at the beginning of the war ), the capture of the Palladion, an episode unknown in Homer, but evidently in the Epic Cycle<sup>53</sup>, and finally the destruction of the lintel of the gate of Troy. This

44. Representations such as those on the red-figure vases listed by Yalouris, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 - 48, are not clearly the Wooden Horse.

45. Vatican Library, Codex Vat. Lat. 3225, Vergilius Vaticanus, Picture 14, fol. xix, recto.

46. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the Metropolitan Museum*, p. 43, no. 164, pl. 27.

47. C. Robert, *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 50, Berlin, 1890, p. 69 a.

48. Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 38, 6.

49. Vergil, *Aen.* VI, 517 f; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 487 - 521.

50. Quint. Smyrn., VI, 59 f.

51. Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 10.

52. *Od.*, XI, 508 f.; Proclus, *Chrest.*, and Tzetz., *Posthom.*, 532 f. ap. Little Iliad; Soph. *Philokt.*, 605 f. and 1337 f.; Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 10 - 11; Philostr. *iun.* i, p. 394, 3, ed. Kayser.

53. Cf. Dion. Hal. I, 68 f., ap. Arktinos; F.G.H. ( ed. Kinkel ), p. 37 f., and 49 f.; Antisthenes, *Od.*, 3; Ovid., *Met.* XIII, 339; Quint. Smyrn. VI, 59 f.



last is surely a reference to the Wooden Horse, for whose reception part of the wall had to be removed<sup>54</sup>.

The horse was thus part of the plan of the gods, «ὁ δόλος»<sup>55</sup> conceived to bring about the fall of Troy. Ordered ultimately by Zeus<sup>56</sup>, its building was supervised by Athena, and to her the horse was dedicated<sup>57</sup>.

The size of the horse varied according to the imagination of the story teller, and with it, the number of men that formed its deadly burden. In good epic style, the author of the Little Iliad places three thousand warriors inside the horse,<sup>58</sup> while Stesichoros evidently cut the number down to one hundred<sup>59</sup> and others preferred the still smaller numbers of fifty or twenty-three<sup>60</sup>. And, in numbers large or small, who were the «ἄριστοι Ἀργείων» placed by Odysseus inside the horse<sup>61</sup> and taken in this «ξεστός λόχος»<sup>62</sup> into the citadel of Troy to slaughter the inhabitants while they slept or celebrated the victory they thought was theirs?<sup>63</sup> Not many could name them all, even in antiquity, so it seems. In the *Deipnosophistai*, Kynoukkos<sup>64</sup> said to Myrtilos, who was evidently fond of catalogues, «τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῶν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων, ὃ γραμματικέ, πάντων ἐπιτρίψαι μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονίσαι δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας; καὶ ἂν μὲν τις σου πύθεται τίνες ἦσαν οἱ εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον ἐγκατακλεισθέντες, ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ἴσως ἔρεῖς ὄνομα· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Σησιχόρου, σχολῆ γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Σακάδου τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος· οὗτος γὰρ παμπόλλους τινὰς κατέλεξεν».

In the Odyssey only five are named, Odysseus, Diomedes, Menelaos, Neoptolemos, and Antiklos<sup>65</sup>. the first extant list of any length being that of Vergil<sup>66</sup> who adds to these, Thessandros ( Thersandros ), Sthenelos, Thoas, Akamas son of Theseus, Machaon ( who in the Little Iliad of Lesches was already killed by Eurypalos, the son of Telephos ), and finally Epeios, the architect of the horse. Still later Quintus Smyrnaeus<sup>67</sup> enlarges the list by adding names from the painting

54. Plaut., *Bacch.*, 953 f.

55. *Od.*, VIII, 493 f.

56. Although it is usually considered that the tale of the horse was not known when the *Iliad* was composed, the verse *Il.* XV, 71 may well refer to Athena's designing of the horse with Epeios. Many of the other episodes told in the Epic Cycle are referred to in the *Iliad*, and in a recent study, (*Ilias und Aithiopsis, Kyklische Motive in homerische Brechung*, Zurich, 1961 ), Georg Schoek finds that the *Aithiopsis* is the pattern for the Wrath of Achilles.

57. Deiph. frag. 1; Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 15; Hyg. *Fab.* 108.

58. Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 14, and Schol. Lycophr. 930.

59. Eustath., *Od.*, 1698.

60. Tryphiod. 152; Tzetz. On Lycophr. 930.

61. *Od.*, IV, 272 - 3, and 278; *Od.*, VIII, 492 f.; Proclus, *Chrest.*, ap. Lesches, Little Iliad; cf. later version of Quint. Smyrn., XII, 329 f.

62. Eurip., *Tr.*, 534.

63. Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 20 - 21.

64. Athen., XIII, 610.

65. *Od.*, IV, 280 f. Lines 285 - 89 were athetized by Aristarchus. Antiklos is, however, mentioned also in one of the epics of the Cycle, cf. Schol. *Od.*, IV, 285.

66. *Aen.*, II, 261 f.

67. XII, 314 f.

of Polygnotos or his source, the Catalogue of Ships, and the list of the Suitors of Helen. Of all these names, however, only the heroes listed by Homer surely belong to the epic tradition. Among these are the most important of all the heroes who fought at the fall of Troy: *Odysseus*, *Neoptolemos*, *Diomedes*, and *Menelaos*. To these can perhaps be added a few others whose names are known from the accounts of Arktinos and Lesches. Echion, the son of Portheus, first of the warriors to leave the horse, leapt to his death, as Protesilaos so many years before<sup>68</sup>. Locrian Aias, who figures in the episode of Cassandra as told in the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos, is included in the list of Quintus Smyrnaeus, and in the derivatory list of Tryphiodorus<sup>69</sup>, and may have been in the horse, if indeed he did not sail to Tenedos with Agamemnon and Nestor to await the signal of Simon.

It is around the actions of two of these heroes in particular, *Odysseus* and *Neoptolemos*, that the events in the fall of Troy revolve. The horse was built by the architect Epeios, with the help of, or following the plan of Athena<sup>70</sup>. In the earlier sources<sup>71</sup>, it is Odysseus, however, who is given the credit for its conception. Athena herself points out to him that by his strategem the city of Priam was taken<sup>72</sup>, and Apollodoros, many of whose sources are to be found in the Epic Cycle, says that it was Odysseus who invented the construction of the horse, and suggested to Epeios that he build it. Odysseus was the operator of the nocturnal ambush, and he it was who organized and led the men within. It was his task both to close and to open the door<sup>73</sup>, and when Antiklos would have cried out on hearing what he took to be the voice of his wife, but which was actually Helen<sup>74</sup>, Odysseus silenced him by placing his hand over the man's mouth, thus saving all the Achaians. Diomedes and Menelaos also, he restrained from answering.

Like Odysseus, Neoptolemos, for whose appearance at Troy Odysseus was responsible, figures in all versions of the tale of the Wooden Horse. He was the impulsive son of Achilles, eager for revenge, and thirsting to use his weapons. At his coming, the tide of the battle before Troy turned in favor of the Achaians, and Odysseus later reported to the shade of Achilles<sup>75</sup> that more warriors than could be named were killed by Neoptolemos, the greatest of these being Eurypalos, the son of Telephos. His importance is such that in later versions he replaces Diomedes as the companion of Odysseus in the recovery of Philoktetes<sup>76</sup>. For the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena, both Neoptolemos and Odysseus are responsible. Once

68. Apollod., *Epit.*, III, 30; V., 20.

69. *Exc. Il.*, V, 152 f.

70. *Od.*, VIII, 493 «ὄν Ἀθήνη;» Proclus, *Chrest.*, ap. Lesches «κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν»; Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 14 - 15.

71. Quint. Smyrn., XII, 104, f.—Athena appears directly to Epeios in a dream. Cf. also Eurip. *Tr.*

72. *Od.*, XXII, 230; VIII, 493, 500 f.; XI, 504, 523; Schol. Lycophr., 930, 932; Eurip., *Troad*, 9 f.; Apollod. *Epit.*, V, 14.

73. *Od.*, XI, 504 f.

74. *Od.*, IV, 285 f.; Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 14 - 15.

75. *Od.*, XI, 517.

76. Soph., *Philokt.* is the earliest.

within the horse, many of the warriors were fearful; their limbs shook, and they were obliged to wipe the tears from their eyes. But Neoptolemos neither blanched nor wept, rather he implored Odysseus to let him go out from the horse, while he played with his sword and his spear in his eagerness to slaughter the Trojans.

As the moon rose, and the Pleiades hung low in the sky, Sinon signalled to the Achaians who had sailed to Tenedos<sup>77</sup> and the heroes in the horse crept out to slaughter the Trojans, the door having been opened for them by Odysseus<sup>78</sup>. There are no ropes or ladders for descending the horse on the Mykonos pithos, nor do the poems of the Epic Cycle refer to any, and the men on the black-figure fragment, Berlin F 1723, lower themselves on each other's shoulders<sup>79</sup>. The men on the Corinthian aryballos, however, are descending by means of ladders, and the later sources refer to ladders made by Epeios<sup>80</sup> so that rather than belonging to the Epic Cycle, this detail is likely to have been part of one of the sixth century versions of the story.

The Mykonos pithos shows seven men still within the horse, while seven others have already descended. Exact identification of all the figures is uncertain, but surely it is Odysseus who stands so splendidly before the horse (Pl. 6), commanding the heroes, and the figure beneath the belly of the horse, who menacingly waves his spear before the others are all out, should then be the eager Neoptolemos (Pls. 2 and 4). Of the others, Echion was evidently unknown to the artist of the pithos, but among the heroes represented will certainly be Menelaos and Diomedes, and perhaps also Antiklos.

#### Scenes on the body of the pithos

On the body of the pithos is represented the fate of the women and children of Troy. One is reminded of the premonition of Priam when he saw Hektor awaiting Achilles outside the Skaian gates, for it is just such a scene of carnage that he envisioned<sup>81</sup>. The artist of the pithos has chosen to illustrate the beginning and the end of the Iliupersis. With the Wooden Horse, the fall of Troy began, and with the extirpation of the children, the last hope of Troy was extinguished and the war came to an end.

Representations of the Wooden Horse surrounded by warriors exist from the seventh century on. Single scenes from the Iliupersis also appear early. Beginning on pottery, with episodes such as the death of Astyanax<sup>82</sup>, the representations

77. Proclus, *Chrest.*, ap. Lesches, *Little Iliad*; Kallisthenes frag. 15 (Schol. Eur. *Hek.* 910, Schol. Lyk. 344) ap. Lesches.

78. Cf. Quint. Smyrn., XIII, 42 - 43. Odysseus is described as first sticking his head out to see if anybody was around.

79. Cf. Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 204 οἱ δὲ λοιπὸν σειρᾷ ἐξάψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη παρεγένοντο..

80. Quint. Smyrn., XIII, 35 f.

81. *Iliad*, XXII, 59 f.

82. Late Geometric fragment, Athens Agora, Inv. No. P 17403; E. Brann, «A Figured Geometric Fragment from the Athenian Agora», *Antike Kunst*, 1959, pp. 35 - 37; *Agora VIII*, No. 311, pl. 18.



gradually become more extravagant, vase paintings of the fifth century showing two or three events, or, more often, scenes of fighting and destruction around a central event such as the death of Priam<sup>83</sup>. Athenaios refers to the destruction of Troy on a bowl by the silver-worker, Mys, from the drawings of Parrhasios of Ephesos<sup>84</sup>. In monumental art also, the Iliupersis was represented, both in sculpture and in painting. On the north metopes of the Parthenon<sup>85</sup>, a pediment of the temple of Zeus at Acragas<sup>86</sup> and on the Argive Heraion<sup>87</sup> the scene was shown. The best known, having been fully described by Pausanias<sup>88</sup>, and, no doubt, the most spectacular, was the painting by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi. The same artist painted scenes from the Fall of Troy in the Stoa Poikile at Athens. There was also an Iliupersis by the Corinthian, Kleantes, in the temple of Artemis Alpheionia at the mouth of the Alpheios river<sup>89</sup>, but about this work there is little information.

Although there is an occasional isolated scene from the Fall of Troy on Geometric pottery, the scene on the Mykonos pithos is the earliest known representation of the Iliupersis. Moreover, in the period between the pithos and the complicated painting of Polygnotos, which included in the Iliupersis a representation of the Wooden Horse, no work of a comparable scale with this same juxtaposition of Wooden Horse and Iliupersis is known. The Mykonos pithos is, thus, not only the earliest, but much the earliest monumental Iliupersis, being separated from the Polygnotan painting by over two centuries. Only later is this combination of the Wooden Horse and the Fall of Troy developed, in such works as the Tabula Iliaca of the Capitoline Museum<sup>90</sup> and the contemporary Trojan tablet in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>91</sup>, the fresco in the House of Menander at Pompeii<sup>92</sup>, the wooden *scutum* from Dura-Europos<sup>93</sup>, and the series of illustrations in Homeric and Vergilian manuscripts<sup>94</sup>.

One tradition concerning the fate of the women and children of Troy was generally followed by artists and writers of tragedy alike. Details may vary, but, with the exception of Polyxena, Astyanax, and perhaps Crino, all the women and children were captives, awarded by lot to the Achaian leaders to be carried away into slavery. Astyanax alone of the children was killed; and Polyxena was sacrificed

83. For example, a hydria in Naples by the Kleophrades painter, *ARV*, p. 126, No. 66.

84. *Deipnosophistai*, XI, 782, B.

85. Ch. Picard, «De l'Iliupersis de la Lesche delphique aux métopes du Parthenon», *R.E.G.*, 50 (1937) p. 175.

86. Diod. 82, 4.

87. Paus. II, 17, 3; Ch. Waldstein, *Argive Heraion*, p. 148 f.

88. X, 25 f.

89. Strabo, VIII, 343.

90. H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, 1912, pp. 165 f., pl. 41.

91. Kasimierz Bulas, «New Illustrations to the Iliad», *AJA*, 54 (1950) pp. 112 - 118.

92. A. Maiuri, *La Casa di Menandro e il suo Tesoro di Argenteria*, 1939, Vol. II, pl. 5.

93. M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown, and C.B. Welles, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Preliminary report of the seventh and eighth seasons, 1933 - 4 and 1934 - 5, 1939, pp. 332 - 349, and pl. 42.

94. For example, Codex Vat. Lat. 3225, Vergilius Vaticanus, see above, p. 37, n. 45. cf. J.A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1911, pp. 10 f.; Rostovtzeff *op. cit.*, pl. 43, 3.

on the tomb of Achilles<sup>95</sup>. In the painting of Polygnotos, Trojan children have already been loaded onto the ship of Menelaos, where they are shown among the sailors. Astyanax stands near Andromache, clinging to her breast, perhaps yet unaware of the fate which attends him. Another small boy clings in terror to an altar, while still another shields himself on the lap of an old woman. Of the captive women, all the most important are shown, together with some whose names do not appear elsewhere. Hecabe will be given to Odysseus; Andromache to Neoptolemos. Aithra awaits her rescue by Damophon and Acamas, Cassandra sits clutching the statue of Athena, and Helen waits amid the destruction caused by her beauty to be carried off by Menelaos. The battle is over, and most of the warriors wait to board their ships. Neoptolemos alone, the most prominent of all the heroes, is represented as still killing off his enemies. The ground is strewn with the bodies of Trojan warriors, most of them the work of the angry son of Achilles. Pausanias explains this by the fact that the painting was intended for the glory of Neoptolemos, over whose tomb it was to have been placed.

The scene on the Mykonos pithos, however, differs from all the known representations of the Iliupersis. Here is no battle of heroes within the walls of the doomed city, such as that painted by Polygnotos, and described by Apollodoros<sup>96</sup>. Here is shown, instead, the slaughter of the defenceless. Only women and children are being attacked by the warriors, and no Trojan is there to dispute the fate of his family. With the exception of one child, who is seized by a warrior, armed, but without a sword (Metope 3 (Pl. 20 b)), all of the children are being killed; one is dashed to the ground by a warrior who bears no weapon (Metope 17 (Pl. 27 b)), the rest are dispatched by the sword. The blood streaming from the wounds of the children is carefully indicated in each case<sup>97</sup>. Most of the women also face death. One (Metope 1 (Pl. 21 b)) has already been pierced by a sword, although she stands still pleading, as if there were yet hope. With the exception of the figures on Metopes 7, 13, 14, and 16 (Pl. 22, 25 b, 26 a and 27 a), the women extend their hands, usually to the chins of the warriors, in the gesture of supplication known from later vases such as the Athens Nettos vase, on which Nettos touches the chin of Herakles. The Nessos on the New York Amphora, dating to the second quarter of the seventh century, also extends his hand in supplication, but he is falling, and he touches the knee of the attacking Herakles. The child on Metope 15 (Pl. 26 b) likewise extends a hand to the knee of the warrior. The Mykonos pithos thus gives the earliest example to date of the gesture of supplication in which the hand is extended to the chin. In just this way, Thetis entreated Zeus to help Achilles<sup>98</sup>. As is usual in early Greek art, there is no attempt at a time sequence. One metope does

95. Eurip. *Andromache*, *Hecabe*, *Troades*.

96. *Epit.*, V, 21.

97. The same sort of attention to detail occurs on Proto-Corinthian and Protoattic pottery. Cf. *VS*, pl. 144, and *CV*, Berlin I, pl. 18, A 32. See also a bronze relief showing the death of Kaineus, *Olympiabericht* I, pl. 28.

98. *Iliad*, I, 500 - 501.

not lead to another, and although the children have in most cases already been stabbed, the women plead for them as well as for themselves.

For a few of the women a fate is in store that agrees more with other representations of the Iliupersis, and rather than being killed they are being led off by the victors. Metope 4 ( Pl. 21 a ) is probably to be interpreted in this way, and on Metopes 5, 7 and 17 ( Pls. 21 a, 22 and 27 b ) the warrior grasps the woman by the wrist, a gesture that denotes leading.

The Mykonos pithos thus gives a version of the Iliupersis in which a few of the women are led off to captivity as in the tradition usual in the literary sources and in art, and others, together with the children, are slaughtered. No doubt, by its very nature, this scene of carnage had little appeal. On the Mykonos pithos is the only representation of any magnitude that has been found to date. It is clear evidence that there was in one of the Cyclic versions of the Iliupersis an episode in which were killed not only Astyanax, but most of the other children with him, while those of the women who were not led off to captivity shared the fate of the children. Although the earliest, and by far the most important, the pithos is not the only evidence for the existence of this missing part of the epic. An echo of the tale is to be found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, in the words of the herald who announces the return of Agamemnon<sup>99</sup>: And in Euripides' *Hekabe*<sup>100</sup>, the chorus laments the babes and fathers. Moreover, there are a few single scenes that refer to the same episode. On a fragment of a relief pithos found on Tenos<sup>101</sup> is part of a bearded man whose arms are outstretched in such a way as to indicate that he is attacking a child and woman much as on Metope 16 of the Mykonos pithos. On a terracotta relief fragment of the early sixth century from Praisos<sup>102</sup>, a warrior drags behind him a nude child. A scene from the same episode may also be represented on a bronze tripod-leg relief from Olympia<sup>103</sup>, which shows a warrior running his sword through a woman. At the right is a construction of brickwork, probably an altar. A man escapes toward it, and the scene, rather than the sacrifice of Polyxena, is more likely to represent one of the other unfortunate women of Troy. The much later *Tabula Iliaca* in the Capitoline Museum has also a few related figures. One of the daughters of Priam has been slain near the altar of Zeus Herkeios ( middle zone, to the right to the altar ), while outside the palace ( on the same level as the altar of Zeus ), in front of the temple at the left, a Trojan woman is slain by a Greek warrior. Neoptolemos stabs Polyxena, and around the tomb of Hektor, the captive

99. *Agam.* 524 - 8,

ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου  
Διὸς μακέλλη, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.  
βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα,  
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.

100. *Hek.* 475 f.

101. *Reliefpithoi*, T 11.

102. F. Halbherr, «Researches at Praisos», *AJA*, 5 ( 1901 ) pl. XII, 4, and p. 390.

103. Found by Yalouris in the valley north of Kronion. Cf. *BCH*, LXXXIV (1960) pl. XVIII, 2, and p. 270.



women are shown. This combination of scenes of captive women with the slaughter of women, is an indication that the episode of the slaughter of the women belongs to one of the known epics.

Since Neoptolemos, as the son of Achilles, was the most prominent in the battle which followed the introduction of the Wooden Horse into the citadel of Troy, it might be tempting to see in the Mykonos pithos, as in the painting of Polygnotos, a representation of the Wrath of Neoptolemos. According to the sources, however, not many, but one child, Astyanax, met his death at the hands of the hero. Moreover, the deed which formed the height and depth of the career of Neoptolemos, the murder of King Priam, is conspicuous by its absence. The artist clearly had more than one hero in mind, for some of the warriors are bearded, and some are not<sup>104</sup>.

Neoptolemos does, however, appear in at least one of the metopes, two of which, being connected with a known graphic tradition, can be identified. On one of these, Metope 17, is a child, held by the ankles and being hurled headlong by an unarmed warrior. One thinks immediately of Hektor's son, who, according to the Little Iliad<sup>105</sup> was hurled by Neoptolemos from the wall of Troy, and there is every reason to identify this scene as the death of Astyanax. Such a fate was feared by Andromache, as she looked on the body of Hektor, ransomed by Priam<sup>106</sup>. Although in the *Iliad*, Andromache envisions Astyanax being hurled by the arm, in the Little Iliad he is hurled by the foot, and thus he is shown on the earliest known representation, a late geometric fragment from the Athenian Agora<sup>107</sup>, held upright to be sure, but by the leg. As to be expected in this early period, the representations on the Agora fragment and the later Mykonos pithos, differ. But each is an attempt to illustrate the tale as told by Lesches. The representation on the pithos is evidently of the design that caught the public imagination, for it is in the main graphic tradition that came to be associated with Astyanax.

Until now, no representation of the death of Astyanax from the seventh century was known, the next in date after the Agora sherd, falling in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. The representation on the pithos is the earliest known example in which Astyanax is hurled headlong by the leg, and it is additional evidence of the existence of an artistic tradition for the death of Astyanax separated from that of Priam with whom he is generally shown from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. on<sup>108</sup>.

Although Astyanax was the only one in literary tradition who was hurled by the foot or leg, the pose was later taken over for the representation of Troilos resulting in a certain amount of confusion between the two<sup>109</sup>. The Mykonos pithos is, howev-

104. For Pausanias also, the beards were significant. Cf. X, 25, 3 - 4; 31, 8.

105. Schol. Lykophr. 1268; Schol. Eurip. *Andr.* 10 (Lysanias, F.H.G. iii, 342).

106. *Il.* XXIV, 732 f.

107. See above, p. 47 n. 82.

108. Cf. *Sagenbilder*, p. 82 f.

109. Cf. krater fragment, Louvre E 638 bis, *Mon. Piot*, XVI, pl. 14; M. Dugas, «Tradition littéraire et tradition graphique», *L'Antiquité Classique*, VI (1937) p. 5 f.

er, earlier than any of these representations, the first Troilos scenes showing the lying-in-wait or pursuit rather than the actual death<sup>110</sup>.

The woman on Metope 17 can only be Andromache. Neoptolemos, holding the legs of Astyanax with one hand, grabs her by the wrist with the other. He is, therefore, leading her off, as he did in epic tradition<sup>111</sup>.

Of the other representations on the body of the pithos, the one that is most clearly connected with a known graphic tradition is that on Metope 7 (Pl. 22). The woman here shown stands out from all the others by the richness and detail of her clothing. Faced by a warrior who threatens her with upraised sword and seizes her by the wrist, she does not supplicate, but with one hand on each end of her shawl she displays her face and shoulder.

The scene could, following the account of Arktinos<sup>112</sup>, represent the sacrifice of Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles. Euripides gives a version of the tale in which Polyxena is led by the hand of Neoptolemos to the grave mound, where she herself pulls back her garment to expose her throat and breast. Other representations of Polyxena do not, however, bear any resemblance to the one here, the earliest known example showing Polyxena held face down over an altar, while Neoptolemos approaches with drawn sword<sup>113</sup>. The fact that the figures on the pithos accord with those which have with great likelihood been identified as Menelaos and Helen, makes this a more plausible identification<sup>114</sup>. Menelaos threatens her with upraised sword, but with a hand on her wrist prepares to lead her away.

A similar gesture of holding out the shawl or himation occurs frequently on pottery from the seventh century B.C. on<sup>115</sup>. The garment, however, is held out with one hand only, whereas on the Mykonos pithos, the woman holds back her shawl with both hands, and the artist seems rather to have attempted to show Helen displaying her beauty. The tradition of Helen baring her breast, and thereby softening the anger of Menelaos, first appears in the fifth century<sup>116</sup>. It is, however, referred to Lesches by the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (155), and to Ibykos the scholiast on Euripides' *Andromache* (630) gives a tale in which Helen fled before Menelaos to the temple of Aphrodite, where he was so overcome by love for her that he dropped his sword<sup>117</sup>. In general both these versions have been considered later additions, more in keeping with the sentimentalizing acquittal of Helen that

110. Cf. Magda Heidenreich, «Zu den frühen Troilos-darstellungen» *MDAI*, IV (1951) p. 144 f.

111. Proclus, *Chrest.* ap. Arktinos; Schol. Lykophr. 1268 ap. Lesches; Eurip. Tr. 237 f., 659 f.; Apollod., *Epit.*, V, 24.

112. Proklos, *Chrest.* 4, ap. Arktinos; Eur., *Troad*, 263 f.; Eur. *Hecabe*, 518 f., 558 f.; Schol. Eur. *Hek.* 41 (Ibykos fr. 36). Alternate tradition in *Cypria*; Polyxena was mortally wounded by Odysseus and Diomedes, and buried by Neoptolemos, Schol. Eur. *Hek.* 41.

113. Tyrrhenian Amphora, *JHS*, 18 (1898) pl. 15.

114. For the literary references to Menelaos and Helen, cf. *Hélène*, p. 31 f.

115. For example, an archaic painted pinax, Berlin, *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 7; «Melian» amphora, Athens, Collignon-Couve, *Vases du musée d'Athènes*, pl. 21, no. 477.

116. Arist. *Lys.* 155.

117. Cf. also Schol. Arist., *Vesp.* 714.

is found in the fifth century<sup>118</sup>. The representation on the Mykonos pithos is good evidence, however, that the tale originated in the Epic Cycle, just as reported by the Scholiast of *Lysistrata*. It is, moreover, the earliest representation of Helen and Menelaos so far found, the next in date being a late seventh century bronze relief from the Acropolis, on which Menelaos seizes Helen, while threatening her with a sword<sup>119</sup>.

Of the warriors who were in the Wooden Horse, other than Neoptolemos and Menelaos, we should expect to find at least Odysseus among those represented on the body of the pithos. Agamemnon also, who had sailed with Nestor to Tenedos, we might expect to find. Following the destruction of Troy, Hekabe was awarded by lot to Odysseus, Cassandra to Agamemnon. On metopes nos. 4 and 5 are warriors who are leading off the women they have won. The top panel, the smallest of the three, is not, however, the position on the pithos in which we should expect to find two of the most important of the heroes, and they may just as well be dealing out destruction in the scenes below.

The identification of the women other than Andromache and Helen is likewise problematical. The names of the women who were killed is nowhere given, and if Hekabe and Cassandra are not represented on metopes 4 and 5, there remains only the possibility that Cassandra is the figure who stands alone, looking away from the slaughter, with hands crossed on her breast (Metope no. 13). This identification is strengthened by the fact that on a fragment from Tenos<sup>120</sup> is a similar figure approached by an armed warrior. She stands on a higher level than the warrior, probably on the steps of an altar. It is likely therefore that the scene represents Cassandra and Aias<sup>121</sup>. On the Mykonos pithos there is no figure that can be identified as Polyxena, but her sacrifice, which was the final act of the Greeks before sailing, does not necessarily belong in this episode.

Although I do not here propose to embark in any detail on a discussion of the Epic Cycle, a few remarks are justified by the subject matter of the pithos. Of the ancient account of the Fall of Troy, the two most important as far as the pithos is concerned, are those of Arktinos and Lesches. Both of these poets lived in the second half of the eighth century B. C. a date which means that the world of epic was quite close to the Mykonos pithos. These two epics, although they have reached us in a much abbreviated form, originally gave the story of the Fall of Troy in considerably more detail. Furthermore, many of the same events were narrated by the two poets, whose accounts, while agreeing in general outline, frequently differed in particulars. One of the most obvious differences concerns the death of Astyanax. Although one literary tradition for the death of Astyanax has frequently been as-

118. *Hélène*, pp. 31 - 32.

119. *JHS*, 13 (1892 - 3) p. 268, fig. 32, and a fragment added by Kunze, p. 246, fig. 18; identified by Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, p. 81; listed as doubtful in *Hélène*, p. 105, n. 5.

120. *Reliefpithoi*, T 14; *Arch. Ephem.* 1939 - 41, p. 28, fig. 18.

121. *Reliefpithoi*, p. 82 - 3, Schäfer prefers Helen and Menelaos.



sumed<sup>122</sup>, Pausanias ( X, 25, 9 ) points out the existence of two different literary traditions, both of which are known as well from existing literary sources. According to the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, Astyanax, torn from the arms of Andromache or his nurse by Neoptolemos, was hurled head foremost from the walls of Troy<sup>123</sup>. This tradition, known by Homer<sup>124</sup>, appears to be the older of the two. In the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos and possibly of Stesichoros also, however, it was Odysseus who killed the child<sup>125</sup>. Euripides<sup>126</sup> puts the two traditions together, so that it is Odysseus who plans the death of the child who is led away by Talthybios and told to climb the walls from which he must fall, while at the same time Talthybios tells Andromache that her son is to be hurled from the battlements<sup>127</sup>.

The Astyanax of the Mykonos pithos is represented according to the version of Lesches, which seems to have been the one to win out in the artistic world. Although it has been assumed that there is only one graphic tradition for the death of Astyanax<sup>128</sup>, the account of Arktinos also seems occasionally to have found its way into the graphic repertoire. A black-figure lekythos of the second quarter of the sixth century<sup>129</sup>, represents the death of Astyanax together with that of Priam, a graphic combination which seems to take place some time in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. On this lekythos, although Astyanax is being held upside down by the legs, he is being threatened with a sword, the artist evidently having had both traditions in mind. On the Naples hydria of the Kleophrades painter<sup>130</sup> Priam is seated on an altar, head in hands, and on his lap lies the dead child who has been stabbed repeatedly. Again, this is a reference to the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos. The same version appears later on the *Tabula Iliaca* of the Capitoline Museum. Talthybios, the herald, is shown standing before Andromache, who, holding Astyanax in her arms, awaits his destruction. Some of the representations on bronze shield straps which show a warrior attacking a small boy, may also refer to the version of Arktinos. As these are isolated scenes, it is difficult to be certain, but it is much more likely that Astyanax would be chosen for a single scene, than another of the Trojan children. A representation such as that on the panel of the shield strap from Olympia showing a warrior attacking with a sword a small boy whom he holds up by the arm, is thus likely to be the death of Astyanax according to Arktinos *Iliupersis*<sup>131</sup>. For the taking of Helen by Menelaos also, there seem to have been two different traditions in the Epic Cycle. The Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* ( 155 ) refers

122. Mota, «Représentations figurées de la mort de Troilos», *RA*, 1957, p. 26; but cf. Preller, *Heldensage*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 1260.

123. Schol. Lycophr. 1268; Schol. Eurip. *Andr.* 10 ( Lysanias, F.H.G. iii, 342 ); Paus. X, 25, 9.

124. *Il.*, XXIV, 734 - 5.

125. Proclus, *Chrest.* ap. Arktinos.

126. *Tr.*, 709 - 725.

127. A still later tradition records Menelaos as responsible for the death of Astyanax - Serv. *Ampl. Aen.* II, 457.

128. Wiencke, *AJA*, 1954, p. 287 - 8.

129. Syracuse 21894, from Gela, *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, p. 222; Dugas, *op. cit.*, pl. III, 9.

130. ARV, p. 126, 66.

131. *Schildbänder*, pl. 29, 9 c.

to Lesches the tradition that Menelaos, on seeing the breast of Helen, cast away his sword rather than kill her as he had planned. A different version is recorded by Proclus as having been told by Arktinos: Menelaos finds Helen, kills Deiphobos, and takes Helen to the ship. This version is closer to that told in the *Odyssey* and appears to be the older of the two<sup>132</sup>. The two traditions resemble each other in that in each Helen ultimately was led away by Menelaos. For this reason to determine which version the representations on pottery reflect is extremely difficult. Mrs. Ghali-Kahil divides the early pottery on the basis of Menelaos' attitude towards Helen<sup>133</sup>. The representations which show Menelaos leading Helen away she attributes to Arktinos, while those in which Menelaos is shown simply confronting Helen she attributes to Lesches. The representation of Helen and Menelaos on the Mykonos pithos clearly reflects the tradition of Lesches, yet Menelaos has his hand on her wrist, and is therefore also leading her away. There is no way of distinguishing the version behind simple scenes in which Menelaos either facing Helen, or having turned, leads her away, unless some other clue is given by the artist. If Helen is shown revealing her beauty, as on the pithos, the attribution is clear. If two warriors rather than one are shown, they are likely to be Odysseus and Menelaos, and the reference could be to Arktinos or to the *Odyssey*.

It is thus clear that two of the most important episodes on the body of the pithos reflect the Little Iliad of Lesches. The Wooden Horse appears in both the Little Iliad and in the Iliupersis of Arktinos and could reflect either one. It remains to be seen if the tale of the slaughter of the women and children of Troy, clearly part of the epic tradition, can be attributed to one or the other. It is always possible that this episode existed in both accounts, as did the Wooden Horse. The evidence is slight, but there are a few indications that it was included at least in the Iliupersis of Arktinos. In the *Hekabe*<sup>134</sup> reference is made to the plan of the Greeks to kill Polyxena. This we know reflects the tradition of Arktinos. The chorus later laments the deaths of the children and old men<sup>135</sup>. Does this mean that the scene in which infants are killed is also to be referred to Arktinos? On the Tabula Iliaca of the Capitoline Museum, there is the same sort of combination. Talthybios, the herald, stands before Andromache to announce the plan to kill Astyanax, again a scene which reflects Arktinos. Elsewhere, Trojan women are being killed. It is therefore possible, although not certain, that the origin of this episode was in the Iliupersis of Arktinos, which must then have narrated the captivity of some of the women and children, and the slaughter of others. That the pithos reflects more than one epic tradition need not argue against this. Although the Iliupersis of Polygnotos reflects the Little Iliad of Lesches more than any other of the epics, it too depends on more than one narrative.

The entire pithos may be interpreted as an illustration of the part played by Odys-

132. *Od.* VIII, 493 f.

133. *Hélène*, p. 31, p. 71 f., p. 99 f.

134. Eurip. *Hek.* 107 f.

135. *Hek.* 475 f.

seus in the Fall of Troy. His crafty planning produced the Wooden Horse, and the success of the expedition was the result of his leadership. So also, the extermination of the children of Troy, on which the artist of the pithos has concentrated, was part of his diabolical scheme. He it was who pointed out the folly of leaving the son unharmed when once the father had been killed<sup>136</sup>. He recommended the sacrifice of Polyxena<sup>137</sup>, and according to one tradition at least, he ordered the killing of Astyanax.

### The Weapons

Among the interesting features of this pithos is the careful representation of the armed warrior. The weapons present a picture quite in keeping with what we know of the equipment of the late Geometric and early Archaic fighter. He carries two spears, a relatively small round shield, wears a helmet with plume and tall plume holder, and has a sword with a scabbard slung on a telamon. Cuirass and greaves, which were at least sometimes part of the equipment, are here omitted.

The individual weapons prove to be particularly interesting. The sword, to begin with, is of special importance. The clearest representations to be found on the pithos are on Metopes 14 and 16, and in the hand of the foremost warrior in the belly of the horse (Pls. 20 a, 26 a and 27 a). This sword is frequently represented from the Geometric period to the sixth century, disappearing only when there is a greater interest in representing the spear duels of the hoplite. Hitherto, it has not been recognized as representing an actually existing type of weapon. Examples are numerous, and I give here only a few:

1. Oinochoe. Athens Agora. Inv. No. P 4885, *Agora VIII*, No. 44, 3rd quarter of the eighth century B. C.
2. Ivory. Artemis Orthia Sanctuary. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. CI, and p. 210. Late eighth to seventh century B. C.
3. Terracotta shield. Tiryns. *BSA*, XLII, p. 93, pl. 18, A. ca. 700 B.C.
4. Hymettos Amphora. *CV Berlin I*, pls. 43, 1; 44, 1 and 2; *BSA*, XLII, p. 86, fig. 4. 700-680 B.C.
5. Bronze relief. Acropolis. Inv. No. 6963. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvées sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, No. 40; *JHS*, 1892-3, pp. 268-9, fig. 32. This is an especially good example, and shows the rivets clearly.
6. Bronze relief. Olympia. *Olympiabbericht*, I, pl. 28. Late seventh to early sixth century.
7. Moulded pithos. Artemis Orthia Sanctuary. Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, XVI, Sixth century.
8. Nettos Amphora. Athens National Museum, Inv. No. 1002. *ABV*, p. 4, 1. Late seventh century.
9. Tyrrhenian amphora. *ABV*, p. 105, 2, Castellani Painter. *AA* 50 (1962), p. 58 f., and figs. 5-6. Sixth century.

136. Eurip. *Troad*, 723; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 2, 19.

137. Eurip. *Hek.*, 133 f.; Diktes, V, 13.



The sword has the swelling grip and hand-guard with downward sloping shoulders that are characteristic of the swords classified as Naue II, and known from actual finds in the Aegean from ca. 1200 B. C. on<sup>138</sup>. The type of pommel and pommel-attachment, however, is quite unlike any of those so far found either in Greece or the Aegean islands. It is a lunate pommel, and the artist has taken great care in every case to indicate that the side-pieces and pommel were attached by means of rivets, three on the pommel, one on the hand-grip, and five on the hand-guard. Quite clearly he had a definite weapon in mind.

Although no parallel has been found among the extant remains in Greece proper or the Aegean, the origin of the sword can be traced. A flanged T-shaped pommel is known in the Aegean from the early fourteenth century to sometime in the twelfth century B.C., having been adopted ultimately from the Orient<sup>139</sup>. However, unlike the sword on the Mykonos pithos, on none of these weapons (Miss Sandars' Classes D ii, E ii, and F) is there more than one rivet hole for the pommel attachment. Moreover, these Aegean bronze swords differ in grip, hand-guard and blade from the Iron Age Type II sword which replaced them. A T-shaped, or frequently lunate, pommel appears likewise on a group of small swords and daggers that is found in Sicily and Italy. These weapons first appear at some time during the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age, the earliest probably being a miniature sword from the Modica hoard, dating to the eleventh century B.C.<sup>140</sup>. Miss Sandars has pointed out the relationship of these to the Class F sword in which she sees their origin. These likewise have a single pommel rivet. There are, however, some swords and daggers with lunate pommels resembling those on the Mykonos pithos in that they have two or even three horizontal rivet holes for the pommel attachment. These, moreover, while not fitting into the Naue II group, have a grip and hand-guard with sloping shoulders that have nothing to do with Class F<sup>141</sup>. With the exception of two unique swords from Hammer, Bayern (Bronze C) and Dollerup, North Jutland (Northern Bronze Period II)<sup>142</sup>, a flanged lunate pommel with two or three horizontally placed rivets appears to be unknown in Europe and the Balkans at this time. An iron sword, dating to the very end of the Bronze age, found by the Swedish at Idalion<sup>143</sup>, has a splaying lunate pommel with two horizontally placed rivets, but the wavy profile of the hand-grip differs from those of the other

138. The earliest sword for which there is any reliable context is that from the shaft grave at Tiryns, which cannot be dated closely, but falls within 1200 and 1100 B.C.

139. N.K. Sandars, «Later Aegean Bronze Swords», *AJA*, 67 (1963) pp. 117 f.

140. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Notes on Some Distinctive Types of Bronzes from Populonia, Etruria», *PPS*, 1956, p. 135.

141. For example: O. Montelius, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, 1895, pl. 355, No. 17, iron, from Rome; A. Tallochini, «Le Armi di Vetulonia e di Populonia», *Studi Etruschi*, XVI (1942) pl. IX, No. 51.

142. Ebbe Lomborg, «Donauländische Kulturbeziehungen und die relative Chronologie der frühen nordischen Bronzezeit», *Acta Archaeologica*, Copenhagen, Vol. XXX (1959) pp. 136 - 7, figs. 37 and 38; N. Sandars, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

143. *S.C.E.* II, No. 208, p. 537, and pl. CLXXI. Other swords, from the archaic levels, were thought by the excavators to be of the same type, but their fragmentary condition excludes certainty.

swords, and the pommel is much less extreme. The sword is, for the moment at least, unique.

The large lunate pommel of the sword on the Mykonos pithos is far closer in form to those of the Italian and Sicilian weapons than to the Idalion sword. It seems likely that the Italians were responsible for the addition of extra rivets to the lunate pommel, at the same time increasing its size. The sword of the Mykonos pithos appeared in Greece sometime during the eighth century, as a result of trade with Italy and Sicily. The Greeks are known to have been trading in that area from about 750 B.C. on, and it is at about this same time that Italian types of fibulae turn up in Greece<sup>144</sup>. Moreover, an Italic type of shield was found in the excavation of the Stadium at Olympia<sup>145</sup>. The Greeks evidently combined the new lunate type of pommel with the hand grip and guard of the Naue II sword to produce the type shown on the Mykonos pithos.

The Naue II swords were used both for slashing and for stabbing, and thus, while they generally retain some sort of mid-rib, it is slight in comparison with that of the Aegean swords of the Bronze Age. The two grooves on the blades of the swords on the pithos, however, are probably best interpreted as blood channels, likewise a common feature on many of the Naue II swords. The origin of these swords has been shunted back and forth between Europe and the East. It now appears that Europe has a better claim to them<sup>146</sup>, although the route by which they entered Greece remains to be studied. Catling<sup>147</sup> has divided the Naue II swords of the Mediterranean into four groups on the basis of the shape of the hilt. There appear, however, to be some variations which are not covered by this grouping, and these can most likely be explained by Mrs. Vermeule's hypothesis of different smithy traditions<sup>148</sup>. The shape of the blade must be taken into consideration, as it is cast in one piece with the hilt. The blades show considerable variety, ranging from a straight, narrow blade, to a leaf-shaped blade, and finally to a broad blade with straight or slightly convex edges, like those on the Mykonos pithos. Some swords straddle the groups listed by Catling<sup>149</sup>, and others fit into none of the listed categories<sup>150</sup>. Although of a type hitherto unknown in Greece, it is best for the time being to classify the sword on the Mykonos pithos as belonging to the general category Naue II, with the reservation that all the Iron Age swords of Greece need to be studied and reclassified. At the present moment, study of the swords is hampered by the poor state of preservation, and by the lack of adequate context in most

144. *Olympia*, Vol. IV, pl. 21. For this observation I am indebted to Dr. Homer Thomas, who generously discussed the problem of the swords with me.

145. Olympia Inv. No. B 1799, *Olympiabericht*, V, pp. 40 - 42, fig. 19, and *Olympia*, IV, pl. 20.

146. Hector Catling, «A New Bronze Sword from Cyprus», *Antiquity*, XXXV (1961) p. 118.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 115 - 122.

148. Emily Townsend Vermeule, «The Mycenaean in Achaia», *AJA*, 64 (1960) p. 1 f.; cf. Catling, *op. cit.*, p. 116 f.

149. The sword, Olympia E 239 (*Olympische Forschungen*, I, p. 164, and pl. 70, a and b) belongs either to Catling's group 2 or 3, yet has a blade closer to those of group 4.

150. For example: a sword from Phokis, *Arch. Ephem.*, 1897, p. 110, fig. 1.

cases. The lack of actual comparative material from Greece can be explained also by the fact that from archaic times on, it seems not to have been the custom to bury armour with the deceased. Even the big sanctuaries have yielded little in the way of swords, and most of these are in too poor a condition for accurate reconstruction. It is fortunate that this gap is filled by the representations on bronze reliefs and on pottery, without which the existence of this sword in Greece would not have been known. The fact that it represents a weapon that must have been in use through the archaic period at least, should be a warning against accepting too easily as obsolete «heroic» equipment, weapons which for the moment have no exact parallels among the finds contemporary with the representation.

As with the sword, the scabbard shown on the pithos is carefully represented, being each time of the same design. It is roughly rectangular in shape, and is bound by thongs. Remains of wood, interpreted as pieces of scabbards, have frequently been found with the swords of this period, and it is likely that this scabbard was meant to represent a wooden one. The small triangular projection at the top of the scabbard is no doubt a sort of blade-protector, as it appears to fit exactly the part of the blade exposed in the fork of the hand-guard. The same scabbard, including even the detail of the blade-protector, is known from a good many other representations<sup>151</sup>, and like the sword, is to be considered as representing the actual equipment of the warrior.

The helmet shown on the pithos has a tall hook-shaped crest-holder, plume-ridge decorated with an impressed checker-board pattern, neck-guard, and projecting cheek-pieces. Only two examples are shown in entirety, one held by the warrior striding on the tail of the horse, and another being held out by the warrior in the topmost window of the horse ( Pl. 18 a-b ). The others, always without cheek-pieces and neck-guard, frequently without the tall crest-holder, or with the checker-board pattern reduced to one row of stamps<sup>152</sup> are best explained as abbreviated versions of the same helmet. The cheek-pieces have no doubt been omitted to show the face, for the only two complete helmets are carried rather than worn<sup>153</sup>. Furthermore, the crest is reduced only when space requires it.

Excluding crest and holder, the helmet will have been constructed of two or four different pieces, depending on whether or not the cheek and neck-guards are to be considered as one piece. The method of construction no doubt resembled that of the Geometric helmet found at Argos<sup>154</sup>, the lower pieces being joined to the cap by means of rivets. The relief lines on the Argos helmet are indicated on the pithos helmets by means of incised lines. It is amusing to note that, as with so many other

151. For example, Athens Nettos Amphora; late Geometric amphora, Benaki Museum, *BSA* XLII ( 1947 ) pl. 19; fragment found by Kontoleon on Tenos, *Ergon*, 1958, p. 165, fig. 172.

152. Compare the warriors in Metopes 1 and 2.

153. The helmets of the early Panathenaic Athenas, such as the one on the Burgon Amphora, are most probably also to be explained in this way. The cheek pieces of a Corinthian helmet are omitted for the same reason on a terracotta group in the National Museum at Athens, Inv. No. 4082.

154. Paul Courbin, «Une tombe géométrique d'Argos», *BCH*, 1957, p. 356 f.



details, here too the artist has confused left and right. On the helmet held by the man in the neck of the horse, the cheek guard is longer than the neck-guard, whereas on that held by the man on the tail of the horse, the neck-guard is longer.

The helmet is of a type hitherto unknown in Greece, this form of cheek and neck-guard having turned up, to date, neither on pottery nor among the votive models and full-sized helmets. There are, however, from scattered areas in Greece, many examples of this type of crest-holder, and plume ridge with checkerboard pattern. The following list includes only a few of the more interesting ones.

1. Votive terracotta shield from Tiryns. *BSA* 42 (1947) pl. 18 A. Late Geometric. Plume ridge with checkerboard pattern.
2. Votive terracotta shield from Samos, Heraion, *AM*, LVIII, p. 120, fig. 66, and Beil 37, 1. Late Geometric.
3. Bronze figurine. Winifred Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. XV, c. Late Geometric.
4. Fragmentary votive helmet. Siphnos, seventh century votive deposit of a temple on the Acropolis (Kastro). *BSA*, 1949, p. 21, No. 3, and pl. 9, No. 5.
5. Bronze votive helmets from Praisos, *BSA*, VIII (1901-2) pl. X. Late eighth to seventh century on. Five have a small square face opening, but no separate cheek pieces. One looks like an attempt at a Corinthian helmet, but may not be.
6. Euphorbos Pinax from Rhodes. British Museum No. A 749. A. Salzmann, *Necropole de Camiros*, 1875, pl. 53. Note helmet of Menelaos.
7. Aristonothos vase. Pal. Conservatori. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, iii, fig. 65. Cf. also Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 43. The crest holder is attached to a simple cap helmet that is held in place by a chin-strap.
8. «Melian» amphora. *Bronzereliefs*, pl. 55 a. Shows a sphinx wearing a helmet like those worn by the early Panathenaic Athenas.
9. Burgon Amphora. Early Panathenaic. British Museum No. B 130. Peter Corbett, «The Burgon and Blacas Tombs», *JHS* 1960, p. 52 f., and pl. I.

It can be seen that this form of crest-holder turns up on a number of different helmets, some of which afford more protection than others, and some of which are surely abbreviated helmets. Even allowing for the fact that on many of the Geometric vases the representations are enigmatic, there appears to have been as much variety in helmet styles during the eighth and seventh centuries as during the late Bronze Age<sup>155</sup>. The helmet shown on the Mykonos pithos fits with no difficulty into this group, and adds to the variety. We offer the suggestion that this helmet was in actual use, and that it was Greek, since it has parallels neither in Italy nor to the north of Greece.

Two types of shield are represented on the pithos. That on metopes 2 and 3 (Pls. 20 b and 21 b) is a round, convex shield with a straight offset rim. It is not as close in form to the Argive shield as are those on the pithos in the Ciba collection<sup>156</sup>,

155. Cf. M.F.S. Hood and Piet de Jong, «Late Minoan Warrior Graves», *BSA*, XLVII (1952) pp. 257 - 8.

156. Ernst Berger, in *Ciba-Blättern*, July - August, 1962.

the rim being larger and the curve of the shield more pronounced. It belongs in the general category of the pre-Argive shields known from Olympia and Delphi<sup>157</sup>. The miniature votive shields and the remains of full-size shields indicate for the eighth and seventh centuries a wide variety of the round shield with offset rim, most with single hand-grip, some with telamon as well. The profiles of the votive shields from the Heraion of Samos, if indeed they are reasonably accurate copies, indicate the range to be expected in the degree of convexity and size of rim.

The second type, shown on the neck panel and on all but the middle panel of the body, while having as good a claim as any to the title of ἀσπίς ὀμφαλόεσσα, does not resemble exactly any of those so far classified as «omphalos» shields. Nor does it resemble any of those classified by Kunze as pre-Argive. It gives the impression of being constructed in two layers<sup>158</sup>, and one is reminded, in spite of the evident difference in size, of one of the shields on the reliefs of the palace of Sennacherib at Kujundschiik<sup>159</sup>. There are no exact comparisons, however, and it is possible that the artist intended a simple shield with omphalos bordered by concentric circles, perhaps constructed of metal laced to wood and leather. The problem of the omphalos shield has frequently been discussed, and Kunze has rightly pointed out the difficulty of drawing conclusions about the material of the shield, and even the form, from the early representations on pottery<sup>160</sup>.

Among the shields known as omphalos shields, there is considerable variety, the «omphalos» ranging from a small button-like or conical umbo to a larger central boss, sometimes convex, sometimes a protome. The shield with a long spike projecting from the center, known from Crete<sup>161</sup>, Cyprus<sup>162</sup> and the Kerameikos<sup>163</sup> might also be added. The term «omphalos» is misleading when applied to so many different types of shield, and since the appearance of the Homeric ἀσπίς ὀμφαλόεσσα, remains a puzzle, a distinction had best be made between the relatively flat shield with central umbo, and those whose shape is convex.

Although exact parallels for the convex shield of the Mykonos pithos have not been found, it is reasonable to suppose that here too an actually existing piece of armour was intended. The shield with offset rim, in any case, agrees with what is known of the pre-Argive shield. We have, thus, another indication that weapons and armour used in the Geometric period rather than being discarded with the introduction of hoplite tactics, continued to be used. Moreover, the new equipment, as well as the hoplite formation, will not have taken hold everywhere at the same

157. *Olympiabericht*, II and V.

158. Cf. *Il.* XII, 295, the shield of Sarpedon.

159. W. Helbig, «Ein homerischer Rundschild mit einem Bügel», *Jahreshefte*, 1909, p. 21, figs. 10 and 11.

160. *Bronzereliefs*, p. 18. Cf. also a seventh century pyxis, Athens, National Museum, *VS*, pl. 24 I, b. Πόρπαξ and ἀντιλαβή show clearly, yet the warrior holds the shield out in front of him as if it were of the small hand-grip type.

161. Silver bowl from Amathus, *Jahreshefte*, 1909, p. 26, fig. 16.

162. Idalion, cf. *S.C.E.*, II, p. 578, and pl. CLXXV.

163. *Ker.*, IV, pl. 37, and p. 27.

time. A lead figurine from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary<sup>164</sup> brings the single-grip shield with «omphalos» down to the end of the seventh century, at least in Laconia. An aryballos found at Corinth, and dating to the beginning of the seventh century B.C.<sup>165</sup>, shows hoplites without greaves, while any number of hoplites continue the Geometric practice of carrying two spears<sup>166</sup>. These cannot all be «archaisms»<sup>167</sup>.

### Composition

The decoration of the Mykonos pithos differs from that of the other known pithoi of the Tenian-Boiotian group in that the panels on the body, rather than forming a continuous frieze decoration, are broken up into a series of metopes. The interest of the vase painters of this period ran more to frieze decoration, showing animal files or continuous battle scenes. Emphasis on a single panel, however, frequently occurs from the late Geometric period on, particularly on Cycladic pottery. Although these panels are placed more often on the neck of the pot, they are also used as a shoulder decoration, usually containing either a single head or figure, or a heraldic device of some sort. With the breaking up of the close geometric system of decoration that is a symptom of the early Orientalizing period, comes the decoration of pottery and metal work in metopes, evidently an Aegean development. Although the Mykonos pithos is to date the earliest known with this system of decoration, a comparable metope arrangement is to be found on some of the pithoi of the Naxos and Cretan groups<sup>168</sup>, and panels arranged vertically occur on some of the terracotta figurines found on Siphnos<sup>169</sup>.

Most of these are single figures or heraldic groups. Experimentation with the problems of a closed composition of either two or three figures, arranged in single panels or in a series of metopes, was a development of the seventh century, and seems to have interested the ivory and metal workers considerably more than it did the decorators of vases. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to find a series of three-figure compositions on a pithos of the Boiotian-Tenian class. It serves to emphasize the connection, already remarked by scholars, of the pithos workshop with the metal-working establishments. The Mykonos pithos, moreover, stands near the very beginning of the three-figure composition, being the earliest example found to date. It is remarkable therefore that the reliefs include some of the most brilliant three-figure compositions of Greek art.

Characteristic of both two- and three-figure compositions of the early period is the emphasis on vertical lines, a result of the fact that the earliest representation

164. *Artemis Orthia*, p. 263, fig. 122 a. 635 - 600 B.C.

165. *AJA*, 59 (1955) p. 225, pl. 68, fig. 10.

166. For example, *VS*, pl. XXXIII, and pl. XXXVI, 5 b.

167. As Miss Lorimer, *BSA*, 42, p. 95 f.

168. Cf. neck fragment from Naxos, *Atti*, p. 267 f., pl. III; from Crete, neck fragment, *Relief-pithoi*, pl. VI, 2; shoulder fragment, *Relief-pithoi*, pl. VI, 3, both of the third quarter of the seventh century B.C.

169. *BSA*, XLIV, pl. 7, and 8, 4 - 5. Early second quarter of the seventh century.



of three figures in a panel is simply a series of three upright figures. These vertical lines are gradually broken by one or two diagonal lines. The arms of both Hekabe and Neoptolemos on the neck of the pithos, Boston 99.505<sup>170</sup> connect the side figures with the central and most important figure of Priam. On a slightly later shield strap from Olympia<sup>171</sup> the spears of both Achilles and Penthesileia form a strong diagonal line. In most of these, the line of the arms and legs acts simply to emphasize or to unite the vertical elements of the composition. Most of the early three-figure compositions actually consist simply of the addition of a third upright figure to a two-figure composition. Ariadne, for example, adds little to the group of Theseus and the Minotaur on the gold reliefs from Corinth<sup>172</sup>.

On the Mykonos pithos, however, is a type of composition for which there are few parallels in this early period. Two figures, framing the metopes, are placed vertically to be sure, but the third figure is placed between them, and the wild overlapping of arms, legs, swords and spears, breaks up the composition into a series of geometrical planes, superimposed as it were, upon the vertical and diagonal lines formed by the three figures. One of the few examples that is in a class with this composition is a terracotta relief from Rhodes<sup>173</sup>. Here, in the arms and weapons of the two warriors, is a similar combination of linear and geometrical pattern.

On the Mykonos pithos, particularly worthy of attention are the metopes numbers 8, 9, 14, 15 and 17. (Pls. 23 b, 24 a, 26 a-b and 27 b). Subtle curves leading through the arms from one figure to the other, and careful repetition of line and geometrical pattern add to the interest of the composition. On metope number 8 is an especially complicated combination of straight and curved line, repeated triangular planes, and crossing diagonals running between the two side figures.

This combination of plane and linear composition is a characteristic of some of the finest relief work of the fifth century<sup>174</sup>. It is particularly interesting to find it in so sophisticated a form at such an early date.

The choice of metope decoration by the artist of the Mykonos pithos was perhaps determined by the fact that rather than a continuous scene of slaughter, he had in mind single scenes, involving individual heroes.

#### Chronology and Attributions

The chronology of the Tenian-Boiotian group has been studied by Schäfer, who has divided them into three groups. Group I he has dated to the second half of the eighth century, beginning shortly before 750 B. C. His second group covers the first half of the seventh century, while two remaining pieces form a third group coming down into the second half of the seventh century. Although Kontoleon has not yet published his views on the chronology of all the pithoi, he has given an indication in the lowering of the date of fragment T 1, the earliest of Schäfer's

170. *Sagenbilder*, pl. 38, R 4.

171. *Schildbänder*, pl. 20, V, c.

172. Reichel, *Griechische Goldrelief*, Taf. 13; F. Matz, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 412.

173. Fr. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, (1950), pl. 288 a.

174. See for example the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Parthenon.

Group I, to 700 B.C., finding that it is part of the same pithos as T 9<sup>175</sup>. A lowering of the dates of the early pieces is supported by the evidence from the Athenian Agora, which is in favour of a generally lower date for Attic Geometric than that proposed by Kübler<sup>176</sup>. It is likely moreover that further study of these pithoi will show that they cover a shorter span of time than proposed by Schäfer, coming down not very far into the second half of the seventh century. It is most probable that several workshops and artists were producing at about the same time most of the pithoi of Schäfer's Group II.

The Mykonos pithos, which fits into Schäfer's Group II, is a good example of work that is thoroughly Cycladic in overall composition, while strongly influenced by Attic work in certain of its details. The Cycladic character is evident in the division of the body into horizontal panels divided by parallel lines and broken up into metopes. The placing of a horse in a large panel on the neck is likewise a favorite form of Cycladic decoration, a similar horse or animal protome occurring frequently on amphoras of the Heraldic and Ad groups<sup>177</sup>.

The Wooden Horse itself, however, resembles more the horses of Attic Geometric and Protoattic pottery, although certain similarities are to be found in the Protome group. He stands as an Attic Geometric horse, straight and stiff, all four feet upon the ground. His body is long and tubular shaped, and his head is carried on a high, straight neck. The head is, however, smaller in proportion than is usual on either Cycladic or Protoattic horses. The jaw of the horse has a strongly emphasized curve travelling up to the base of small upright ears. This feature, which is a characteristic of the horses of the Protome group<sup>178</sup>, appears occasionally on horses of the earlier Heraldic group and likewise on Protoattic horses<sup>179</sup>. The tail of the horse, set low on the rump, with a herringbone pattern of stamped lines, a characteristic of the horses of the Tenian-Boiotian group, also has parallels among the Protoattic horses<sup>180</sup>. The mane of the horse, carefully incised and falling somewhat stiffly over one side of the neck to end in sharply pointed strands, is a Geometric version of the somewhat freer manes found on Cycladic horses of the Protome, Bc and «Melian» groups.

Comparisons with Protoattic, Argive and Cycladic pottery indicate a date of ca. 675 B. C. for the Mykonos pithos, and enable us to place chronologically some of the other pithoi of Schäfer's Group II. The figures of the pithos are, furthermore, clearly in the world of the forerunners of archaic sculpture, falling somewhere between such figures as the Mantiklos dedication to Apollo<sup>181</sup>, and a wooden

175. Kontoleon, *Gnomon*, 32 (1960) pp. 719 - 722.

176. *Agora* VIII, p. 4 f.; Brann, *AJA*, LX (1956) p. 73.

177. See *Délos*, XV, pl. 25, 9 a; *ibid.*, XVII, pl. 2, no. 4; for Cycladic groups cf. Brock, *BSA*, 44, p. 74.

178. See *Délos*, XVII, pl. 12, no. 19

179. *CV*. Berlin, I, pl. 21, A 32.

180. See above, n. 179.

181. G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 26, and figs. 9 - 11.

statuette of the third quarter of the seventh century B. C. from Samos<sup>182</sup>.

A particularly close parallel in painted pottery is the Argive fragment showing the blinding of Polyphemos. ( Pl. 29 d ). This has been dated by Courbin<sup>183</sup> to the second quarter of the seventh century. The figures show the same combination of frontal and profile body, and the flat Daedalic heads of the figures of the Mykonos pithos are not far removed from those of Odysseus' men. The proportions of the figures, with their large heads and eyes, are similar, and there is the same interest in the representation of details such as the knee cap and elbow.

That the Mykonos pithos belongs near the beginning of the second quarter of the seventh century, is indicated also by a comparison with the Naxian «Aphrodite» Amphora ( Pl. 29 b - c ) dated by Karousos<sup>184</sup> to the middle of the second quarter. The Mykonos horse is more Geometric than the horses on this amphora, and the figures too are less developed. Those on the Eleusis Amphora of the Polyphemos painter<sup>185</sup> show likewise a decided advance over the figures of the pithos.

Close to the Mykonos pithos, but probably a bit earlier, is the fragment of a relief pithos found on Delos in the 1962 excavation of the Archeghesion. ( Pl. 30 a )<sup>186</sup> The measurements of the fragment are as follows:

Maximum preserved width: 0.115

Maximum preserved height: 0.07

Thickness at top: 0.02

at bottom: 0.021

The clay is of a brick red colour, coarse, with mica and large pieces of grit. It is redder in colour than that of the Mykonos pithos. A thin slip, much less refined than that on the Mykonos pithos, covers the surface. The artist smoothed it with his fingers, marks of which can be seen to the right of the figure. The fragment belongs to the shoulder of a large pithos. A male head, broken off at the shoulder, is preserved, and faces left. Above is part of the ridge border that is usual on these pithoi. The head measures 0.03 from the top to the chin, being somewhat larger than those on the Mykonos pithos. The relief also is considerably higher, and the pithos from which it came must have been a massive one. A herringbone pattern is used for the hair, resembling but not exactly similar to that on the heads of the Mykonos pithos, while the beard is indicated by a series of dots like those used to outline the vulture on the Prometheus fragment in the National Museum of Athens<sup>187</sup>. The hair is outlined, the face and neck are not. In technique it is similar to the Mykonos pithos, being applied relief. The workmanship however is somewhat less care-

182. D. Ohly, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVIII ( 1953 ) pp. 86 f., no. 5; Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 - 7, figs. 17 - 19.

183. Paul Courbin, *BCH LXXIX* ( 1955 ), pp. 1 - 49, pl. I.

184. *JdI.*, 1937, p. 175.

185. Mylonas, *op. cit.*

186. Delos Inv. No. A 62 739 bis. The French School of Archaeology has generously given me permission to publish the fragment. I should like to thank the excavator, M. Ducas.

187. Inv. No. 2495 *Reliefpithoi*, T 2.



ful, and less attention is given to detail. The ear, for example, is formed by a simple line in the form of a C.

Whether it was made on Delos, or imported from elsewhere, is not now clear. Although related to the Mykonos pithos in style, the figure is coarser and heavier, the clay less refined and evidently from a different clay bed, and it is therefore apparently not from the same workshop, if indeed from the same island.

Besides the Delos fragment, a good many of the pithoi of Schäfer's group II can be placed chronologically with the Mykonos pithos. Contemporary with, or perhaps a bit earlier is a group formed by two pieces, a fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>188</sup> showing Europa on the bull, and part of a pithos, from Tenos, showing Ariadne and Theseus on Delos<sup>189</sup>. The figures on both pieces have dresses that are decorated with an identical system of patterns. I have seen these in photograph only, but attribute them to the same man, whom I shall call the Ariadne Master.

Shape, as well as stylistic development, connects the Mykonos pithos more closely with a group of three pieces, *Reliefpithoi* B 1<sup>190</sup>, B 2<sup>191</sup>, and B 3<sup>192</sup>. The head of the Perseus on the fragment, B 3, is very close to those of the attendants of the Potnia on B 1. Details such as the hair and ear are identical. Although I have seen B 3 only in photograph, I attribute this fragment and B 1 to the same man, whom I shall call the *Master of the Athens Potnia*. The Perseus of B 3 is very close to the Perseus of the Louvre pithos, B 2, and has been called a replica<sup>193</sup>. B 2 is related to both B 1 and B 3, and is a product of the same workshop.

The Mykonos pithos is one of the masterpieces of the Tenian-Boiotian group, surpassing most of the other pithoi in the beauty of its composition and subtlety of its modelling. It is the product of a workshop closely related to that which produced the pithoi B 1, B 2 and B 3. It is a splendid addition to our knowledge of archaic Greek art, that we have so fine a work from the hand of one of the most accomplished of the seventh century artists, and it is to be hoped that future excavation and research will turn up other pithoi by the same hand.

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188. *CV*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2, pl. 94, No. 2; *Reliefpithoi*, B 5.

189. *Atti*, p. 267 f, pl. I. Kontoleon dates it close to 700 B.C.

190. Athens, National Museum Inv. No. 5898.

191. Louvre, Inv. No. Ca 795.

192. Louvre, Inv. No. Ca 937.

193. *Reliefpithoi*, p. 73, B 3.



Mykonos Museum. Relief pithos

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Mykonos pithos: a. Neck panel showing the Wooden Horse, b. Detail of the head of the horse

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Mykonos pithos: a. Detail of the body of the horse, b. Neck panel

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Mykonos pithos: a. Neck panel. Detail showing the warrior standing before the horse, b. Body of the pithos. Top panel, Metope 3

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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Top panel: a. Metopes 4 and 5, b. Metopes 1 and 2

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Body of the Mykonos pithos, Middle panel: Metope 7. Helen and Menelaos

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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Middle panel: a. Metope 6, b. Metope 8

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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Middle panel: a. Metope 9. b. Metope 10

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Body of the Mykonos pithos: a. Middle panel. Metope 12, b. Bottom panel. Metope 13

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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Bottom panel: a. Metope 14, b. Metope 15

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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Bottom panel: a. Metope 16, b. Metope 17. Neoptolemos, Astyanax and Andromache

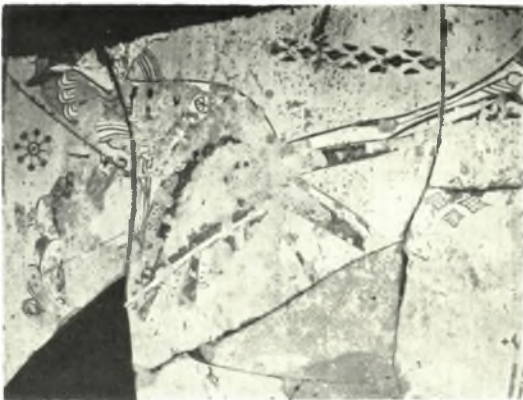
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Body of the Mykonos pithos. Bottom panel: a. Metope 18, b. Metope 19

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a. Handle of the Mykonos pithos, b - c. Naxian «Aphrodite Amphora». In c detail of the neck showing horses. (Photographs of the German Institute of Archaeology). d. Argive fragment, blinding of Polephemos (Photogr. by courtesy of the French School of Archaeology)

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a. Delos. Inv. No. A62 739 bis. Fragment of relief pithos (Photograph by courtesy of the French School of Archaeology). b. The Mykonos pithos as found

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