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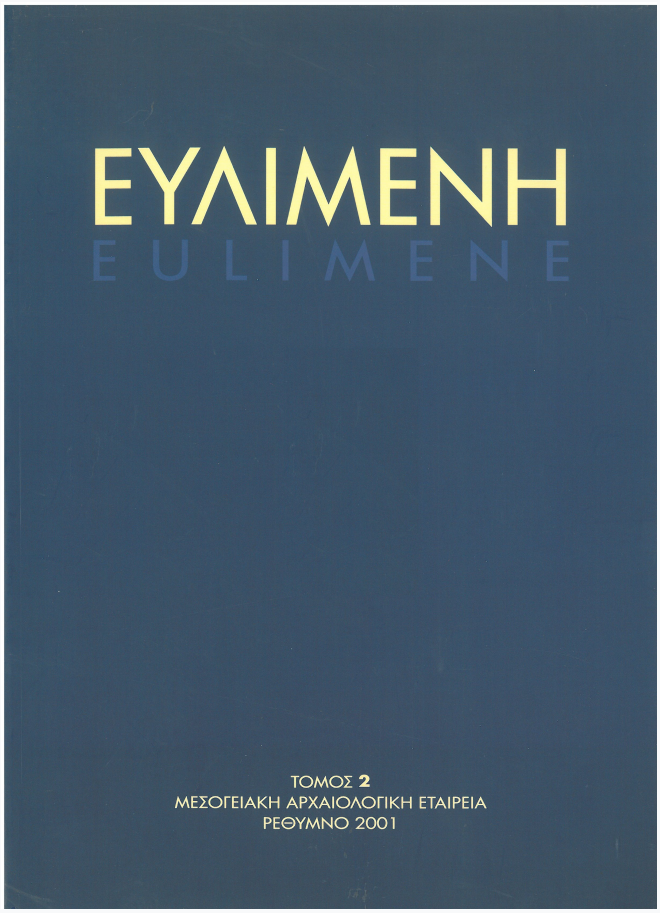

Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting

D. Paleothodoros

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ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001)

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Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Antonio Corso, Attitudes to the Visual Arts of Classical Greece in Late Antiquity, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 13–51

Attitudini tardoantiche nei confronti delle arti visive della Grecia classica. Argomento del presente articolo è lo studio dei diversi momenti tramite i quali la concezione dell'arte classica è progressivamente cambiata nel periodo che va dall'età dei Severi a quella di Giustiniano. Punto di partenza di questo processo è la tesi, asserita da Flavio Filostrato nella «Vita di Apollonio di Tiana», che l'arte di creare simulacri deve basarsi sulla *phantasia* e non sulla *mimesis*. Sempre a partire dall'età severiana, sale alla ribalta l'idea che i simulacri ottimali possano divenire abitacoli delle divinità rappresentate e siano pertanto magicamente provvisti della vita e delle facoltà di questi: tale concezione può essere appieno apprezzata nel *de statuis* di Callistrato. Inoltre, la concezione idealizzata delle arti visive di età classica, e soprattutto tardoclassica, considerate provviste di un messaggio edonistico, in seno alla seconda sofistica, comporta la condanna di queste produzioni artistiche da parte dei Padri della Chiesa, che ritengono i simulacri antichi corruttori dei costumi, oltrechè privi di valore dal punto di vista teologico. Tale condanna prelude alla distruzione di non pochi simulacri pagani praticata dai seguaci più estremisti del Cristianesimo tra 4 e 5 sec. Inoltre, il gusto cambia e, a partire dalla seconda metà del 4. sec., i palazzi e le ville provvisti di facciate scenografiche, le pitture e i mosaici ricchi di colori e involucranti gli spazi interni, piacciono di più talora delle opere d'arte antiche, in particolare delle statue. Tuttavia, a partire dal 4 sec., matura nella cultura cristiana il principio che si deve distinguere tra il pregio artistico delle statue classiche, che si può ammirare, e il loro contenuto religioso, che invece è inaccettabile. Questa distinzione sta alla base della fioritura di musei di statue antiche, in occidente durante il periodo fra l'ultimo quarto del 4. sec. e la prima metà del 5, a Costantinopoli tra Costantino e Giustiniano. L'articolo è chiuso da alcune note sull'affermazione in tale corso di tempo della convinzione che le statue in marmo di età classica non fossero colorate, ma mostrassero il colore del marmo, della tesi che la scultura era più importante della pittura nella Grecia classica, e infine di interpretazioni ingentilite, edonistiche e idealizzate dell'arte classica.

V. Karageorghis, Some innovations in the burial customs of Cyprus (12th – 7th centuries BC), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 53–65

Μερικές αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου (12^{ος}–7^{ος} αι. π.Χ.). Σ' αυτή τη μελέτη γίνεται προσπάθεια να καταδειχθούν οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική και τα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο μεταξύ του 12^{ου} και του 7^{ου} αι. π.Χ., από την εποχή δηλαδή που εμφανίζονται στην Κύπρο οι πρώτες πολιτιστικές καινοτομίες κατά

τις αρχές του 12ου αι. π.Χ. Οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική κορυφώνονται κατά τον 11ο αι. π.Χ. με την εμφάνιση των τάφων με στενόμακρο δρόμο και μικρό τετράπλευρο θάλαμο, που θα μεταφέρθηκαν στο νησί από το Αιγαίο, με την άφιξη των πρώτων Αχαιών αποίκων. Είναι τότε που παρατηρούνται και τα πρώτα δείγματα καύσης των νεκρών. Γίνεται εκτενής αναφορά στις «ηρωϊκές» ταφές του 8ου–7ου αι. και επιχειρείται σύγκριση με ανάλογα φαινόμενα στο Αιγαίο, ιδίως στην Κρήτη και την Ετρουρία, και συσχετίζονται τα νέα ταφικά έθιμα με τις νέες κοινωνικές δομές που χαρακτηρίζουν τις χώρες τις Μεσογείου, με την εμφάνιση της αριστοκρατικής άρχουσας τάξης και του ανάλογου τρόπου ζωής και συμπεριφοράς.

D. Paleothodoros, Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 67–92

Σάτυροι ως επισήματα ασπίδων στην αγγειογραφία. Περίπου 120 αγγεία της αρχαϊκής και πρώιμης κλασικής περιόδου παρουσιάζουν ασπίδες με τη μορφή του σατύρου ως επίσημα. Τεχνοτροπικά, στον μελανόμορφο ρυθμό επικρατεί το θέμα της ανάγλυφης μάσκας, που εγκαινιάζει ο Κλειτίας, ενώ στον πρώιμο ερυθρόμορφο κυριαρχεί ο Επίκτητος με την εισαγωγή δύο θεμάτων, της μετωπικής μάσκας και της μάσκας σε προφίλ και σκιαγραφία. Η εικονογραφική και αρχαιολογική ανάλυση δείχνει ότι η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου θέματος υπαγορεύεται από την επιθυμία των ζωγράφων να δημιουργήσουν μια εικονιστική ατμόσφαιρα, όπου κυριαρχούν οι αναφορές στον Διόνυσο και τον κόσμο του κρασιού.

Κ. Ρωμιοπούλου, Πτηνοὶ Ἔρωτες ὕπνῳ εὕδοντες, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 93–96

Sleeping Erotes in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Hellenistic plastic arts introduced a whole range of sleeping or resting types and styles; among them is the type of sleeping Eros in childlike appearance, which acquired great popularity in Roman times as a decorative statue for gardens or as a funerary statue symbolizing heroisation. The relation of Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) has been suggested as the reason for this subject becoming so popular in litterature and art. In this article are presented two unpublished statuettes of sleeping Eros depicting two different types of Eros, products of Attic workshops. They are dated around the end of 1st and in the 2nd cent. AD.

M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, Gortynians and others: the case of the Antonii, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 97–119

Οι Γορτύνιοι και οι άλλοι: η περίπτωση των Αντωνίων. Για τη συγγραφή μιας βάσιμης ιστορίας της κοινωνίας στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη θα πρέπει στο πλούσιο και διαρκώς αυξανόμενο επιγραφικό υλικό της Γόρτυνας να γίνει μια διάκριση ανάμεσα στους Γορτυνίους και τους μη Γορτυνίους. Το όνομα Ἀντώνιος, διάφοροι φορείς του οποίου είναι γνωστοί στη Γόρτυνα από τον 1ο π.Χ. έως τον 2ο μ.Χ. αιώνα, αποτελεί ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα ρωμαϊκού ονόματος γένους με εμπορικές αλλά και πολιτικές διασυνδέσεις. Στο άρθρο αυτό δίνεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή στην παρουσίαση δύο περιπτώσεων. Η πρώτη είναι μια πρωτοδημοσιευμένη επιγραφή από τη Γόρτυνα, η οποία αναφέρεται σε

κάποιον Αντώνιο, αρχικά κάτοικο της Κυρήνης ή της Κυρηναϊκής, πριν αναλάβει πολιτικό αξίωμα στην αποικία της Κνωσού. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση, μια επιγραφή από την Έφεσο, αναφέρεται σε έναν κατά τα άλλα άγνωστο Γορτύνιο που διετέλεσε ιερέας της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα· η επιγραφή αυτή μας επιτρέπει να τοποθετήσουμε τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας και του Αυγούστου στο πλαίσιο της κοινότητας των εμπόρων που είχαν εγκατασταθεί στην ελληνική Ανατολή πριν από τη μάχη του Ακτίου. Η ένταξη αυτού του αναθήματος του Αντωνίου στο ιστορικό του πλαίσιο, του 2ου μ.Χ. αιώνα, μας επιτρέπει να συνδέσουμε τη συμμετοχή της Κρήτης στο Πανελλήνιον με την εξέλιξη της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα στη Γόρτυνα και την επάνοδο της συγκλητικής διοίκησης στη Γόρτυνα. Οι Αντώνιοι που μαρτυρούνται στη Γόρτυνα —είτε είναι Γορτύνιοι είτε όχι— αντανακλούν επίσης την εκεί παρουσία πελατών και υποστηρικτών του Μάρκου Αντωνίου, του μέλους της τριανδρίας (όπως και στην Κόρινθο). Θα είναι αναγκαίο να επανεξετάσουμε την καθιερωμένη άποψη, ότι η Γόρτυνα υποστήριξε τον Οκταβιανό, ενώ η Κνωσός πήρε το μέρος του Αντωνίου.

Ι. Κολτσίδα–Μακρή, Ο θησαυρός Γυθείου *IGCH* 170, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 121–128

The Gythion Hoard IGCH 170. *IGCH* 170 was found at Gythion of Laconia in 1938. It consists of 33 silver coin–issues often occuring in Peloponnesian hoards: 1 drachm of Aegina, 32 triobols of Sikyon, 1 tetradrachm of Antiochus I Soter. The drachm issue, with two dots on the reverse incuse, dates to the second half of the 4th century B.C. The triobols follow the so–called reduced Aeginetan standard, with an average weight of about 2.6 gr. each; these can be attributed to the very last years of the 4th up to the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. The tetradrachm of Antiochus I, minted in Seleucia on the Tigris c. 278–274 B.C., is important for the chronology of the find. In a total of 23 coin hoards found in the Peloponnese, buried in the period between the middle of the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., four include Seleucid tetradrachms (17 in all); see the table in p. 124, of which 8 were minted in Seleucia on the Tigris.

It is probably an emergency hoard connected either with the troubled times of Cleomenes III's war (228–222 B.C.) or the Social War (220–217 B.C.). Thus, the period around the year 220 B.C. is *grosso modo* suggested as the possible burial date. The Gythion find is another important hoard for the dating of the triobols of Sikyon and also provides further evidence for coin circulation in the Peloponnese during the second part of the 3rd century B.C.

V.E. Stefanaki, Sur deux monnaies de bronze inédites d'Hiérapytna. Monnayage hiérapytnien et timbres amphoriques à l'époque hellénistique, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 129–142

Δύο αδημοσίευτα χάλκινα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας: Ιεραπυτνιακά νομίσματα και σφραγίδες αμφορέων στην ελληνιστική εποχή. Η Ιεράπυτνα, φημισμένο λιμάνι της νοτιοανατολικής Κρήτης, κυρίως κατά τα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, είχε ήδη αρχίσει να αναπτύσσεται στην ελληνιστική εποχή, από το τέλος του 3ου και στις αρχές του 2ου π.Χ. αιώνα. Το 145 π.Χ., μετά την κατάκτηση της γειτονικής Πραισού, έγινε η πιο δυνατή πόλη της Ανατολικής Κρήτης, όπως μαρτυρούν οι επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές πηγές.

Τα αργυρά της νομίσματα (τετράδραχμα, δίδραχμα και δραχμές), με την κεφαλή της Τύχης ως εμπροσθότυπο, κόπηκαν μετάξυ του 110 και του 80 π.Χ., και μαρτυρούν την οικονομική ευημερία της κατά την εποχή αυτή. Η ευημερία αυτή ήταν αποτέλεσμα τόσο της εδαφικής προσάρτησης της πλούσιας περιοχής της Πραισού όσο και της αύξησης της παραγωγής κρασιού στην χώρα της Ιεράπυτνας (με βλέψεις εμπορικές ή μη), όπως μαρτυρούν οι ενσφράγιστοι ιεραπυτνιακοί αμφορείς που βρέθηκαν στην Αλεξάνδρεια της Αιγύπτου, στην Καλλατία της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και στη μικρή χερσόνησο Τρυπητός στην περιοχή της Σητείας, όπου οι έρευνες έφεραν στο φως τμήμα σημαντικής ελληνιστικής πόλης.

Η μέλισσα που εμφανίζεται σε μία από τις σφραγίδες των αμφορέων ως επίσημο σύμβολο της Ιεράπυτνας, συναντάται επίσης στην οπίσθια όψη δύο χάλκινων ιεραπυτνιακών νομισμάτων, τα οποία βρίσκονται σήμερα στη νομισματική συλλογή του Ashmolean Museum στην Οξφόρδη. Ισως η επιλογή της μέλισσας ως συμβόλου να είχε σχέση με την κατάκτηση της Πραισού από την Ιεράπυτνα, καθώς ο τύπος είναι χαρακτηριστικός των πραισιακών νομισμάτων.

Η επιγραφή που εμφανίζεται στη σφραγίδα του αμφορέα με τη μέλισσα και στα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, είναι το εθνικό των Ιεραπυτνίων σε συντετμημένη μορφή: ΙΕ. Σε άλλες σφραγίδες ιεραπυτνιακών αμφορέων εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο το εθνικό δηλ. ΙΕ(Α)ΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ[ΩΝ] καθώς και ονόματα αρχόντων, επώνυμων ή μη (ΣΩΣΟΣ, ΠΑΣΙΩΝ). Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και στα αργυρά νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας με την κεφαλή της Τύχης που αρχίζουν να κόβονται μετά το 110 π.Χ. Το εθνικό των Ιεραπυτνίων δεν εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο σε κανένα νόμισμα πριν το 110 π.Χ. και τα ονόματα των αρχόντων αρχίζουν να αναγράφονται στα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας μέσα στο δεύτερο μισό του 2ου π. Χ. αιώνα. Πρόκειται για την περίοδο κατά την οποία η Ιεράπυτνα αρχίζει να οργανώνει τη νομισματοκοπία της για να διευκολυνθεί ο οικονομικός και διοικητικός έλεγχος. Τον ίδιο έλεγχο άσκησε, πιθανώς την ίδια περίοδο, και στην διακίνηση των προϊόντων της. Από τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι οι ιεραπυτνιακοί αμφορείς καθώς και τα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, θα πρέπει να χρονολογηθούν μετά το 145 π.Χ. και μάλιστα προς το τέλος του δευτέρου μισού του 2ου π.Χ αιώνα.

M.D. Trifiró, The hoard Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (*IGCH* 154), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 143–154

Il tesoretto Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (IGCH 154). Il tesoretto *IGCH* 154, rinvenuto a Creta (località Astritsi), consta di emissioni argentee provenienti dalle città cretesi e da Cirene, Corinto e colonie, Argo, Tebe ed Egina. Sono state studiate solo le emissioni non –cretesi che ammontano a cinquantacinque monete d'argento a cui vanno aggiunti altri sei esemplari provenienti da Cirene. Questi ultimi ufficialmente appartengono ad un tesoretto rinvenuto nel 1935 a Hierapytna (*IGCH* 318), ma molto probabilmente fanno parte del nostro ripostiglio, e sono attualmente conservati insieme ad esso presso il Museo Numismatico di Atene.

Unitamente al catalogo numismatico si è fornito un breve commento relativo alle singole emissioni monetali, nel tentativo di contestualizzare le serie e di chiarirne la cronologia assoluta e relativa. Particolare attenzione è stata riservata alla monetazione cirenea nel tentativo di motivarne la presenza nell'isola di Creta, alla luce dei rapporti economici e commerciali testimoniatici dalle scarse fonti storiche. Per tali serie si è

sostenuta una cronologia «bassa» (300/290–280 a.C.) e si è proposto di identificarne lo standard ponderale con la fase intermedia del peso tolemaico adottato dal 310 a.C., probabilmente in concomitanza con un cambiamento della *ratio* tra oro e argento.

I «pegasi» provengono sia da Corinto che dalle sue colonie (Anactorion, Amphilochian Argos, Thyrrheion) e presentano simboli e monogrammi differenti, ma cronologicamente appartengono tutti al V periodo Ravel (387–306 a.C.).

Delle emissioni argive, scarsamente studiate, si è presentata la classificazione e si è proposta una cronologia molto ampia, dovendo necessariamente appartenere al periodo precedente l'ingresso della città nella Lega Achea.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, 4–10 [συνέχεια του άρθου «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Ευλιμένη 1 (2000), 127–131], ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 155–159

Critical Trifles, 4–10 [continuation of «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Eulimene 1 (2000) 127–31].

4. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 41 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 1/2 and 4 read [μυ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]τρέφῃς respectively rather than the published [τ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]/τρέφῃς.

5. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 42 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 8 read τ]οὺς ἀκραπόδων (for ἀκρο–) δακτύλους rather than the published ...]ους ἄκρα ποδῶν δακτύλους.

6. On the gemstone Religions and cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesférvár, Csók István Gallery, 15 May–30 September 1996 (Székesférvár 1998), no. 240 (Pannonia, III A.D.), read the personal name Φιλοσέραπιν ʼΑγάθωνα rather than the published ΦΙΛΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΑΘΜΝΑ.

7. On the silver phylactery *BullMusComRoma n.s.* 13 (1999) 18–30 (Rome, IV/V A.D.), in line 1 read Πρὸς σεληνιαζομένους rather than the published Πρὸς σε̣λ[ήν]ην παξομένους.

8. On the papyrus phylactery *P.Oxy.* VII 1058 = *PGM* 6b (IV/V A.D.) read δο̄/{ρ}λον rather than the published δο/ῦλον in lines 3/4. The ὁ κα̣τ̣ο̣[(ὁ καλ̣̣ [*edd.*) in line 6 is no doubt from the beginning of LXX *Ps.* 90.1: ʽΟ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανίου αὐλισθήσεται.

9. The εν της ταρταρης in lines 8/9 of the formulary *P.Carlsberg* inv. 52 (31) (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 1) should be normalized ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάροις rather than ἐν τῆς Ταρτάρου as published.

10. On the parchment amulet *P.Louvre* inv. 7332 *bis* (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 2 = *SB* XVIII 13602) at line 13 read τῆ̣[α̣]ς τ̣ε̣γ̣ο̣ύ̣σης (for τεκούσης) (*e.g.*) Μ[[ητρὸς] Θ̣ε̣[οῦ]] rather than the published τὴς᾽ δε̣τ̣ε̣τ̣ο̣ύ̣σης μ[̣̣̣̣̣̣].

A. Agelarakis, On the Clazomenian quest in Thrace during the 7th and 6th centuries BC, as revealed through Anthropological Archaeology, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 161–186

Περί του Κλαζομενιακού αποικισμού στη Θράκη τον 7ο και 6ο αιώνα π.Χ., μέσω της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας. Παρουσιάζονται τα αρχαιο–ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα που βασίζονται στη μελέτη του ανθρώπινου σκελετικού υλικού από ανασκαφές στο αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Κλαζομενίων, του ανασκαφικού τομέα «Κ» στα Ἀβδηρα. Τα δημογραφικά και επιδημιολογικά στοιχεία αυτού του δείγματος του πληθυσμού, όπως

υποστηρίζονται από την ταφονομική, αρχαιομετρική, φυσική ανθρωπολογική και παλαιοπαθολογική έρευνα, παρέχουν σημαντικότατα αποτελέσματα στον χώρο της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας, συμβάλλοντας, σε συνδυασμό με τις καθαρά αρχαιολογικές και σωζόμενες ιστορικές πηγές, στη διαλεύκανση πολλών ερωτημάτων σχετικά για τις εμπειρίες των Κλαζομενίων αποικιστών στη Θράκη και προσφέροντας παράλληλα ένα γόνιμο πεδίο για περαιτέρω προβληματισμό και ερμηνείες όσον αφορά τα αρχαϊκά χρόνια στα Άβδηρα.

C. Bourbou, Infant mortality: the complexity of it all!, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 187–203

Παιδική θνησιμότητα: Μια πολύπλοκη υπόθεση. Η αρχαιολογική και ανθρωπολογική έρευνα μέχρι σήμερα δεν έχει στρέψει το ενδιαφέρον της στη μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών. Παρόλα ταύτα, οι ταφές των ανήλικων ατόμων μπορούν να προσφέρουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη σύνθεση της εικόνας των παλαιοτέρων κοινωνιών, καθώς τόσο το ποσοστό της παιδικής θνησιμότητας σε κάθε πληθυσμό όσο και οι διάφορες ασθένειες αποτελούν σημαντικές μαρτυρίες για το βιοτικό του επίπεδο. Τα παιδιά, πέρα από τη βιολογική τους υπόσταση προσδιορίζονται και μέσα από το πολιτιστικό πλαίσιο που ορίζει ο κάθε κοινωνικός ιστός. Έτσι, η συμπεριφορά των ενηλίκων απέναντι στα παιδιά είναι διαφορετική, ακόμα και στις περιπτώσεις του θανάτου ή της ταφής τους. Το θέμα της παιδοκτονίας (μέσα στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ή ως θυσία–προσφορά στους θεούς) έχει απασχολήσει περισσότερο τους ερευνητές, ιδιαίτερα στην προσπάθειά τους να αναγνωρίσουν τέτοιες περιπτώσεις από τα αρχαιολογικά και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλοιπα. Στην εργασία αυτή, παράλληλα με το θέμα της ταφονομίας (παράγοντες διατήρησης ή μη των παιδικών οστών) και της παιδοκτονίας στην αρχαιότητα, επικεντρώνουμε το ενδιαφέρον μας στην παιδική θνησιμότητα σε θέσεις της πρωτοβυζαντινής περιόδου (Ελεύθερνα, Γόρτυνα, Κνωσός, Κόρινθος, Μεσσήνη, Αλική). Η πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος παρουσιάζει ξεχωριστό ενδιαφέρον καθώς αποτελεί μία αρκετά «ταραγμένη» περίοδο της ύστερης αρχαιότητας για την οποία ελάχιστα μας είναι γνωστά. Η μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών από τις παραπάνω θέσεις μας έδωσε πολύτιμα στοιχεία για τα ποσοστά της παιδικής θνησιμότητας (υψηλότερα μετά τη γέννηση σε κάποιες θέσεις) αλλά και διάφορες μεταβολικές κυρίως ασθένειες (cribra orbitalia, Harris lines, έλλειψη βιταμίνης C).

SATYRS AS SHIELD DEVICES IN VASE PAINTING

Στον Γιώργο Βαμβουδάκη

The satyr,[1] along with the Gorgoneion, is the most popular motif among human or human–like figures used as shield devices in Greek art.[2] It is found on almost 120 vases, mostly of Attic origin, from 580–570 B.C. on, but is not found on real shields,[3] nor is it mentioned in written sources.[4] In this paper, it is argued that this discrepancy should not

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[1] In addition to the usual abbreviations of Greek pottery studies, the following are used:

Agora XXIII: M.B. Moore, M.Z. Pease Philippides, *Attic Black–figured Pottery. The Athenian Agora XXIII*, Princeton, 1986.

ARFV: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red–figured Vases. The Archaic Period*, London, 1975.

Bentz: M. Bentz, *Preisamphoren. Eine attische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrundert v.Chr.*, Antike Kunst Beiheft, Basel, 1998.

Bothmer: D. Von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1956.

Dev²: J.D. Beazley, *The Developement of Attic Black–figure²*, edited by B.M. Moore and D. Von Bothmer, Berkeley, 1985.

GO³: J. Boardman, *The Greek Overseas³*, London, 1980.

Spier: J.S. Spier, «Emblems in Archaic Greece», *BICS* 37, 1990, p. 107–129, pl. 4–6.

Tiverios: M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός καί το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976.

I wish to thank Dr. Aphroditi Kamara for improving my English.

[2] On figural shield devices, see G.H. Chase, «The Shield Devices of the Greeks», *HSCP* 13, 1902, p. 61–127; M. Creger, *Schildformen und Schildschmuck bei den Griechen*, Dissertation, Erlangen, 1908; G. Lippold, «Griechische Schilde», *Münchener Archäologische Studien* 1909, p. 399 s.; A. Vaerst, *Griechische Schildzeichen*, Diss., Salzburg, 1980 (*non vidi*). Their origin was disputed in Antiquity: Hdt. i, 171 (Carian origin); Dion. Halic. 1.21.1; Paus. 8.50.1 (Argive). See A. Snodgrass, «Carian Armourers–the Growth of a Tradition», *JHS* 84, 1964, p. 107–118. They first appear on hoplite shields around the end of the Late Geometric Period: see A. Snodrgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 61–63, against H.L. Lorimer, «The Hoplite Phalanx», *BSA* 42, 1947, 76–138. Early examples are illustrated in J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1998, figs, 68, 70–71.

[3] Emblems on surviving shields include the Gorgoneion, the cock, the boar, the ram, Typhon, flying birds, lion protome, Herakles wrestling the lion. For illustrations, besides the standard works on Greek armour, one may consult reports and catalogues of finds, primary from major sanctuaries (none of them however being exhaustive): E. Kunze, «Schildeschläge», *Olympiabericht* 5, Berlin, 1956, p. 40–68; *AM* 74, 1959, p. 32, Beil. 74.3; *AM* 83, 1968, p. 286, n° 104, pl. 115.1; P. C. Bol, *Argivische Schilden* (*Olympische Forschungen 17*), Berlin, 1979; L. Lerat, «Trois boucliers archaiques de Delphes», *BCH* 104, 1980, 93–114; *GO³*, p. 58–59; E. Berger (ed.), *Antike Kunstwerke des Sammlung Ludwig*, II, Basel–Mainz, 1982, p. 230–263, n° 217; *Badisches Landesmuseum, Wege zur Klassik*, Karlsruhe, 1985, p. 172–4; A.S. Rusyoveva, V.V. Narazov, «A Shield Fragment from Olbia», *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 2.3, 1995, p. 251–260; B.A. Litvinsky, L.B. Pickikyan, «An Attic Shield with a Triskelion from the Temple of Oxus», *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 4.2, 1997, p. 109–121. C.G. Simon, *The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults of Ionia*, Diss., Berkeley, 1986, p. 240–249, has a useful catalogue of votif shields, real, or miniature. For literary references to shield devices, see Spier, p. 124–127.

[4] In poetry, shield devices are of much complex form: Hom., *Il.* 18, 478–608 for the shield of Achilleus, on which see more recently M.D. Stansburry–O'Doneel, «Reading Pictorial Narrative: The Law Court Scene of the Shield of Herakles», in J.B. Carter, S.P. Morris (ed.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, 1995, p. 315–334; Ps–Hes., *Shield of Her.* 139–320: Verg., *Aen.* 8.626–731. In Aeschylus'

be attributed to the fragmentary data we possess (i.e., is not statistical), but rather to the desire of artists to create a visual universe where Dionysiac motifs predominate.

The earliest depictions of the satyr shield–device appear on vases by the C Painter (A1–3)[5] and on an ovoid neck–amphora in Bologna (A5). The C Painter invariably renders the type of the non–equine satyr, with long, pointed nose, hairy skin and human ear.[6] This type is probably also shown on an unattributed Siana cup from the Agora dating from the late 560's (A4).[7] On these early examples, neck and shoulder are clearly shown. On the Bologna amphora (A5) the painter depicted the upper half of a bearded satyr with equine ears and huge nose, rendered in white slip with incised details. Two more examples of the technique can be cited: a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter in Florence and Berlin (A11), where the shield belongs to Amphiaraos' charioteer. Exceptionally, the motif occurs on a Boeotian shield, placed against the rim of the shield, on the lower half, the upper part being decorated by a he–goat head; an amphora by the Painter of Louvre F 6 (A17), on which the satyr–face is done in white slip with incisions for the beard, the mouth and the nose. Again, the head is placed on the lower part of the shield.

The most popular form of the satyr–head device appears on the great volute–krater in Florence by Kleitias and Ergotimos, around 570 B.C. (A7, **fig. 1**). On the Boeotian shield of Ares in the «Return of Hephaistos» panel, Kleitias depicted a satyr–mask projecting from the round surface of the shield seen in profile. Facial characteristics recall strongly the satyr and centaur faces on the same vase. The satyr–mask motif is taken over by Lydos on his Gigantomachy dinos (A14, **fig. 2**) and a later cup in Copenhagen (A16), the Painter of Louvre E 876 (A9) and the Castellani Painter from the tyrrhenian workshop (A11–13, the first vase showing the earliest type, cited above). It is found on the great majority of black–figured depictions of the satyr–face shield device (58 representations), showing a heavy concentration on the last quarter of the 6th century, primarily due to the Antimenean and the Leagros Groups (nos A31–A35 and A42–A50 respectively). It is almost the only satyr shield–device surviving in attic black–figure (A68–A78, A80, A82) in the early 5th century. The most remarkable depiction is

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Seven at Thebes, 387–648 and in Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, 1108–1138, the imagery may be simpler, but the symbolic interpretations are rather copious. See P. Vidal–Naquet, «Les boucliers des héros», in J.–P. Vernant, P. Vidal–Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie deux*, Paris, 1985, p. 115–148 and B.E. Goff, «The Shields of Phoenissai», *GRBS* 35, 1988, p. 179–187. A complex device appears on Agamemnon's shield on the Cypselos coffret (Paus. 5.19, 4–5). Compare also the shield devices of Geryon on a 6th century cypriot statue in New York, inv. 74.51.2591 (*RDAC* 1984, pl. 33.5) depicting the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon.

[5] Numbers in brackets refer to the list of vases in Appendix I. Two points should be stressed: 1. Technically speaking, blazons on hoplite shields where of three types: a) if the shield had a bronze outer facing, the blazon may well have been painted on. b) When the facing was in wood, the bronze blazon was in relief. c) Otherwise, it may have been inlaid in a space left in the facing. See A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 64. In vase–painting however, it is extremely difficult to define the exact type, except when the blazon is clearly indicated in relief. Technical investigation is beyond the scope of this study. 2. Equally, for the purpose of this inquiry I pass over the exact form of the shield (round or «boeotian») and the various decorative motifs that may flank the satyr figure, such as rosettes, stars, croissants etc.

[6] On this type, see G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black–figure*, Ann Arbor, 1993, p. 128 ff.

[7] He is called a man in *Agora XXIII*, p. 300, n° 1678. The correct identification has been advanced by E. Vanderpool, «A Black–FIgured Cup from the Athenian Agora», *Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 61–63, pl. 31.

that of Exekias on his Vatican amphora, of about 540 B.C. (A21), with the mask nicely projecting from the Boeotian shield drawn in profile. Abnormal is the version chosen by the Swing Painter for his Christchurch amphora (A37), where the shield's surface is covered with white slip.

The motif is also found on an Etruscan hydria by the Micali Painter in London (C3), dating from the end of the 6th century[8] and on a plate of Attic provincial origin, imitating Exekias (A10). In both cases the mask is rendered in extremely low relief, as on vases by the Affecter (A28–30).

In red–figure, there are only two representations of the satyr mask projecting from the shield, on an amphora by Euthymides with Hector arming (B2, **fig. 3**) and on a fragmentary cup by Apollodoros (B23). In both cases, the satyr face is rendered in full red–figure, an obviously difficult technique.[9] The Munich amphora dates from the late 510's and is contemporary with the great bulk of satyr masks on black–figure vases. The Apollodoros cup, which is later (circa 490) uses a different motif, with a bold satyr face emerging from the shield.

Another popular form in black–figure is that of the frontal satyr face, incised on the black surface of the shield, in full view (A24, A38, A39, C2) or in three–quarter view (A15, A20, A23, A27, A40, A61, A67, A81, A83). In some cases, there is a problem of identification, for equine ears are absent, as for example on vases by the Swing Painter (A40) and the Kolchos oinochoe (A15). These representations strongly recall Dionysos' mask, as shown on nearly contemporary vases recently discussed by Frontisi–Ducroux.[10] On a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Hanover (D1), the frontal face is rendered with white slip, now almost completely gone. Unlike the case of the profile satyr–mask projecting from the surface of the shield, it is difficult to consider these representations as belonging to a single pictorial tradition.

In red–figure, the motif of the frontal satyr face rendered in outline technique on the reserved surface of round shields has a vogue among early painters with close workshop connections. Epiktetos must be credited with the invention of the motif, found on 8 vases by or near him: among the earliest are the Basel bilingual cup (B6, **fig. 4**) and the Louvre palmette eye cup (B7), dating from about 520–515 B.C. Slightly later is the fragmentary Gigantomachy cup in Reggio (B8). Towards the end of his career, Epiktetos presented a more complicated version on a cup in Tarquinia (B15): the shield is foreshortened and so the satyr mask is half presented. Later cups in the manner of Epiktetos (B16 and B17) feature the foreshortened type, and therefore must be placed around the beginning of the 5th century. A cup by the Painter of London E 33 (B19)

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[8] The Micali Painter painted a Gorgoneion in relief on an hydria in Marseilles, inv. 3098: N. Spivey, *The Micali Painter*, Oxford, 1987, p. 22, n° 129; F. Vian, «Une gigantomachie étrusque au Musée de Marseille», *REA* 51, 1949, p. 26–40, pl. 1–2. It has been erroneously described as a satyr–mask by W. Fröhner, *Musée de Marseille: Catalogue des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1897, p. 285, n° 1598.

[9] As a rule, shield devices in relief are not favored by red–figure painters. For an exception, see the cup Bologna N.C. 161 by Oltos (*ARV*² 65.113; *CVA 1*, pl. 1.3, pl. 3 and 4–6).

[10] F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Le dieu masque. Une figure de Dionysos à Athènes*, Paris–Rome, 1991, p. 253 ff. Clearly human–like is the figure on the Leipzig fragmentary amphora (A23). Note W. Hermann's suggestion that the figure is Phobos («Verschollen Vasen», *WZRostock* 16, 1967, p. 455–460: «Die schildzier der Achill reigt einem bärtlichen Kopf: Phobos»). M.B. Moore, «Exekias and Telamonian Ajax», *AJA* 83, 1980, p. 428, incorrectly speaks of a gorgoneion.

copies rather the earlier type with the round shield fully shown, while a fragmentary cup near Epiktetos from the Acropolis (B18) represents the foreshortened type.

Outside the Epiktetan circle the motif appears on three vases. The cup in Boston signed by Pamphaios as potter (B24) is contemporary with, but unconnected to the latest Epiktetan examples. The other two belong to the 5th century: an amphora by the Flying Angel Painter in Munich (B30), representing a warrior, and a very early red–figure Etruscan krater in Florence (C4), depicting Herakles fighting Kyknos. Both satyrs have long ears and are bald. It is doubtful that they are otherwise related, although both date from 480–470 B.C.

A second satyr–mask motif originates in the Epiktetan circle: the satyr face is shown in profile, drawn completely in silhouette. It is unconnected to black–figured motifs, where we occasionally find an incised satyr–mask in profile, as on a skyphos by the Sappho Painter once in the Basel market (A79) and a cup by the Marmaro Painter (A25), or in white slip, as on the earlier examples already mentioned (A5, A11 and A17). The motif is certainly later than the frontal mask, for it is found on five late cups by Epiktetos (B9, B10, B12, B13, B14).[11] On the London cup (B9), the mask is rather different, facing left and with individual curls denoting the beard. A version similar to the latter is rendered by the Colmar Painter on an early cup in a German private collection (B31). The mask lies on a line drawn in black, has long hair and beard and faces left. A cup from Vetulonia with a running warrior looking back (B21), assigned to the Epeleios Group, has the earlier Epiktetan type. Very close in conception is the representation on an early–5th century column–krater in the Manner of the Göttingen Painter in New York (B28, **fig. 5**), with the addition of three letters round the head. In all cases, the shield is foreshortened, so the mask is not fully depicted. Myson presents an elaborate motif on a carefully drawn warrior decorating a psykter in Berlin (B29, **fig. 6**).

The full satyr figure is unpopular among attic black–figure vase–painters. The earliest example is on a Siana cup in Vienna by the Heidelberg Painter from the mid–6th century (A6). On the shield of the central warrior on side B appears the lower half of a running satyr with horsetail and human legs, rendered with incision on the black surface of the round shield.[12] An ithyphallic satyr decorates the shield of Athena on an amphora in Munich (A56). Lastly, the running satyr occurs on Athena's shield on a lost panathenaic amphora of the late 6th century (A66, **fig. 7**), rendered with white slip on the dark ground.[13] The motif is found outside Athens, notably on Clazomenian sarcophagi, where is made use of the applied white slip. It appears three times on a sarcophagus in London and once on a sarcophagus in Tübingen (D2 and D3). All satyrs are running and have human feet. The two sarcophagi belong to the Albertinum Group, which is stylistically dated to the first third of the 5th century. An interesting, much earlier attempt (ca. 540–530 B.C.) is shown on a Campana dinos in the Louvre (C1): the satyr is

[11] The lost Agrigento cup (B12) is known only from drawings. It seems clear that the crescent–like device of the fleeing warrior at the right is a satyr–head misunderstood. This figure is remarkably close both in pose and style to the warrior on the New York cup (B14). The fragmentary Cahn cup (B13) is earliest than the rest.

[12] A headless figure is shown on a cup by Douris in Paris, inv. G124 (*ARV*² 436.103; 441.191–192, 194, 436.110; *Add*² 238).

[13] This is the only panathenaic amphora with the motif of a satyr as shield–device of Athena.

ithyphallic, with human feet, done in black–figure. The volume of the shield is exceptional, thus enabling the painter to depict an extraordinary detailed version of the running figure.

Among red–figure vase painters of the late 6th century, satyr figures in the silhouette technique are not uncommon. The earliest are the Oltos Torlonia cup (B5) and the stemmed dish by Psiax in the Louvre (B1). Both have a running satyr looking round, although the shield of Enkelados on the latter is foreshortened. Epiktetos offers another example on a middle–late cup in Munich (B11), where the satyr figure is remarkably huge, half drawn on the foreshortened shield of an attacking warrior. Euthymides presents a very similar motif on the amphora Munich 2308, depicting the arming of a warrior flanked by two scythian archers (B3, **fig. 8**). A second picture probably by his hand appears on a white ground plaque from the Acropolis (B4). A fifth depiction is shown on a cup in Vatican (B26), with a satyr running, with one arm raised, as on the lost panathenaic amphora (A66).

More interesting variants appear on later vases: on the other side of the cup by the Colmar Painter already mentioned (B31), the satyr in kneeling. On a pelike by the Nikoxenos Painter in San Antonio (B27), the satyr is dancing frontally, with bent knees. The full squatting satyr is shown on a cup by the Euergides Painter once in the market (B20), depicting an hoplitodromos. Once again, we may detect Epiktetan influence, as far as the Euergides Painter was a pupil of the elder master, who is credited with the invention of the squatting posture of satyrs in the red–figure technique.[14] On a fragmentary cup in the Manner of the Epeleios Painter (B22), the satyr is kneeling, blowing a trumpet,[15] a popular motif of the late 6th century.[16] The same motif appears on an unpublished 5th century lekythos in London (B34). The latest representation of the satyr figure dates from the second quarter of the 5th century, on a calyx krater by the Altamura Painter in St. Petersburg (B32), with Dionysos arming. The satyr is walking quietly.[17]

To sum up, satyr and satyr–face shield devices are fairly popular among Attic vase painters during the 6th and early 5th century B.C. The motif reaches a peak in the last quarter of the 6th century, both in black– and red–figure. In black–figure a major tradition can be detected, that of the satyr–mask in relief and profile, extremely popular among minor painters of the late 6th century, but originating with Kleitias. In red–figure, three different iconographic types occur, all of them originating in early cup painters. The prominent personality is surely Epiktetos, credited with the invention of two distinctive motifs. In other areas, occurrences of the motif in Euboan, provincial Attic, Clazomenian, Etruscan and Etrusco–Ionian art seems erratic, often independent from

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[14] On the Epiktetos/Euergides Painter's relationship, see P. Rouillard, «Le peintre d'Euergidès», *RA* 1975, p. 31–60. On Epiktetos' invention, see B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and their Painters*, Diss., New York, 1977, p. 411–412 and M.B. Moore, *CVA Malibu, Getty Museum 8*, Malibu, 1998, p. 15.

[15] «By mistake, the artist has let the trumpet extend beyont the rim of the shield» (M.B. Moore, *op. cit.* [last note], p. 15).

[16] Rome T 375 (*ML* 50, 1955, p. 867, fig. 201); Paris G 73 (*ARV*² 170; *CVA 10*, pl. 21.2–6); Berlin V.I. 3217 (*ARV*² 168.15; *CVA Berlin 1*, pl. 4). For later examples, cf. F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier*, Paris–Rome, 1990, p. 172, n. 95.

[17] I have not seen the New York and Amsterdam cup (A25), the device of which is a «satyr».

Attic models. From 450 onwards, shield devices lose their popularity and the motif is absent from mature Attic red–figure and other classical wares.

In other media, the motif is extremely rare: a Punic green jasper scarab from Tharros in Sardinia depicts a warrior in Greco–Cypriot dress.[18] The whole shield is shown as the mask. As Boardman notes, it seems that the shield is carried by both an arm grip and a sort of baldric such as one would not look for on an ordinary hoplite shield, but which is shown in vase representations of light shields and of the so–called Boeotian shield.[19] It is impossible to say whether this feature depends on a real Phoenico–Punic object, where the satyr figure is not uncommon,[20] or whether the artist has misinterpreted a Greek representation analogous to those depicted on vases. Another example from the periphery of the Greek world is the frontal satyr shield device on a painted terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of Mater Matuta in Satricum.[21] Again from Etruria is the figure of Acheloos, in profile, similar to a horned satyr, on the shield of a warrior on a 4th century mirror.[22]

In contrast to shield devices, satyr figures decorating the interior of the shield are much rarer:[23] on an Attic calyx–krater from Bologna (B33), dating from around 450, a dancing satyr is depicted, while on a fragment of an added red Etruscan hydria (C5), the

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[18] London, inv. g 10/20: *GO*³, p. 215, fig. 255b; P. Zazoff, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Handbuch der Archäologie, Munich, 1983, pl. 22.4.

[19] J. Boardman, in R.D. Barnett, C. Mendelson (eds), *Tharros. A Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and other tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, London, 1987, p. 103.

[20] There is a wealth of material from Punic and Phoenician sites, consisting mostly of masks from the Lebanon, Karthage, Sardinia, Ibiza and Spain: cf. P. Cintas, *Amulettes puniques* (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis, I) Tunis, 1946, p. 54–55, nos 86–88, pl. XIII, groupe V; C. Picard, «*Sacra Punica*. Étude sur les masques et rasoirs de Carhage», *Karthago* XIII, 1965–1966 (1967), p. 17–18, nos 17–20; W. Culican, «Some Phoenician Masks and other Terracottas», *Berytus* 24, 1975–1976, p. 47–87; E. Stern, «Phoenician masks and Pendants», *PEG* 1976, p. 109–118, pl. IX–XI; M.J. Almagro Gobrea, *Catalogo de las Terracotas de Ibiza del Museo Arqueologico Nacional*, Madrid, 1980, pl. 65–67, nos 118–120; G. Chiera, «Una maschera silenica da Sulcis», *RANL* s. 8, 35, 1980, p. 505–508; S. Mosati, *Le officine di Tharros*, Studia Punica II, Rome, 1987, pl. 32.1, 3; A. Ciasca, *Protomi e maschere puniche*, Rome, 1991, fig. 15–17, 19. See also the gold ring with a figure of a kneeling satyr from Utica near Carthago (*GO*³, p. 216, fig. 256), the cornelian scarab from Sassari with the frontal face of a satyr (*Boll. d'Arte* 70.2, 1985, pl. XI, C), and the green jasper gem from the Puig de Molius in Spain (Madrid 37002; *Los Griegos en Espana, Tras las huellas de Herakles*, Exhibition Catalogue, Madrid–Athens, 1998, p. 330, n° 74).

[21] A. Andrén, *Architecutal Terrakottas from Etrusco–Italic Temples*, Lund–Leipzig, 1939–1940, p. 464, fig. 62.

[22] U. Fischer–Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (DAI Archäologische Forschungen 8), Berlin, 1980, pl. 26.1, n° V62.

[23] This kind of decoration is indeed extremely rare overall in imagery. Apart from the two examples with satyrs, see the unattributed stamnos from Bologna, D.L. 103 (G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli felsinee*, Bologna, 1912, p. 62, fig. 37, n° 175), where the inner face of the shield of the hoplite is decorated with the images of Eros and a woman; the column krater New York 91.1.462 in the Manner of the Göttingen Painter (*ARV*² 234.1, 235; *Add*² 200; *LIMC* VII, pl. 686, Kyknos I 5), where the inner face of the shield of Kyknos is decorated with panthers. Compare also the interior of the shield of a terracotta statue of warrior from Olympia, showing Bellerophon and Chimaera (E. Kunze, «Kriegergruppe», in *Olympiabericht* 5, 1956, p. 114–127, pl. 70–71) and the Etruscan miror Madrid 9823 (U. Fischer–Graf, *op. cit.* (last note), pl. 13.1, n° V30).

figured scene consists of a couple of dancing satyr and maenad.[24] Satyrs are occasionally depicted on shield bands, but never occupy a central place in the composition.[25]

Other items of armour are occasionally decorated with satyrs. An added red Etruscan hydria of the Praxias Group in Basel is remarkable in this respect, for the satyr figure replaces the normal Gorgoneion in the middle of the *thorax* of a warrior.[26] This image immediately brings to mind a late 4th century bronze thorax from Laos decorated with the mask of a youthful satyr.[27] The figure of a running satyr decorates the corselet of a member of a chorus of youths on an unattributed column–krater in Basel.[28] Cheek–pieces of Chalcidian and Corinthian helmets, and most likely of Peloponnesian origin, are decorated with figures and masks of satyrs.[29] On a Pontic amphora by the Paris Painter, a satyr–like mask drawn beside a warrior is to be perceived as part of his helmet. Finally, a curious helmet ending in the back to a satyr–mask is found on a cypriot and a sardinian gem.[30]

As stated above, no exact parallel in actual armour is extant, nor is any mentioned in literary or epigraphic sources. During the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, figures of satyrs were used as blazons on terracotta votive shields serving as funerary decoration. Their connection with shield devices is nevertheless extremely doubtful. They have been convincingly linked to busts in relief on late Classical and early Hellenistic medallions.[31] The use of satyrs and other Dionysian figures has been attributed to the influence of drama.[32] Other relevant material, the Pompeian *oscilla*,

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[24] It is interesting to note that the figures are dancing in a clearly Etruscan manner. See J.–R. Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* (CEFAR 71), Paris, 1984, p. 324 ff.

[25] Olympia B8150 (Bol, *op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 53, n° H 40, pl. 63.4): satyr attacking a Nymph; Olympia B8405 (Bol, p. 53, n° H 86, pl. 82): satyr–like figure decorating Hades' throne. Basel, coll. Ludwig (E. Berger [ed.], *Antike Kunstwerke des Sammlung Ludwig, II*, Basel–Mainz, 1982, p. 230–263, n° 213): ithyphallic satyrs dancing on the back of the horses pulling chariots of Ariadne and Dionysus.

[26] R. Lullies, E. Berger, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I*, Basel, 1979, p. 178 s., n° 69.

[27] Reggio di Calabria Museum: G. Genovese, *I santuari nella Calabria Greca* (*Studia Archeologica* 102), Rome,1999, pl. 64.3.

[28] Basel BS 415 (*CVA 2*, pl. 6.3–4, 7).

[29] E. Kunze, «Chalkidische Helme IV–VII und Nachträgen zu I und II», in *Olympiabericht IX*, Belin, 1994, p. 32–36, fig. 42–50, pl. 1–2 (Olympia inv. B 6900), p. 38–39, fig. 51–53 (Berlin Fr. 1017), p. 40, fig. 54 (Olympia inv. B 6000) and R.M. Albanese Procelli, «Identità e confini etnico–culturali: la Sicilia centro orientale», in *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità dell' Occidente, Atti Taranto 1997, 3–6 ottobre 1996*, Taranto, 1997, pl. I (Syracuse 65686, from T. 31 in Montagna di Marzo). Compare also the small piece allegedly from a helmet from Falerii in New York (G. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, N. York, 1915, n° 67).

[30] Pontic amphora: Heidelberg 59/5 (*CVA 2*, pl. 55, 56.1–3; R. R. Hampe, E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz, 1964, p. 4, fig. 1 and pl. 1–5). Cypriot gem: London 457, from Amathous (J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London, 1970, p. 90, n° 237, pl. 15): early 5th century. Sardinian gem: Boston 27.764, from Ibiza (G.M.A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1968, p. 36, n° 36, pl. 5): circa 500 B.C.

[31] One may compare the silver tondo with a satyresque mask in relief in Berlin: see «Zur späthellenistischen Plastik», *AM* 76, 1971, Beil. 81. Its date is around 100 B.C. and the provenance Miletopolis in Mysia.

[32] C.C. Vermeule, «A Greek Theme and its Survivals: the Ruler's Shield (Tondo Image) in Tomb and Temple», *PAPhS* 109, n° 6, December 1965, p. 361–397; A. Seeberg, «Heads on Platters», in J.H. Betts, J.T.

seem related to Dionysian tympana, rather than to real shields. The *clipeatae imagines* of the imperial period, busts or other figures depicted in the interior of discs and used for the decoration of stelae and other architectural members, while ultimately representing shields, are not directly linked to the earlier blazons, despite the fact that Pliny claims a 5th– century origin for them.[33] Some scholars however, have stressed the possibility that the ancestry of these *tondi* must be traced back to the archaic Etruscan «Acheloos shields» of 540–470 B.C.[34] These are circular bronze discs decorated with a relief head of a horned satyr–like figure, most often identified as Acheloos.[35] Unfortunately, there is no scholarly consensus concerning their use: earlier opinions that they were used as votives have been recently revived, against the current interpretation which regards them as decorative elements of Etruscan tombs.[36]

The invention and subsequent popularity of the satyr shield device has not been successfully explained. At least one scholar has derived the satyr face in relief from real masks, even if its introduction predates dramatic or pre–dramatic performances.[37] Some scholars refuse to accept that shield devices in Greek art have any special significance other than decorative.[38] Others however adopt the familiar apotropaic interpretation of the mask, arguing for an identification with personifications of fear (as Deimos or Phobos),[39] or for an equation of the satyr face with the Gorgoneion.[40] The identification of the satyr–mask with the daemons of fear must be rejected, in the light of the more

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Hooker, J.R. Green (eds), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster, II*, Bristol, 1988, p. 121–132, pl. 13.1–13.17. Most of the tondi of this group were found in the region of the Hellespont.

[33] Pliny, *NH* 35.3.3. On the clipeatae imagines and their relationship to Hellenistic terracotta «shields», see R. Winkes, Clipeata Imago. *Studien zu einer römischer Bildnisform*, Bonn, 1969; O. Scarpellini, *Stele Romane con* Imagines Clipeatae *in Italia*, Rome, 1987.

[34] J.–R. Jannot, «Le taureau androcéphale et les masques cornus dans l'Étrurie archaïque», *Latomus* 33, 1974, p. 765–789.

[35] Other devices include the ram– and the lion–head. Jannot, *op. cit.* (last note), p. 780, traces their origin to the votive shields of the Idaean Cave in Crete. However, he does not seem to accept an ancestry of the horned Acheloos masks in armour. Tarqunian «shields» have been recently collected and discussed in extenso, by N. Scala, «I 'lacunari' bronzei tarquiniesi», in *Miscellanea Etrusco–Italica I*, Rome, 1993, p. 149–184.

[36] Decorative elements: M. Pallottino, *Tarquinia*, *ML* 36, 1937, col. 352–353 and H.–P. Isler, *Acheloos*, Zurich, 1970, p. 55 ff. Their original conception as arms has been strongly advocated in the light of a shield found in Olympia (*Olympische Forschungen* 13, Munich, 1981, p. 15, n. 57), where Etruscan objects are dedications of booty. Cf. A. Moustaka, «Un bracciale di scudo etrusco inedito da Olimpia», in *Atti del Secondo Convegno Internazionale Etrusco*, II, Rome, 1989, p. 967–971.

[37] Hedreen, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 124, n° 77, commenting n° A 14. Ritual use of satyr masks, for example in the Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, might be taken under consideration: R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 1929, pl. 66.1 and 145.

[38] Cf. for example A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armours of the Greeks*, Baltimore and London, 1999², p. 96: «Since shield–devices in Greek Art tend to repeat themselves in widely separated periods and regions, it seems wisest to attach no significance to them but a purely artistic one». Similar opinions have been earlier held by Chase, *op. cit.* (n. 2); L. Lacroix, «Les blasons des villes grecques», in *Études d'archéologie classique* I, 1955–1956, p. 89 ff.; Spier, p. 124.

[39] R. Hampe, E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz, 1964, p. 4, n. 18.

[40] For example R. Gempeler, «Schmiede des Hephäst–Eine Satyr–Spielzene des Harrow–Malers» *AK* 12, 1969, p. 17; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth Century Athens*, Oxford, 1997, p. 97.

recent attempt to identify Phobos with a winged cynocephalous daemon.[41] The idea of the functional equivalence between the satyr mask and the Gorgoneion may be supported by the use of the former as *mormolykeion*, on attic red–figured choes[42] and in some Aristophanic verses.[43] Technically speaking, the *mormolykeion* is the frightening mask, deriving from the monstrous Mormo, but Aristophanes uses the term to describe the shield device of Lamachos.[44]

It must be noted however, that, while the Gorgoneion and the satyr mask are often found together in vase–paintings and other media, and are occasionally used as interchangeable,[45] it is clear that vase–painters use the corresponding shield devices in strikingly different ways. As F. Frontisi–Ducroux[46] rightly observes, the powerful emotion created by the frontality of the mask of the Gorgon is generally absent in most cases of satyr faces. The contrast is notable, if one compares the two devices appearing together on the Vatican amphora by Exekias (A21). While both shields are foreshortened, the Gorgoneion in half drawn, while the satyr face is in low relief in profile. As is already noted, profile satyr faces are by far more common than frontal.[47] One may note in

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[41] J. De La Genière, «La famille d'Arès en Italie», in *Aparchai: Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P. E. Arias*, Pisa, 1982, p. 137–145, pl. 22–23.

[42] Cf. the choes from Mégara (G. Mylonas, *Το Δυτικόν Νεκροταφείον της Ελευσίνος*, Athènes, 1975, pl. 362, n° 726, tombe Theta θ26, n° 15) and Syracuse 14941 (G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, n° 918, fig. 84). For later representations, see J.R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Society*, London, 1992, p. 189–190, n. 67, with further bibliography.

[43] Fr. 131, Kock II, p. 123: one is asking if someone can tell him where lies the Dionysion, and the other is answering, «where the *mormolykeia* are suspended». This can only mean masks of satyrs or some other dionysiac daemons hanging from the walls of the Dionysion, for it is unlikely that the mask of Dionysos himself could have been described as a *mormolykeion*. See F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Du masque au visage. Aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1995, p. 14. For the practice of hanging daemonic masks from the walls of dionysiac sanctuaries, see Aeschylus, *Theoroi, or Isthmiastai* 6–7; Lysias 21.4 (satyrs); Diodorus 10.88 (satyrs and Pans); Pausanias 1.2.5 (Akratos; see also the krater Glasgow 1903.70e: *CVA*, pl. 47 and s.v. *Akratos*, *LIMC I*, p. 449 [P. Linant de Bellefonds]).

[44] On the etymology and meaning of *mormolykeion*, cf. Sch. Arist., *Pax*, 471. Shield of Lamachos: Arist., *Pax*, 475; *Ach.*, 567 and 585.

[45] See the terracotta model house from Caltanissetta, where the Gorgoneion is coupled with a satyr mask (G. Castellana, «Il tempietto votivo fittile di Sabuccina e la sua decorazione figurata», *RdA* 7, 1983, p. 5–11), a relief cantharos of the 4th century from Macedonia (*ΑΕΜΘ* 5, 1991, p. 81), attic black–figured eye–cups where Gorgoneia are placed in the exterior, place normally reserved to satyr– and Dionysos–masks (Munich 2027, *ABV* 205; *LIMC IV*, pl. 166, Gorgones 41 and Paris C 10136, F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 185, fig. 112) and the Cortona lamp, with a central Gorgoneion and figures of squatting satyrs alternating with winged sirens (O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 258, fig. 205). Compare also the horned satyr–like masks used as frontons on etruscan funerary monuments: Jannot, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 782 ff.

[46] *Op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 68.

[47] By contrast, Gorgoneia in profile are extremely rare in archaic vase–painting see the Cleveland lekythos by Douris (inv. 78.59: *Greek Vases in the Getty Museum* 4, Malibu, 1989, p. 120, fig. 2), and two Etruscan black–figured vases: a hydria in Marseille (supra, n. 8) and an amphora in Würzburg, inv. HA 25 (*CVA 3*, pl. 47–51; F. Gaultier, «Le 'Peintre de la Danseuse aux crotales'», *MEFRA* 99, 1987, 81–82, fig. 7–9, n° 1). Compare a shield band from Olympia, inv. B 595 (E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder, Olympische Forschungen* II, Berlin, 1950, pl. 56, XXIXc). In 4th century vase–painting, Gorgoneia in profile are more common, both in Attic and South Italian fabrics: cf. the Apulian amphora in Halle University, inv. 215 (*RVAp* II, 504.87; *LIMC IV*, pl. 175, Gorgones 181); the Lucanian calyx–krater at Paris, Cab. Méd. 422 (*LCS* 102.532; *LIMC IV*, pl. 175, Gorgones 184), the fragmentary Attic calyx–krater Naples H 2883 (ARV² 1338,

addition, that the use of the satyr motif for the decoration of the inner surface of a shield (B3 and C5) defies all apotropaic interpretations, since it was barely visible by the enemy.

The search for a meaning of satyr shield–devices inevitably raises the question of the martial qualities of Dionysus and his following. The god, often accompanied by satyrs and maenads, ranks among the most prominent deity in representations of the Gigantomachy.[48] He is praised by Euripides as the divinity who creates panic among enemies in battle (*Bacchae* 302–304). In imagery, satyrs bearing arms, are common enough, but they are rather connected to oriental peltasts and the irregular warfare of light and auxiliary troops, outside the hoplite tradition.[49]

The satyr is certainly not a symbol of male aggressiveness and brutal violence as may be thought of the motif of the attacking centaur, most often found on early 5th–century vases.[50] Fifth century philosophy traces a neat distinction between the two horse–man creatures, centaurs being considered as particularly aggressive and heroic, satyrs as passive and mild.[51] The phallic component, prominent in other expressions of satyric iconography, is not frequent, appearing in only two cases (A56, C1). This quality of male aggression coupled with violent sexuality is better expressed by such blazons as the cock,[52] the sexually aroused donkey[53] and the phallus–bird.[54]

LIMC IV, p. 302, Gorgones 178) and a Panathenaic amphora from Eretria (*AAA* 2, 1969, p. 415, fig. 5). Cf. also a terracotta relief from Taranto (*Xenia* 16, 1988, p. 19, fig. 15).

[48] T.H. Carpenter, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 17. On satyrs in Gigantomachy, see F. Lissarrague, «Dionysos s'en va–t–en guerre», in C. Bérard, Ch. Bron, A. Pomari, *Images et Société en Grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse. Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8–11 fevrier 1984*, Lausanne, 1987, p. 111–120. Dionysus as triumphant warrior is often cited in late sources: Eratosthenes, *Katasterismoi*, 11.2; Diodorus, 3.71. On Dionysus as a divinity evoked before the battle, see R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique, recherches sur les rites, les dieux l'idéologie de la victoire*, Paris, 1979, p. 122–124.

[49] See Lissarrague, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 173–177. Other scholars connect these images with pyrrhic dancing (C. Poursat, «La danse armée en Grèce ancienne», *BCH* 92, 1968, p. 586) or satyr–play (F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*², Darmstadt, 1955; «Satyrspielvasen in Malibu», in *Greek Vases in the Getty Museum* 1, 1983, p. 115–120; Hedreen, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 120–121, n. 8).

[50] Centaur attacking with a branch: London B 191 (*ABV* 152.24; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu, 1985, p. 122–123, n° 22). Basel Kä 424 (*ARV*² 183.8; *Para* 340; *Add*² 186; *LIMC III*, pl. 139, Briseis 56). Paris, Cab.Méd. 533 and 699 (*ARV*² 191.103; *Add*² 189; *LIMC I*, pl. 592, Amazones 84). London E 458 (*ARV*² 239.16; *Para* 349; *Add*² 201; *LIMC I*, pl. 322, Aithra 66). Vatican 16583 (*ARV*² 373.48; *Para* 369; *Add*² 226; A. Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter*, Sydney, 1968, pl. XIV). Florence 3929 (*ARV*² 460.15; N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Mainz, 1997, pl. 53). 7. Palermo V 659 (ARV² 480.2°. *CVA 1*, pl. 16.4). 8. Harrow 50 (*ARV*² 516.5; *Para* 382; *Add*² 253; *LIMC V*, pl. 575, Kaineus 74). Centaur attacking with rock: Once Basel market (*MM* 51, 1975, pl. 36, n° 151). Once London market (*Christie's* 11.7.1990, n° 520). 3. Cleveland 78.59 (see n. 47). 4. Florence 3929 (above, n° 6). Centaur running: 1. Warsaw 198605 (*Para* 127; Bentz, pl. 27, n° 6.076). 2. Anc. Naples, market (Bentz, n° 6.138). Compare the pelike by the Harrow Painter in the London market, showing a centaur playing the barbitos on the shield of a warrior, perhaps Achilles (*Sotheby's 17/18–7–1985*, n° 212a).

[51] Plato, *Politics*, 291A–B. Satyr and centaur relationships on the semantic level are fully explored by R. Osborne, «Framing the Centaur. Reading Fifth Century Architectural Sculpture», in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 52–84.

[52] Malibu 86.AE.47 (*CVA 1, III H*, pl. 53). Madrid 11008 (*ARV*² 7.2; *Para* 321; *Add*² 150; *CVA*, pl. 23.1, 24–25 et 26.1). Louvre CA 5950 (*Euphronios Peintre, Catalogue d'Exposition*, Paris, 1992, p. 231, n° 59). Malibu 80.AE.154 (*LIMC VIII*, pl. 400, Iliupersis 4).

[53] London E 35 (*ARV*² 74.38; *Add*² 168). Harvard (*ARV*² 234.1; *CVA Hoppin and Gallatin Collections*, pl. 7). Berlin 3257 (*ARV*² 239.17; *AA* 1893, p. 88) London E 47 (*ARV*² 319.3; *CVA 9*, pl. 7–8) Once London market

H.R.W. Smith argued a deeper meaning in the representation of the satyr figure as a shield device.[55] He observes that the painters of the Pioneer Group and Oltos treat with sympathy warriors bearing this device, in contrast to Epiktetos and his circle, who favour their opponents, allegedly connected to the Pisistratids. The same attitude prevails for warriors carrying shields emblazoned with greaves, the human leg, the foot, which in their turn are thought to be abreviations or masked expressions of the Alcmeonid emblem par excellence, the *triskeles*.[56] Thus, the satyr figure is made an Alcmeonid badge, albeit a secondary one. *Kalos* names are called to support the theory of such a dichotomy among members of the Athenian Kerameikos: Epiktetos specifically praises Hipparchos, identified with Hippias' brother, while Euthymides praises Megakles, and Psiax Hippokrates, prominent figures of the Alcmeonid clan.[57] Consequently, the satyr–mask motif is inserted in a game of anti– and pro–Alcmeonid propaganda initiated by prominent figures of the Athenian Kerameikos in the troubled years of 520–510, Epiktetos and his circle being the partisans of the Peisistratids, the Andokides Painter, Psiax and the Pioneers of their opponents.

This attempt to find a political meaning in the use of shield devices in vase–painting is seriously misleading,[58] not least because the segregation of potters and painters in two political parties is contradicted by their workshop connections.[59] The identifications of *kaloi* proposed by Smith are not straightforward: *Hipparchos kalos* is more likely the son of Charmos, a late champion of the tyrant party, while *Hippokrates kalos* may be the son of Anaxileos, linked with both the Alcmeonids and the Peisistratids.[60]

(*Sotheby's 12–12–1983*, lot 331; not a horse, as stated there). Berlin 3199 (*ARV*² 1114.9; *Para* 452; *Add*² 330; *LIMC I*, pl. 100, Achilleus 420). St. Petersbourg (A.A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye attischeskie vazy,* Leningrad, 1967, pl. 25.8). Copenhague 3877 (*ARV*² 63.87; *CVA 3*, pl. 138). London market (*Sotheby's 11–7–89*, n° 444). Lincoln, City and County Museum (*ARV*² 404; *Add*² 231).

[54] J. Boardman, «The Phallus–Bird», *RA* 1992, p. 227–242. The phallic component of war and fighting is illustrated on the famous Eurymedon oinochoe in Hamburg, inv. 1981.173 (K. Schauenburg, «Eurymedon eimi», *AM* 110, 1975, p. 107–122). See also K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality,* Harvard, 1985², p. 105; K.W. Arafat, «State of the Art–Art of the State. Sexual Violence and Politics in late Archaic and Early Classical Vase–Painting», and M.F. Kilmer, «Rape in Early Red–Figure Pottery», in S. Deacy, K.F. Pierce (eds), *Rape in Antiquity. Sexual Violence and Politics in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, London, 1997, p. 97–121 and 123–141 respectively. On defeat as rape, see E. Hall, «Asia unmanned: Images of victory in classical Athens», in J. Rich, G. Shipley (eds*), War and Society in the Greek World*, London, –New York, 1993, p. 108–133.

[55] *New Aspects of the Menon Painter*, Berkeley, 1929, p. 50 ff.

[56] C. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 21.

[57] Of 21 inscriptions naming Hipparchos kalos (*ARV*² 1584 and *Add*² 395), fourteen are by Epiktetos, one in his manner. On Megakles, see *ARV*² 1598, s.v. *Megakles I*. There are four vases praising Hippokrates, two of them by Psiax: H.A. Shapiro, «Hippokrates son of Anaxileos», *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 289–293, pl. 74–76.

[58] See the review of J.D. Beazley, in *JHS* 51, 1931, p. 120: «an ingenious flight of fancy».

[59] Psiax is the master of Epiktetos: *ARV*² 70. He is employed in the Andocides workshop: *ARV*² 7.1, with the Andocides Painter. Oltos and Epiktetos worked together in the Hischylos workshop: H. Bloesch, *Formen Attische Schalen*, Bern, 1940, p. 31–33; Cohen, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 337–341 et 410 ff.

[60] *Hipparchos kalos* as son of Charmos: W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1898², p. 62 ff.; J.K.Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford, 1971, p. 451 f. On Hippokrates, see H.A. Shapiro, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 290.

Finally, the theory that the *triskeles* is the emblem of the Alcmeonids is far from certain, and it is unlikely that family coats–of–arms ever existed in archaic Athens.[61]

It is true however that in most cases, the warriors carrying the satyr device belong to the losing party, when involved in fighting. This is primarily due to the deliberate choice of painters to connect the satyr device with marginal figures of Greek warfare, notably Giants (13 times),[62] Amazons[63] and other opponents of Herakles (Geryones once: A39, Kyknos twice: A15 and C4; a Trojan on B12). Even in more peaceful scenes, the device is often carried by Amazons, arming (A63, A71, A77, A81), or setting out (A48, A67, A68, A69), while it belongs twice to a dead Amazon carried by a companion (A70 and A73). This last motif is clearly influenced by the iconography of a warrior carrying the body of a comrade, where the satyr device appears nine times (A18, A20, A22, A23, A31, A33, A35, A64 and A65), always on the shield of the dead. It is almost certain that the two protagonists can safely be identified with Ajax and Achilles.[64] Among ill–fated heroes who carry the satyr shield device, Amphiaraos (A11, lower register)[65] and Hector (B2, **fig. 3**) are the most prominent. Kaineus carries it once (A37), even if on an earlier Centauromachy the device belongs to an anonymous Lapith (A9).

However, some mythological contexts show either the victorious or the most prominent heroes carrying the satyr shield: such are the Iliupersis (A2 and A3: the bearers are members of the victorious Greek army), Achilles and Ajax playing a game (A10, A21, A40, A47 and A75) and Achilles killing Penthesileia (A79). Few gods carry it: Dionysos (B26), Ares (on A7 and perhaps on A27) and above all Athena (in Gigantomachy: A44, assisting Herakles fighting the lion: A41; in mock judgement of Paris: A56; on a Panathenaic amphora: A66, **fig. 7**). On a neck–amphora by the Affecter (A28), the satyr mask device appears twice on the shields of warriors in the company of Gods, so we may reasonably infer some mythological connection. In all these types of scenes, it is only on a tiny minority that the satyr device appears.

Outside the realm of recognisable mythological figures, most prominent are warriors on red–figured vases, running or still.[66] In black–figure, the motif of the running warrior appears on a Siana cup (A4) and an Euboan lekanis (C2). Other scenes include departures (A17, A54, A72 and B34) or arming (A62, B3, **fig. 8** and B24), horse

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[61] Against Seltman's theory, based on the identification of some types of *Wappenmünzen* with emissions patroned by Megakles the Alcmeonid, see D.M. Robinson's review in *NC* 1924, p. 329–341; H.J.H. Van Buchem, «Family Coats–of–Arms in Greece?», *CR* 40, 1926, p. 181–183; Lacroix, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 101–102; P. Vidal–Naquet, P. Lévêque, *Clisthène l'athénien*, Paris, 1964, appendix 1; Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 96; Ph. Bruneau, «Le triskélés dans l'art grec», in *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.–B. Colbert de Beaulieu,* Paris, 1987, p. 145–156; Spier, p. 124–127.

[62] Nos A16, A44, A50, A59, A74, A76, A80, A83, B1 and B8: opponents of Athena; A14: Hermes' opponent; A55 and A61: Poseidon's opponent. On A27, the bearer of the satyr blazon is a victorious god. Cf. H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, IV, Paris, 1973, p. 110–111: «j'identifierais volontiers avec Arès le combattant victorieux... dont le bouclier est surmonté d'un épisème si expressif».

[63] Nos A11B, A12, A24, A25 and A30, where the opponents are Greek hoplites; A51, A52, A53, A57 and A57, where Amazons fight against Herakles.

[64] On the subject see S. Woodford and M. Loudon, «Two Trojan Themes», *AJA* 84, 1980, p. 25–40.

[65] It is interesting to note that in 5th century tragedy, Amphiaraos' shield is the only one of the «seven» not to bear an emblem: Aeschylus, *Septem*, 387 sq.; Euripides, *Phoenician Women,* v. 1107–1140.

[66] Running: B4, B5, B7, B14, B15, B16, B21. Still: B18, B29, B30.

riders (A43, A45, A46 and A49: perhaps hunters?). Fighting is depicted in various different ways on 25 vases[67] and three Clazomenian sarcophagi (D1, D2 and D3). Most fights are inconclusive, although on Epiktetos' vases (B9–11), the carrier of the satyr blazon is the losing party.

Compare the Gorgoneion. According to M. Halm–Tisserant's careful study dealing with Attic black–figure,[68] the Gorgoneion is the normal device of Athena, Achilles,[69] Ares and more rarely Ajax, Aineas, Hippolytus and Polites. Marginal figures include only Geryon and the Amazons. It seems that the apotropaic functions of the Gorgoneion were kept in mind by painters who were careful enough not to depict the bearer in unfavorable situations.

The great number of anti–heroes carrying the satyr device points to a deliberate notion of alterity. Amazons can be described as the anti–model of the hoplite: by their savage nature they are associated to the other pole of the Dionysiac thiasos, the Maenads.[70] However, the link between satyrs and Amazons is a less obvious one. Giants are comparable to satyrs in sharing with them the leopard skin,[71] a well–known Dionysiac symbol.

The satyr shield device appears unexpectedly on four vases depicting *hoplitodromoi* (A5, B6, **fig. 4**; B13 and B20).[72] Two other scenes must also be connected with festivities: according to K. Schauenburg,[73] the London amphora by the Micali Painter (C3) is related to Etruscan satyr–mask and dwarf performances, and satyrs and armed dancers are connected on an amphora by the same painter in London and a later vase in Dresden.[74] The young warrior's shield bearing the figure of a dancing satyr on the pelike

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[67] Nos A1, A6 in the upper register, A29 A–B, A38, A42, A78, A82, B9, B10, B11, B19, B22, B23, B25, B26, B28, B31A–B, B33, C1 and C5; including chariot, nos A19, A26, A32, A34 and A36. Also on B29, where the satyr figure is used for the inner decoration of the shield.

[68] «Le Gorgonéion, emblème d'Athéna. Introduction du motif sur le bouclier et l'égide» *RA* 1986, p. 245–278.

[69] In the *Iliad*, 11, 32–37, the Gorgoneion is the device of Agamemnon.

[70] J.S. Blok, *The Early Amazons. Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 1995, p. 278, 376–377 et 407.

[71] See the stamnoi of London E 443 (*ARV*² 292.29; *Para* 356; *Add*² 210; T.H. Carpenter, *op. cit.* [n. 40], pl. 2A–B) and Paris Cp 10748/New York 1976.244.1 (*ARV*² 187.55; *Add*² 188; Carpenter, pl. 3B).

[72] Normally, hoplitodromos' shield devices are connected with sport: cf. the Panathenaics in Bologna PU 198 (Bentz, pl. 73, n° 5.142); Egina 332 (Bentz, pl. 89, n° 5.202) and N. York, Zoulas coll. (Bentz, pl. 43, n° 5.010); the cups in Gravisca (K. Huber, *Gravisca 6. Scavi nel santuario greco: Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse*, Bari, 1999, p. 62, n° 217), Hannover 1966.99 (*CVA 1*, pl. 31.3), Leiden PC 89 (*ARV*² 533.62; *Add*² 255; *CVA*, pl. 167), Berlin 1960.2 (*ARV*² 861.12, 1672; *Para* 425; *Add*² 298; *Berliner Museen* Sonderheft 28, Mai 1960, p. 22–25), the skyphos Hearst, Hillsborough (*ARV*² 561.11; *Add*² 259; *BSA* 46, 1950, pl. 6a–b) the amphora Laon 37.1021 (*ARV*² 1016.35; *Para* 440; *CVA*, pl. 28.2 et 29.3). On the cups Paris G 76 (*ARV*² 84.16; *Add*² 170; *CVA b*, pl. 16.1–3 and 5) and Florence 3910 (*ARV*² 1565; *CVA 3*, pl. 89), the device is the figure of another athlete. See also the Panathenaic amphora in the Bunker Hunt collection depicting a bearded athlete sporting with two shields, on of which bears the hoplitodromos device (*Wealth of the Ancient World. The Nelson Bunker Hunt Collection*, New York, 1990, p. 66–67, n° 9). A centaur appears on the shield of an hoplitodromos on a cup once in the Basel market: *MM* 51, 1975, pl. 36, n° 151.

[73] «Szenische Aufführungen in Etruria?», in *Festschrift Bernard Neutsch, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 21, 1980, p. 439–443, pl. 80–83.

[74] London B 64: L.B. Van der Meer, «Greek and Local Elements in a sporting scene by the Micali Painter», in J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum. Papers of the Sixth International*

by the Nikoxenos Painter in San Antonio (B27), is decorated with vines, an unmistakable Dionysiac symbol. The presence of a Doric column points to a peaceful activity, perhaps pyrrhic dancing.[75] A warrior carrying the satyr device is dressed in a leopard skin on B14, while on two vases (A6, B31), Dionysiac symbols (leopard skin, ithyphallic mule, leopard and ivy leaf as shield device) are carried by the companions of the warrior with the satyr shield.

Smith made an interesting observation, connecting the alleged choice of the satyr as the emblem of Megakles on the Acropolis plaque (B4) to the «satyric» way of his life. An analogous case is cited for Alcibiades, who chose Eros as his device, an obvious commentary on his theory of life.[76] This type of symbolism is not unknown from literary sources, where the shield device of individuals is used primarily to identify the wearer, whose features were hidden by the helmet.[77] It is possible is some cases to find a Dionysiac connection between the emblem and the interpretation of the scene: the most obvious case is the figure of the satyr on the shield of Dionysus on a krater by the Altamura Painter (B32).[78] On the François vase (A7, **fig. 1**), the Dionysiac connection has comic overtones: the satyr mask on Ares shield may be seen as intended irony for his failure to bring back Hephaistus by force, where Dionysos and his satyrs succeed with the power of wine and feasting. Once again however, the Dionysiac connection can only explain a minimal proportion of the material.

None of the proposed interpretations makes full sense of the various aspects of symbolism inherent in the use of satyr blazons in imagery. The spread of the motif has more to do with the inherent qualities of the satyr, than with his alleged connections with the Dionysian gigantomachy, apotropaism, or some other tenuous symbolic interpretation. It is a decorative symbol, but it is not «innocent» or deprived of meaning. On the contrary, it is inextricably linked to the role of the satyr as a signifier, alias a symbolically charged figure colouring the general tenor of a given image.

Britism Museum Classical Colloqium, London 10–11 December 1982, London, 1986, p. 439–445. Dresden ZV 1653: M. Martelli, «Festa Etrusca», in H. Froning, T. Hölscher, H. Milesch (eds), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, Mainz, 1992, p. 342–346, pl. 73–76.

[75] Pyrrhic dancing is connected to Dionysos in later times: Pausanias 3.25; Lucian, *De saltatione* 8; Eustathius, *Comm. to Il.* 16.617.

[76] Plutarch, *Alciviades* 16. On the motif and its religious significance, cf. P. H. von Blanckenhagen, «The Shield of Alcibiades», in L.F. Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, *Marsyas* Supplement 1, New York, 1964, p. 38–43. On Megakles' reputation, it suffices to note an ostrakon from the Kerameikos where he is called *moichos* (S.F. Brenne, «Ostraka and the Process of Ostrakophoria», in W.D.E. Coulson et alii (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens under Democracy*, Oxford, 1994, p. 13, fig. 1–2. See *ibid*, p. 14, on two ostraka mentioning the *nea comé*, a possible allusion to the punishment of adultery, according to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 849).

[77] Normally an allusion to descent or to an episode from his life suffice to identify the hero: Stesichorus, fr. 70 Bergk: Plut., *Moralia* 985B; Euripides, *Meleager* (*TGF*, fr. 530); Pausanias 5.25, 9; 8.1, 8 et 10.26. See also the studies cited *supra*, n. 4.

[78] It is equally possible that the painter had in mind a complete *mise en scène* of the Dionysiac thiasos: satyr on the shield, Dionysus arming, served by maenads or nymphs. An analogous treatment may be seen on the cup Berlin 2290 and Rome by Makron (*ARV*^{2} 462.48; *Para* 377; *Add*^{2} 244; *CVA*, pl. 87–89): Dionysos, the patron of the thiasos is shown twice, once as the mask–idol and once as a painting or carving on the altar around which the maenads dance. The third pole of the dionysiac thiasos is represented by the dancing satyr on the black–figure skyphos in the hands of an ecstatic maenad.

Chronologically, this pattern in the use of the satyr figure is exactly contemporary with the introduction of the canonical satyr figure in imagery.[79] It is certainly not a coincidence that satyrs appear in their role as shield devices almost as early as their use as decorative emblems in the form of heraldic protomai flanking a floral on three black–figured oinochoai near the Gorgon Painter.[80]

It is argued here that the decorative quality of the satyr shield device has more to do with the viewer than with the general meaning of the image. The notion of the satyr figure in the role of a signifier is apparent in such disparate images as those of decorated weapons, vases,[81] architectural structures,[82] furniture (especially thrones),[83] altars[84] and votive pinakes near herms.[85] Like the *bucranium* decorating the background of Dionysiac

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[79] The view of J. Boardman, *Athenian Black–figured Vases*, London, 1974, p. 233, that the equine type of satyr is an artistic type created in Athens at the beginnining of the 6th century is still the more credible, despite recent attempts to localise his origins in Thrace. See also J. Bazant, «On Satyrs, Maenads, Athenians and Vases», *Eirene* 1984, p. 41–47.

[80] Athens, Agora P 24945 (*Para* 8.1bis; *Add*² 3; *Agora* XXIII, pl. 69, n° 723), Taranto, from San Giorgio Jonico (*ABV* 10.2; F.G. Lo Porto, «Testimonienze archeologiche della espansione tarantina in età arcaica», *Taras* 10, 1, 1990, pl. XLVI) and University of Berlin (*ABV* 10.3).

[81] For figures of satyrs on vases painted on Attic vases, see W. Oentorink, «Ein 'Bild im Bild'–Phänomen–Zur Darstellung figurlich dekorierter Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefässen», *Hephaistos* 14, 1996, p. 81–134. To his lists, add the cup by Makron in a private coll. in Centre Island, depicting a maenad dancing, holding a black–figure skyphos with the figure of a dancing satyr. (N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Kerameus 11, Mainz, 1997, pl. 118, n° 348). There is a wealth of comparable material, still unexplored, in Lucanian and Apulian vases with decoration, whether «black–figure» or «red–figure». For similar representations on Etruscan tomb paintings, see L.B. Van der Meer, «Etruscan Kylikeia», in *Proc. Amsterdam*, p. 298–304.

[82] See the furnace of Hephaistos decorated with the figure of a satyr on a column–krater in Caltanissetta, inv 20371 (*Para* 354.39bis; *Add*² 207; *ARFV*, fig. 174); compare the hydria Munich 1717 (*ABV* 362.36; *Para* 161; *Add*² 96; *Dev*², pl. 87.1–2): a satyr like mask, but with human ears decorates a potter's kiln. Most interpretations of the two monuments stress the apotropaic function of the daemonic figure.

[83] Satyr decorating the throne of Hades on a shield–band from Olympia: *supra*, n. 25; satyr and maenad dancing, decorating the throne of Zeus, on the Siphnian frieze: *LIMC VIII*, pl. 537, Mainades 57. Even a fountain spout takes the form of a satyr mask: hydria by Hypsis in Rome, Torlonia 73 (*ARV*² 30.2; *Add*² 157; *ARFV*, fig. 44). The fountain is labelled *Dionysou krene*.

[84] See the altar on a pinax from Locri: P. Zancani Montuoro, «Tabella Fittile Locrese con scena del culto», *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte VII*, 1940, 205–224. An actual painted altar was once in the Robinson collection, in Baltimore: *CVA Robinson i*, pl. 57; compare also a painted perirrhanterion from the sanctuary of Alexandra at Amyklai in Laconia: *Xenia* 13, 1987, p. 11, fig. 6. One may add the *arulae*, small decorative altars found all over the Italian peninsula, with Dionysiac motifs. For S. Italy and Sicily, see H. van der Meijden, *Terrakotta–Arulae aus Sizilien und Unteritalien*, Amsterdam, 1993, nos MW 17–22, pl. 52.1, 93; A. Calderone, «Il mito greco e le arule siceliote di VI–V sec. a.C.», in F.–R. Massa–Peirrault (ed.), *Le Mythe Grec en Italie Antique. Fonction et Image. Actes du Colloque internationale de Rome, 14–16/11/1996* (CEFRA 253) Rome, 1999, p. 163–204. For archaic Rome, see D. Riccioti, *Antiquarium Communale di Roma. Terrecotte Votive 1, Arule*, Rome, 1978, p. 74, n° 2, pl. 2.

[85] See the lekythoi by the Bowdoin Painter, London E 585 (*ARV*² 685.162; *LIMC V*, pl. 206, Hermes 95c), Palermo V 687 (*ARV*² 685.163; *CVA*, pl. 23.4; *LIMC V*, pl. 206, Hermes 95b) and Karlsruhe 85/1 (*ARV*² 684.164; *Para* 406; *Add*² 279; *CVA 3*, pl. 41.1–3), the calyx–krater Boston 03.796, near the Washing Painter (*CB III*, p. 165, Suppl. pl. 24; *LIMC V*, pl. 266, Hermes 817) and an Apulian bell–krater in Brussels, inv. A 725, related to the Eton–Nika Group (*RVAp I*, p. 79, n° 94; *CVA 3, IV E et IV C*, pl. 2; *LIMC III*, pl. 633, Eros 462). It is impossible to enter into the discussion of the important question of the identity of the deity honoured in this sanctuary, Hermes or Dionysus. The Dionysiac connection, which is adopted here, is also stressed by F. Strocka, *Alltag und Fest in Athen*, Austellungskatalog, Freiburg, 1987, p. 26 and C. Weiss, *CVA Kalsruhe* 3, p. 81. Actual votive pinakes wirh figures of satyr: see a relief from Ibiza (A. Garcia y Bellido,

temene on vases of the 4th century,[86] the satyr figure or mask forms the minimal iconic sign which makes the surrounding pictorial elements enter in the realm of Dionysiac *ethos* to create a universe especially devoted to Dionysus and wine.[87] Other, less sophisticated aspects of «dionysianization» of ceramic production appear from the early 6th century on, in the form of head–[88] and statuette–vases,[89] plastic askoi,[90] face–kantharoi[91] and even Chalcidian eye–cups.[92] Far from being the «...creator of disorder, fashioning before the spectator's eyes a negative anthropology», a bestial anti–prototype for the civilized reveller,[93] the satyr is better understood as a vehicle of specifically Dionysiac connotations, even in such a *prima facie* un–dionysiac setting as the warrior's shield device.

Hispania Graeca, Barcelona, 1947, pl. CLII, n° 12) and a black–figure pinax from the Corycean Cave (Delphi, inv. MD 8657: P. Amandry [ed.], *L'Antre corycien*, *BCH* Suppl. IX.2, Paris, 1984, p. 96–97, n° 395).

[86] H. Metzger, «Le sanctuaire de Dionysos dans la céramique tardive», in *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris, 1965, p. 95.

[87] Alternatiively, it can be argued that a more abstract notion of the sacred space, without reference to Dionysus, may be propagated in the image of a satyr. See the figurines of satyrs found in the sanctuaries of the major Greek deities: B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines. Aspects of Anthropomorphic Dedications*, Uppsala, 1989.

[88] The most ancient head vase with the features of the satyr is Athens 12476, a Corinthian specimen of 580 B.C. (J.H. Jenkins, «A Corinthian Plastic Vase», *JHS* 55, 1935, p. 124–127; J. Ducat «Les vases plastiques corinthiens», *BCH* 87, 1963, p. 444). Attic examples: see J.D. Beazley, «Charinos», *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 38–70; A.P. Kozloff, «Companions of Dionysus», *Bull.Clev.Mus.* Sept. 1980, p. 206–219; *ARV*² 1530–1552 et 1697–1698; *Para*, p. 501–505; *Add*² 385–388.

[89] East Greek: C. Dugas, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens*, Paris, 1966, p. 79, pl. XI.4–5: F. Utili, «Die archaische Nekropole von Assos», *Asia Minor Studien* 31, Bonn, 1999, p. 315, fig. 522–523; A. Adriani et al., *Himera I, Campagne di Scavo 1963–1965*, Rome, 1970, pl. XV.3. Attic: M. True, *Pre–Sotadean Attic Red–Figure Statuette Vases and Related Vases with Relief Decoration*, Diss. Harvard, 1986, p. 122–237 et 238–240, figs 13–14, p. 213–217, fig. 6, p. 218, fig. 7, p. 229–231. Apulian: Naples 81768, Naples, Santagelo 52 and Naples 16251 (*I Greci in Occidente. La Magna Grecia nelle collezioni del Museo Archeologico di Napoli*, Naples, 1996, p. 121, n° 10.26, 188, 204, n° 13.30 and 232, n° 15.15); Amsterdam (*Vasen uit de schenking Six. Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 47, n° 38). Etruscan: lost askos in the form of a satyr riding an askos (Annali 1884, pl. B, 1).

[90] Archaic plastic askoi terminating in a head or mask of satyr: Naples RC 84900 and RC 84901: E. Gabrici, «Cuma», *ML* 22, 1913, pl. 74, n° 6, 6a and pl. 74, n° 3; Marseille: A. Hermary, A. Hesnar, H. Tréziny, *Marseille grecque. La cité phocéenne (600–49 avant J.–C.)*, Paris, 1999, p. 62 and 65 (examples from Baou de Saint Michel and Villeneuve–Bargemon respectively). Other examples are reported from the environs of Marseille and from Ampurias: A. Hesnard, M. Moliner, M. Bouiron, *Parcours des Villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire, Musées de Marseille*, Aix–en–Provence, 1999, p. 29.

[91] E. Walter–Karydi, *Samos* VI. *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bonn, 1973, p. 30; J. Manser, «Zwei ostgriechische Gesichtskantharoi», *AK* 30, 1987, p. 162–167, pl. 23. There is some controversy regarding their origin; Samos is the likeliest suggestion.

[92] A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 111. For the Attic eye–cups and their relationship to masks, see in particular, G. Ferrari, «Eye–cup», *RA* 1986, p. 18–20; N. Kunisch, «Die Augen der Augenschalen», *AK* 33, 1990, p. 20–27, pl. 5.

[93] As is repeatedly argued by F. Lissarrague. For example in «Why Satyrs are Good to Represent?», in F. Zeitlin, J. Winkler (eds), *Nothing to Do with Dionysus? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton, 1990, p. 228–236 (quotation from p. 236).

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF VASES

Vases are arranged by fabric, in a roughly chronological order.

A. Attic Black–figure

1. London B 382, Siana cup. Fight. C Painter. *ABV* 51.5; *Para* 23; *Add²* 13; *CVA 2*, pl. 9.1a–c.
2. Naples 132642, pyxis lid. Iliupersis. C Painter. *ABV* 58.119; *Para* 23; *Add²* 16; *Dev²*, pl. 22; *CVA 5*, pl. 1–3.
3. Paris CA 616, tripod kothon. Iliupersis: a row of warriors running. C Painter. *ABV* 58.122; *Para* 23; *Add²* 16; *Dev²*, pl. 20–21.
4. Athens, Agora P 20716, Siana cup. Warrior running. Related to the C Painter. *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pl. 31–32; *AJA* 55, 1951, pl. 9a; *Agora XXIII*, pl. 109, n° 1678.
5. Bologna 1437, ovoid neck–amphora. Hoplitodromos race. Unattributed. *CVA II, III He*, pl. 2.
6. Vienna 1672, Siana cup. Fight. Heidelberg Painter. *ABV* 63.8; H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups II. The Heidelberg Painter,* Amsterdam, 1991, pl. 142b, g, h.
7. Florence 4209, volute–krater. Return of Hephaistos. Kleitias and Ergotimos. *ABV* 76.1; *Para* 29; *Add²* 21; Tiverios, pl. 92a; *LIMC II*, pl. 36, Ares 74; *Dev²*, pl. 23–29. **Fig. 1**.
8. Athens, Acr., fr. of plaque. Part of a shield, with a satyr's head as device. Signed by Nearchos. *ABV* 83.5.
9. Louvre E 876, dinos. Centauromachy. *ABV* 90.1; *Add²* 24; *ClassAnt* 12.2, 1993, fig. 10.
10. Berlin F 3267, plate. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Provincial Attic. *ABV* 90.6; *Para* 33; *Add²* 24; D. Callipolitis–Feytmans, *Les plats attiques*, Athens–Paris, 1974, pl. 53, n° A II 11.
11. Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711, Tyrrhenian amphora. Upper frieze: departure of Amphiaraos. Lower frieze: Amazonomachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 95.8; *Para* 34, 36; *Add²* 25; H. Thiersch, *Tyrrenische Amphoren*, Leipzig, 1899, pl. 3–4; *LIMC I*, pl. 556, Amphiaraos 9.
12. Rome 50652, tyrrhenian amphora. Centauromachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 98.42; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26; P. Mingazzini, *La collezione Castellani, I*, Rome, 1930, pl. 53.2, 54.4, 55.1 and 3.
13. Rome, Conservatori 124, tyrrhenian amphora. Amazonomachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 99.50; Von Bothmer, pl. 9.2.
14. Athens, Acr. 607, dinos. Lydos. Gigantomachy. *ABV* 107.1; *Add²* 29; Graef; pl. 32–25; Tiverios, pl. 98a–b; *Dev²*, pl. 34. **Fig. 2**.
15. Munich 1732, oinochoe. Herakles and Kyknos, with Ares and Athena. Lydos. *ABV* 110.37; *Para* 44, 48; *Add²* 30; Tiverios, pl. 57–59.
16. Copenhagen 13966, lip cup. Enkelados, Athena. Lydos. *Para* 48; *Add²* 33; Tiverios, pl. 62–64.

17. Melbourne Univ. 40, hydria. Departure of warrior. Painter of Louvre F 6. *BABesch* 56, 1981, p. 43, fig. 1–4.
18. Salerno, inv. 148a, amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Group E. G. Greco, A. Pontradolfo, *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco–campano*, Modena, 1990, p. 197–198, fig. 318.
19. Vatican 347, amphora B. Fight with chariot. Near the Group E, the Group of Vatican 347. *ABV* 138.1; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antici dipinti del Vaticano*, i, Rome, 1925, pl. 43.
20. Berlin F 1718, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Exekias. *ABV* 144.5; *Add*^{2} 39, *AJA* 84, 1980, pl. 3, fig. 4.
21. Vatican 344, amphora A. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Exekias. *ABV* 145.13; *Para* 60; *Add*^{2} 40; *Dev*^{2}, pl. 64–66; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 187.
22. Boulogne 575, amphora. Warrior carrying dead companion. Near Exekias. *ABV* 149.2; F. Lissarrague, A. Schnapp, «Imagerie des Grecs ou Grèce des imagiers?» *Le temps de la réflexion* 2, 1981, p. 293, fig. 5.
23. Once Leipzig T 356, fragment of amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Near Exekias. *WZRostock* 16, 1967, pl. 31.4.
24. Private, cup. Amazonomachy. Signed by the potter Phrynos. J. Frel, *Studia Varia*, Rome, 1989, p. 13, fig. 2.
25. Rhodes 15430, cup. Amazonomachy. Marmaro Painter. *ABV* 198.1; *Add*^{2} 53; *LIMC I*, pl. 443, Amazones 18.
26. London B 364, volute–krater. Fight, with chariots. Signed by Nikosthenes. *ABV* 229; H.E. Schleiffenbaum, *Der griechische Volutenkrater*, Frankfurt–Bern–N. York, 1991, p. 485, fig. 10.
27. Istanbul A 34.2637, frr. of volute–krater. Gigantomachy. Unattributed. H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV*, Paris, 1973, pl. 48, n° 202.
28. Paris F 19, neck–amphora. Mythological subject. Affecter. *ABV* 241.28; *Add*^{2} 61; H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Kerameus 1), Mainz, 1981, pl. 25, n° 18.
29. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg 2692, amphora B. A–B: duel. Affecter. *ABV* 245.68; *Add*^{2} 63, Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, n° 100; F. Johansen, *Greece in the Archaic period, Catalogue*, Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen, 1994, n° 129, p. 173–174.
30. Omaha 1953.255, hydria. Amazonomachy. Affecter. *ABV* 247.93; *Add*^{2} 64; Mommsen, op. cit., pl. 97.
31. Baltimore 48.17, amphore. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Antimenes Painter. *ABV* 271.70; C. Bron, A. Kassapoglou (eds), *L'image en jeu*, Lausanne, 1992, p. 91, fig. 3.
32. Berlin F 1896, hydria. Fight, with wheeling chariot. Manner of the Antimenes Painter. *ABV* 277.11; *Para* 121; *Add*^{2} 72; *CVA* 7, pl. 17, 18.2.
33. Adolphseck AV 213–217, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Related to the Antimenes Painter. *Para* 123.12ter; *Add*^{2} 73; *CVA 1*, pl. 8.1–2.
34. Tarquinia RC 3454, neck–amphora. Fight with chariot. Circle of the Antimenes Painter. *CVA 1, III H*, pl. 9.

35. Limoges 80.58, hydria. Warrior carrying dead companion. Circle of the Antimenes Painter. *CVA*, pl. 6, 9a.
36. New York 23.160.92, fr. of hydria. Fight, with chariot. Princeton Painter. *ABV* 299.24; *Para* 130; *AA* 1962, p. 774.
37. Christchurch 41/57, amphora. Kaineus with two centaurs. Swing Painter. *Para* 134.31bis; *Add*[2] 81, *CVA*, pl. 8.1–4; E. Böhr, Der *Schaukelmaler* (Kerameus 4), Mainz, 1982, pl. 56, n° 53.
38. Rhodes 14093, amphora A. Fight. Swing Painter. *ABV* 307.57; *Add*[2] 82; Böhr, *op. cit.*, pl. 80, n° 77.
39. Paris, CabMéd 223, neck–amphora. Herakles and Geryon. Swing Painter. *ABV* 308.77; *Add*[2] 83; Böhr, *op. cit.*, pl. 103a–b, n° 93.
40. Once London commerce, neck–amphora. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Three–Line Painter. *Ancient Art in American Private Collections. A Loan Exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, December 28, 1954–February 15–1955*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1954, pl. 76–7, n° 205.
41. Lugano, Bolla coll. (once Basel, market), amphora B. Herakles and the lion, with Hermes, Iolaos and Athena. Rycroft Painter. *MM* 70, 1986, pl. 38, n° 197.
42. Leyden PC 33, hydria. Fight. Leagros Group. *ABV* 364.57; *Add*[2] 97; *CVA 1*, pl. 12.3, 10, 16.7.
43. London B 306, hydria. Horsemen. Leagros Group. *ABV* 365.68; *CVA 6*, pl. 76.2, 77.3.
44. Geneva 15007, hydria. Gigantomachy (Athena, Ares). Leagros Group. *ABV* 365.69; *Add*[2] 97; *CVA 2, III H*, pl. 63.
45. Germany, private, hydria. Three horsemen and a man setting out with three dogs. The last one holds a shield. Leagros Group. M. Steinhart, *Töpferkunst und Meisterzeichnung. Attische Wein– und ölgefasse aus der Sammlung Zimmermann*, Mainz, 1996, p. 7°–73, col. plate, 5, n° 13.
46. Once Basel Market, frr. of hydria. Three horsemen setting out with spears and dogs: The last one holds a shield. Leagros Group, Antiope Group. *H.A.C. Auktion 9*, Basel, 1998, n° 31.
47. Chiusi 1812, neck–amphora. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Leagros Group, the Chiusi Painter. *ABV* 368.97; *Para* 162, 170; *Add*[2] 98; *CVA 1*, pl..19.3–4, 20–21.1–2.
48. London B 158, amphora. Mounted Amazons. Leagros Group. *ABV* 368.105; *Para* 162; *Add*[2] 98; *LIMC I*, pl. 517, Amazones 714a.
49. Once London, market, neck–amphora. Two horsemen. Leagros Group. *Sotheby's, 17–7–1985*, n° 218.
50. Fukuoka Art Museum 6–H–245, neck–amphora. Athena fighting two Giants. Leagros Group. *CVA Japan 2*, pl. 62.
51. Sydney 46.04, hydria. Herakles fighting three Amazons. Manner of the Acheloos Painter. *ABV* 386.17; Von Bothmer, pl. 43.5.
52. London B 217, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting three Amazons. Painter of Naples RC 192. *ABV* 394.2; *Add*[2] 103; *CVA III He*, pl. 53.1.

53. San Antonio 86.134.43a, b, amphora. Nikoxenos Painter. Herakles figthing two Amazons. H.A. Shapiro and al., *Greek Vases*, San Antonio Museum, 1995, p. 112–113, n° 55.
54. London B 178, amphora B. Man with horse leaving home. Eucharides Painter. *ABV* 396.27; *CVA*, pl. 32.3.
55. Paris F 248, neck–amphora. Poseidon kills Nisyros «Maler der klagenden Troainerinner». *CVA 4*, pl. 49.7–8, 50.1–2; E. Kunze–Götte, *Der Kleophrades–Maler unten Malen schwarzfiguriger Amphoren*, Mainz, 1992, pl. 58.1–2, 67.1.
56. Berlin F 1703, amphora. Mock Judgement of Paris (Athena). Unattributed. Described in A. Furtwängler, *Koningliche Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Vasensammlungen im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1885, p. 241 (This must be the amphora cited by E. Gerhard, «Rapporto intorno i vasi Volcenti», *Annali* 3, 1831, n° 333: «simboli bacchici nello scudo di Minerva: Ann. l. c. Sileno itifallico»).
57. Frankfurt VF b 393, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting Amazons. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 43. III.
58. Munich J 97, neck–amphora. Fight. Unattributed. Described in O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu Munich*, Munich, 1854, p. 28.
59. Munich 1533, neck–amphora. Athena fights with chariot: Gigantomachy. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 368.2.
60. Munich 1566, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting Amazons. Unattributed. *CVA 8*, pl. 410.
61. St. Petersbourg b 2368, neck–amphora. Poseidon and Nisyros. Unattributed. S. Gorbunova, *Chernofigurnie attickeskie vasi u Ermitaghe*, Leningrad, 1983, p. 95, n° 67.
62. Tarquinia RC 2462, neck–amphora. Two warriors with a woman. Unattributed. *CVA 2, III H*, pl. 38.3–4.
63. Vatican G 21, neck–amphora. Amazons arming (other side: Amazonomachy, with Herakles). Unattributed. J.D. Beazley, B. Maggi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome, 1939, part I, pl. 7.
64. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh 74.1.6, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Thetis. Unattributed. H.A. Shapiro (ed.), *Art, Myth and Culture. Greek Vases from Southern Collections*, New Orleans Museum of Arts and Tulane University, 1981, p. 92–93, n° 36.
65. Japan, private coll., neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, with an elder, a woman and a dog. *Special Exhibition. Painted Pottery of Classical Greece from Japanese Collection, 30/9–6/11/1988, The Museum Yamato Bukanan*, Nara, 1988, p. 48–49, n° 14.
66. Once Rome, Panathenaic amphora. Athena. Bentz, n° 6.137, pl. 38 (drawing). **Fig. 7**.
67. Munich 1809, oinochoe. Amazon with a dog. Unattributed. *CVA 12*, pl. 51.1–2.
68. Tarquinia RC 2431, oinochoe. Amazons. Unattributed. Von Bothmer, p. 102, n° 133.

69. Once London, market, olpe. Amazon with a dog. Unattributed. *Sotheby's 10–7–1990*, n° 231; *Sotheby's 3–12–1991*, n° 354.
70. Once Naples, Savaresi coll., lekythos. Amazon carrying a dead companion. Capodimonte Group. Para 214.3; E. Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Munich, 1828, pl. 57.1–2.
71. Syracuse 2353, lekythos. Amazon arming. Gela Painter. *ABL* 208.61, pl. 25.2.
72. Paris F 371, olpe. Two warriors setting out, with horses. Gela Painter. *ABL* 215.199; C. Fournier–Christol, *Catalogue des Olpés attiques du Louvre de 550 à 480 environ*, Paris, 1990, pl. 28, n° 46.
73. Karlsruhe B 306, lekythos. Amazon carrying a dead companion. Near the Gela Painter. *CVA 1*, pl. 14.11–12.
74. Athens N 944 (12473), lekythos. Gigantomachy (Athena and Giant). Class of Athens 581. *ABV* 490.24.
75. Karlsruhe 171 (B.2), lekythos from Agrigento. Achilles and Ajax playing a game. Class of Athens 581. *ABV* 492.74; *Para* 223; *CVA 1*, pl. 13.10; *Veder Greco. Le necropoli di Agrigente. Roma, Mostra Internazionale, 2 Maggio–31 Guglio 1988*, Rome, 1988, p. 152, n° 34.
76. Basel 21.538, WG lekythos. Athena and Giant. Sappho Painter. *ABL* 227.35; *CVA 1*, pl. 54.2–3.
77. Eleusis 708, epinetron. Amazons arming. Sappho Painter. *ABL* 228.54, pl. 34.1.
78. Taranto 143477, lekythos. Fight. Workshop of Sappho and Diosphos Painters. *CVA Taranto 4, Collezione Rotondo*, pl. 8.
79. Once Basel, market (*MM*), skyphos. Achilles and Penthesileia. Theseus Painter. *LIMC VI*, pl. 234, Penthesileia 23.
80. Athens, Kerameikos SW 39, lekythos. Enkelados, Athena. Unattributed. U. Knigge, *Kerameikos IX. Der Südhügel*, Bermin, 1976, pl. 23.7, n° 39.1.
81. Karlsruhe 56/80, olpe. Amazon arming. Painter of Vatican G 49. *ABV* 705.39bis; *CVA 3*, pl. 21.1.
82. London market (once Castle Ashby 36), kyathos. Warriors preparing a duel. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 24.7–9; *Christie's 2.7.1980*, p. 110, n° 67.
83. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, coll. Finnigan, 37–19, plate. Athena, Enkelados. Segment Class. *LIMC IV*, pl. 128, Gigantes 217.

B. Attic Red–figure and White Ground

1. Paris CA 3662, stemmed plate. Athena, Enkelados. Psiax. *ARV*^{2} 12.11; *Add*^{2} 151; *AK* 22, 1979, pl. 13.3 and 5; *LIMC IV*, pl. 147, Gigantes 342.
2. Munich 2307, amphora A. Hector arming. Euthymides. *ARV*^{2} 26.1; *Para* 323; *Add*^{2} 155; *ARFV*, fig 33; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 188. **Fig. 3**.
3. Munich 2308, amphora A. Warrior arming, with two scythian archers. Euthymides. *ARV*^{2} 26.2; *Add*^{2} 156; *CVA*, pl. 169–171, 172.2–4. **Fig. 8**.
4. Athens, Acr. 1037, WG plaque. Warrior. Euthymides. *ARFV*, fig. 53.
5. Rome, Torlonia, cup. Warrior running. Oltos. *ARV*^{2} 59.56; *Add*^{2} 164; Cohen, pl. 83.3.

6. Basel BS 436, bilingual eye–cup. Hoplitodromos. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 1705.6bis; *Add²* 167; *CVA 2*, pl. 1.1–4, 31.4 and 6, 38.1. **Fig. 4**.
7. Paris G 5, palmette–eye–cup. Warrior picking up a spear. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 71.14; *Add²* 167; *CVA 10*, pl. 9.2–3, 5–8 et 10.
8. Reggio C 1143, cup. Gigantomachy. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 72.19; *Ausonia* VII, 1913, p. 173.
9. London 1929.11–1.11, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. ARV² 74.35; *BMQ* 4, 1929, n° 4.
10. Princeton 33.41, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 74.39; F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Du masque au visage*, Paris, 1995, fig. 41.
11. Munich 2619, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. ARV² 74.40. Described by W. Kraiker, «Epiktetos», *JDI* 44, 1928, p. 192, n° 63 (with wrong number 2649).
12. Once Agrigento, Politi, cup. Herakles at Troy. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 74.42; *Add²* 168; R. Politi, *Sulla Tazza dell'Amicizia. Un brindisi di Raffaelo Politi al chiarissimo Teodoro Panofka*, Palerme, 1834, pl. 1–2; F. Inghirami, *Pitture di Vasi Etrusci²*, Fiesole, 1852, pl. 259–261.
13. Basel, Cahn coll. HC 1604, cup fr. Hoplitodromoi. Epiktetos. H.A. Cahn, *Griechische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung Herbert A. Cahn, Basel, Teil II. Die attisch–rottfigurigen Fragmente*, Hannovre, 1993, p. 7, n° 162.
14. New York 41.162.112, cup. Warrior running. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 76.69; *CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collection*, pl. 47.4 et 61.7.
15. Tarquinia RC 1911, cup. Warrior running. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 76.73; G. Ferrari, *Vasi attici a figure rosse, Materiali del Museo di Tarquinia XI*, Rome, 1989, pl. X, n° 5; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 189.
16. Florence, fr. cup. I: warrior. Manner of Epiktetos. *ARV²* 79.8. Photo Beazley Archive.
17. Rome, Villa Giulia, no n°, fr. cup. I: rests of shield with satyr face as device. Manner of Epiktetos. *ARV²* 80.9. Photo Beazley Archive.
18. Athens, Acr. 75, cup. Warriors setting out. Recalling Epiktetos. *ARV²* 80.1; B. Graef, E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, pl. 5.
19. Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 2572 and Vatican, Astarita coll. 811, cup. Fight. Painter of Londres E 33. *Para* 329; *Add²* 169; *Éros Grec. Amours des Dieux et des Hommes, Catalogue de l'exposition du Grand Palais, 6/11/1989–5/2/1990 et d'Athènes 5/3–5/5/1990*, Athens–Paris, 1989, p. 138–139, n° 69.
20. Once Basel, market, cup. Hoplitodromos. Manner of the Euergides Painter. *MM* 60, 1982, pl. 9, n° 26.
21. Vetulonia, n° 57, cup. Warrior running. Manner of the Epeleios Painter. A.Talocchini, «Ultimi dati offerti dagli scavi vetuloniesi, Poggio Pelliccia–Costa Murata», *L'Etruria mineraria. Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Firenze–Populonia–Piombino, 16–20/7/1979*, Florence, 1981, pl. XXIXb.
22. Malibu 86.AE.355.1–4, cup fragment. Fight. manner of the Epeleios Painter. *CVA 8*, pl. 403.10–11.

23. Basel, Cahn coll. HC 487 (ex Castle Ashby), cup fr. A: fight. B: renforts fasting. Apollodoros. *ARV²* 120.4; *Add²* 175; *CVA Castle Ashby*, pl. 41.2; *Christie's 2.7.1980*, p. 72–73, n° 40.
24. Boston 95.32, cup. Youths arming. Signed by the potter Pamphaios. *ARV²* 128.19; *Para* 131; J.C. Hoppin, *A Handbook Attic Red–Figured Vases*, Harvard, 1919, ii, p. 282–283.
25. New York 22.139.28 and Amsterdam 2228, cup. Fight. Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter. *ARV²* 133.14+15; *Add²* 177.
26. Vatican 507, cup. Fight. Ambrosios Painter. *ARV²* 174.18; *Musei Etrusci, quod Gregorius XVI Pont. Max. in Aedibus Vaticanis Constituit Monumenta, ii*, Vatican, 1842, pl. 74.2.
27. San Antonio 86.134.71, pelike. Warrior dancing in front of a column. Nikoxenos Painter. H.A. Shapiro and al., *Greek Vases*, San Antonio Museum, 1995, p. 68, n° 68.
28. N. York 41.162.73, column–krater. Fight. Manner of the Göttingen Painter. *ARV²* 235.7; *CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collection*, pl. 9.5, 7 and 8. **Fig. 5**.
29. Berlin 1966.14, psykter. Warrior. Myson. *Para* 349.77bis; *Add²* 202; M. Schlering, *Griechische Tongefässe*, Berlin, 1967, fig. 28. **Fig. 6**.
30. Munich 8726, amphora. Warrior. Flying–Angel Painter. *ARV²* 280.8; *CVA 4*, pl. 189.
31. Germany, private, cup. A–B: fight. Colmar Painter. *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus eine deutschen Privatsammlung*, Mainz, 1997, p. 70–72.
32. St. Petersbourg 1598, calyx–krater. Dionysos arming. Altamura Painter. *ARV²* 591.17; *Add²* 264; *LIMC III*, pl. 369, Dionysos 610.
33. Bologne 290, calyx–krater. Fight. Unattributed. *RM* 84, 1978, pl. 26.
34. London E 575, lekythos. Departure of warrior, with woman. Unattributed. Described by C. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, III, London, 1896, n° 575.

C. Non Attic Vase Painting

1. Paris E 739, Campana dinos. Warriors setting out; fight. Painter of Louvre E 737–E 739. *CVA 21*, pl. 4.1–2, 5.1–4, 13.3–4.
2. Basel, private, euboean black–figured plate. Warrior running. Painter of the Basel Warrior. K. Kilinski, «Contribution to the Euboan Corpus: More Black–Figured Vases», *AK* 28, 1994, pl. 4.2.
3. London B 61, Etruscan black–figured hydria. Four warriors dancing. Micali Painter. N. Spivey, «The Armed Danse in Etruria» in T. Christiansen, J. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, 1988, p. 597, fig. 6.
4. Florence V9, Etruscan red–figured column–krater. Herakles and Kyknos. Group Vagnonville. S. Bruni, «Ceramiche sovradipinte del V sec. a.C. del territorio chiusino, il gruppo Vagnonville. Une propostà di definizione», *Atti del XVII convegno di studi etruschi ed italici, Chianciano Terme, 28 mai–1 jugnio 1989*, Florence, 1993, pl. XX.

5. London market (anc. Castle Ashby), fr. of Etruscan added red hydria. Fight. Praxias Group. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase–Painting*, Oxford, 1947, p. 198, n° 59; A. Greifenhagen, *RM* 84, 1978, pl. 27, n° 3; *Christie's* 2.7.1980, p. 35, n° 20; *Christie's* 13.12.1988, n° 368.

D. Clazomenian Sarcophagi

1. Hanover 1897.12. Fight. Hanover Painter. R.M. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (Kerameus 3), Mainz, 1981, pl. 14–15, n° C 4.
2. London 96.6–15.1. Various panels illustrating fights. Albertinum Group. Cook, *op. cit.*, pl. 40–45, n° G 1.
3. Tübingen S/12 2862. Fight. Albertinum Group. *CVA*, pl. 16.2 and 18; Cook, *op. cit.*, pl. 69, n° G 17.

APPENDIX 2: TYPES OF SATYR SHIELD–DEVICES

Type 1 (non–equine satyr): A1–4

Type 2 (satyr–face in profile, in added white): A5, A11A, A17

Type 3 (satyr–mask in relief): A7, A9, A10, A11B, A12, A13, A18, A19, A21, A22, A26, 28–36, A41–A55, A57–A60, A62–A65, A68–A78, A80, A82, B2, B23, C3

Type 4 (satyr–mask in frontal view): A15, A20, A23–5, A27, A38, A40, A61, A67, A81, A83, B6–8, B15–19, B24, B30, C2, C4, D1

Type 5 (satyr–mask in profile, silhouette or black–figure): A25, A79, B9, B10, B12–14, B21, B28, B29, B31A

Type 6 (satyr–figure): A6, A56, A66, B1, B3–5, B11, B20, B22, B26, B31B, B32, B34, C1, D2, D3

Type 7 (interior decoration of shield): B33, C5

Unknown: A8, B25

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Fig. 1. Florence 4209, detail. After M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός καί το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976, pl. 92a.

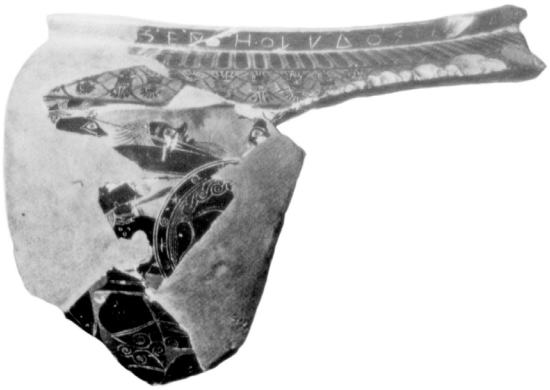

Fig. 2. Athens 607, detail. After M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός καί το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976, pl. 1a.

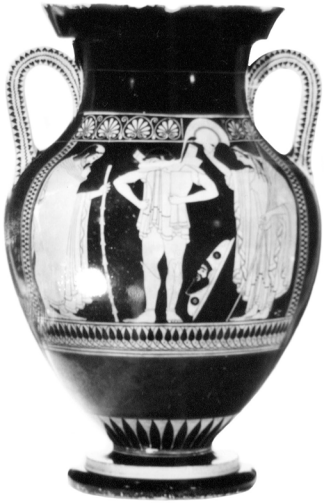

Fig. 3. Munich 2307. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

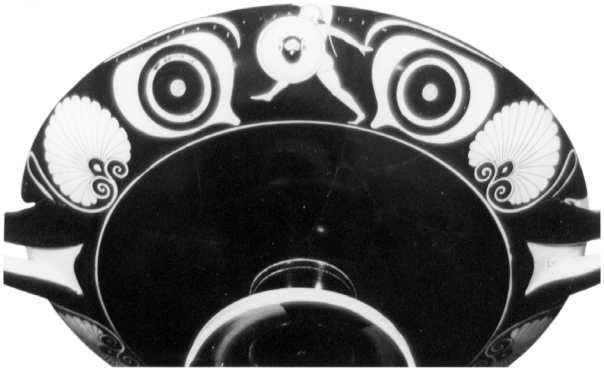

Fig. 4. Basel BS 436. Photo Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig.

Fig. 5. New York 41.162.73. Photo Metropolitan Museum of Art, Photograph and Slide Library.

Fig. 6. Berlin 1966.14.
Photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung.

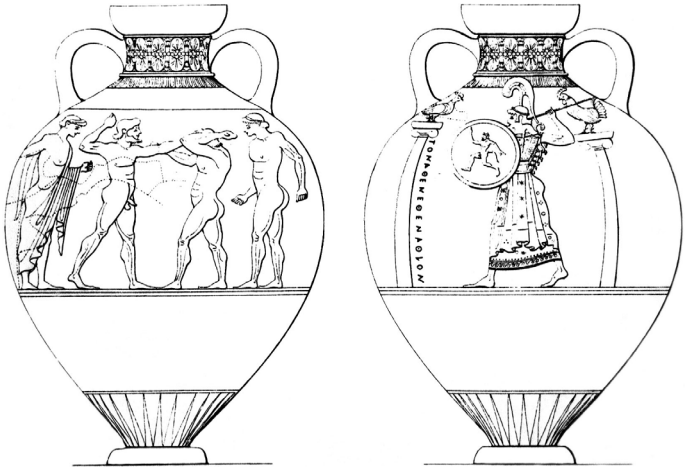

Fig. 7. Once Rome. After M. Bentz, *Preisamphoren. Eine attische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrundert v.Chr.*, Antike Kunst Beiheft, Basel, 1998, pl. 38.

Fig. 8. Munich 2308.
Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.