

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF ARTS

THE FIGURE OF PELEUS IN  
GREEK ART AND LITERATURE

by

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ABSTRACT

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The present work discusses the figure of Peleus covering approximately four centuries, starting from the Homeric poems and finishing with the latest Attic vase-paintings of the mid 4th c. An account of the chapters in Apollodorus' Library which refer to Peleus is used as an initial framework, as earlier sources provide such fragmentary information. The main body of the work follows in chronological order and consists of a study of literary sources and artistic evidence. These are discussed in two major units.

The first which includes the surviving evidence from the 8th to the beginning of the 5th c. B.C. considers: a) the literature from Homer to Alcaeus and b) the artistic representations (i) in earlier archaic art (7th and early 6th c. representations, the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and the non-Attic vases from and 6th c. onwards) and (ii) on Attic black-figure vases (these are classified in seven distinct subjects: 1. The hunt of the Calydonian boar, 2. Peleus wrestling with Atalanta, 3. Peleus up a tree, 4. Peleus struggling with Thetis, 5. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple, 6. Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron, 7. Various).

The second unit deals with the evidence of the 5th c. to the middle of the 4th c. B.C. This discusses the literature from Pindar to Aristophanes, and works of art in various materials, as well as Attic red-figure vase painting which is divided into five distinct subjects (the same as those of black-figure with the exception of 3 and 7).

The conclusion lays out some statistics which help to elucidate the overall picture.

## PREFACE

For research into the artistic evidence, I have based my study on Brommer's lists, to which I have made corrections and additions where appropriate. My references to the painters' names depend on Beazley's ABV, ARV, ARV2, Para and Addenda. For the chapters connected with the study of Peleus and Thetis, I have consulted the dissertation of Krieger, but only in the final stages of my research, as it was difficult to locate a copy of the typescript.

The photographs included within this work were very difficult to reproduce since they had to be taken mostly from published pictures and not directly from the objects themselves. Every attempt has been made to provide the best possible copies.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I offer my warmest thanks to my supervisor Prof. B.A. Sparkes without whose assistance, concern and valuable instruction this work would not have been realised. I am also indebted to all the people who helped me in every way during my stay in England. To my parents I express my deepest gratitude for their unfailing support which kept me going during this strenuous work. Last but not least it is impossible to thank adequately my husband whose understanding, encouragement and endless supply of patience produced the appropriate circumstances in succeeding to conclude this thesis. It is to him that I dedicate it.

## INTRODUCTION

The present thesis deals with the figure of Peleus in Greek art and literature and covers a time-span of approximately four centuries, starting with the Homeric poems and going down to the latest Attic vase-painting of the mid 4th c. B.C.

The first chapter consists of an introduction to Peleus' life and career through Apollodorus' account. Although this compilation may be as late as the 1st c. A.D. it has been used as a framework, as earlier surviving information is very fragmentary and scattered, and it is not until the Library that a complete story of the life and deeds of Pelcus is available.

From this point onwards the thesis is divided into two major parts: the literary evidence and the artistic representations. These are both examined in chronological order, though the dates and the order used within the chapters are not rigidly maintained but arranged in a way to facilitate our examination.

To each artistic representation I have given a letter followed by a number thus:

- A = Earlier Archaic art
- B = Attic black-figure, ca.580 B.C. onwards
- C = 5th c. non-vase illustrations
- D = Attic red-figure

Chapter 2 discusses the early literature from Homer to Alcaeus. Chapter 3 deals with the illustrations of the myth in earlier Archaic art. This is subdivided into the following:

3.1. The 7th and early 6th c. representations. These are the earliest in art, the most uncertain in date and in interpretation of subjects, and they were manufactured in different areas of the Greek world.

3.2. The procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis depicted on three Attic black-figure vases of the early 6th c.

3.3. The non-Attic vases from mid 6th c. onwards.

Chapter 4 analyzes the Attic black-figure vases which are divided into seven distinct subjects.

4.1. The hunt of the Calydonian boar.

4.2. Peleus wrestling with Atalanta.

4.3. Peleus up a tree.

4.4. Peleus struggling with Thetis.

4.5. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple.

4.6. Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron.

4.7. Various.

Chapter 5 deals with the 5th c. literature from Pindar to Aristophanes.

Chapter 6 examines the 5th c. illustrations other than vases manufactured in various areas.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the Attic red-figure vases classified in five distinct subjects.

7.1. The hunt of the Calydonian boar.

7.2. Peleus wrestling with Atalanta.

7.3. Peleus struggling with Thetis.

7.4. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple.

7.5. Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron.

## 1. A P O L L O D O R U S

The figure of Peleus in Greek mythology appears right in the beginning with the Homeric poems, in fact his name is sung as a patronymic in the first line of the Iliad, and continues to be known and mentioned into later antiquity.

Nevertheless the existing literary evidence before Apollodorus is scarce and scattered. In the Library we are presented with a nearly complete view of what we would consider today to be Peleus' <sup>1</sup>biography. Here is a summary <sup>2</sup>.

Aeacus, son of Aegina and Zeus, had three children. Peleus and Telamon <sup>3</sup> by Endeis, and Phocus by Psamathe.

It was Phocus who excelled the others in athletic ability and roused their jealousy. As a result the two killed Phocus and hid the body in the woods. But their deed was uncovered, and they were exiled by their father.

From Aegina Telamon fled to Salamis and Peleus to Phthia where at the court of Eurytion, the king purified him of the murder, gave him one third of his country and married him to his daughter Antigone. From this union a daughter, Polydora, was born.

1. 1st ca.B. C.
2. The Library III. XII. 6-7, III. XIII. 1-8
3. There is a version that makes Telamon just a friend and not a brother to Peleus. This account was given by Phercydes and eventually quoted by Apollodorus III.XII.6. According to Frazer, p. 53 note 7 "this account is probably earlier than the one which represents him as son of Aeacus".

After this, a group of heroes was summoned by Meleager<sup>4</sup> to hunt the Calydonian boar and it was on this expedition that Peleus accidentally killed his father-in-law. He fled again, this time to Iolcus, where at the court of Acastus, he was purified once again. At the funeral games in honour of Pelias<sup>5</sup> he wrestled with Atalanta and was defeated.

Meanwhile, Astydamia, Acastus' wife, fell in love with Peleus, but he refused her propositions. Seeing her plans failing, she revenged herself on Peleus in two ways. Firstly, she sent a false message to his wife saying that he was intending to marry Sterope, Acastus' daughter. This made Antigone hang herself. Secondly, she slandered Peleus to her husband falsely accusing him of making indecent propositions to her. On hearing the news, Acastus, because he did not want to kill the man whom he had purified, organized a hunt on mount Pelion. There, while Peleus was asleep, he hid his sword and deserted him. Peleus was caught by the centaurs but was saved by the intervention of Cheiron.

At this point Apollodorus refers to Peleus' second marriage to Polydora<sup>6</sup> and, immediately after, to his wedding to Thetis.

Thetis was pursued by both Zeus and Poseidon who withdrew when they learnt the prophecy that Thetis would bear a son mightier than his father. Others say that Thetis refused Zeus because she was brought up by Hera, and that in his anger Zeus gave her to a mortal.

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4. Also in Library I. VIII. 1-3

5. Also in Library III. IX. 2

6. He was rather confused about this character and her relations to Peleus. Simpson p. 197 note 36.

In order to escape from Peleus, Thetis transformed herself into fire, water and a wild beast, but following Cheiron's advice, Peleus held her fast and finally married her on Pelion. The wedding was attended by the gods who feasted, sang and presented the couple with gifts.

Thetis gave birth to Achilleus whom at night she hid in the fire to get rid of all his mortal qualities. But Peleus watched her and, when he saw what she was doing, cried out. Thus Thetis left, abandoning her child and husband. So Peleus took Achilleus to Cheiron who brought him up.

After that, Peleus with Jason and the Dioscuroi occupied Iolcus, killed Astydamia, parted her body and led the army through her corpse.

When Achilleus joined the Trojan war, he was accompanied by Phoenix and Patroclus, who had both known Peleus. Phoenix had been blinded, and Peleus took him to Cheiron who restored his sight, and Patroclus lived at the house of Peleus having fled from Opus where he had committed a murder.

In another part of the Library<sup>7</sup> Peleus is referred to as one of the heroes who joined the Argo with Jason<sup>8</sup>.

As far as Peleus' old age is concerned, we are not given much information<sup>9</sup>, apart from the fact that he was expelled from Phthia by the two sons of Acastus and died in exile.

7. I.IX.16

8. It is not clear when this incident took place. Pelias of Iolcus sent them on a quest for the golden fleece, and their departure was watched by Cheiron and Chariclo, who was carrying the infant Achilleus, whom she held up for his father to see. But since Pelias was Acastus' father, this event must have taken place before Peleus went as a suppliant to Acastus' court. Nevertheless the presence of Achilleus is very confusing and can only be explained as an inadvertent mistake by Apollodorus or an earlier writer.

9. Epitome vi 13.



## 2. EARLY LITERATURE

The personal name of Peleus, together with other Greek heroic names ending in -eus, has been very difficult to indentify. It is now believed<sup>1</sup> that the suffix -eus is Mycenaean.

The earliest literary picture of Peleus appears through the references made in Homer, Hesiod, the epic cycle and Alcaeus, who present a different version from the developed story of Apollodorus.

In Homer Peleus is only a background figure: the father of the protagonist, once glorious, married to a goddess, but now one of the old who are left behind, occasionally, briefly remembered by the fighting generation. By contrast Hesiod takes him out of the shadow of Achilleus and makes him the centre of a long and detailed story, where his life and actions were described while he was still a young and strong man. The surviving material in the epic cycle and Alcaeus is not all that important and as far as we can judge, Peleus was not a main character in these works.

### 2.1. HOMER

In Homer Peleus has a place in the first line of the Iliad as the father of Achilleus. As Peleus is a relatively unimportant figure, the information that we are given is insufficient for drawing anything but a sketchy outline of his character and his life. He stands in the background of the epic as a pitiable old man, with his glorious career in the past, culminating in the marriage to Thetis and the birth of Achilleus.

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1. Page HHI pp. 196-197, cf. Palmer  
The Greek language p p. 34-38.

The poet seems to take for granted that his deeds are known and does not delve into details.

In the first place I will deal with the epithets which are used to describe Peleus, then with passages which give us more details about him.

Of the epithets, only γέρων<sup>2</sup> has any significance. Peleus is a γέρων all through the work and the image of a helpless, incapable old man is emphasized. In addition to this, others are used attributing certain characteristics to him: Αἰακίδης<sup>3</sup>, "son of Aeacus", (of Aegina), δαΐφρων<sup>4</sup> "Fiery hearted, valiant", ἀμύμων<sup>5</sup> which refers to his handsome appearance rather than his moral status<sup>6</sup>, and ἔσθλος Μυρμιδόνων βουλευφόρος ἠδ' ἀγορητής<sup>7</sup> "good counselor and orator of the Myrmidons".

The other epithets ἑπηλάτα "driver of chariots"<sup>8</sup>, ἄναξ "king"<sup>9</sup>, ἑπτότα "horseman knight"<sup>10</sup>, ποδώκης "swift footed"<sup>11</sup> are attributed to other male figures and seem to have no specific application<sup>12</sup>. A.A. Parry<sup>13</sup> notes that "the traditional epithets present him as a conventional (though perhaps old fashioned) warrior, rather than as a man of especially remarkable moral virtue".

2. This is the epithet most often used Λ 772, Λ 783, I 400 I 438, Σ 331, I 259
3. Π 15, Π 140, Π 134.
4. Σ 18
5. Π 140, Υ 206
6. Mnemosyne suppl. 26 (1973) p. 19-20 A.A. Parry
7. Η 126
8. It is always linked to γέρων Λ 772, I 438, Σ 331
9. I 480, P 443
10. Π 33, Ψ 89
11. Π 134
12. M. Parry p. 145 §2
13. Mnemosyne suppl. 26 (1973) p. 20

Next I will discuss the passages which provide us with more information about Peleus. These come under three headings:

- a. Status. His treatment by the gods. His position among mortals and his relations with them. References to his palace.
- b. Marriage. His wedding to Thetis, the gifts they received from the gods, and their son Achilles.
- c. Old age. The last years of his life.

a. Status.

Achilleus relates that Peleus was granted by the gods glorious gifts<sup>14</sup> ἐκ γενετῆς<sup>15</sup> "from his birth" and he excelled all men in ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε<sup>16</sup> "in worldly bliss (power, happiness) and wealth". But also κτήμασι ... τὰ γέρον ἐκτήσατο Πηλεΰς<sup>17</sup> "the possessions which the old man Peleus acquired for himself" may have been self-made. As a person Peleus showed cooperative virtues and received his fellow country men with respect<sup>18</sup>. Peleus' connection with Achilleus as father and son, are not discussed explicitly, due to the obvious distance that separated the two men<sup>19</sup>. Peleus is represented as caring for his son, having given him enthusiastic encouragement to join the Trojan expedition<sup>20</sup> and having sent Phoenix to accompany him when he finally participated<sup>21</sup>. Meanwhile Achilleus seems to rely on his father

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14. Q 534-537

15. Q 535

16. Q 536

17. I 400

18. A 767-784

19. As a result it is not surprising that Thetis had a closer relation with her son, due to her divine nature which granted her unrestricted mobility. As a consequence psychoanalytical conclusions have been drawn, MacCary Achilles p. 22, characterising the Iliad as a pre-oedipal drama.

20. I 254-258, A 783-784

21. I 438-441

as when he replied to Agamemnon's propositions by saying that Peleus could find a wife for him<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, on the part of Achilles there is no lack of interest in his father's well-being, he is worried about him left behind enfeebled by old age<sup>23</sup>.

His position in the country<sup>24</sup> was a leading one<sup>25</sup>. When Achilles refused Agamemnon's proposal to give him one of his daughters as a wife, he answered that Peleus could find a wife for him among the κοῦραι ἀριστήων<sup>26</sup> "the daughters of the chiefs". Agamemnon's proposal reappears twice referring to Peleus' house<sup>27</sup> which is described as δόμους ἐν ναϊετάοντας<sup>28</sup> where he is sacrificing πύονα μηρία βοῶς Διὶ "fat thighs of a bull to Zeus" and libations of flaming wine from a gold cup, and where he provided strangers with all the customary entertainment.

At his court three people had found refuge: Phoenix<sup>29</sup>, Epeigeus<sup>30</sup> and Patroclus<sup>31</sup>, all of them having fled from their home towns as a consequence of committing a crime<sup>32</sup>.

22. I 396

23. T 331, Q 507, 511, 540-I also in the Odyssey A 494-503

24. On Phthia and Hellas, what is today Thessaly, see Wace pp. 296-297 Page HHI pp. 126 and 161, n.29

25. I 394-396

26. I 396

27. I 147, I 289

28. A 768-780

29. I 444-495. Atchity Iliad p. 265 characterises Phoenix's crime as political rather than social or national, and it did not affect the stability of Peleus' government.

30. Π 571-574.

31. Ψ 83-90 Patroclus' crime was unintentional and had as an excuse his immaturity. Atchity Iliad p. 284 suggests that Patroclus' status is shown as analogous to Phoenix.

32. Epeigeus and Patroclus had committed murder.

The last two are specifically mentioned as having been sent to accompany Achilleus on the Trojan expedition<sup>33</sup>.

Two other people who are connected with Peleus in Homer are Polydora and Cheiron. Polydora<sup>34</sup> is mentioned as Peleus' daughter, but we are not told who her mother was. Most probably we should trust Apollodorus<sup>35</sup> who says that her mother was Antigone, the daughter of Eurytion of Phthia, whom Peleus married as his first wife as soon as he had fled from Aegina, long before his involvement with Thetis<sup>36</sup>. This is verified by Homer, by the fact that Menesthius, Polydora's son, was one of the five leaders whom Achilleus appointed as trusty commanders<sup>37</sup>. Cheiron, who appears as a very important figure in later literature, is mentioned only once in relation to Peleus<sup>38</sup> as a beloved friend who gave him his spear.

33. The story of the suppliants has reached Apollodorus Library III.XIII.8 and the incidents concerning Phoenix and Patroclus agree with Homer's version. Homer's story has been distorted at the point of the Trojan expedition where Epeigeus does not appear at all in Apollodorus, and according to him it is Phoenix with Patroclus who accompanied Achilleus.
34. Π 174-178
35. III.XIII.1 Nevertheless later Apollodorus has been confused as to who Polydora and Menesthius were, Library III.XIII.4. The story is explained in Iliad Π 173-178.
36. Peleus must have been very young at that time and many incidents took place before his marriage to Thetis, so it might be possible that his grandson and son were about the same age. However, such chronological problems should not be taken too seriously.
37. Consequently Homer knew about Peleus' younger life.
38. Π 143

## b. Marriage.

Καὶ οἱ θνητῶ ἔόντι θεῶν ποίησαν ἀκοιτιν<sup>39</sup> "and to him that was mortal the gods gave a goddess to be his wife". The reason why Thetis, a goddess, was to marry a mortal is not explained clearly. Hera<sup>40</sup> tells us that she reared Thetis and gave her to Peleus, who was well beloved by the gods, to be his wife.

This may allude to the fact that Thetis refused Zeus, because she was indebted to Hera for having raised her and that Zeus in his anger married her to a mortal<sup>41</sup>. Nevertheless πάντες ἀντιάσθε, θεοὶ γάμου<sup>42</sup> "all of you gods came to her wedding" and moreover they presented to Peleus ἀγλαὰ δῶρα<sup>43</sup> οἱ θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον<sup>44</sup> "the heavenly gods had given to his father" a set of armour<sup>45</sup> denoting them as terrifying and full of power<sup>46</sup>. Κνημῖδας "greaves", θώρηκα "corselet", ξίφος "sword", σάκος "shield", κυνέη "helmet", ἔγχος "spear", δοῦρε "a pair of spears". These weapons consisted of bronze with the addition of silver, they were καλὰ, χάλκεα μαρμαίρονται<sup>47</sup> also described as κλυτὰ τεύχεα<sup>48</sup> and ἄμβροτα τεύχεα<sup>49</sup>, πελώρια "huge" and θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι "wonder to see" as well as καλὰ<sup>50</sup> "beautiful".

39. Ω 537

40. Ω 59-62

41. Apollodorus Library III.XIII.5

42. Ω 62

43. Σ 84

44. P 195-196

45. Π 130-144

46. Griffin Homer p. 32-33 believes that being under the influence of Eastern sources, the Homeric tradition granted the above qualities to armour given by the gods.

47. Σ 130-131

48. P 191

49. P 194-195

50. Σ 83-84

A special distinction is attributed to the heavy spear which was given Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς ... πατρί φίλω Χείρων<sup>51</sup>. Peleus was also given ὠκέες ἵπποι ἄμβροτοι<sup>52</sup> "swift immortal horses" Balius and Xanthus<sup>53</sup>, that the Harpy Podarge conceived to the West Wind<sup>54</sup>. All these vivid descriptions are in the epic manner but also emphasise the occasion.

After the wedding the couple lived in Phthia, but their relations seem to have collapsed at some point and Achilleus was brought up away from home. Homer seems to have been acquainted with this account, but in his work he refers to both irrespectively. The two versions are the following:

1. The couple live together in Phthia<sup>55</sup> with Achilleus<sup>56</sup>, who was brought up by Phoenix<sup>57</sup>.
2. Thetis lives under the sea<sup>58</sup>, Peleus is alone in his palace<sup>59</sup> and Achilleus is brought up by Cheiron<sup>60</sup>.

51. Π 143 It seems that there were three spears, a pair of δοῦρε Π 139, and Cheiron's spear ἔγχος βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν Π 140-141. According to Kirk Songs p. 190, the former were the usual equipment in Homer, but certain great heroes were known to have used the old type of spear, the single Mycenaean-type thrusting spear, in this case Cheiron's gift.

52. Π 380-381, Π 866-867.

53. Π 145-151

54. Willcock Iliad p. 180, 149-51 "That horses could become pregnant by the wind was a view of the ancient world (Virgil, Georgics 3.271-79), implying great speed in their offspring".

55. Σ 60, Σ 330-331, Σ 440-441, Π 573-576

56. Ψ 83-90

57. I 485-495

58. A 357-358, Σ 35-49 Ω 78, 84, Σ 434-435

59. Σ 434-435

60. Λ 831

This proves either that he has not made up his mind which one to follow, or that the story consisted of a combination of both versions. In this case Achilles' education was undertaken from Phoenix to Cheiron, when his parents separated, thus the representations of Peleus bringing the boy Achilles to Cheiron and not the infant any more.

c. Old age.

Throughout Homer's work Peleus is referred to as an old man who lies in his palace unprotected<sup>61</sup>. He belongs to the older generation of heroes who remained back at home, having sent their children to war<sup>62</sup>. In book Ω he is compared to Priamos<sup>63</sup>, but Peleus was in a worse position, since he had only one son<sup>64</sup>, and his wife was immortal, thus never ageing and always young<sup>65</sup>. This was the basic problem between the two, which might be the reason why Thetis married Peleus οὐκ ἐθέλουσα<sup>66</sup>.

61. Σ 434-435, Π 14-15, Τ 322-324 Τ 334-337

62. Beye in Epic Tradition p. 129 suggests that the picture of an enfeebled father, as was Peleus, was a solution to the heroic desire upon the part of the sons to equal or surpass the valour of their fathers.

63. Ω 486-494, Ω 504

64. Ω 534-542

65. A parallel story of a mortal husband and immortal wife is given in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 218-238, where Eos abducted Tithonos who was granted immortality, but not youth and when eventually he grew very old, Eos placed him in a room (θάλαμος) and shut its doors.

66. Σ 429-437, Σ 85-87



It is difficult, and indeed not necessary, to assess how old Peleus was, but he was certainly a grandfather to a young man participating in the expedition<sup>67</sup>. However, the emphasis on his old age is doubly pitiable as he is old in relation to Thetis and to the young heroes of Troy.

Finally in the Odyssey<sup>68</sup> the same theme of Peleus' old age appears again. During Odysseus' visit to Hades he meets with Achilleus who makes anxious enquiries about his old father who, he fears, might have been wronged and whom he wishes he was able to assist. The comment provides us with a reiteration of the image presented in the Iliad.

In concluding on Homer's work, we should bear in mind that the central theme of the Iliad is Achilleus' wrath, and of the Odyssey Odysseus' wanderings, so Peleus and other secondary characters contribute to the formation of this picture, consequently the constant references to Peleus' old age may serve Homer's own purpose of glorification of Achilleus<sup>69</sup> and do not express the current opinion of Peleus' personality, which, as we gather from Homer's other remarks must have been that of the heroic mortal. In this respect Homer must have known more about Peleus but did not refer to it as it was irrelevant to his subject<sup>70</sup>. But what is prominent is Achilleus' constant worry for his father. Starting with hints and developing up to book ρ<sup>71</sup> where he weeps together with Priamos, Achilleus' anxiety builds up to its peak in Odyssey<sup>72</sup> where he is introduced as ψυχή Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος<sup>73</sup> and being in the underworld is in agony for his father.

67. Menesthius, Polydora's son Π 173-178

68. λ 494-503

69. Also see note 62.

70. When he narrates the hunt of the Calydonian boar Iliad I 534-545 he does not name the participants.

71. Iliad ρ 506-542

72. λ 467-503

73. λ 467 also in the Iliad A1 where he is referred as Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

## 2.2. HESIOD AND OTHER EARLY LITERATURE.

Of his two main poems Hesiod devoted only a few lines to Peleus in the Theogony<sup>74</sup>; in the Works and Days there is no mention whatsoever of him, nor does one expect it. By contrast, in the Catalogue of Women now desperately fragmented, he must have narrated Peleus' story at length<sup>75</sup>. In the Aegimius, a poem from which only very scattered fragments have survived, there is a brief reference to Peleus<sup>76</sup>, but one of great importance. The authorship of the Catalogue and Aegimius has been debated. Even though they have been attributed to Hesiod, there is still dispute about authenticity<sup>77</sup>. Another problem with the poems attributed to Hesiod is their dating, which has raised much dispute. They are generally placed towards the end of the eighth century. The Works and Days were first, followed by the Theogony and the Catalogue at the end<sup>78</sup>.

The Epic Cycle makes only a small contribution. The Cypria refers to Peleus and Thetis' wedding<sup>79</sup> and the Nostoi to Neoptolemos meeting Peleus among the Molossoi<sup>80</sup>.

74. 1005-1007 and 244

75. MW208 A poem entitled The Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis seems to have been part of it.

76. Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica iv.816.

77. The Aegimius is also ascribed to Cecrops of Miletus.

78. West Catalogue p. 164-5 indicates that the Catalogue was a sixth century text though the genealogies contained in it had evolved by stages from local genealogies constructed not later than the eighth century. For the genealogy of Malis (which includes the Aeacides) he suggests the date before ca. 750 B. C.

79. Volumina Herculan II.viii. 105 Schol. on Iliad xvii

80. Proclus Chrestomathy i.

Finally Alcaeus, in a poem<sup>81</sup> preserved on papyrus fragments, tells us that Peleus took Thetis to the house of Cheiron after their marriage.

### 2.2.1. THEOGONY

In Theogony we are given the genealogy of Thetis<sup>82</sup>. Both her parents were sea gods, Nereus and Doris. The next reference we have<sup>83</sup> is of the parallel weddings of two Nereids, Psamathe and Thetis, the former to Aeacus and the latter to Peleus. From the union of the first wedding, Phocus was born and from the second Achilleus. Hesiod presents us with the bare facts and identifies the husbands of the two Nereids, but we should bear in mind that if we accept the details of the later version, the two marriages took place with a considerable time gap<sup>84</sup>.

### 2.2.2. CATALOGUE OF WOMEN

As in the Theogony, in a like manner the Catalogue of Women discusses the genealogies which trace the Hellenic race from a common ancestor. The reason why it is traced through women is because they offer the only assured parentage, since most families and tribes claimed to be descended from a god as a father. So it seems likely that one of these genealogies included the life of Peleus which was told in detail<sup>85</sup> ὡςπερ Ἡσίοδος τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πηλέως καὶ τῆς Ἀκάστου γυναικὸς διὰ μακρῶν ἐπεξεληθῶν "like Hesiod who recounts at length the story of Peleus and the wife of Acastus". Since this incident, we are told, was "recounted at length", the whole of the rest of the narration concerning Peleus is likely to have followed the same pattern, to keep a balance.

81. 10B = 74D = 42 LP

82. Theogony 240-244

83. Theogony 1003-1007

84. Peleus and Telamon killed Phocus in Aegina and Peleus married Thetis probably in a second wedding after long wanderings in different parts of the world.

85. MW208

No information has been preserved in the fragments concerning Peleus' early days. There is only an explanation of the creation of his tribe of Myrmidons<sup>86</sup>, the same explanation is also given by Tzetzes<sup>87</sup>.

We learn<sup>88</sup> that Polydora was his daughter. Homer<sup>89</sup> also gives us this information; and Apollodorus<sup>90</sup> names his wife as Antigone, daughter of Eurytion of Phthia. Then we have the incident in Acastus' house<sup>91</sup> where Acastus' wife attempted to seduce Peleus as Proetus' wife tried to seduce Bellerophon<sup>92</sup>. As in that story, so here the queen denounced her reluctant lover to her husband<sup>93</sup>. So Acastus planned to take his revenge<sup>94</sup> on Peleus by hiding from him ἀδόκητα "beyond guessing" the dagger which was made for him by Hephaestus. In the Iliad<sup>95</sup> Peleus is presented with a set of armour at his wedding with Thetis, which is supposed<sup>96</sup> to have taken place after this incident. There is no mention of a μάχαιρα but only of a ξίφος, therefore this must be a different weapon given to him earlier.

Acastus does not show himself determined to kill Peleus<sup>97</sup> and decides to take his revenge by αὐτὸν μὲν σχέσθαι<sup>98</sup> "keeping back himself" so that Peleus δαμνείη "might, could be slain".

86. MW 205

87. Tzetzes in Lycophron 176

88. MW 243

89. Iliad Π 174-175

90. Library III.XIII.1

91. MW 208

92. Iliad Z 160-171 and Phaedra Hippolytus, in Euripides' Hippolytus.

93. Apollodorus Library III.XIII.3

94. MW 209

95. Π 130-154

96. Apollodorus Library III.XIII.4-5

97. According to Apollodorus Library III.XIII.3 he did not want to kill the man whom he had purified. If this applies here, then Hesiod must have told the incident about Eurytion's accidental murder at the hunt of the Calydonian boar.

98. MW 209

Then we have the reasons why Thetis is given to Peleus in marriage<sup>99</sup>. She owed a favour to Hera, and thus avoided Zeus, so he in his anger made her marry a mortal. This favour we are told in the Iliad<sup>100</sup> was that Hera had brought Thetis up.

March<sup>101</sup> suggests that a small fragment, which gives us some information for Pelias' funeral games precedes fragments MW 212(b) and 211 which are continuous. In the first one<sup>102</sup> the death of Achilles is foretold, whereas in the later<sup>103</sup> Peleus sacked and plundered Iolcus, married Thetis<sup>104</sup> and returned with her to live in Phthia.

Of the relations of the couple we are told nothing, but we know that it was Cheiron who brought up Achilles on Pelion<sup>105</sup>, and not his parents. This information, in combination with Apollodorus'<sup>106</sup> version of the couple's separation, shows us that it was not unlikely to have been included here as well.

As far as Peleus' old age is concerned, nothing survives from which we can draw any conclusions.

Finally we are told that<sup>107</sup> Peleus and Menoetius, the father of Patroclus, were brothers; thus Achilles and Patroclus were first cousins. This contradicts Homer<sup>108</sup> who says that Patroclus had fled from his home town after he had committed a murder. The blood relationship is most probably an invention by the poet to explain the strong bonds between Achilles and Patroclus.

99. MW 210
100. Iliad Ω 55-85
101. The Creative Poet chapter 1.
102. MW 212 (b)
103. MW 211
104. "Ὡς τε πόλιν ἀλάπαξεν εὐτίκτεν, ὥς τ' ἐτέλεσεν ἡμερόεντα γάμον. Apollodorus Library III.XIII.7 places the occupation of Iolcus after his marriage with Thetis.
105. MW 204, 87-89
106. Library III.XIII.6
107. MW 212(a)
108. Iliad Ψ 83-90. On the genealogy of Peleus and Patroclus see West Catalogue table 9 p.181.

## 2.2.3. AEGIMIUS

In Aegimius<sup>109</sup> we are given an account of how Thetis ἔβαλλεν εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος τοὺς ἐκ Πηλέως γεννωμένους, γνῶναι βουλομένη εἰ θνητοὶ εἰσιν, "she cast the children in a cauldron of water because she wanted to know if they were mortal". As we are told πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων "many having been killed", Achilles cannot have been their first child, others had preceded him. The version is unfamiliar and very strange; testing their mortality can refer only to the children of Peleus and Thetis, not to the offspring of his other wife. Peleus apparently was very much angered and prevented Thetis dipping Achilles in the cauldron. This is a profound reason for their disagreement and separation and is the earliest explanation in literature.

## 2.2.4. CYPRIA

In the Cypria<sup>110</sup> we are presented with the same reason as in the Iliad<sup>111</sup> and Catalogue of Women<sup>112</sup> for why Thetis avoided Zeus, even though he was pursuing her. This is Ἥρα χαριζομένην, with Zeus swearing that she would be the wife of a mortal.

So Thetis married Peleus<sup>113</sup>, their wedding took place on Pelion, where the gods joined the feast and offered them gifts. Here we are presented with the description of the spear given by Cheiron, which was polished by Athena, and decorated by Hephaestus. This is the spear mentioned earlier in the Iliad<sup>114</sup>.

109. MW 300

110. OCT Homer V p. 118, II

111. Iliad Ω 59-62

112. MW 210

113. OCT Homer V p. 118, III

114. Iliad Π 140-141

The great importance of this marriage<sup>115</sup> lies in the fact that it was here that the dispute between the goddesses started which resulted to the Trojan war.

#### 2.2.5. NOSTOI

In the Nostoi we are given an odd piece of information<sup>116</sup> that (Νεοπτόλεμος) εἰς Μολοσσοὺς ἀφικόμενος ἀναγνωρίζεται Πηλεῖ. Here Peleus is placed among the Molossoi. This is an incident that we know nothing of and that does not appear anywhere else in the literature<sup>117</sup>.

#### 2.2.6. ALCAEUS

Last of the earliest literature is a poem by Alcaeus<sup>118</sup>, where we are told once again of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, who go εἰς δόμον Χέρρωνος.

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115. Proclus Chrestomathy i

116. Nostoi Proclus Chrestomathy OCT Homer V p. 109.

117. The only close reference is in Euripides's Andromache 120-121, where Thetis says that Andromache with her child will live in the country of the Molossoi and she will become the legitimate wife of the local king.

118. 10 B = 74 D = 42 LP

### 3. A R C H A I C A R T

#### 3.1. 7TH AND EARLY 6TH C REPRESENTATIONS

Apart from the Attic black-figure vases with the wedding procession<sup>1</sup> there are only ten representations in the 7th and early 6th century.

Most of them are difficult to assess as their interpretation is not altogether clear since most do not carry inscriptions. In addition their exact dating is uncertain, and we cannot be assured about the genuineness of them all.

As each one of them provides us with specific problems, it will be best to consider them individually. Also, they all come from different parts of Greece and this means that whilst they show that the myth of Peleus was widely known, they reduce the possibility of comparison. It is only in the early 6th century that the three Attic representations of the procession of the Gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis provide instances of a single theme from one source.

#### A1. BERLIN AMPHORA (AI) ProtoAttic, ca.660-650 B.C. pl.1

The Berlin amphora (AI) can be named as the earliest<sup>2</sup> surviving representation that can be connected with Peleus in art, and there can be no doubt about its subject, Peleus bringing the infant Achilles to Cheiron, which covers both sides of the body of the vase.

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1. Brit. Mus. dinos (AII), Acr.dinos frags. (A12), François vase (A13).
  2. Dates are uncertain in this century.



Side A is very much destroyed and only two fragments, one with Peleus' head and the other with part of his arm and Achilles' tiny arm survive, while the rest of Peleus himself and of the young Achilles in his arms has been lost. On the first fragment Peleus is facing to the right, his face drawn in profile, but the eye is huge and painted fully frontal. His hair is long and decorated with a flower above the forehead; his chin is beardless. On the second fragment, we can, with difficulty, recognise Peleus' arm, which is bent carrying Achilles who wears a dotted chiton with a white sleeve, his arm in black protruding, his hair layered.

On side B, Cheiron occupies most of the space with his horse body, while the human part of him is missing<sup>3</sup>. He is facing to the left and his right hand is extended to receive Achilles, while on his left shoulder he is carrying a branch from which hang three unusual animals, a lion, a boar, and a wolf<sup>4</sup>. It has been suggested<sup>5</sup> that these animals give proof to Apollodorus' story<sup>6</sup> about Achilles' diet.

This vase is a parallel version equivalent to the same theme in the Catalogue<sup>7</sup>.

3. Only one hand survives.
4. Beazley Development p.10. Johansen Dragma p.185-186 suggests two lions and a boar or a bear and the CVA Berlin 2(1) p.12 lion, boar and perhaps a bear.
5. Beazley Development p.10-11. Johansen Dragma p.185-186. C.R. 54 (1940) pp.177-180.
6. Library III. XIII. 6
7. MW 204, 87-89

## A2. CLAY RELIEF FROM TEGEA (A2) Peloponnesian. (?), ca.650 B.C.

pl.2

The clay relief from Tegea represents a male and female figure wrestling. The man's body, placed on the left, is facing towards the right; it is naked, the head missing. His left arm is round the woman's shoulder and with his right hand has raised her right thigh. The woman is wearing a short split skirt<sup>8</sup> and faces forward, while her body is turned to the left. She is grasping the man's neck with her right hand, whereas her left lies across her body and touches the man's chest. Her left leg is stretched straight on the ground.

It is difficult to say who these figures are. Nevertheless they could represent Peleus wrestling with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias<sup>9</sup>. If this is so, it is the first evidence for this incident either in art or in literature, as there are no references in the early literary works that survive.

## A3. HERACLION PLATE (A3) Cretan (?), ca.650 B.C. pl.3

Of the fragmentary large plate in Heraclion<sup>10</sup>, less than one quarter is preserved. On the underside we see a naked man in outline, who is wearing sandals and an elaborate sword fastened round his waist; he has a beard and long hair. He is holding tight onto an ornate fish,

8. On later representations Atalanta is always dressed in a very short dress as on Adolphseck hydria (B8) or topless but still in shorts as on Munich amphora (B11).
9. LIMC Vol.II.1 p.948, no.97 lists it under Atalanta: uncertain and in Schefold Myth pl.28 it is suggested that the woman might be Thetis which is not to be totally rejected.
10. Its place of manufacture has been disputed, Hopkinson BSA 10 (1903-4)pp.150-153, believes that it is not Cretan and suggested that it could either be Rheneian or "Melian". It is now usually taken for Cretan.

much larger than himself, painted in black-figure. His left knee is bent and he is leaning backwards as if he is pulling with all his might. Under the fish's tail there is a large human foot and part of the calf in white within black contour.

It has been suggested<sup>11</sup> that the man is Peleus, that the white foot belongs to a female figure, i.e. Thetis, who is the largest in size and dominates the rest of the plate, and that the fish is one of her transformations to escape Peleus<sup>12</sup>. If this explanation is likely, it is a very unusual scene of the myth because this is the only example of Thetis turned into a fish of such enormous size<sup>13</sup>, and because we never find the figures arranged in such a manner again. On the contrary, later representations<sup>14</sup> of the same incident, show Peleus having hold not of a fish, but of Thetis in her human form, whereas around the pair in considerably smaller size are the different animals into which Thetis transforms herself. On the other hand if we must accept the interpretation proposed above for this strange representation, then it is another early example of the myth during the archaic period. Nevertheless, later versions are very different from this bizarre plate, in Crete.

11. Hopkinson BSA 10 (1903-4) pp.150-153 pl.III  
Scheffold Myth p.43 figs.11,12
12. Pfuhl Malerei p.102, fig.57 gives a list of possible interpretations.
13. The fish painted are usually small dolphins as on Syracuse lekythos (B69)
14. As Naples amphora (B115), Berlin lekythos (B134).

## A4. KAVALLA AMPHORA (A4) "Melian" ca.630-600.B.C. pl.4

On the Kavalla amphora there are two interesting scenes both on the same side of the vase, one on the neck and the other on the belly. Unfortunately the amphora is in a bad condition, much restored and the reverse and foot completely missing. It would be interesting to know if the same subject was treated on the lost side as well.

On the neck there are two groups. On the left a man, bearded with long hair in a short-sleeved chiton and boots, is facing to the right and stands behind the back of a woman holding her by her left wrist and right elbow.

On the right of the painting there are two girls<sup>15</sup>, the one is pulling her dress up, her left knee bent, hastening to escape from the couple; the other has turned her face to them watching with a worried expression. All the female figures have long hair tied in bands and are wearing long dresses with richly decorated borders. The woman on the left has an additional band running diagonally from her waist to the border, thus stressing her importance. There is a movement in the picture created by the wavy dresses. The background is heavily decorated with floral and geometric patterns<sup>16</sup>.

This could be a representation of Peleus abducting Thetis from her Nereid sisters and is assisted by the subject on the body of the vase. In literary evidence we saw that Thetis married Peleus οὐκ ἐθέλουσα<sup>17</sup> and this

15. These two survive, there may have been more.

16. Which often appear in contemporary vases of the same place of origin as Pfuhl Malerei figs.108-110.

17. Iliad ε 429-437, ε 85-87

scene of abduction, if such it is, might match the story. On the body the picture is very much destroyed. From what is left we can tell that this was a procession. Two winged horses lead a chariot in which ride a bearded man holding the reins and a woman. On the far left before the horses there is a large female figure dressed in a chiton and himation. In combination with the scene on the neck, which enforces the possibility, this representation may depict Peleus and Thetis as a married couple accompanied by a goddess<sup>18</sup>.

On later representations of black<sup>19</sup> and red<sup>20</sup> figure the theme of Peleus struggling with Thetis, is often depicted under the amazed gaze of the fleeing Nereids and in addition on the inscribed Louvre crater (A14)<sup>21</sup>, the rendering of the story does not follow the strictly formulaic treatment. Which would not make the Kavalla amphora (A4) the only one from the standardised model of the struggle scene.

Nevertheless due to the fact that there are no inscriptions to identify the figures, we cannot be absolutely confident that such an interpretation of the subject as given above, is correct.

18. Peleus and Thetis are not the only couple represented in art on a wedding chariot. There are others such as Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, Ares and Aphrodite, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Jason and Medea.
19. As on Munich amphora (B22), Louvre hydria (B36).
20. As on Brit. Mus. cup (D26), Louvre cup (D36).
21. Discussed in the chapter 3.3. Non Attic Mid. 6th. c. onwards.

As for the winged horses, in the Iliad<sup>22</sup> the horses given to Peleus by the gods as wedding gift πνοιῆσι πετέσθην "flew as the wind", however they never appear winged on later representations of the subject,<sup>23</sup> but in the case of the Kavalla amphora (A4) it is not an exception because it belongs to the category of the so called "Melian vases"<sup>24</sup>, which often bear winged horses<sup>25</sup>.

This vase was found in the sanctuary of the goddess Parthenos amongst other votive deposits<sup>26</sup>. It is not unlikely to have been given as a thank offering after marriage.

#### A5. BRONZE BAND (A5) fake?

The bronze engraved band in N.Y. consists of two panels. The top depicts a man removing a woman forcefully from the group of her companions. This has been interpreted as Thetis' abduction by Peleus. The lower represents Bellerophon fighting the Chimaira.

Many doubts have been raised by numerous scholars about its authenticity, pointing out its uniqueness, technical structure, unbalanced form, place of manufacture and engraving<sup>27</sup>. F. Brommer<sup>28</sup> accumulated and listed all

22. Π 149

23. Except for Pausanias' description of the Kypselos chest (A6) V.19.7-8. Where he refers to what I believe is, the gods' procession to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and talks of horses with golden wings.

24. Which were much influenced by East Greek and Corinthian pottery Cook Greek Art p.49.

25. As two amphorae in Athens N.M. (Richter Greek Art p.313, pls.429-430) and one from Naxos (Schefold Myth pl.9).

26. Leekley Excavations p.85.

27. Festschrift notes I to 7

28. Festschrift pp.13-14.

the discussions and came to the conclusion that this piece must be fake. His points in brief are the following:

1. Technically it is unusual.
2. The struggle between Peleus and Thetis occurs very rarely outside Attica, and even more infrequent is the rendering of the myth in this manner. Nevertheless no one has named it as Attic.
3. The outlines of the tops of the heads are inconsistent.
4. There are peculiarities in the figure of Peleus.
5. The large size of Thetis and the unusual characteristics attributed to her are odd.
6. The unnatural postures of the Nereids' bodies are strange.
7. The drapery of the women in general is uncommon.
8. The setting of the Chimaira and the Bellerophon scene is queer.
9. Questions have been raised as to the identity of the animals present on the last scene.
10. The two panels have different framing.

#### A6. THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS (A6) Corinthian, ca. 600-575 B.C.

The chest of Kypselos that Pausanias describes, was dedicated at the Heraion in Olympia. If Pausanias is right<sup>29</sup>, the chest was in existence at the time of Kypselos' birth, traditionally dated ca. 685 B.C., but such an early date would be unlikely. The only way to date it is to point to similarities with early 6th c. vases. Thus an approximate dating would be between 600 and 575 B.C.

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29. V. 17.5

Nothing has survived of it, except for Pausanias' description, who, when he visited Olympia in the 2nd c. AD., was shown a chest which was said to be connected with the story of Kypselos.

On this Peleus was represented, possibly, three times:

1. In the middle of the first zone, wrestling with Jason in an evenly matched contest at the funeral games of Pelias. This is a totally unique scene in the myth of Peleus because there is no other evidence in art or literature referring to this incident<sup>30</sup>. The common practice is for Atalanta to be Peleus' opponent on this occasion<sup>31</sup>. It is interesting to note that two spectators of the wrestling match between Peleus and Atalanta, on vases depicting this incident, appear here as participants in the games. These are Mopsos who is boxing with Admetos, whereas on Munich hydria (A20) he stands behind Peleus, and Asterion racing here on chariots, whereas on Athens Acr.dinos frags. (A12) he is among other spectators.
2. On the second zone, struggling with Thetis and being attacked by a snake that emanates from Thetis. Here we have the first certain instance in art that the couple struggling is Peleus and Thetis and the first time that Thetis is transformed into a snake.

30. It is logical to suppose Pausanias has mistaken Atalanta for Jason because, as far as we know, he did not participate in the games, as he was thought to be indirectly responsible for Pelias' death.
31. She appears on the chest on the fourth zone holding a baby deer accompanied by Melanion.



3. On the fifth zone, Pausanias refers to a couple on a bed inside a cave. Since there were no inscriptions, he thinks that they are Peleus and Thetis in the cave of Cheiron. Outside there are four women preparing the food for the wedding feast, whilst the procession headed by Cheiron<sup>32</sup> most likely consists of the gods who attended the wedding<sup>33</sup>. They are mounted on chariots pulled by two winged horses each. Then comes lame Hephaistos preparing the armour of Peleus which was the gods' wedding gift to him<sup>34</sup>.

If we accept this interpretation of the myth then it is the first time where this event is represented in art, and it is not unlikely to have had an influence on later artists as the vase painters of the Amsterdam frags. (A8), Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Acr. frags. (A12) and François vase (A13)<sup>35</sup>.

#### A7. CORINTHIAN PLATE FRAGMENTS (A7) ca.600-575 B.C.

Of this vase I could not obtain any picture, but BCH<sup>36</sup> informs us that the representation depicted Peleus taking young Achilles to Cheiron. On this scene<sup>37</sup>, Chariclo, the centaur's wife was also present. Inscriptions survive of the names of Cheiron and Chariclo, thus making it the first vase of this incident inscribed.

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32. On the François vase (A13) Cheiron is the first guest to be greeted by Peleus.
33. Pausanias speaks about Nereids but is not impossible to have mistaken the figures of the Chariots.
34. The procession must have headed to the right, because even if Pausanias does not make any specific mention of it, his description of the five zones starts from the lower zone, which he names one, from right to left and follows a boustrophidon course up to the top, ending at the far left of the fifth zone.
35. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.7 suggests that this scene on Kypselos' chest might be of a different instance than the one depicted on the three procession vases (A11), (A12), (A13)
36. 86 (1962) 154 No. 71
37. It is the only time ever that she appears in this incident of the myth.

A8. AMSTERDAM FRAGMENTS (A8) Corinthian, ca.600-580 B.C.  
pl.5

In Amsterdam there are two important fragments. On the one a man is in a chariot facing left, holding a set of reins in his hands. Next to him to his right stands a woman who is also facing to the left, her face painted in white. A hair band is fixed on her hair which holds a veil. In the background a spear can be seen, but the picture is not clear enough to make out who is carrying it. On the left of the fragment we see the heads of three girls, each overlapping one on other. They have similar coiffure and are facing towards the chariot.

On the second fragment there are also three women painted in white wearing similar hairbands and long hair, facing to the left followed by a bearded man painted black.

Due to the very fragmentary condition of the vase many suggestions can be given as to its subject, Payne<sup>38</sup> supported the view that these two fragments belong to different vases.

If they are parts of one, then it is not unlikely for the representation to have depicted the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, where the surviving figures could have been one of the attending couples on the chariots and the three girls, accompanying pedestrians. This assumption is based on the resemblance of the existing fragments to the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11)<sup>38</sup> the Acr. frags. (A12) and the

38. Payne NC No. 1188

39. Yet it is rather unlikely for the Corinthian artist of the Amsterdam frags. (A8) to have known of the contemporary Attic Brit. Mus. dinos (A11). It is more probable for him to have been impressed by his also nearly contemporary and moreover local, Kypselos' chest (A6), which could also be the common source of influence for the three Attic procession vases.

François vase (A13), which carry this subject<sup>40</sup>, where the goddesses are often veiled and accompanied by gods driving chariots, followed by pedestrians<sup>41</sup>. Another interpretation is that of Brommer who lists the fragments under the vases entitled Peleus and Thetis as a married couple, a version which is not unlikely and reminds us of later representations of this subject. Nevertheless any explanation is insufficient due to lack of evidence.

A9. SYRACUSE CHALCIDIAN LID FRAGMENTS (A9) ca.580 B.C.

The existing fragments depict an animal frieze and below that, one with a chariot procession. This procession is heading to the right and only parts of the two quadrigas survive. On the chariot to the right are mounted Leto and Artemis, their names inscribed while from the succeeding only the horses survive.

Due to its very fragmentary condition it is difficult and risky to name this vase as depicting the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis<sup>42</sup>. Yet we cannot exclude this possibility. The combined appearance of the particular goddesses on a single chariot is not

40. There is no other specific reason for thinking that the Amsterdam procession was for Peleus and Thetis rather than for others.
41. On the Amsterdam frags. (A8) two things appear different from the other procession representations: 1. The procession is heading to the left, where as the contrary is encountered on the Brit.Mus. dinos (A11), the Acr.frags. (A12) and the François vase (A13), and most likely on the fifth zone of the Kypselos chest (A6). 2. All three girls, on the fragment with the couple on the chariot, face in the opposite direction to the head of the procession. On the Brit.Mus. (A11) and the Acr.frags. (A12) two muses also face opposite and on the François vase (A13) Kalliope does not follow the procession, but faces us, but it is never the whole group of three that is turned the other way round.
42. As it is painted on the nearly contemporary vases of the Attic workshops Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Acr.frags. (A12) and the François vase (A13).

known to us<sup>43</sup>. The chariots and the horses are very similar to the ones painted on the three procession vases<sup>44</sup>, but the figures differ in the following aspects:

They both wear helmets and carry sticks, and their clothes are very simple. Whereas on the Attic vases and the Amsterdam frags.(A8) the female figures do not wear helmets, but headbands, and are occasionally veiled. Sticks are held by the male charioteers and the goddesses' drapery is elaborately painted.

In addition, the accompanying pedestrians seem not to have existed on the Syracuse vase (A9).

A10. ACROPOLIS DINOS (A10) Attic ca.560 B.C. pl.6

The latest of the early representations discussed here is a fragmentary Attic dinos which may date as late as ca.560 B.C.<sup>45</sup>. However it is best dealt with here, even though it may postdate the three Attic vases with the wedding scenes<sup>46</sup>. It does not belong with the later black-figure vases that carry the subjects connected with Peleus.

43. On the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) Leto is depicted as a pedestrian at the beginning of the procession and she is coupled with Chariclo, while Artemis is mounted on the last (5th) chariot together with Athena. On the François vase (A13) the suggestion is made that on the destroyed 4th chariot were probably Apollo and Leto or Artemis and on the 5th chariot also partly ruined together with Athena possibly Artemis.
44. Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Acr. frags. (A12), François vase (A13).
45. LIMC, Vol. II.1 p.945 no.62.
46. Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Arc.frags. (A12), François vase (A13).

From this Acr. dinos (A10), only few fragments exist. The vase was decorated with scenes from the funeral games of Pelias, of which there is no mention in any early surviving literary source. From Apollodorus<sup>47</sup>, however, we know that Peleus engaged in a wrestling match with Atalanta by whom he was defeated.

Consequently this vase is of unique importance since it proves that this incident of the story was part of Peleus' myth as early as the first half of the 6th century.

Besides, this is the first instance of this incident of the myth that is inscribed. The letters are not all in the Attic alphabet<sup>48</sup>, but they represent the confusion of the Attic painters' mind at that period with the strong Corinthian influence<sup>49</sup>. These fragments resemble Corinthian work<sup>50</sup> but are Attic<sup>51</sup>. So it is not impossible for the artist to have been influenced by a Corinthian source carrying the same subject, and this is not unlikely to have been the chest of Kypselos.

The colours used are black, purple-red and white, which has faded away.

On the far left Peleus, facing left, is bearded and nude wrestling with Atalanta, who is facing in the same direction as him and is wearing a hair fillet and a short chiton. Between her legs an unexplained triangle object is hanging (?)

47. Library III.XIII.3.

48. The sigma is not Attic and the alpha looks more like a Corinthian Jeffery Local scripts table of letters.

49. Hesperia 4 (1935) p.226.

50. AJA 30 (1926) p.448, fig.3, Payne NC p.344 ff.

51. Hesperia 4 (1935) p.226.

Peleus has caught Atalanta's left wrist with his right hand, while his left is round her back touching her left elbow. The type of hold is known as the "hold for the cross buttock"<sup>52</sup> and is quite unusual for wrestlers.

On the right there are ten spectators. The first standing is identified as Damas. Behind him there are three groups of three figures each. The first group consists of men seated on the ground. The second group is of male figures who stand over the previous group, with the name of the first spectator inscribed as Kelaas (?)<sup>53</sup> or Kelais (?).

The third group stands at a distance behind them. The first man inscribed as Asterion and next to him a woman, the only one apart from Atalanta.

All the men and the standing woman carry spears, have long hair tied in head bands, some of them are bearded and wear long simple cloaks.

If we compare the composition of this vase with later black-figure with the same subject, we note that spectators in the later illustrations also appear holding spears but decrease in number<sup>54</sup>. This earliest treatment has the largest number.

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52. Gardiner Athletics pp. 189-190

53. Hesperia 9(1940) p.147

54. Adolphseck hydria (B4)

Moreover the grip used here is not seen in any of the later vases where, in the majority of instances, the two contestants face each other.

The earliest representations in art which carry the myth of Peleus<sup>55</sup> deal with a wide range of incidents. Most popular seems to have been the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis<sup>56</sup>, then the struggle of Peleus with Thetis<sup>57</sup> and the wrestling match with Atalanta, as well as the infant Achilles brought to Cheiron<sup>58</sup> and finally<sup>59</sup>, Peleus and Thetis as a married couple and the wrestling match with Jason.

In all cases the treatment is very different from the later black-figure vases in the setting and arrangement of the figures as well as the technique. But also where the same subject occurs more than once, their similarities are not close.

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55. Thrusting aside our doubts about whether the represented figure is Peleus or not.
56. Three times.
57. Twice if we exclude the N.Y. bronze band (A5).
58. Both twice but with a 3rd possible representation of Peleus wrestling with Atalanta, on a bronze shield band, in relief, from Perachora in the Athens N.M., where two figures face to grapple. The one on the left is largely missing, while the other may be a woman dated ca.600-550 B.C.  
LIMC Vol.II.1, p.946, no.78.
59. Once each.

Nevertheless due to the lack of inscriptions and uncertainty of the subject, the identity of the scenes is doubted and the only ones which we can be confident are the Berlin amphora (A1) the Kypselos chest (A6) and the Corinthian plate frags. (A7)

If this is proved to be so, then there is approximately seventy years gap between the first and the next two and about a century between the Berlin amphora (A1) and the three wedding procession vases. In any case the early surviving representations are few in number and thus it is very difficult and dangerous to reach to any substantial conclusions.



### 3.2. THE PROCESSION OF THE GODS TO THE WEDDING OF PELEUS AND THETIS

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After the 7th and early 6th century artistic representations, which have been studied individually, I will examine the evidence between 580 and 560 B.C.

This is a significant stage in the presentation of the myth because the surviving evidence consists of only three vases, but they are of unique importance and share many common characteristics of technique and place of manufacture, subject, possible common source, contemporaneity, quality, size and utility. They are all Attic black-figure and depict the same subject: the gods' procession to Peleus and Thetis. The core of interest is Peleus, the mortal, who married the goddess. It is to honour him that all the outstanding guests arrive in such a magnificent parade. This is the most important moment in his life.

With the exception of the doubtful Amsterdam frags. (A8) and the Chalcidian lid frags. (A9), which I have discussed earlier<sup>1</sup>, they are the only examples of this theme on pottery and on any other artistic rendering<sup>2</sup>. Yet this arithmetical inferiority of evidence is contrary to the importance attributed to the theme in literary sources both early and late, where Peleus' wedding to Thetis is shown as the highlight of his career<sup>3</sup>.

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1. In the chapter 3.1, 7th and Early 6th c. Representations.
  2. Also possibly on the fifth zone of the Kypselos chest (A6).
  3. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple have been often dealt with by painters, but this is a different instance of the wedding ceremony, the couple is already married and on their way to their new home. However this incident is of lesser importance in literature.

It is possible that the popularity of this composition lies in the existence of an important work which was widely known and influenced the artists. Some of the suggestions given are the following: A poem by Stesichorus<sup>4</sup>, the Catalogue of Women<sup>5</sup>, a common visual model plus the Cypria and possibly a work of Hesiod<sup>6</sup>, the chest of Kypselos<sup>7</sup>.

These three vases are nearly contemporary made between ca.580 and ca.570 B.C., with chronological precedence taken by the two dinoi<sup>8</sup>.

All of them were signed by their painters, the two dinoi (A11), (A12) by Sophilos, who is the first Attic painter whose name is known to us, and the François vase (A13) by Klitias. On this vase another signature appears as well, that of the potter Ergotimos.

The painting is of unique quality and exquisite detail, much above the average contemporary examples.

The Brit. Mus. (A11) and the Acr. (A12) vases are both dinoi or lebetes, while the François vase (A13) is a volute-crater, the first Attic vase of this shape that has survived and one of the earliest Greek.

4. Art and Iconography pp.56-57.

5. The Creative Poet Dr. March points to the fact that we know no poem of this theme by Stesichoros, questions whether his work was known as early as 570 B.C. in Athens, asks how soon Teisias came to be nicknamed "Stesichoros" and rightly underlines the wellknown variety in personal names at this date.

6. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery, chapter 1.

7. (A6)

8. Art and Iconography p.62, Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.2,4.

All these are of large size and were used as mixing bowls for wine and water, because of their capacity they could serve numerous drinkers. This suggests that they were probably used in feasts such as weddings, and it is in the context of weddings that they were most likely employed since their main scenes refer to this occasion<sup>9</sup>.

They were found in various places, the François vase (A13) in Etruria at Chiusi, the Acr. dinos (A12) on the Acr. of Athens where it was dedicated, of the Brit. Mus. (A11) dinos we have no information, yet its preservation would suggest a tomb.

For all of the above reasons I will discuss these vases in detail.

A11. BRITISH MUSEUM DINOS (A11) Attic black-figure ca.580 B.C. pl. 7

The Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) has no handles, so the decoration runs round the body without a break. Nevertheless it has a distinct frontal side which is marked centrally by a large floral complex in the second frieze.

All the characters are painted in sideview with the exception of the house. The name of every single figure is inscribed next to it.

I will start my description from right to left. The house on the extreme right marks the beginning and the end of the procession<sup>10</sup>. The heavy double doors are decorated with circles and are closed. One may assume<sup>11</sup> that Thetis is imagined to be behind them.

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9. It is not unlikely that they were offered as wedding gifts to prominent people of Athenian society.

10. The same type of house appears again on the Acr. frags. (A12) and the François vase (A13). In all three vases it is depicted in frontal view.

11. On the François vase (A13) she appears behind one of the open parts, while on the Acr. frags. (A12) only the closed half door survives.

On either side of the doors are columns symmetrically placed, one black with square capital and one white with round. Above them and the door run white square panels divided by black thick lines. This decoration looks like metopes and triglyphs. Between the white left columns all along from the top to the bottom of their height we recognise the painter's signature written retrograde, Sophilos megraphsen

ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ

Peleus is standing next to the house on the left, with his back turned to it holding a cup welcoming his guests.

The procession can be split up into three groups:

- a. The pedestrians.
  - b. The chariots.
  - c. The final section.
- a. The pedestrians:

First to arrive is Iris, wearing a short dress and a large brooch on her breast and red winged boots; she carries a staff in her right hand.

Then follows a group of four figures in couples; Hestia, Demeter and Chariclo, Leto. The figure of Dionysos, the wine god, always necessary in a wedding feast, is painted in the centre of the front side<sup>12</sup> of the vase in order to stress his importance. He is bearded and in his right hand holds a branch.

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12. Just above the large floral pattern which, as I mentioned earlier, indicates the centre of the vase.

Next comes Hebe in a heavily decorated white peplos and extremely elaborate sandals. Cheiron follows, his forelegs human, bearing on his left shoulder a branch from which five animals hang: a stag and two does towards the back, a fawn and a rabbit in front of his shoulder<sup>13</sup>. In his right hand he is holding a thick stick<sup>14</sup> and his head is turned backwards towards Themis who is holding a staff, and the three nymphs who follow.

b. The chariots

From this point on, the frieze continues with the second group, the chariot procession escorted by pedestrians. It consists of five very similar quadrigas. The driver of the chariots is the figure on the right with the exception of Athena who is on the left, in the last chariot.

The first chariot is mounted by Hera and Zeus. They are accompanied by three female figures whose inscription has not survived but who are suggested by Ann Birchall<sup>15</sup> to be the Horai. The second chariot carries Poseidon and Amphitrite. On the left of the chariot the three Charites walk alongside. The third chariot bears Ares and Aphrodite and is accompanied by four muses. Fourth comes the chariot with Hermes and Apollo. Hermes wears a hat and winged boots and holds a kerykeion. He is leaning on the chariot while Apollo is playing his kithara. Here more Muses walk alongside. On the last of the chariots are Athena and Artemis. Artemis carries a bow, but Athena next to her lacks any attributes. Their chariot is escorted by three Moirai, the fates.

13. The large number of animals is surprising. In no other representations, where Cheiron is present in the myth of Peleus, does he have five, most often two to three animals usually hang behind his back.
14. Out of which he might have carved Peleus' spear. Iliad π<sup>140-141</sup>.
15. BMQ36 (1972) p.109 .

c. The final section.

The epilogue to the procession is formed by a party of four gods: Oceanos, Tethys, Eileithyia and Hephaistos. Oceanos, the lower part of whose body consists of a huge fish tail, holds a fish in his right hand and in his left a snake. Then come Tethys and Eileithyia, and the procession is closed by Hephaistos mounted on a mule, side saddle as on the François vase (A13)<sup>16</sup> perhaps indicating lameness.

As a whole the individual women within the groups of the female figures have no individualizing attributes. Each group, with the exception of the nymphs, seems to share one cloak.

A12. ACROPOLIS DINOS FRAGMENTS (A12) Attic black-figure  
ca.580-570 B.C. pl.8

Only ten fragments from the Acr. dinos (A12) have survived<sup>17</sup>. This vase, as the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), was painted by Sophilos and is very similar to it<sup>18</sup>. So we may use the nearly complete Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) as a comparison and aid to reconstruct the better known but severely fragmented Acr. dinos (A12).

16. Greek Vases p.29

17. Bakir Sophilos p.13 has numbered them accordingly and it is to his figures that I will refer.

18. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.2 believes that the remarkable duplication of imagery in the two suggests that he used one as the model for the other, or that he used a common model for both.

Fragment a contains a complex floral decoration, which is seen again at the top of the fragments e, g, i, j and runs round the vase above the procession. Below the procession there was a frieze probably painted with animals, of which only small parts have survived on frags. b, c, f<sup>19</sup>.

Fragment c preserves part of a house. Its resemblance to the house on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) is close; the only difference lies in the fact that on the Acr. frag. (A12) the house is painted more widely spaced. Between the white column and the door there is Sophilos' signature once more written in retrograde, Sophilos egraphsen  $\vee \text{E} \text{S} \text{P} \text{A} \text{P} \text{L} \text{E} \text{S} \text{O} \text{I} \text{I} \text{P} \text{O} \text{S}$ <sup>20</sup>.

On the far right there is a shape which looks like a thick dark line marked at intervals with pairs of incised lines. This must be part of the tail of Oceanos, who is at the rear of the procession, better seen on fragment d.

Underneath the tail at the lower end, there is a small bulky shape which seems to support it, while near the top end a short thick line points downwards. It is not clear what it could have been, but perhaps parts of the foot of the mule carrying Hephaistos for the first and its tail for the second.

19. Similar to those decorating the frieze below the procession on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11).
20. On the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) there is the addition of ME, that Sophilos painted me.

The next two fragments b and g are most probably parts of the first section of the procession<sup>21</sup>, the arrival of the pedestrians and their welcoming by Peleus.

On the right of fragment b we can make out the base of a black column which must belong to the left of the building. On the left stands a figure with his back to the house; only a booted foot and the end of his dress survives. This figure should be Peleus greeting his guests<sup>22</sup>.

Fragment g is the largest surviving. On the far right Hermes in a short chiton and winged boots holds his kerykeion and could be the leader of the procession or of the section of the pedestrians<sup>23</sup>. Behind him follow two groups of two women dressed in elaborately decorated peploi, with bands of animals. Their shoulders are covered in plain himatia. The first are Hestia and Demeter succeeded by Leto and Chariclo.

Fragments e, f, h, j depict the second section, the chariot procession.

On fragment e we recognise the top parts of a male and female figure mounted on a chariot. The man is holding the reins as well as a goad, while the woman is standing beside him. Half of the inscription of her name has survived: Hera, the man thus being Zeus.

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21. Here I follow the order of the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) and I discuss the fragments according to what I think their order must have been.
  22. He is the only figure, apart from the Nysai, who is facing this way.
  23. It is Hebe on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) who is the first of the procession followed by the same figures as Hermes is here. Her role is of course equivalent to that of Hermes as messenger of the gods.



The largest part of fragment j is occupied by floral decoration. It is only on the bottom right hand corner that the heads of Poseidon and Amphitrite are preserved with a few letters of the inscriptions identifying them. On the far left there is a section of hair which could belong to the horses of the following chariot.

Fragments h and f could belong to any chariot, either to the ones from which parts have survived or to the missing ones<sup>24</sup>.

On the left of fragment h we can see the heads and parts of the legs of two black horses, on the right, part of a chariot and the back of a clothed figure with a goad.

Fragment f pictures on the left the hooves and part of the forelegs of two horses, one black and one white. The right is occupied by part of a chariot: a quarter of a wheel and the rear part of the carriage, and the lower part of the rider's dress and himation.

A large part of fragment i is occupied by floral decoration. On the lower left corner we notice the heads of three female figures inscribed as Nysai  $\text{N}\text{V}\text{\u0399}\text{A}\text{I}$ . The two on the right have their backs turned to the head of the procession, while the third in frontal view is playing the syrinx.

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24. If Sophilos had painted both vases Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) and Acr. dinos (A12) following the same features and order in his figures, then we might suggest that it could be possible for fragment f to have belonged to chariots two, three or five since these are the ones, on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), that depict the presence of a white horse, thus the lower part of the preceding figure could be Zeus, Poseidon or Apollo, (since Hermes is depicted as a pedestrian).

The name, Nysai, has raised many questions. They were nymphs<sup>25</sup> and as such they could have appeared here, but it is possible that the inscription is mistakenly written, and Sophilos meant the girls to be Muses<sup>26</sup>. This is likely since on both the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) and the François vase (A13) the girl playing the syrinx is inscribed as the muse Kalliope.

Fragment d belongs to the end of the procession and is dominated by two huge curves of the fish body of Oceanos, which is decorated all along with a series of esses and ends with a round band decorated with vertical incised lines in pairs as on the far right corner of fragment a. Between the two curves there is a dressed figure facing to the right wearing a himation. We cannot claim that this represents Tethys or Eileithyā, because black colour is used for the human features, thus indicating a male figure.

A13. FRANÇOIS VASE (A13) Attic black-figure ca.570 B.C.  
pl. 9

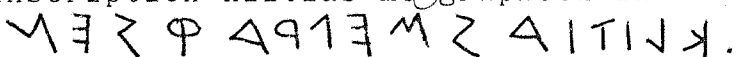
The Florence crater (A13) was excavated and reconstructed by Alessandro François by whose name it is widely known. It is decorated in friezes, and Peleus appears in two of them<sup>27</sup>. Here I will discuss the main frieze the god's procession to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis<sup>28</sup>.

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25. Oxf. Class. Dict. p.743 "nymphs" local nymphs, Nysiads, named after the mountain Nysa where Dionysus was born.
26. Also Diodorus of Sicily in book III §70.1 refers to Nysa as a person who raised Dionysus.
27. According to Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.3 Klitias possibly knew of Sophilos' dinoi of Peleus and Thetis' wedding.
28. The Calydonian boar hunt will be referred to later together with the other hunting scenes of Attic black-figure.

On the far right a building is painted similar to the ones of Sophilos, but more elaborately. The columns and the doors support a wide frieze which is divided in three zones:

- a. a simple black one
- b. one with triglyphs and metopes, which is the largest
- c. one with tongues.

Above the zones stands the curved roof. Through the half open door we are able to see Thetis, who is seated in profile. She is dressed in a simple peplos and with her right hand she holds her himation over her head.

Peleus as usual is standing by the house, with his back turned to it, receiving the guests. In front of him there is an altar with a Kantharos placed on it and over it the inscription Klitias me graphsen in retrograde writing 

As in the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), here again the procession follows in three stages.

- a. The pedestrians
  - b. The chariots
  - c. The final section
- a. The pedestrians.

The first to come are Iris, holding the herald's staff, and Cheiron touching Peleus' hand in a gesture of greeting. Cheiron carries on his left shoulder a branch from which hang three animals<sup>29</sup>. Then follow three female figures side by side: Demeter, Chariklo<sup>30</sup> and Hestia.

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29. There has been dispute as to the identity of these animals. The first two are most probably hares and the third possibly a deer. Arias and Hirmer p.289 and Beazley Development p.28.

30. Her dress is very ornate in contrast to those of the others which are simpler.

The three of them share one himation<sup>31</sup> whereas on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) they are distinctly separate.

The centre is occupied by Dionysos<sup>32</sup>. His face is in front view and he carries an amphora. His beard is long and pointed. His knees are bent and seem to be trying to keep his balance<sup>33</sup> while holding a big amphora over his shoulder. After Dionysos follow the three Horai side by side, they are also covered in one himation<sup>34</sup>. They stand symmetrically to the three other women<sup>35</sup> separated by Dionysos. Behind the back of the Horai there is another signature, of Ergotimos the potter this time, Ergotimos me poiesen.  $\text{E}\rho\gamma\omicron\tau\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

31. This view is shared by both Beazley Development p.28 and Arias and Hirmer p.289, but is contradicted by Furtwängler p.4 who believed that they have different mantles but being so close could be mistaken for one.
32. As on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11)
33. This posture has been the cause of many interpretations concerning him and the amphora. Furtwängler and Beazley Development p.23 put forward the view that the amphora is full of wine, thus heavy so the god stumbles under it. Whereas Arias and Hirmer p.89 and Andrew Stewart Art and Iconography p.55 f f. suggest that since the amphora is lidless, had it been filled up, at such an angle, it would have spilt the wine. Thus the amphora itself is made of a heavy substance probably metal, which they take to be gold. In this manner the amphora is identified with the gold amphora which was made by Hephaistos and presented to Dionysos who was his host on Naxos. In his turn Dionysos gave it as a gift to Thetis who subsequently gave it to Achilleus to receive his ashes. (Homer Iliad Ψ 83-92, Odyssey Ω 71-77). On the other hand Dyfri Williams Greek Vases p.33 contradicts this theory saying that vases depicted on vases rarely have lids, and that the angle at which the amphora is held is not much greater than that of the hydria held by youths on the Parthenos frieze and that Kli-tias intends to show Dionysos bringing the wine for the feast, some of which probably he has already drunk and so has lost his balance. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.11 suggests that Dionysos' pose seems to reflect the archaic running pose and that the amphora emphasizes the importance of the wine.
34. In this case all scholars agree.
35. Demeter, Hestia and Chariclo.

b. The chariots.

The chariot procession consists of seven quadrigas escorted by pedestrians.

First to come are Zeus and Hera, Zeus holding the reins in one hand and the thunderbolt in the other. Their chariot is accompanied by two of the Muses, Kalliope in frontal view playing the syrinx, and Ourania.

The next chariot carries Poseidon and Amphitrite, who are not visible because they are covered by the attachment of the handle to the body. Near the chariot are four more Muses, covered in one himation: Thalia, Euterpe, Kleio and Melpomene.

Ares and Aphrodite attend, also covered by the handles, escorted by another three Muses: Stesichore<sup>36</sup>, Erato and Polymnia.

The following chariot has suffered many losses, the inscriptions have been lost as well as the heads of the riders. So it remains for us to guess who these would have been. A strong possibility would be for Apollo<sup>37</sup> to have been at the wedding and since he is nowhere else represented, he could be here. Next to him could be either his mother Leto or his sister Artemis.

As with the previous chariot, here also a group of three women accompanies it. They could be the three Charites.

The fifth chariot carries Athena and another goddess, whose name is lost and who has no particular attributes by which she could be recognized, perhaps Artemis.

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36. The inscription Stesichore instead of Terpsichore has given birth to a theory which is concerned with the influence of Stesichoros on Klitias. Andrew Stewart Art and Iconography p.56 ff.

37. On the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) the fourth chariot is mounted by Apollo and Hermes.

Alongside walk Nereus and Doris, Thetis' parents.

The succeeding chariot transports Hermes holding his kerykeion, and his mother Maia. Four women accompany it. They are the three Moirai and probably their mother Themis.

From the last chariot only small parts survive. It was mounted by Oceanos, whose bullhead and inscription remain, and most probably his wife Tethys<sup>38</sup>. They were accompanied by three female figures much damaged, perhaps the Nereids, Thetis' sisters.

c. The final section.

Under the handle and better preserved is Hephaistos riding sideways on a donkey, probably to show that he is crippled.

A huge fishtail marks the end of the procession, likely to belong to Triton<sup>39</sup> the seamonster, the front part of whose body could have continued under the handles, preceding Hephaistos.

38. Beazley Development p.29.  
Arias and Hirmer p.290  
 Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.5 table I.I claims that this explanation is unconvincing and proposes that Oceanos is the figure with the fish tail at the final part of the procession; while he avoids suggesting any names for the passengers of the last chariot.
39. R. Glynn AJA 85 (1981) p.125 disagrees with this view, and suggests that the long fish tail belongs to Oceanos who is mounted on the last chariot. In supporting this theory she proposes the following arguments:
1. On Sophilos' vases Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Acr. frags. (A12), his fish tail is very long, thus it would not be unlikely that on the François vase (A13) it extended to the end of the procession.
  2. There is no room for another figure under the handle.
  3. Klitias who is concerned with inscribing even the minor details, must have inserted somewhere the inscription of Triton had he been present.

All figures are painted in profile except Dionysus and Kalliope. The seven chariots of the procession are very similar to one another, and the same applies to the female figures that accompany them. The garments are very carefully painted in great detail, the hair is always long and the men bearded.

The scenes represented on the François vase (A13) have been widely discussed. It is only the wedding procession that covers both sides of the vase<sup>40</sup>. All the other friezes bear two scenes. The twelve different subjects represented may seem at first glance to have no connection with each other but when investigated have been shown to be linked to a certain extent<sup>41</sup>.

On the main frieze Peleus a mortal who excels in arete, is rewarded with Thetis, an immortal wife, and the birth of a mighty son. It is on the occasion of his wedding that the gods attend in procession.

On the front of the vase.

In the hunt of the Calydonian boar, which was sent by Artemis<sup>42</sup> Peleus' brave qualities are displayed. On the two friezes directly above and below the main frieze are spread scenes of the life of Peleus' and Thetis' son. The pursuit and the murder of Troilos on Apollo's altar, was the incident that marked the beginning of the end of Achilleus<sup>43</sup> by rousing Apollo's wrath. There are also the funeral games for Patroclus held by Achilleus.

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40. And the foot frieze of the battle between the Pygmies and Cranes, but this is of minor importance.

41. A. Stewart Art and Iconography pp.53-74.

42. Represented on the handles.

43. On the handles the dead body of Achilleus is carried from the battlefield by Ajax.

On the reverse of the vase.

The rescue of the youths and maidens by Theseus, the centauromachy and the return of Hephaistos share the common reference points of violence and marriage. Theseus killed the Minotaur; rescued the youths and maidens and married Ariadne. The centauromachy started from a wedding<sup>44</sup>. Hephaistos fastened Hera to her throne and fought off Ares before returning to Olympus and marrying Aphrodite. And Peleus married Thetis against her will after struggling with her. The presence of Theseus is not irrelevant on an Athenian vase since he was the town's local hero.

As far as the other representations are concerned their subjects are decorative.

#### COMPARING THE PROCESSION VASES

I will now try to compare the treatment of the wedding procession frieze of the three vases, bearing in mind that from the Acr. dinos (A12) only a few fragments survive.

On the far right they depict a house which unlike the rest of the procession is painted in frontal view probably because in this way it is presented more effectively. Klitias adopted this conventional view of full face, but added human interest by including Thetis.

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44. Robertson History p.126 makes an additional connection between the centauromachy and the dancing scene in the following way: Theseus and Perithoos were very good friends, thus Theseus is always represented at the centauromachy and it is not unlikely for Peleus to have been represented on the scene, now lost.



The white columns are round whereas the black are square, thus noting the existence of antae. On the François vase (A13) the house is painted in great detail. It is difficult to identify exactly which house this is. It is most probably Cheiron's cave on Pelion, since the wedding took place there<sup>45</sup>, elaborately painted in the form of a house. Outside stands Peleus welcoming his guests<sup>46</sup>. On the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) he holds a kantharos, while on the François vase (A11) the kantharos rests on the altar in front of him<sup>47</sup>.

We shall consider the procession in the three stages mentioned above:

a. The pedestrians.

A first group consists of Iris, Hestia, Demeter and Chariclo.

Leto is on the Acr. (A12) and Brit. Mus. (A11) dinoi with the first group of women<sup>48</sup>.

45. "Alcaeus 10B" Cypria Schol. on Iliad Π 140 OCT Homer V p.118, III. Greek Vases p.29 characterises the house as rather a temple-like structure that may reflect the painter's idea of both the Thetideion in Thessaly and Peleus' palace.
46. Greek Vases p.23 suggests that on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) Peleus' lips part as he speaks the words of welcome.
47. This kantharos indicates that wine was important for the celebration of the wedding.
48. On the François vase (A13) she does not appear. She may be placed on the chariot of Apollo, but this cannot be more than a guess, since neither her figure nor inscription survive.

Cheiron must be mentioned here, since on the François vase (A13) he is the first guest to be greeted by Peleus<sup>49</sup>. On both vases he carried a branch with wild animals as he did on the Berlin amphora (A1), his human part is clothed and has long hair and beard.

Dionysos occupies the centre of the front faces of the vases. In Sophilos' work he is portrayed as a tall figure holding a vine branch, whereas Klitias has him carrying an amphora and in front view, making him the focal figure of the frieze<sup>50</sup>.

He is the god of wine, the most important contribution to the feast<sup>51</sup>.

The next group of figures that come after Dionysos differ between painters.

Sophilos in the Brit. Mus. (A11) presents the same number of pedestrian figures after Dionysos as before him: Hebe, Cheiron, Themis and the three Nymphs, while Klitias has only the three Horai. Klitias at the equivalent place has painted the Horai,

49. Whereas on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) he comes later, after Hebe.
50. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.12
51. Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.12 at this stage of iconography Dionysos has not yet acquired his canonical form which includes the ivy wreath and the drinking vessel.

- b. The guests who arrive in chariots, accompanied by pedestrians:

These are:

- i. Hera and Zeus.
- ii. Amphitrite and Poseidon.
- iii. Aphrodite and Ares.
- iv. The chariot of Apollo and Hermes<sup>52</sup> or perhaps Leto<sup>53</sup>.
- v. Athena and Artemis<sup>54</sup>.  
The last two chariots only on the François vase (A13).
- vi. Maia
- vii. Oceanos and Tethys.

52. On the Brit. Mus. (A11), while on the François vase (A13) he is on the 6th chariot together with Maia.

53. On the François vase (A13).

54. This chariot on the François vase (A13) is accompanied by Doris and Nereus, the parents of the bride who are not depicted on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11). Carpenter Dionysian Imagery p.3,4 suggests that this may be a result of an iconographic problem due to the fact that Sophilos' idea of Nereus was with a fish tail thus impossible to be included in the picture where Oceanos was already represented in such manner. R.Glynn AJA 85 (1981) p.125, considers the François vase (A13) too early for a human Nereus, but suggests that his appearance here at the wedding of his daughter is a special occasion where a more dignified form is appropriate.

The chariots are accompanied either by the Charites, or the Muses or the Moirai.

The three Charites on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) wear decorated peploi and all three are covered in a single himation. They are not named individually, and they look very much alike. Comparison with the Charites on the François vase (A13) is impossible, because they are nearly totally destroyed.

The eight Muses on the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) appear in two groups, one of five and one of three. They are deprived of individual names and look very much alike. Their hair is long and tied in bands, the peploi are richly decorated in zones and their himatia plain. They all face to the head of the procession apart from two<sup>55</sup> who stand around the one who is playing the syrinx, most probably Kalliope, as if forming a semicircle.

On the François vase (A13) the Muses are nine, form three groups and are named individually.

The first group consists of Kalliope, the only one in front view, and Ourania.

The second group is of four. Thalia, Euterpe, Kleio and Melpomene.

While the third has Stesichore, Erato and Polymnia.

Despite their individual naming their characteristics are very similar. Their peploi are very elaborately decorated and their hair long and tied in a band.

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55. These are in the group of five.

On the Acr. dinos (A12) there is the unusual inscription "Nysai" which I have mentioned earlier.

The Moirai in both painters' work are treated in the same manner as the Muses.

c. The final part:

On the Brit. Mus. (A11) there are Oceanos, Tethys, Eileithyia and Hephaistos, while on the François vase (A13) there is only Hephaistos with, possibly Triton, while Oceanos and Tethys probably ride the last chariot. Hephaistos is riding sideways being lame in both cases. The figure with the huge fish tail, that dominates the rear of the procession and appears on two of the fragments of the Acr. dinos (A12), is named either as Oceanos<sup>56</sup> or possibly as Triton<sup>57</sup>.

### 3.3. NON-ATTIC MID 6TH C. ONWARDS

The non-Attic representations of ca.560-530 B.C. will be examined separately.

These are vases of different shapes, from Euboia, South Italy, and Corinth, with the addition of the Amyclae throne described by Pausanias.

Their subjects refer to Peleus and Thetis, the wrestling competition at the funeral games of Peliás, and Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron.

56. Brit. Mus. dinos (A11)

57. François vase (A13)

## A14. LOUVRE CORINTHIAN CRATER (A14) ca.560 B.C. pl. 10

On the far left a man, Peleus, his name inscribed<sup>1</sup>, seems to have been hiding behind a tree next to an altar; from his kneeling position<sup>he</sup> is about to pursue a group of seven girls who flee to the right. He is bearded, dressed and in a posture never encountered before. It has been suggested (Schefold pl.70 b,c) that he was lying in wait for Thetis. The altar consists of blocks of evenly cut stones, or bricks<sup>2</sup> and the tree is in full foliage. The girls wear long sleeveless dresses elaborately decorated with square patterns<sup>3</sup>, their skirts are split<sup>4</sup> revealing their left leg and their long hair is tied in head bands. They move their hands in elegant gestures of surprise and haste. The first to the right and the last three have their heads turned towards the man.

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1. NC p.166 no.56
  2. Altars which we find later look as if they are made of one block of material and joints are indiscernable. The Louvre (A14) altar is similar to the nearly contemporary one François vase (A13).
  3. The top part of the dress of the middle girl on the Kavalla amphora (A4) is decorated in the same manner.
  4. On another Corinthian fragment (KP 1898), where the top parts of the two figures, male and female, are missing the fact that the woman is wearing a split skirt in relation to the representation of the Louvre crater (A14) leads to the possible interpretation of the scene as Peleus surprising Thetis (Corinth Vol.15 part 3 no.621). There is another possible example of Thetis in a split skirt on the Taranto cup (B19).

Their position, movement, drapery and worried looks remind us of the ones on the neck of the Kavalla amphora (A4). Their likeness to one another and the lack of any substantial evidence does not allow us to recognise which one could have been Thetis. Nevertheless, judging by the stretched hand of Peleus towards the last of the row, the one nearest to him, and comparing the whole setting of the scene with the one on the Kavalla amphora (A4), we presume that she must be the one.

This is actually the only vase surviving that renders this incident in like manner. The idea of Peleus hiding to surprise the company of the girls is new and does not appear again. Nevertheless due to the inscription we are certain that the interpretation is correct and we may assume that the rendering of the story was varied and did not follow strictly formulaic treatment. This fact intensifies our acceptance of the earlier Kavalla amphora (A4) and Heraclion plate (A3) as being modifications of the theme.

A15. BERLIN CORINTHIAN CRATER (A15) ca.560 B.C. pl.11

Under the handle two men are wrestling at the funeral games of Pelias<sup>5</sup>. Their names are inscribed as Peleus and Hippalkimos<sup>6</sup>. They are both naked with long hair and are depicted in side view. On the left is Peleus, his left leg extended a distance in front of the right. With both hands he has grasped Hippalkimos'

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5. Part of the main frieze on the body of the vase is occupied by the representation of the chariot races at the games. So it is most likely that this is another scene of the same events.
  6. For the inscriptions see Arena note 110 and Lorber Inschr. K.V. p.78,122. It is in the context of the funeral games in honour of Pelias, (on the main frieze of the vase are the chariot races taking place at the same occasion), that Peleus is wrestling with Hippalkimos. This is the only time in art or literature, that Peleus is found wrestling with this man. Atalanta is his common opponent at this event, with the exception of the Kypselos chest (A6), where he contested with Jason.

left elbow and wrist<sup>7</sup>. Yet Hippalkimos' feet keep the same posture as Peleus'<sup>8</sup> and his left arm is grasped by his contestant while with his right he holds of Peleus' right arm.

Hippalkimos' head slightly overlaps Peleus' forehead, just like Atalanta's does on the Manchester hydria (A17). Between their open legs there are painted two floral compositions. Their grip is very similar to the one employed by Peleus on the Manchester hydria (A17) where the left side is occupied by Atalanta who has caught Peleus' left arm in the same manner as Peleus has grasped Hippalkimos' arm<sup>9</sup> here.

A16. THE THRONE OF APOLLO AT AMYCLAE (A16) ca.550 B.C.

The only evidence surviving of this piece is the description Pausanias III. 18.9-19,5, where he mentions, among the other decorations of the throne, the incident of Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron<sup>10</sup>.

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- 7: Peleus with his left hand grasps his opponent's elbow while with his right hand holds Hippalkimos' wrist.
  - 8. With the difference that the left precedes the right.
  - 9. The only slight difference is that Atalanta holds Peleus' arm just above the joints (between wrist elbow, and between elbow and shoulder).
  - 10. III.18.12



A17. MANCHESTER HYDRIA (A17) ca.550 B.C. pl. 15

In the centre of the panel a man on the right is wrestling with a woman who is on the left<sup>11</sup>.

The man is naked and bearded. His left leg is bent forward, while his right is pushed back for support. His left wrist is being grasped by the woman, but his right hand has caught her left shoulder. The woman's forehead overlaps that of the man's just as, Hippalkimos' does on the Berlin Crater (A15).

The woman has long hair, its contour is incised by a deep line which could mark the existence of a hair net. She is topless in a short chiton inscribed with a large rosette. Her legs follow the same posture as described for the man.

On either side watching the wrestlers, stand a woman in long peplos, holding a stick, and a man in a long chiton. The women are at the inner side, while the men stand at the end of the panel.

There are no inscriptions on the vase identifying the figures, but they must be Peleus wrestling with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias, since this treatment of the subject is similar to Munich hydria (A20)<sup>12</sup> and to the earlier Acr. frags. (A10)<sup>13</sup>. Now we have positions which will become common in the wrestling competition between Peleus and Atalanta.

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11. Until 1969 this vase was considered Attic. Beazley (ABV 91) named five vases after it as "Atalanta group" under the chapter heading "Nearchos and others". Charlton AJA 48 (1944) p.252 attributed it to the Lydos-Sakonides group. But Von D. Bothmer in the MMA Journ 2 (1969) pp.27 ff. assigns it to Eretria, as inspired by Lydos and his circle.

12. Which carries inscriptions.

13. Which I have discussed above in 3.1.

Comparing the two, they are similar in the setting: wrestlers in the centre, spectators on the side. The Manchester hydria (A17) allows for fewer spectators. Atalanta in both wears a hairnet and short dress. Nevertheless, on the Acr. frags. (A10) she is not topless and the wrestler's grip is completely different.

A17. ATHENS EUBOEAN LEBETES GAMIKOI (A18 and A19) ca.550 B.C.  
 A18.

(A18) pl. 12 (A19) pl. 13

Athens NM 1004 (A18) and Athens NM 12076 (A19) are two vases with many similarities, in shape, date, subject and place of manufacture.

On both of them the subject, a man and a woman in a chariot, is painted on the belly of the vase and occupies the area of an enclosed parallelogram.

A quadriga facing right dominates the scenes. A couple is mounted in each one. The men hold the reins, while the women stand at the far side. Behind the horses groups of women accompany the chariots<sup>14</sup>. These groups differ on each vase:

On (A18) there are three girls wearing crowns, followed by a single one playing the diaulos, whereas on (A19) two women carrying dinoi on their heads<sup>15</sup> are set in front of a third figure facing the couple on the chariot, who is much destroyed and cannot be identified.

In front of the horses and facing them, on both vases, there is a female figure: On (A19) she is covered in a himation, whereas on (A18) she holds a torch in each hand<sup>16</sup>.

14. We met women accompanying chariots when discussing the François vase (A13) and the Sophilos dinoi (A11 and A12). Here they might be Muses, because of the one playing the diaulos, but they might as well be the Nereid Nymphs, the sisters of Thetis.
15. The dinoi were made to sit on stands and served as mixing bowls for wine and water, necessary in wedding feasts.
16. Boardman BSA 47 (1952) p.34 suggested that she could be Artemis, Hekate or Hera.

The small birds, (A19): one above the horses' heads, (A18): two among the horses' legs, could be birds of good omen<sup>17</sup>.

On (A18) there are two additional figures, who follow at the rear of the chariot, at the far left: a man crowned with ivy, followed by a woman. Boardman<sup>18</sup> proposes Dionysus and Aphrodite or Ariadne.

On (A19) the names of the couple in the chariot are inscribed as Peleus and Thetis, whereas on (A18) there are no inscriptions identifying the figures. Nevertheless, the close similarities with (A19) and the fact that on the neck of the vase is the scene of the Judgment of Paris<sup>19</sup> strongly suggest that the figures are Peleus and Thetis<sup>20</sup>.

Despite the fact that the arrangement<sup>21</sup> recalls scenes of earlier Athenian vases<sup>22</sup> and it is highly likely that they knew of them and as Boardman says<sup>23</sup> misinterpreted the painting, the two Eretrian vases are much closer in treatment and setting of figures to the representations of Athenian black-figure vases of the same subject<sup>24</sup>.

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17. Arch. Delt. 1980 p.51 identifies them as birds and Boardman BSA 47 (1952) p.34, refers to them as baby sirens.
18. BSA 47 (1952) p.34
19. Which was initiated as we know, from the Cypria, at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.
20. Boardman BSA 47 (1952) p.34 "Peleus and Thetis were popular in Eretria, and we may identify them as the newly wedded couple here". Yet earlier Catalogue MN Ath. p.201 had proposed Dionysos and Ariadne.
21. The quadriga mounted by a couple accompanied by groups of women.
22. Brit. Mus. dinos (A11) Acr.frag.(A12), François vase(A13) which depict the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.
23. BSA 47 (1952) p.32 "The painting is an essay in the Athenian style by an artist who did not fully understand his originals".
24. Which are discussed above in 3.2. The procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

Vessels used at weddings, depicting incidents of the myth of Peleus have been discussed above<sup>25</sup>. Yet it is the first time that lebetes gamikoi have carried this subject<sup>26</sup>.

A20. MUNICH CHALCIDIAN HYDRIA (A20) ca.540 B.C. pl. 14

On the belly of the hydria is a panel of the funeral games in honour of Pelias, presenting once again the wrestling match between Peleus and Atalanta.

Their names are inscribed and the wrestlers occupy the centre of the scene. However, the painter is in some confusion as the name Peleus is written on the white chiton of a standing spectator, and the name Mopsos behind the back of the nude wrestler, balancing the name of Atalanta behind the female wrestler. This is most likely a slip on the part of the letterer.

Peleus is on the right naked, bearded, his hair tied at the back of his head. His left leg is a pace in front of the right, his left wrist is caught by Atalanta's right hand and his right grasps Atalanta's right elbow, her left hand is unoccupied. Their grips are not unlike the earlier representation on the Manchester hydria (A17)<sup>27</sup>.

Atalanta is dressed in short chiton, tied at the waist by a thin belt. Her hair is long and neatly arranged with a ribbon. Her feet are in the same position as Peleus'. Their foreheads are leaning towards one another.

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25. Dinos Brit. Mus. (A11), Acr. frags. (A12); crater, François vase (A13).
26. Their use was different from that of dinos and craters at the wedding ceremony.
27. Here the opposite grip is employed by the wrestlers. Atalanta holds Peleus's right arm with her left hand.

On either side of the wrestlers stands a group of spectators, where all men except one are bearded and wear head-bands.

The group on the right, behind Peleus, consists of three men in a row one behind the other.

First is Mopsos<sup>28</sup> dressed in a white mantle and red himation, holding a spear in his right hand. Next comes Klitios, naked apart from a himation and carrying a stick over his right shoulder. Last follows a man with no inscription, dressed in the same way as Mopsos.

On the left side behind Atalanta, a group of three men and a woman is watching. First is a man dressed like Klitios. Then, side by side, a woman clothed in peplos and himation and a young man beardless. The group is closed by a man dressed like Mopsos.

In the background between Atalanta and Peleus as if hanging from a wall there is a bear's hide and on a low table with red feet the head of the bear with some traces of blood still visible. If this is a trophy for the winner, it is unusual and does not appear in any other

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28. Hesiod Shield of Heracles 181: refers to him as the son of Ampyx and a lapith, he is a prophet who took part in the battle at the wedding of Peirithoos. Also Hesiod Melampodia fr.278 MW narrated how Calchas died of his grief when he met Mopsos, a greater prophet than he. Apollonius Rhodius 165 and Pindar Pythian Odes IV.191 include him in the heroes who participated in the Argonautica. Whereas Pausanias V.17.10, describing the chest of Kypselos, places him in a boxing match next to the wrestling of Peleus with Jason.

vase painting depicting Peleus and Atalanta<sup>29</sup>. It is more likely that once again the painter may be confused and have included the Calydonian boar, an exploit in which both Peleus and Atalanta were involved, and in the end Atalanta was granted the hide as a prize<sup>30</sup>.

The non-Attic representations depicting incidents of the myth of Peleus are not many. Most popular were the Eretrian which bore resemblances to the Attic, black-figure pottery with the same themes. Next in popularity came the Corinthian vases which are not similar to the equivalent Attic black-figure formulae and are freer in their interpretation of the subjects. Finally there is only one elaborate Chalcidian hydria, and the unique piece of the Amyclae throne described by Pausanias.

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29. It is only on the later N.Y. gem (C1) that between the two wrestlers lies the head of a boar.

30. Apollodorus Library I.VIII.1-3.

#### 4. A T T I C   B L A C K   F I G U R E

From the middle of the 6th c. Attic black-figure representations of the myth of Peleus become more popular. These do not follow the freedom of the treatment and the individualistic character of earlier examples, but seem to conform to specific versions of the story, which are treated in a formulaic manner and can be clearly distinguished and dealt with under six particular themes in dramatic order:

- 4.1. The hunt of the Calydonian boar.
- 4.2. Peleus wrestling with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias.
- 4.3. Peleus up a tree.
- 4.4. Peleus struggling with Thetis.
- 4.5. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple.
- 4.6. Peleus bringing Achilleus to Cheiron.
- 4.7. Various

#### 4.1. THE HUNT OF THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

Apollodorus<sup>1</sup> gives an account of the Calydonian boar hunt. King Oeneus of Calydon forgot to sacrifice to Artemis. The enraged goddess sent a huge boar to plague the country and so, in order to hunt the animal down, Meleager, the son of Oeneus, summoned the best among the Greeks, promising the boar's hide as a prize to the one who killed it. The following assembled for the hunt: Meleager, Dryas, Idas, Lynceus, Castor, Pollux, Theseus, Admetus, Ancaeus, Cepheus, Jason, Iphicles, Pirithous, Peleus, Telamon, Eurytion, Atalanta, Amphiaraus, and the sons of Thestius. When they surrounded the boar, Hyleus and Ancaeus were killed by the animal and so was Eurytion accidentally by Peleus. It was Atalanta who first struck the boar from behind with an arrow, then Amphiaraus shot it in the eye and eventually Meleager killed it by striking it in the flank, giving the hide to Atalanta.

The vases which represent the hunt of the Calydonian boar are not all inscribed with the names of the participants, so even if we know that Peleus was among them we cannot necessarily identify him. For this reason I will refer only to the vases where the name of Peleus appears written on them<sup>2</sup>. These are:

Agora (1712) P 334	dinos	(B1)
François vase	crater	(B2)
Berlin F 1705	Tyrrhenian neck- amphora	(B3)
Berlin F 1707	Tyrrhenian neck- amphora	(B4)
Tübingen D 2	Tyrrhenian neck- amphora	(B5)
Munich 2243 (J.333)	cup	(B6)

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1. Library I.VIII.1-3

2. The theme was also popular in Archaic non Attic vase painting Brommer VL3.311, C.1-5



B1. Of the Agora dinos (B1) only fragments survive. To the right, the figures of Meleager and Atalanta precede. There is also the inscription of a name that started with a Π, possibly Peleus<sup>3</sup>. The boar is facing to the right and under him lies the dead, Pelaios. The hound ΘEPON bites the haunch of the boar. Then follows Akastos armed with a dagger and spear and after him another figure in short dress difficult to identify holding a stone and a dog's leash.

B2. On the François vase (B2)<sup>4</sup> pl. 18 the centre of the scene is dominated by a huge boar with white tusks, facing to our left. Leading the hunt Peleus and Meleager<sup>5</sup>. Then follow successively the hound Ormenos, Atalanta and Melanion, with the hound Methépon, Thorax and Antandros with the white hound Labros, Aristandros and Harpulea and finally the archer Euthymachos.

Under the boar Antaios lies dead and to the right come another five pairs of men the Dioscouroi Castor and Polydeuces with the hound Korax, Acastos and Asmetos with the hound Egertes, Kimerios, Antimachos and Simon with the white hound Ebolos, Toxamis, and finally Pausileon and Kynortes.

Klitias' representation of the theme reminds us of the earlier Agora dinos (B1) in respect of the presentation and inscription of the figures, with the difference that the treatment on the Agora dinos (B1) is more vivid and less formulaic.

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3. Hesperia 4 (1935) p.440 suggests also Πελαγον.

4. I have discussed the procession scene above as number (A13).

5. According to Xenophon Cyn. 10 they must have been the toughest and most experienced men in the field.

(B3, B4, B5). Next comes a series of three Tyrrhenian amphorae; Berlin F 1705 (B3), Berlin F 1707 (B4) which does not bear any inscriptions but I will discuss it since it is very similar to the previous one, and Tübingen D 2 (B5).

B3.  
B4. The first two (B3), (B4) are very much alike in the setting of the figures. The boar is of big size with tusks, dominating the centre of the scenes, and faces left. Underneath lies the body of Ankaios and one hound attacks from either side<sup>6</sup>, while naked men follow them. On Berlin (B3) there are three on each side carrying swords at the left of their waists and holding spears and tridents in their hands. The first man to the left is identified as Kastor and the first two to the right as Meleagros and Peleus. On Berlin (B4) there are only two on each side also carrying swords<sup>7</sup> and holding tridents and spears, they all wear hats with big rims.

B5. Tübingen (B5) survives in a very fragmentary state. Peleus is represented as the third figure on a fragment which must have been part of the picture behind the boar. He is bearded, dressed, and wears a hat<sup>8</sup>. His name is inscribed as well as Melanion's hound.

On the other part of fragments, there are another three men and a hound facing the opposite direction to Peleus' group. Part of the front of the boar and the dead body of (probably) Ankaios survive. The names of Meleagros and Telamon are inscribed. All the men carry spears and swords.

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6. On Berlin (B4) an extra hound has climbed on the boar's back.

7. With the exception of the first on the left.

8. Similar to the ones seen on Berlin (B4).

B6. Munich cup (B6) pl. 19 is decorated with many figures. The centre, as on the other vases, is occupied by the boar who is being attacked by the hound Leukios. On the left come Meleagros, Peleus, Melanion and, (Ly)kinos and the hounds Thero and Podarlos. On the left there are Kastor, Polydeuces, Mopsos, Jason, Ydasos and the hounds Loryos and Charon. Beneath the boar, whose name is inscribed as ΗΥΣ, is the dead body of Podes. All the hunters are naked and carry a spear.

On all the vases the boar is of large dimensions and dominates the centre of the painting, in most cases facing to the left, and his victims lie under his body. All the men hold spears and there are hounds taking an active part. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that in the literary sources we are told that on this occasion Peleus accidentally killed his father-in-law Eurytion, his name does not appear on any of the inscribed vases.

#### 4.2. PELEUS WRESTLING WITH ATALANTA AT THE FUNERAL GAMES OF PELIAS

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Despite the fact that in the early literary sources there is no mention of the incident, vases or fragments have survived depicting it, thus proving that this version of the myth was well known.

The earliest surviving evidence of the wrestling match of Peleus at the funeral games of Pelias is on two Corinthian representations, the Kypselos chest (A6)<sup>1</sup> and the Berlin Corinthian Crater (A15)<sup>2</sup> where Peleus' contestant is not Atalanta but, on the former Jason and on the latter Hippalkimos. Thus one can suggest that there was possibly in Corinth a tradition<sup>3</sup> of Peleus wrestling on this occasion with different opponents, but this was not popular in other areas in Greece, where Atalanta was his traditional competitor as seen first on the Acr. dinos Frags (A10)<sup>4</sup> and then on two Eretrian hydriae Manchester (A17) and Munich (A20), these I have discussed in earlier chapters, but I will refer to them during the course of my description of the Attic black-figure representations, which range approximately between the years ca.560-550 and ca.490-480 B.C. and consist of the following:

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1. ca.600-575 B.C.
  2. ca.560 B.C.
  3. Due to the lack of any other Corinthian evidence we cannot know if this had been only an early tradition or a tradition that continued later as well.
  4. ca.560 B.C. The Athens N.M. Corinthian bronze shield relief should not be taken into consideration, because the figures represented are of uncertain identity due to its very fragmentary state. Discussed in 7th and Early 6th c. Representations note 58.

Bonn university hydria inv.46 (B7)  
 Adolphseck 6 hydria (B8)  
 Munich 2241 cup (B9)  
 Oxford 1978.49 cup (B10)  
 Munich 1541 neck-amphora (B11)  
 Brit. Mus. 1925.12.-17.10 skyphos (B12)  
 Syracuse 26822 lekythos (B13)  
 Berlin F 1837 neck-amphora (B14)

The shapes employed are various, unlike the equivalent red-figure, where the subject is represented solely on cups. And the wrestlers occupy the centre of the scene facing each other.

- B7. The Bonn university hydria (B7) carries the representation on the belly of the vase. The wrestlers are in a standing position much like the Berlin neck-amphora (B14). Atalanta is to the left wearing a short chiton<sup>5</sup>. Her right leg is overlapping Peleus' left leg, and her left hand touches Peleus' right shoulder while her right palm has grasped Peleus' left palm. Peleus is to the right, bearded and naked. On either side of the wrestling couple there is a standing spectator dressed in long himation<sup>6</sup>. There are no inscriptions identifying the figures.
- B8. On the Adolphseck hydria (B8) pl. 20 the representation of the scene is to be found on the shoulder of the vase. The two wrestlers fight above a dinos which is the prize for the winner<sup>7</sup>. On either side stand two male figures, three of them carrying spears, they are the spectators. There are no inscriptions to identify them.

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5. It resembles the one worn by her on the Adolphseck hydria (B8), Oxford cup (B10) and Munich cup (B9).

6. They are similar to the ones depicted on the Adolphseck hydria (B8).

7. Dinoi have appeared before on the Eretrian lebes gamikos (A18) representing Peleus and Thetis as a married couple, which I have discussed in the section 3.3. Non Attic mid. 6th c. onwards. Also on the François vase (A13), on the Calydonian hunt frieze (B2) and on the Berlin neck-amphora (B11), as well as on Munich cup (B9).

The setting of the scene is very similar to the Manchester hydria (A17). Both fighting figures face one another, Peleus on the right, Atalanta on the left. But their grips vary. On the Adolphseck hydria (B8) they hold each other by their wrists, whereas on the Manchester hydria (A17) they grasp both wrist and shoulder. The standing figures are painted on both vases in the same manner, with the difference that on Adolphseck (B8) they are all male, whereas on the Manchester hydria (A17) one is certainly female, maybe more.

Atalanta's dress on Adolphseck (B8) has short sleeves and is very short in length. The skirt looks very much like the Manchester (A17) one, finishing in two parallel incised lines<sup>8</sup>. It is important to mention that on Adolphseck (B8) Peleus' head overlaps that of Atalanta's, but only by very little<sup>9</sup>. On all other vases they are either touching each other's forehead<sup>10</sup> or are completely detached<sup>11</sup>.

As discussed earlier, the Manchester hydria (A17) has been shown to be a non-Attic work from a Euboean workshop<sup>12</sup>. However, it is similar in design to Adolphseck hydria (B8) and nearly contemporary. This underlines the fact that there was reciprocity between Athenian and Euboean workshops at this time.

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8. But on the Manchester hydria (A17) she is topless.
  9. On earlier vases we have seen Peleus' head being overlapped twice: on Berlin crater (A15) by Hippalkimos and on Manchester hydria (A17) by Atalanta.
  10. Munich hydria (A20), Munich neck-amphora (B11).
  11. Acr. frags. dinos (A10), Brit. Mus. skyphos (B9).
  12. MMA Journ. 2 (1969) p.27 ff.

B9. The representation on the Munich cup (B9) resembles the one on the Adolphseck hydria (B8). Peleus is to the left and Atalanta to the right, she wears a short chiton<sup>13</sup> and her long hair hangs down her back. The wrestlers hold each other by the wrists, while under their arms between the two there is a dinos<sup>14</sup>. Their heads are touching each other. Two spectators are standing on either side, the two who are towards the edges of the panel are dressed in long chitons holding a spear each<sup>15</sup>, while the other two are nude except for a himation on one shoulder and are running towards the wrestlers.

On either side of Peleus and Atalanta in the background there is a piece of drapery as if hanging from an invisible point<sup>16</sup>. There are inscriptions all over the picture.

B10. The treatment of the scene of the Oxford cup (B10) resembles the one on the Bonn hydria (B7). Peleus is to the right, bearded and nude, Atalanta to the left in a short chiton<sup>17</sup>. Their grip is similar to the one on the Munich cup (B9)<sup>18</sup>. In the background on either side of them there are two hanging pieces of drapery<sup>19</sup>. On either side one man is mounted on a horse. It is the first time that riders appear on the scene.

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13. Similar to the ones worn on Bonn hydria (B7), Adolphseck hydria (B8), Oxford cup (B10).
  14. Like the one on the Adolphseck hydria (B8) probably as a prize for the winner.
  15. Like the ones on the Adolphseck hydria (B8).
  16. This resembles the similar items on the Oxford cup (B10).
  17. Similar to the ones worn on the Bonn hydria (B7), Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich cup (B9).
  18. Holding each other by the wrists.
  19. Much like the ones on the Munich cup (B9).

- B11. The representation on the Munich neck-amphora (B11) is treated more as a palaestra scene than funeral games. On the left there is an umpire holding a forked rod and in the background, behind Peleus and Atalanta, another pair of young wrestlers, who are looking at the umpire. Atalanta is on the right<sup>20</sup>, wearing a topless, very short skirt, having seized Peleus' neck with her left hand, while he is firmly holding her right wrist<sup>21</sup>. Atalanta's body is painted in a rather unskilful manner, whereas the males in the painting are much more realistic.
- B12. On the Brit. Mus. skyphos (B12) the two wrestlers are represented alone between two fruit trees. The work is very careless. The two contestants are facing each other. Atalanta is on the left, topless in a loose skirt<sup>22</sup>, her hair tied in a chignon at the back of her head, confined by what looks to be a garland. The same seems to apply to Peleus also. Atalanta has gripped Peleus' left elbow with her right hand and his right shoulder with her left.
- B13. The picture on Syracuse lekythos (B13) is too poor to enable us to enter into details of description. But the setting of the scene looks similar to the other vases with the same subject. Peleus is on the left, Atalanta on the right. What is important about this vase is the fact that in a series of nonsense lettering the painter suddenly breaks into the name Peleus. The vase is scraped by harsh lines.

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20. Contrary to the Adolphseck hydria (B8) where she is on the left.
21. According to E.N. Gardiner JHS 25 (1905) p.274 the neck grip is a defensive movement of a wrestler very much similar to modern wrestling. This is the only representation on black-figure vases of this subject, where this grip is shown to be used.
22. In all other cases Atalanta's dress, either topless or full, was always tight. Here it looks more like a loose loin cloth.



B14. The last Attic black-figure vase, illustrating this episode of the myth<sup>15</sup> Berlin neck-amphora (B14) pl. 21 is preserved in very good condition.

The theme covers the body of the amphora. Peleus is on the left holding Atalanta's left wrist with his right hand, while his left hand grips her behind her neck. Atalanta on the right is topless in a red loincloth and has her right hand on Peleus' back. They stand in an upright position with their left feet a step forward. At this stage of the struggle Peleus seems to be winning the fight. They both wear a red headband, which in Atalanta's case supports her long hair on the top of her head. On either side of the figures there are two tripods, each one supporting a dinos<sup>23</sup>, which exceed the height of the wrestlers. The feet of the tripods are decorated in dots and lines, whilst the handles are two big rings attached to the main body by white joints. These tripods are to be thought of as in the background and serve as the trophies for the winners. Above the heads and between the bodies of the wrestlers are two illegible inscriptions which judging by their length could be Peleus and Atalanta<sup>24</sup>.

Comparing the early and black-figure vases depicting the wrestling scene between Peleus and Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias, we notice that they share some common features.

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23. Very much like the one on Adolphseck hydria (B8).

24. CVA Berlin 5 (45) p.57.

The wrestling couple occupies the centre of the scene. Peleus is nude, bearded and with long hair. Atalanta's hair is long and always tied with a band or net<sup>25</sup>. Her dress is short. In earlier vases she appears in a short dress<sup>26</sup> with or without a belt, whereas later<sup>27</sup> she is topless in what looks like a short skirt or loincloth.

In all cases, but the Adolphseck hydria (B8)<sup>28</sup> this subject matter occupies the body of the vase as the main dinos frags. (A10), that the two wrestlers are painted in side view facing each other, with their bodies leaning forward, foreheads nearly touching each other<sup>29</sup> or overlapping<sup>30</sup> and feet wide apart.

Peleus usually occupies the right side and Atalanta the left<sup>31</sup>. They use a wrist grip<sup>32</sup> and in some cases in addition head<sup>33</sup> or shoulder<sup>34</sup> grip. Nevertheless, the result of the struggle is nowhere shown.

25. Except on the Munich cup (B9) where her long hair is hanging over her back. On earlier representations she wears the net (Acr. frag. dinos (A10), Manchester hydria (A17) and most probably Munich hydria (A20)) and sometimes in addition a band (Acr. frag. dinos (A10), Munich hydria (A20)), whereas on the later we discern only the band Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich neck-amphora (B11), Brit. Mus. skyphos (B12), Syracuse lekythos (B13), Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
26. Acr. frag. dinos (A10), Munich hydria (A20), Bonn hydria (B7), Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich cup (B9) Oxford cup (B10).
27. Munich neck-amphora (B11), Brit. Mus. skyphos (B12), Berlin neck-amphora (B14), and the earlier Manchester hydria (A17).
28. Here Peleus and Atalanta cover the shoulder of the hydria.
29. Munich hydria (A20), Munich neck-amphora (B11), Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
30. Manchester hydria (A17), Adolphseck hydria (B8)
31. In five cases the reverse setting occurs Acr. frag. dinos (A10), Munich cup (B9), Munich neck-amphora (B11), Syracuse lekythos (B13) and Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
32. Except Acr. frag. dinos (A10)
33. Munich neck-amphora (B11)
34. Manchester hydria (A17), Brit. Mus. skyphos (B12), Berlin neck-amphora (B14).

It should be mentioned that on the earlier vases<sup>35</sup> there are other figures present at the contest, whereas on the later ones<sup>36</sup> human beings are completely absent, the space taken by trees and tripods<sup>37</sup>. This shows that the emphasis of the story has been transferred, and the importance of the scene lies only in the struggle and not in the surrounding spectators, whose significance has been forgotten.

Trophies for the winners are presented in some cases<sup>38</sup>. Dinos were common trophies for athletes, but the boar's head and hide are most probably a proof of the artist's confusion in an attempt to connect the Calydonian boar hunt with the wrestling match between Peleus and Atalanta at the funeral games in honour of Pelias.

Most vases were made in Athens, but some were manufactured in nearby Euboea<sup>39</sup>, which came under Attic influence, and one<sup>40</sup> is identified as Chalkidian.

Finally the shapes of the vases used to depict this incident are various, with the prevalence of the hydria<sup>41</sup>, especially in Euboea, but also neck-amphorae<sup>42</sup>, cups<sup>43</sup>, lekythos<sup>44</sup>, dinos<sup>45</sup> and skyphos<sup>46</sup>.

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35. Acr. frag. dinos (A10), Manchester hydria (A17), Munich hydria (A20), Bonn hydria (B7), Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich cup (B9), Oxford cup (B10).
  36. Brit. Mus. skyphos (B12), Syracuse lekythos (B13), Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
  37. Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
  38. Munich hydria (A20), Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich cup (B9) and Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
  39. Manchester Eretrian hydria (A17).
  40. Munich hydria (A20).
  41. Manchester (A17), Munich (A19), Bonn (B7), Adolphseck (B8).
  42. Munich (B8), Berlin (B11).
  43. Munich (B9), Oxford (B10).
  44. Syracuse (B13).
  45. Acr. frag. (A10).
  46. Brit. Mus. (B12).

#### 4.3. PELEUS UP A TREE

In early literature we are presented with the explanation of the scenes depicting Peleus in a tree. Peleus, having refused the love of Acastus' wife, was slandered by her to her husband who decided to take revenge by organizing a hunt on Mount Pelion, where he hid Peleus' knife, so he would be devoured by the wild animals<sup>1</sup>.

This incident of the myth is rarely depicted on representations and on only three black-figure vases:

Villa Giulia 24247 neck-amphora (B15)  
 N.Y. 46.11.7 oinochoe (B16)  
 Market 1962 olpe (B17)<sup>2</sup>

The first two are similar in the treatment of the subject.

- B15. Villa Giulia (B15) pl. 17 is a neck-amphora of which both sides are occupied by this subject. The one side depicts Cheiron, the human part of his body is draped in a chiton and behind him there is a tree. On the reverse six animals<sup>3</sup> surround a tree, into the branches of which a man has climbed. He is dressed and is holding a knife in his right hand.
- B16. On N.Y. oinochoe (B16) pl. 16 the tree is in the middle of the scene. The man who sits among its branches is of small size and nude, while the animals are only two, but large<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Catalogue of Women MW 209.
  2. Of this vase I could obtain no information.
  3. A wolf and a lion on the right, and four deer on the left.
  4. A boar on the left and a lion on the right.

This oinochoe is painted by the Painter of London B 620, who has dealt with the subject of Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron<sup>5</sup> in the same white-ground technique and with the same stylistic treatment.

Of the two vases discussed above the Villa Giulia amphora (B15) presents a more complete picture than the N.Y. oinochoe (B16).

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5. Brit. Mus. oinochoe (B222) which is his name vase.

#### 4.4. PELEUS STRUGGLING WITH THETIS

The earliest representations that may show Peleus and Thetis engaging in any kind of struggle<sup>1</sup> are the clay relief from Tegea (A2)<sup>2</sup> where the male figure has almost lifted the woman from the ground, and the fragmentary plate from Crete (A3), on which a man is clinging on to a fish, while a huge foot is set underneath. These two are nearly contemporary, dated c.650 B.C. Then comes the Kavalla amphora (A4) which treats the subject not as an actual struggle, but as the forceful removal of a woman from a group of women. The next artistic evidence of the subject is Pausanias' reference to Kypselos' chest (A6) ca.600-575 B.C. and the Corinthian column-crater Louvre (A14) ca.560 B.C.

##### 4.4.1. EARLIEST ATTIC REPRESENTATIONS

There is no evidence that the theme existed before this time in Attic vase painting, where the earliest representations appear on two cups by the C Painter dated ca.570 B.C. One is in Leningrad (B18)<sup>3</sup> and the other in Taranto (B19). Then this incident is depicted on a fragmentary plate by Lydos ca.560 B.C. in Florence (B20), and on a fragmented crater in Boston (B21) ca.540 B.C.

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1. I have discussed them earlier under the chapter on 7th and Early 6th c. Representations.
  2. The identification of the figures is doubtful.
  3. Beazley in Para 24,48 bis is not sure about the subject. He refers to Peleus and Thetis, but with a question mark. It was not possible for me to obtain a picture of this vase.

B19. The Taranto cup (B19) pl. 22 does not represent an actual struggle scene. On the far left a bearded man in a short dress<sup>4</sup> is running after a row of six women in long dress, who are facing to the right and are fleeing away from him making gestures with their hands. The one at the head of the group, at the far right, is wearing a split dress and has turned her head left, to the direction of the man, she is most probably Thetis. The scene has been interpreted<sup>5</sup> as Peleus pursuing Thetis the five female figures who occupy the area between them are likely to be Nereids. This treatment of the incident in Attic vase painting is unique. The only similar interpretation is that of the Louvre Corinthian crater (A14) where Peleus is lying in wait behind a tree.

B20. On the Florence plate (B20) pl. 23 Peleus occupies the left, he is bearded and draped in a short dress which is decorated with bands. With his left hand he holds Thetis' left arm, while with his right he holds Thetis' right wrist. Thetis is hastening to the right, her left leg is some distance in front of the right forming a wide step. She wears a long skirt, decorated in bands with geometric patterns, and a short sleeveless top, less elaborately decorated. Her head is turned behind towards Peleus, her hair is long falling over her shoulders and tied in a head band. To the right another female figure is running in the same direction making gestures with her hands, her skirt is decorated in scale patterns. She is a Nereid, Thetis' sister. The lower parts of the women's dresses are missing and, it is here that Tiberios<sup>6</sup> attributes a complementary fragment.

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4. Like the one worn by Peleus on the Florence plate (B20).

5. With doubt ABV 53,48 (40).

6. Lydos pl. 71c.

To the far left we discern branches in the background<sup>7</sup>. The painting of this vase stands between the earliest versions of the theme<sup>8</sup>, where each incident is treated in an independent manner, and those that follow after the 530s B.C., where the theme is formulaic and repetitive without drastic variations. In this respect it differs from the later versions in the following aspects: There are no animals identifying the transformation of Thetis, and Peleus does not hold Thetis round her waist, thus his waist is not bent but is in an upright position.

B21. Of the Boston crater (B21) only fragments survive and of the possible Peleus and Thetis struggle scene, a very small part of the representation exists. This depicts the head of a woman facing to the right, Thetis, while a part of what could have been a snake, representing her transformation, is painted behind her head<sup>9</sup>.

It is not until the 530s B.C. that the theme becomes really popular, and it appears on a great number of vases. These I have divided into four groups according to their dates, realising that this grouping is not watertight, but facilitates our examination:

4.4.2. VASES BETWEEN CA.530 AND 520 B.C.

4.4.3. VASES BETWEEN CA.520 AND 510 B.C.

4.4.4. VASES BETWEEN CA.510 AND 500 B.C.

4.4.5. VASES OF CA.500 B.C. ONWARDS

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7. These branches make their appearance often on the later representations of this scene.
8. I.e. clay relief from Tegea (A2), plate from Crete (A3), Kavalla amphora (A4), Kypselos' chest (A6), Louvre Corinthian crater (A14), Taranto cup (B19).
9. If this is a Peleus and Thetis struggle scene then it is the first time that we actually see Thetis' transformation into a snake, though it has been known to us from Pausanias' description of the earlier Kypselos chest (A6).



#### 4.4.2. VASES BETWEEN ca.530 AND 520 B.C.

##### 4.4.2.1. Five neck-amphorae

##### 4.4.2.2. One Kyathos

##### 4.4.2.3. One fragment

##### 4.4.2.1. Neck-amphorae

These are the most popular:

Munich 1650 (J486) (B22)

Parma C2 (B23)

Madrid 10903 (B24)

Baltimore WAG 48,18 (B25)

Brit. Mus. B 215 (B27)

Their shapes and decorative motives are very similar and so on the first two is the representation of the theme as well.

Peleus in a short dress, armed with a sword, has caught Thetis round her waist with both hands. Meanwhile the goddess, dressed in a long dress, is struggling to break free by transforming herself into a snake, which appears above their heads. At the sides of the picture two women, one on each side, are hastily departing, turning their heads from the incident. These are Nereids Thetis' sisters. This embracing position of the struggle is to become formulaic in the representation of the incident. The type and number of animals varies, as well as the accompanying figures on the scene.

B23. On Parma (B23) there are some inscriptions, but of no concern to the subject.

On Madrid (B24) the side figures have been reduced to one, whereas on the Brit. Mus. (B27) there is none.

- B24. On Madrid (B24) a booted man has already lifted a woman and departs to the right, while behind them there is another female holding a snake<sup>10</sup>.
- B27. The Brit. Mus. (B27) is the name vase of the Eye Siren Painter. On either side there is a siren with a body formed as eye, one with male and one with female head, these have no connection with the story, their presence is only ornamental. The couple are at the centre of one side, Peleus trying to get hold of Thetis by the waist. At this point she is shown transformed into a lion whose head grows out of her shoulder, and into a panther climbing on the back of Peleus.
- B25. On Baltimore (B25) are represented two incidents of the story of Peleus. The struggle with Thetis on one side and the infant Achilles brought to Cheiron on the reverse. I was not able to obtain a picture of this vase.

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10. It has been suggested in the CVA Madrid 1 (1) pl. 14, 1a (14), that the couple is Hades and his bride, followed by a maenad who belongs to the reverse scene of the vase. The female holding the snake can be identified as a fleeing sister of Thetis. The fact that the animal she retains is a snake, and not as often seen later a dolphin, is not strong enough to refute the version of Peleus and Thetis, since it is not unique, but reappears on the Athens Skyphos (B180). While on Providence lekythos (B59), Thetis appears holding the snake herself. Nevertheless it is the fact, that it is the first and only time that Peleus has lifted Thetis totally, that makes one doubt the identity of the couple.

4.4.2.2. One kyathos

B26. The Brit. Mus. Kyathos (B26) depicts the couple alone among two large eyes, Peleus is nude and they both wear hair fillets<sup>11</sup>, while a lion has leapt upon Peleus' back.

4.4.2.3. One fragment

B28. In this group only one wall fragment<sup>12</sup> of a large closed vase remains to be examined. This depicts a man's head, shoulder and arm, following the same posture as we have seen on the previous representations: his right arm round a woman's waist, whose right hand only survives. From the arrangement of the figures one may conclude that the painter is referring to Peleus and Thetis.

4.4.3. VASES BETWEEN CA.520 AND 510 B.C.

There are: 4.4.3.1. One kyathos

4.4.3.2. One plate

and 4.4.3.3. The vases named by Beazley as the Leagros group consisting of:

4.4.3.3.1. Five amphorae

4.4.3.3.2. Two hydriae

4.4.3.3.3. One lekythos

4.4.3.1. kyathos

B29. On the Brussels Kyathos (B29) the identity of the figures is uncertain<sup>13</sup>. The treatment of the scene is

11. Walters Cat. Vol.II, p.237.

12. Agora (B28)

13. Beazley in ABV 610,4 names the figures as youth and woman, while Eisman Kyathos p.188-9 proposes youth and maenad.

a rather unusual one of Peleus and Thetis. Where it is common for Peleus to hold Thetis round the waist, the man here is pursuing the woman. Nevertheless a similar rendering is depicted on the Taranto cup (B19) and on the Capua pelize (B194).

#### 4.4.3.2. Plate

B30. Owing to the fragmentary state of the Glasgow plate (B30) pl. 24 the heads of the figures are missing. Peleus occupies the left, wearing a short skirt with many folds, and a dagger. He holds Thetis round her waist in a grip which is to become very popular on the red figure vases<sup>14</sup>. Thetis is to the right dressed in a long dress. Two animals record Thetis' transformations a big lion climbing on Peleus' back and a large fish tail<sup>15</sup>.

#### 4.4.3.3. Leagros group

This consists of the following vases:

- 4.4.3.3.1. Five amphorae Munich 1415 (J380) belly-amphora (B31)  
 Munich 1524 (J450) neck-amphora (B32)  
 Civitavecchia neck-amphora (B33)  
 Tarquinia RC 1803 neck-amphora (B34)  
 Durham neck-amphora (1974,6) (B35)

- 
14. The fingers of the two hands are interlocked  
 15. Its size reminds us of the fish tails attached to the lions on Syracuse lekythos (B69) and the Brit. Mus. lekythos (B70). Yet it looks more like the monsters tails encountered on the red-figure representations of this incident, which are totally absent in the black-figure versions, thus making this vase the only example of such a rendering.

- 4.4.3.3.2. Two hydria; Louvre F 301 (B36)  
Roman Market (B37)
- 4.4.3.3.3. One lekythos Syracuse 19883 (B38)
- 4.4.3.3.1. Amphorae

B31. On Munich belly-amphora (B31) pl. 26 Peleus and Thetis occupy the centre of the picture. Peleus is, as always, trying to lift Thetis by the waist, while she is attempting to escape by transforming herself into a lion and a panther, indicated by the little animals painted as trying to climb over the couple. Here for the first time Cheiron makes his appearance in this scene<sup>16</sup>.

He is on the left, draped, carrying a branch<sup>17</sup> with two hares and in his right hand has caught the panther off Peleus' back. In this way the painter is trying to explain that Cheiron assisted Peleus in capturing Thetis<sup>18</sup>. On the far right a woman, Pontomeda, hastily leaves the scene<sup>19</sup>. The vase is inscribed, but as well as naming all the figures present, there is an extra word written under Cheiron's belly, and this is Patrocia, which is possibly the name of a second Nereid often shown fleeing from the scene<sup>20</sup>.

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16. It is his first but not his last appearance, he is to be found later on, on the N.Y. Market amphora (B64) and elsewhere. He is also present on the nearly contemporary red figure cup Louvre (D13) of the same subject.
17. Like the one he often carries on the representations of Peleus bringing Achilles to Cheiron.
18. Apollodorus Library III.XIII.5, Pindar Nemean Odes III 56-58. Nevertheless this vase is the earliest extant evidence of this account.
19. We know of no name "Pontomeda" in literature, but from its meaning πόντος: sea and μέδω: protect, rule over, must have been a sea goddess certainly a Nereid sister of Thetis.
20. As for example on the amphorae Munich (B22), Parma (B23), Munich (B32).

B32. The arrangement applied in the previous vases makes its appearance once again on the fragmentary Munich neck-amphora (B32): the couple at the centre and two women rushing off, one on each side of them. There are no animals pointing to the transformation, but there are branches which cover part of the background. Similar is B35. the rendering of the incident of Durham neck-amphora (B35).

B36. On the Louvre hydria (B36) a like pattern is followed with the addition of flames on the head of Thetis<sup>21</sup> and unusual crowns<sup>22</sup> on the hair of the Nereids. A lion is also present on the scene.

On the remaining vases of the Leagros group I have no pictures to which I can refer in detail. But it is important to note here that the Syracuse lekythos (B38) is the oldest of this shape that depicts Peleus and Thetis, a very popular theme which will appear numerous times on this shape of vase.

#### 4.4.4. VASES BETWEEN CA.510 AND 500 B.C.

This incident is treated on: 4.4.4.1. Two amphorae  
4.4.4.2. One oinochoe  
4.4.4.3. One lekythos

##### 4.4.4.1. Amphorae

These are neck-amphorae: 1. Munich (B39)  
 2. Amiens (B40)

B39. On Munich (B39) pl. 25 Peleus is trying to lift Thetis in the centre of the scene; he is crowned, possibly foretelling his future success. A lion bigger than in other

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21. On the Fogg lekythos (B66) what look like flames or light streaks protrude from Thetis' head and shoulders probably denoting Thetis' transformation into fire.

22. Which look like branches protruding from the crowns.

representations is climbing on his back. At the sides the two female figures appear again with the addition of an old man on the left, who is leaning on a long walking stick. He is most probably Nereus<sup>23</sup>, Thetis' father. Branches in the background fill some of the empty space<sup>24</sup>.

B40. Of the Amiens amphora (B40) I have no picture.

#### 4.4.4.2. Oinochoe

B41. Also of the Chertsey Town hall oinochoe (B41) I could not obtain a picture.

#### 4.4.4.3. lekythos

B42. On the Tel Aviv lekythos (B42) the treatment is similar with the addition of grapes of the vine sprays.

#### 4.4.5. VASES OF CA.500 B.C. ONWARDS

With the turn of the century the subject becomes so popular that we discover painters repeating the subject on various shapes of vase. Nevertheless, this quantity of production is counter balanced by poor quality in painting.

In the following pages I have listed and will discuss the vases according to their painters and the remaining vases of various painters I have grouped according to their shapes.

23. Who appears on this scene for the first time.

24. We have first seen branches on Florence plate (B19) and then on Munich neck-amphora (B32)

- 4.4.5.1. Group of the Cracow Peleus two lekythoi
- 4.4.5.2. Class of Athens 581 (or near) twelve lekythoi
- 4.4.5.3. Sappho Painter Four lekythoi
- 4.4.5.4. Diosphos Painter
- 4.4.5.4.1. Four amphorae
- 4.4.5.4.2. One alabastron
- 4.4.5.4.3. Three lekythoi
- 4.4.5.5. Theseus Painter
- 4.4.5.5.1. Two lekythoi
- 4.4.5.5.2. One kyathos
- 4.4.5.6. Athena Painter (or his workshop)
- 4.4.5.6.1. Four oinochoai
- 4.4.5.6.2. One lekythos
- 4.4.5.7. Haimon Painter (or group of manner of)
- 4.4.5.7.1. One oinochoe
- 4.4.5.7.2. One alabastron
- 4.4.5.7.3. One kyathos
- 4.4.5.7.4. Three cups
- 4.4.5.7.5. Six skyphoi
- 4.4.5.7.6. Two mastoids
- 4.4.5.7.7. Twenty lekythoi
- 4.4.5.8. Red line Painter
- 4.4.5.8.1. Five amphorae
- 4.4.5.8.2. Two pelikai
- 4.4.5.8.3. One hydria
- 4.4.5.8.4. One lekythos
- 4.4.5.9. Various Painters
- 4.4.5.9.1. Thirty one lekythoi
- 4.4.5.9.2. Eight amphorae
- 4.4.5.9.3. Eight oinochoe
- 4.4.5.9.4. Six hydriae
- 4.4.5.9.5. Four cups
- 4.4.5.9.6. Three kyathoi
- 4.4.5.9.7. Three skyphoi
- 4.4.5.9.8. Three craters
- 4.4.5.9.9. Two alabastra



- 4.4.5.9.10. Two pyxides
- 4.4.5.9.11. Two olpai
- 4.4.5.9.12. One plate
- 4.4.5.9.13. One lebes gamikos
- 4.4.5.9.14. One pelike
- 4.4.5.9.15. Three fragments

B43. 4.4.5.1. Group of the Cracow Peleus  
 B44.

This consists of two lekythoi:

- Cracow 1452 (B43)
- Syracuse (B44)

The theme remains unaltered but for a bunch of grapes hanging from the vine sprays in Cracow (B43)

Of the Syracuse (B44) I have no information.

B45- 4.4.5.2. Class of Athens 581 (or near)  
 B56.

Has treated the subject only on lekythoi:

- Bologna 88 (B45)
- Athens (old No. 2238) (B46)
- Athens NM 398 (CC 982) (B47)
- Brit. Mus. (old No. 2663) (B48)
- Olympia (B49)
- Louvre (B50)
- Paestum (B51)
- Agora P 24518 (B52)
- Athens NM 18939 (B53)
- Myrrhinus (B54)

To the Class of Athens 581 belongs the Group of Delos 555 which includes two lekythoi with this incident of the myth of Peleus:

- Heraklion Giamalakis (B55)
- Formely private collection Athens (B56)

The work of the class of Athens 581 is repetitive, rough and of low quality. Nevertheless on Bologna lekythnos (B45) Thetis is represented for the first time holding an animal, a snake, in her hand.

#### 4.4.5.3. Sappho Painter

Treated the theme on four lekythoi:

Cambridge Mus. Cl. Arch. 109 (B57)

Louvre CA 156 (L 26) (B58)

Providence 14.432 (C 2155) (B59)

Lipari (B60)

The Sappho painter has introduced variations of the theme.

- B58. On the Louvre (B58) in addition to the couple and fleeing Nereid, inscriptions appear and the figure of Cheiron holding a torch<sup>25</sup>. At his feet there is a white dog<sup>26</sup>. The episode takes place in front of the centaur's cave, as on the far right we discern the mouth of a cave<sup>27</sup>.

25. It is not the first time that Cheiron is present on the scene we saw him before on Munich belly-amphora (B31). Yet the torch is a new addition and could be interpreted as a wedding torch, thus foretelling the end of the struggle. He also holds a torch in each hand on N.Y. market neck-amphora (B64), while on Fogg (B66) Nereus is also presented carrying a torch.
26. It is the first time that Cheiron is accompanied by a dog on this scene.
27. This could be the artistic expression of what we have learnt in literature, Alcaeus 10B = 74D = 42LP, that Peleus and Thetis went to Cheiron's home after their wedding.

- B59. On Providence (B59) the couple is presented twice. Once Thetis is holding a snake<sup>28</sup> and is running towards an altar and the second time Peleus has nearly reached her and is ready to engage in the usual posture of the struggle. This is not the only time<sup>29</sup> that the same subject appears twice on a vase<sup>30</sup>, most probably, because of misunderstanding of the theme by the painter, who might have copied it from another earlier representation.
- B60. The Lipari (B60) depicts the subject as we have often seen it earlier: the couple struggling in the centre, a lion and a snake representing Thetis' transformation, while one Nereid is fleeing on each side.

28. We have encountered Thetis holding a snake on Bologna lekythos (B45) and we will see her carrying other items in the future such as flowers, Amsterdam lekythos (B65) and later on Syracuse lekythos (B69) and Brit. Mus. lekythos (B70) she carries a dolphin. As far as the snakes are concerned, Nereids are seen holding them as well: Madrid amphora (B24) and Athens skyphos (B180).
29. Also Athens skyphos (B180), Cab. Méd. mastoid, (B89), Berkley mastoid (B90).
30. In both cases Peleus seems rather to chase Thetis than having hold of her as usual seen on the struggle scenes.

4.4.5.4. Diosphos Painter

He treats the subject on:

- 4.4.5.4.1. Four neck-amphorae
- 4.4.5.4.2. One alabastron
- 4.4.5.4.3. Three lekythoi

4.4.5.4.1. The neck-amphorae

- Capua 7555 (446) (B61)
- Munich 1582 (J1155) (B62)
- Vienna 226 iv 3599 (B63)
- N.Y. Market (B64)

B61. On Capua (B61) the theme expands on both sides of the vase. The group of Peleus and Thetis, as it is now known to us, occupies the far right side of the picture, this time the animals representing the transformation are a serpent and a panther, on the left we see the front part of a four horse chariot, which could be Peleus'. It is mounted by a female figure, who could be Hera<sup>31</sup>. The representation of a chariot in this incident of the myth of Peleus is unique<sup>32</sup>. A possible explanation could be the story given by Tzetzes in his commentary on the tragic poet Lycophron 175, who says that "κατὰ Φερεκύδην", "Peleus took Thetis on his horses from Phthia and arrived at Pharsalus". The vase was produced long before the literary work, this could indicate knowledge of the incident as early as that. But a more probable explanation could be that of the painter's own invention in order to elaborate his work.

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31. Who brought up Thetis Iliad Ω 55-85, Apollodorus Library III.XIII. 5.

32. However this chariot reminds us of the parts of chariots present on two vases, of the incident of Peleus bringing Achilles to Cheiron, Berlin (B223) and Roman Market hydria (B224).

On the reverse of the vase two female figures are fleeing, these are most likely Nereids<sup>33</sup>. Of the rest of the amphorae, I have seen no pictures, but for Vienna (B63) and N.Y. Market (B64) we have some information.

B63. On Vienna (B63)<sup>34</sup> the treatment of the subject expands on both sides of the vase: on the one is the struggling couple and on the reverse, Cheiron who holds a torch<sup>35</sup> in each hand, while to the right is Nereus looking back<sup>36</sup>.

B64. For the N.Y. market (B64) we know<sup>37</sup> that the couple are fighting under the gaze of Cheiron<sup>38</sup>.

33. On other vases we see them represented on the same side as Peleus and Thetis, e.g. Munich neck-amphora (B32), Munich neck-amphora (B39). This is the first time that this incident in black-figure is distributed on both sides of the vase, on red-figure also it is not unknown, examples are the Brit. Mus. cup (D9) and London Victoria and Albert cup (D10).

34. Baur Centauris p.108 no.264.

35. The first time that Cheiron is seen holding a torch is on the Louvre lekythos (B58).

36. It is not the first time that Nereus is present on the scene, we have encountered him before on Munich neck-amphora (B39).

37. ABV 510,26.

38. It is not the first time that Cheiron appears in this scene. He was present on Munich belly-amphora (B31).

## 4.4.5.4.2. Alabastron

- B65. The Amsterdam alabastron (B65) carries careless painting with the couple in the centre and two fleeing Nereids. The only difference in approach is that Thetis holds some flowers in her right hand<sup>39</sup>.

## 4.4.5.4.3. Lekythoi

Fogg 1925 30.49 (B66)

Cambridge G126 (B67)

Berlin F 2003 (B68)

- B66. Of the lekythoi by the Diosphos painter the Fogg (B66) is set apart by its more attentive work, and by some striking differences in the treatment of the subject. These are the following: Peleus is naked having a sword tied round his waist, while from Thetis' head and shoulder protrude light streaks, or flame (?)<sup>40</sup>. To the right of the couple stands an altar in the form on an Ionic capital<sup>41</sup>, round which a serpent is coiled; behind it

39. A detail which has never appeared before. On three red-figure vases of the same subject we encounter flowers. On Leipsic stamnos (D15) and Villa Giulia stamnos (D48) held by the Nereid fleeing to the left of Peleus. Also on Munich cup (D22) one of the Nereids holds what looks to be a garland of flowers. It has been suggested JHS 12 (1892) p.369 that Thetis and her sisters were gathering flowers by the sea when Peleus attacked Thetis following a similar legend connected with Persephone.
40. Flames on the scene could be one of Thetis' metamorphoses. They also appear on Louvre Lydria (B36) and on Berlin lekythos (B68).
41. An altar is also on the Brit. Mus. hydria (B168)

there is a palm tree. To the far right a Nereid is rushing away holding a dolphin in her hand<sup>42</sup>. At the left a centaur most probably Cheiron is holding a branch or torch<sup>43</sup> in each hand. In the background there are nonsense inscriptions. Very close to this vase is the representation on the Berlin lekythos (B68)<sup>44</sup> with the difference that here the Nereid holds two dolphins and there is no altar or snake but a lion.

B67. Cambridge (B67) is a rough miniature lekythos with the couple and two women fleeing away, while the background is occupied by branches.

As a whole the Diosphos painter has made additions, alterations and innovations foreign to the actual myth. The chariot<sup>45</sup>, Thetis holding flowers<sup>46</sup>, the altar and the light streaks, Cheiron's torches as well as the Nereids with a dolphin<sup>47</sup>, seem to be his own elaborations. In addition on at least two neck-amphorae ((Capua (B61), Vienna (B63)) he has expanded the painting of the subject both sides of the vase.

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42. What will later be a common element on this subject, the dolphins, appear here for the first time.
43. It is unlike the branch he carries over his shoulder on Munich amphora (B31), it is probably a torch; which he also holds on Louvre lekythos (B58). These torches could be bridal, thus foretelling the result of the struggle.
44. I have seen no picture of this vase but from the description of Baur Centaurs p.106, no.258 I gather their similarity.
45. Capua amphora (B61).
46. These could be either the artist's variation on the theme or a confusion with the myth of Persephone who was gathering flowers when attacked by Pluto. Amsterdam alabastron (B65).
47. Fogg lekythos (B66), Berlin lekythos (B67).

4.4.5.5. Theseus Painter

He depicted the incident on:

4.4.5.5.1. Two lekýthoi

4.4.5.5.2. One kyathos

4.4.5.5.1. Lekythoi

Syracuse 33501 (B69)

Brit. Mus. 1904.7-8.5 (B70) pl. 29

B69. The lekýthoi are very similar.

B70. The couple occupies the left of the picture. Over Peleus' back there is the head of a lion which ends in a fish tail, thus the two animals are combined in a type of monster<sup>48</sup>.

The Syracuse (B69) and the Brit. Mus. (B70) are the only black-figure vases of this subject, where we find Thetis holding a dolphin in her hand<sup>49</sup>. Next to the couple grows a tree with long branches, while to the far right a Nereid is fleeing<sup>50</sup>. In addition on Syracuse (B69) between the couple and the tree there is a flaming altar, whose side is decorated with a serpent while over it another snake reaches Thetis' hand. This blazing altar may represent Thetis' transformation into fire.

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48. In the black-figure rendering of this incident there are no other monsters, but on the Naples neck-amphora (B115) and possibly the Glasgow plate (B30), contrary to the red-figure where they are more common.
49. On the Brit. Mus. (B70) in her left hand, while on the Syracuse (B69) certainly on her right and possibly in her left, which is much destroyed and impossible to discern.
50. She is holding a fish in her left hand.



## 4.4.5.5.2. Kyathos

B71. Of the Art Market kyathos (B71) I have no picture, but according to Eismans<sup>51</sup> description the painting is not much different from the ones on the lekythoi. There are two Nereids, vine sprays in the background and flames and a lion representing Thetis' transformation.

4.4.5.6. The Athena painter (or his workshop)

Treats the myth on:

4.4.5.6.1. Four oinochoai

4.4.5.6.2. One lekythos.

## 4.4.5.6.1. Oinochoai

Brit. Mus. B500 (B72)

Brit. Mus. B619 (B73)

Philadelphia Market (B74)

Goluchow. Cz 29 (B75)

Of the first three I have no information. On Goluchow oinochoe (B75)<sup>52</sup>, one Nereid is fleeing from each side and the transformation of Thetis is recorded by the presence of a lion and a snake.

## 4.4.5.6.2. Lekythos

B76. On the Palermo Momino lekythos (B76) there are a lion with curved tail, and a snake coiled round Thetis' left arm, which denote her metamorphoses. Two Nereids are fleeing. The three women wear headscarves.

The work of the Athena Painter (or his workshop) can be described as careful and attentive.

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51. Kyathos p.451 no.128

52. Para 263,2 now Warsaw?

4.4.5.7. Haimon Painter (or Group or Manner)

He is the most productive as far as this subject is concerned.

- 4.4.5.7.1. One oinochoe Ferrara 1554  
(T445) (B77)
- 4.4.5.7.2. One alabastron Athens 12768  
(N977) (B78)
- 4.4.5.7.3. One kyathos Bochum S487 (B79)
- 4.4.5.7.4. Three cups Louvre A245 (B80)  
Brit. Mus. B449 (B81)  
Taranto (B82)
- 4.4.5.7.5. Six skyphoi Bucarest 03355 (B83)  
Agora P8540 (B84)  
Agora P23321 (B85)  
Philadelphia 418  
(B86)  
Agora P23333 (B87)  
Thebes R 46.79 (B88)
- 4.4.5.7.6. Two mastoids Cab. Méd. 349 (B89)  
Berkeley 8.891 (B90)
- 4.4.5.7.7. Twenty leky-  
thoi N.Y. 41.162.207 (B91)  
Dunedin 48.251 (B92)  
London Winslow (B93)  
Larnaka Pierides (B94)  
Manheim c.g.42 (B95)  
Agora P 10365 (B96)  
Vienna University  
739,18 (B97)  
Athens NM 604 (B98)  
Lyons (B99)  
Catania (B100)  
Geneva inv. I 744  
(B101)  
Capua 170 (B102)  
Once Burgon 104  
(B103)

Louvre F452 (B104)  
 Cambridge G96 (B105)  
 Basel Z336 (B106)  
 Delphi (B107)  
 Delphi 3 (B108)  
 Taranto (B109)  
 Jena 163 (B110)

The work of the Haimon painter is careless, inattentive, dull and repetitive with few variations. Of the vases listed above only the Bochum Kyathos (B79), the Cab. Méd. (B89) and Berkeley (B90) mastoids, depict more interesting treatments of the theme. The kyathos carries the couple, Cheiron and two Nereids, whilst the mastoids depict the struggling couple twice each, once on each side. Of the lekythoi the Athens (B98) depicts Cheiron and an altar and on Geneva (B101) one of the two fleeing Nereids holds a wreath.

4.4.5.8. The Red Line Painter has treated the subject on:

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 4.4.5.8.1. Five neck-amphorae | Naples H2449 (B111)<br>Villa Giulia (M488)<br>(B112)<br>Capesthorpe (B113)<br>Munich 1543 (B114)<br>Naples inv. 81178<br>(H2535) (B115) |
| 4.4.5.8.2. Two pelikai        | Copenhagen NM2 (B116)<br>Naples RC205 (B117)  |
| 4.4.5.8.3. One hydria         | Naples inv. 86334<br>(B118)   |
| 4.4.5.8.4. One lekythos       | Munich 1889 (J767)<br>(B119)  |

All of them look much alike, with minor differences in the details. Peleus trying to lift Thetis, and on each side a woman fleeing.

- B112. On the Villa Giulia amphora (B112), instead of a Nereid to the right there is a siren and behind Peleus there is a spray.
- B115. The Naples amphora (B115) pl. 27 has the addition of an animal on Peleus' back<sup>53</sup> and the tail of a sea creature behind Thetis<sup>54</sup>. On the reverse side a married couple is mounted on a chariot, and they could be Peleus and Thetis.
- B113. The Capesthorne amphora (B113) differs in the omission of one of the Nereids and the addition of vine - sprays in the background. The same setting is presented on the B116. Copenhagen pelike (B116), whereas the Munich leky-  
B119. thos (B119) combines the vine sprays and both Nereids fleeing.

On the Naples amphora (B111), the Naples pelike (B117) and the Naples hydria (B118), I have no information.

In general the work of the Red Line Painter is repetitive and careless.

#### 4.4.5.9. Various Painters

The remaining vases with the same subject were produced by various artists. So in order to facilitate their examination I have classified them according to their shapes:

- 4.4.5.9.1. Thirty lekythoi
- 4.4.5.9.2. Nine amphorae
- 4.4.5.9.3. Nine oinochoai
- 4.4.5.9.4. Six hydriae
- 4.4.5.9.5. Four kyathoi

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53. It looks like a panther or lion.

54. This reminds us of the monsters on the other black-figure vases of the same incident Syracuse lekythos (B69), Brit. Mus. lekythos (B70) and possibly Glasgow plate (B30).

- 4.4.5.9.6. Four cups
- 4.4.5.9.7. Three skyphoi
- 4.4.5.9.8. Three craters
- 4.4.5.9.9. Two alabastra
- 4.4.5.9.10 Two pyxides
- 4.4.5.9.11. Two olpoi
- 4.4.5.9.12. One plate
- 4.4.5.9.13. One lebes gamikos
- 4.4.5.9.14. One pelike
- 4.4.5.9.15. Three fragments

#### 4.4.5.9.1. The lekythoi

- B120 - Athens NM 849 (490) CC 905 (B120)
- B150. Athens NM 11732 a (B121)
- Athens NM 117321 (B122)
- Agora P 1282 (B123)
- Eleusis 2367 (311) (B124)
- Eleusis 2374 (115) (B125)
- Vienna Mus. Beaux Arts (B126)
- Ann Arbor 2598 (B127)
- Cambridge G 95 (B128)
- Brit. Mus. B 540 (B129)
- Rouen (B130)
- Paris Mikas (B131)
- Siena (B132)
- Darmstadt Landes. (B133)
- Berlin F 1997 (B134)
- NY. 06.1021.158 (B135)
- Palermo 79 (B136)
- Nauplion 80 (B137)
- Athens CC 328 (B138)
- Agrigento 148 (B139)
- Cambridge (B140)
- Heidelberg inv. 63/10 (B141)
- Leyden (B142)
- Marseille before 1606 (B143)

Naples H 2738 (B144)  
 Prague N.M. (B145)  
 Taranto 52183 (B146)  
 Fogg (B147)  
 Publication from Vari (B148)  
 Publication from Olynthos inv. 470 (B149)  
 Publication (B150)

The lekythoi are the most numerous, for a number of them, I could not obtain any information. They do not present us with any particular interest as they are badly drawn, engaging little of the artists' time and attention. The representation of the subject is repetitive, lifeless and tedious. Yet on the Athens (B138) Cheiron and Nereus are also present.

#### 4.4.5.9.2. Amphorae:

B151-  
 -B158.

Syracuse 21962 (B151)  
 Boulogne 85 (B152)  
 Agrigento Guidice 678 (B153)  
 Tarquinia (B154)  
 San Simeon Hearst Collection inv. 5523 (B155)  
 Gela (B156)  
 Villa Giulia 50280 (B157)  
 Tarquinia inv. 652 (B158)

Of the above amphorae<sup>55</sup>, Syracuse (B151) and Gela (B156) are different from the monotonous treatment of the others. Peleus and Thetis are seen as before, but there is the addition of the figure of Cheiron, who carries on his left shoulder a branch with three animals. He is followed by a dog<sup>56</sup>. On the Tarquinia (B158) the incident is depicted on both sides of the vase.

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55. All, with the exception of Gela (B156) of which I have no information, are neck-amphorae.

56. Cheiron makes his appearance on the scene on other vases as a Munich belly-amphora (B31), Leiden hydria (B167), but the addition of his accompanying dog is only made on the Louvre lekythos (B58).

## 4.4.5.9.3. Oinochoai

- B159-  
-B166.
- Compiègne 1030 (B159)
  - Louvre F 348 (B160)
  - Ferrara 266 (B161)
  - Dresden H 216 (B162)
  - Munich (B163)
  - Athens 12711 (B164)
  - Cerveteri 47459 (B165)
  - Cerveteri T 426 (B166)

Of the oinochoai the only one of special interest is Compiègne (B159) where Peleus is on the right, and not as usually placed on the left, still trying as always to lift Thetis.

## 4.4.5.9.4. Hydriai:

- B167-  
-B172.
- Leiden P.C. 48 xve 29 (B167)
  - Brit. Mus. B349 (B168)
  - Vatican 425 (B169)
  - Frankfurt (B170)
  - Rome Sala Cerveteri (B171)
  - Athens Acr. 756 (B172)

The hydriai are more attractive, providing variations on the theme.

- B167. On Leiden (B167) Peleus, wearing a loin cloth and sword, has nearly lifted Thetis; an animal head has grown from her shoulder.

A woman, a Nereid, is leaving on the right, while on the left a centaur, Cheiron most likely, is carrying two animals on his branch.

B168. On Brit. Mus. (B168) Thetis has grown wings behind her back<sup>57</sup>, while Peleus is nude with only a sword round his waist. To the left is an altar with flames<sup>58</sup>.

B170. Frankfurt (B170) depicts the struggling couple and a fleeing Nereid to the right. Nereus with white hair and beard is at the far left while the centre is occupied by a strange male figure bearded with long hair. Yet his feet are painted in white while his hands and arms, as well as Thetis' right arm and hand, seem to have been painted black over an already existing white paint. It is possible that the inconsistencies are due to the restorer's intrusion. It would be more likely for a fleeing Nereid to be represented here than a male figure.

Of the rest of the hydriae I have no information.

#### 4.4.5.9.5. Cups:

B173- Villa Giulia 35.58 (B173)  
 B176. Villa Giulia frag. (B174)  
 Market 1959 (Ars antiqua) (B175)  
 Barcelona (B176)

B173. The Villa Giulia (B173) depicts Peleus and Thetis, with a lion and a serpent, in the centre, one woman fleeing to each side, the Nereids, a man, probably Nereus<sup>59</sup>, at the far right, and Cheiron<sup>60</sup> at the far left. As for the rest of the cups I have no information.

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57. It is the only time that Thetis is represented winged, and this is probably because the artist had copied the scene and did not fully understand it. The fact that these wings indicate one of her metamorphoses (CVA 6 (8) pl.97,3 (365)) seems unlikely because it does not appear anywhere else; this may be the artist's own invention of a new transformation.

58. Altars on this scene appear on Fogg lekythos (B66), Syracuse lekythos (B69), and Naples alabastron (B186). The ones on fire may represent one of Thetis' transformations.

59. Nereus has appeared before on Munich amphora (B39).

60. Cheiron has appeared before on Munich amphora (B31), N.Y. Market amphora (B64) also on the nearly contemporary red figure cup Louvre (D13) of the same subject.



## 4.4.5.9.6. Kyathoi:

- B177- Rome Mus. Artistico Industriale 379 (B177)  
 -B179. Munich J133 (B178)  
 Basel Art Dealer 16 (B179)

Here also the motif appears as before.

## 4.4.5.9.7. Skyphoi:

- B180- Athens 928 (N183) 12584 (B180)  
 -B182. Thebes R 18.95 (B181)  
 Athens Acropolis fragment. (B182)

B180. The first two are attributed to the Krokotos group. Athens (B180) carries on both sides the same subject with slight differences<sup>61</sup>. On side A Thetis and each of the two running Nereids hold a snake, whereas on the reverse Thetis is still holding a snake while a ram is mounting Peleus' back<sup>62</sup>.

## 4.4.5.9.8. Craters:

- B182- Louvre F 307 (B183)  
 -B185. Agrigento (B184)  
 Munich (J538) 1740 (B185)

B183. On the Louvre (B182) the subject is produced in a variant manner. Peleus does not hold Thetis round the waist, as on other representations, but he holds her by her shoulder, as if chasing her<sup>63</sup>. Of the Agrigento

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61. This we have met before on Providence (B59) lekythos by the Sappho Painter, and on the two mastoids Cab. Méd. (B89) and Berkeley (B90) by the Haimon Painter

62. Rams are not the animals usually encountered on this scene. It is here that they appear for the first time.

63. Also on Providence lekythos (B59) where the same subject is depicted twice, Peleus seems rather to chase Thetis than having already got hold of her.

B185. I have no picture and on Munich (B185) there are the additional figures of Cheiron and of Hermes<sup>64</sup>.

4.4.5.9.9. Alabastra:

B186-  
-B187. Naples RC 207 H 874 (B186)  
Athens Kerameikos (B187)

B186. Of the alabastra I have seen pictures of Naples (B186) only. The struggling couple are to the right, while a serpent and a lion mark the transformation. Behind Peleus a blazing altar, next to it a woman proceeding to the far left towards an old man, who is leaning on a walking stick, most likely Nereus. The background is occupied by three palm trees and two inscriptions.

4.4.5.9.10. Pyxi :

B188-  
-B189. Berlin F 4008 (B188)  
Athens Acr. 2086 (B189)

4.4.5.9.11. Olp :

B190-  
-B191. Florence 2121 (B190)  
Villa Giulia (B191)

Of these Pyxi and Olp I have no information.

4.4.5.9.12. Plate

B191. The Louvre plate (B191) reveals a different interpretation of the usual painting in that Thetis is of a larger size than Peleus, who is beardless and has not got hold of the goddess round the waist, as he usually does, but he is in an upright position. There are two snakes and a panther around the couple marking Thetis' transformations.

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64. Baur Centaurs p.107 no.263 believes that his presence is added just for the purpose of filling the vacant space.



## 4.4.5.9.13. Lebes gamikos

B193. On Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B193) pl. 30 the familiar struggle scene is depicted on the foot of the vase. Three Nereids are fleeing off, and the animals indicating Thetis' transformation are absent. On the main body of the vase there is a married couple in a chariot suggested<sup>65</sup> as Zeus and Hera, or Peleus and Thetis. Nevertheless since there are no inscriptions, it is more likely for the bride and groom to be Peleus and Thetis because of the struggle scene on the foot. The work on this vase is more attentive and detailed than the others discussed here.

## 4.4.5.9.14. Pelike:

pl. 28

B194. The scene on Capua Pelike (B194) is completely different from what we have seen before. A man, on the left, nude is carrying a cloak on his left arm and is chasing a woman, who is running away. He has just touched her right arm with his left hand. Under his feet there is a dolphin. It is an unusual scene for Peleus and Thetis and it might well have been misinterpreted by the CVA<sup>66</sup>.

## 4.4.5.9.15. Fragments:

B195-  
-B197.

Of the fragments: Brauron (B195)  
Athens Acr. 1209 (B196)  
Athens Acr. 1173 (B197)

I have no information

65. On the museum label.

66. CVA Capua 2 (23) pl. 6,3-4 (1070)

In concluding the struggle of Peleus and Thetis we should stress the popularity of the theme, which outnumbered all the others in black-or red-figure. The image of the couple is formulaic, unimaginative and its variations are few. The metamorphoses of Thetis are depicted on the sides of the struggling couple, in this manner any risk of confusion of the subject is avoided<sup>67</sup>. The secondary figures that appear more often on the scene are the Nereids and then Nereus and Cheiron. Of the shapes, by far the most favoured are the lekythoi. Here the representations are the poorest in quality, and they seemed to be mass produced. This shape was used for funerals, and the significance of the subject may lie in the fact that in the conflict between the dead man and death the god is successful, whereas in the struggle of mortal Peleus and immortal Thetis the winner is the man, thus supplying the human race with hope for the future.

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67: JHS 106 (1986) p.182,3 synoptic interpretation.

#### 4.5. PELEUS AND THETIS AS A MARRIED COUPLE

The ritual that officially marked a wedding was the procession that led the bride and groom to their new home. This was the most important part of the whole nuptial celebration and was accompanied by singing and music. It took place after the banquet, usually in the evening.

The earliest vase carrying this subject is the Kavalla amphora (A4), dated at the end of the seventh century BC. This vase, which I have discussed in the chapter on the 7th and 6th c. representations, depicts two different scenes of the myth of Peleus: the struggle with Thetis on the neck and the wedding procession on the belly of the same side. The fragments of a second vase, Amsterdam Corinthian crater (A8), which has also been examined in the same chapter, probably depicts the same subject.

I then discussed two lebetes gamikoi, both Eretrian, dated to the middle of the sixth century: Athens (A17) known as "The Wedding Amphora" and Athens (A18) known as "The Peleus Amphora", the only one with inscriptions. These representatoinis are very similar to the following Attic black-figure:

- Brit. Mus. B 197 belly-amphora (B198) pl. 31
- Orvieto 315 belly-amphora (B199)
- Oxford 1965: 119 hydria (B200)
- Brit. Mus. B 339 hydria (B201)
- Florence 3790 hydria (B202)
- London B340 hydria (B203)
- Dr. Ludwig hydria (B204) pl. 32
- N.Y. Noble lekythos (B205)
- Market 1970 crater (B206)
- Brit. Mus. B298 lebes gamikos (B207)
- Naples inv. 81178 (H2535) neck-amphora (B208)
- Kavalla A 3132 cup (B209)
- Bari crater (B210)

These vases carry no inscriptions<sup>1</sup> to indicate who the characters in the procession may be. As for the accompanying gods, they can be discerned by their characteristic features or equipment, but for the actual married couple we may have our doubts, since Peleus and Thetis are not the only famous bride and groom.

It is interesting to note that on the Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207) pl. 30 and on the Naples neck-amphora (B208) pl. 27 there is the additional representation of Peleus struggling with Thetis which has been dealt with in the relevant chapter<sup>2</sup>.

The treatment of this incident of the myth is very similar on all vases. There is always a quadriga facing to the right. The married couple is mounted on the chariot<sup>3</sup>. The groom occupies the outer side towards us, he is always bearded holding the reins and also in some cases a long stick, a goad<sup>4</sup>, while the bride stands in the inner side veiled<sup>5</sup>. On all the representations the chariots are accompanied by pedestrians, who vary in number from vase to vase. Generally they are divided into three groups according to the area they occupy.

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1. Except for the Florence hydria (B202) and the Brit. Mus. hydria (B201).
  2. Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207) also as (B193) and Naples neck-amphora (B208) also as (B115).
  3. Except on the Market crater (B206) where the groom is about to mount the chariot.
  4. On the following hydriae: Florence (B202), Brit. Mus. (B203), Dr. Ludwig (B204) and on the Market crater (B206) and the N.Y. Noble lekythos (B205).
  5. On the Oxford (B200) and Dr. Ludwig (B204) hydriae she holds a circular object which looks like a tambourine without a skin and could be a gift or a phylactory CVA Oxford 3 (14) pl. 38.3,4 (683) suggests that it is a wreath. This item reappears on the Roman Market hydria (B224) representing Peleus bringing the boy Achilles to Cheiron where it is held by Achilles, and in some cases by the fleeing Nereids in the scene of Peleus struggling with Thetis as on the Geneva lekythos (B101)

The first on the far left behind the chariot, the second in the inner side of the horses and the third preceding the horses at the head of the procession on the far right.

B202. The largest number is painted on the Florence hydria (B202)<sup>6</sup> where the inscriptions enable us to identify the figures. In the first group, there is Dionysos and a female figure whose inscription is indiscernible; in the second group Apollo playing the lyre, Heracles, Athena in her characteristic helmet and spear and Hermes in his hat and boots, and in the third group Aphrodite and another figure whose name cannot be read.

B198. The Brit. Mus. belly amphora (B198) comes next in the number of the pedestrian figures<sup>7</sup>. In the first group there is Apollo playing the lyre while at his left there is a small siren. Birds are also present on the two early lebetes gamikoi<sup>8</sup> of the same subject. The second group consists of Dionysos carrying vine sprays, Aphrodite with long hair supporting a lebes on her head, and Poseidon with his trident. In the third group there is a woman holding a nuptial torch<sup>9</sup>; while Hermes leads the procession having his head turned backwards.

B205. The N.Y. Noble lekythos (B205) carries five pedestrians and the subject is depicted in a different way. The figures are less formal and simpler than the ones on the other vases. Dionysos is in the first group

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6. Eight

7. Six

8. Athens (A18) and Athens (A19).

9. This could be the bride's mother or Artemis.

holding a horn and a long stick, in the second group Apollo is playing his lyre and Hermes walking by his side. Preceding the chariot in the third group is a long-haired woman who faces the couple, holding what looks like a wreath<sup>10</sup>. She could be Aphrodite or the bride's mother. Heading the procession is a youth with a long stick looking towards the chariot. It is possible that the painter copied the scene without really understanding its meaning, so he has translated the figures as was convenient for him.

On three vases<sup>11</sup> there are four pedestrians in the scene.

Dionysos is in group one. Apollo playing the lyre is in group two together with either Hermes<sup>12</sup> or a woman<sup>13</sup>. She is possibly Aphrodite or the bride's mother. In group three is either the female figure<sup>14</sup> or Hermes<sup>15</sup>.

The smallest number of pedestrians on the scene is three. These are depicted on four vases<sup>16</sup>. Here the first group of pedestrians on the far left is totally missing. The second group consists of two figures

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10. Similar to the ones held by Thetis on the Oxford (B200) and Dr. Ludwig (B204) hydriae.
  11. On two hydriae Oxford (B200), Dr. Ludwig (B204) and on one crater Market (B206).
  12. On Oxford hydria (B200) and Market crater (B206)
  13. On Dr. Ludwig hydria (B204) where she holds a torch.
  14. Oxford hydria (B200), Market crater (B206)
  15. Dr. Ludwig hydria (B204)
  16. Brit. Mus. hydria (B201), Brit. Mus. hydria (B203), Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207), Naples neck-amphora (B208).



Apollo playing the lyre, preceded<sup>17</sup> usually by a female figure<sup>18</sup> who could be Artemis<sup>17</sup> or Aphrodite. The figure in group three is Hermes<sup>20</sup> or Artemis<sup>21</sup>.

Summarising the pedestrian figures, the most popular is Apollo where he is present on all representations, next comes Hermes<sup>22</sup> and then Dionysos<sup>23</sup>. Artemis appears definitely twice<sup>24</sup> and Poseidon<sup>25</sup> and Heracles<sup>26</sup> and Athena<sup>27</sup> once each. As for the rest of the female figures, it is difficult to recognise their identities since they lack inscriptions and attributes, nevertheless there is at least one on every vase<sup>28</sup>.

Of the Orvieto belly-amphora (B199), Kavalla cup (B209) and Bari crater (B210) I have no information.

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17. With the exception of Brit. Mus. hydria (B201) where he is followed by her.
  18. It is only on the Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207) where the other figure in the second group is a man possibly Dionysos.
  19. On the Naples neck-amphora (B208) due to the fact that she is accompanied by a deer.
  20. Bri. Mus. hydria (B201), Brit. Mus. hydria (B203), and Naples neck-amphora (B208)
  21. Accompanied by a deer, Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207)
  22. Absent only from Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207)
  23. Absent from Brit. Mus. hydria (B201) and Brit. Mus. hydria (B203).
  24. Brit. Mus. lebes gamikos (B207), Naples neck-amphora (B208).
  25. Brit. Mus. belly amphora (B198)
  26. Florence hydria (B202)
  27. Florence hydria (B202)
  28. Except for Naples neck-amphora (B207) where there is only Artemis

As far as the shapes are concerned most popular are the hydriae<sup>29</sup>, then the amphorae<sup>30</sup>, then the craters<sup>31</sup> and finally one each of lekythos<sup>32</sup>, lebes gamikos<sup>33</sup> and cup<sup>34</sup>.

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29. Oxford (B200), Brt. Mus. (B201), Florence (B202), Brit. Mus. (B203), and Dr. Ludwig (B204).
30. Brit. Mus. (B198), Orvietto (B199) and Naples (B208)
31. Market (B206) and Bari (B210)
32. N.Y. Noble (B205)
33. Brit. Mus. (B207)
34. Kavalla (B209)

#### 4.6. PELEUS BRINGS ACHILLEUS TO CHEIRON

This theme has appeared earlier on a fragmentary ProtoAttic neck-amphora<sup>1</sup> which is the first representation of the myth of Peleus known to us. The centaur Cheiron is receiving the infant Achilleus from his father. Next comes the Corinthian plate fragment (A7)<sup>2</sup>. An account of these vases is given in the chapter on the 7th and Early 6th c. Representations.

Chronologically there then follows the stone, throne of Apollo at Amyclae (A16)<sup>3</sup> which overlaps the first Attic black-figure vase representation. In Attic black-figure painting the story appears in two versions. One version shows Achilleus as an infant in arms. It is in this more popular interpretation that the earliest representations of the myth appear. The other version shows Achilleus as a child who is more grown up and able to stand on his feet. The first extant example of this version appears only about 510 B.C., thus being contemporary with the latest representations of the first version.

##### 4.6.1. ACHILLEUS AS AN INFANT

Most vases are neck-amphorae, but there exist some cups, as well as a kantharos and an oinochoe:

Palermo cup (B211)

Würzburg L452 cup (B212)

Florence neck-amphora (B213)

Louvre F 21 neck-amphora (B214)

Naples Stg. 160 neck-amphora (B215)

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1. Berlin amphora (A1) dated approximately 660-650 B.C.
  2. ca. 600-575
  3. ca. 550 B.C.

Boulogne 572 neck-amphora (B216)  
 Baltimore WAG 48.18 neck-amphora (B217)  
 Corinth C 31.80 amphora (B218)  
 Warsaw 142328 neck-amphora (B219)  
 Florence neck-amphora (B220)  
 Odessa 26650 kantharos (B221)  
 Brit. Mus. B620 oinochoe (B222)

B211. Palermo cup fr. (B211) pl. 33

B212. Würzburg cup (B212) pl. 34

The two Siana cups from Palermo (B211) and Würzburg (B212) are by the same painter<sup>4</sup> and close in time<sup>5</sup> and treatment of subject, and so can be discussed together.

The representation occupies one side of the exterior of the main body. Peleus is on the right, facing to left, carrying the baby Achilleus in his right arm, wrapped in a cloth. Peleus' right knee is bent, his left stretched as if walking towards the nude<sup>6</sup> centaur, who is facing him and hastening to meet him. His left hand is held in a gesture of greeting, while with his right he is resting a branch on the same shoulder<sup>7</sup>.

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4. Heidelberg painter.

5. Both date to the decade 560-550 B.C.

6. Baur Centaur p.101 no.242 points at that Cheiron's nudity is contrary to all custom.

7. The centaur of the Palermo cup (B211) carries an empty leafy branch, while from the branch on the Würzburg cup (B212) two animals are hanging. These have been identified as two hares, Langlotz Würzburg p.86, 452. On the Berlin amphora (A1) there are three animals, a lion, a bear and a wolf.

Behind Peleus follows a woman<sup>8</sup>. On the left side of the picture there is a group of standing women<sup>9</sup>, covered in mantles<sup>10</sup>.

B211. On the Palermo cup (B211) between the centaur and the women stands a new figure in the composition, Hermes. He is wearing a short dress and hat, and carries his kerykeion.

B213. Florence neck-amphora frag. (B213).

As this vase is unpublished<sup>11</sup>, my information is very limited, yet it is an early example<sup>12</sup> nearly contemporary<sup>13</sup> to the two cups discussed above<sup>14</sup>. It depicts Peleus bringing the infant Achilles to Cheiron under the presence of a woman<sup>15</sup>.

pl. 35

B214. On Louvre neck-amphora (B214) the subject occupies one side of the belly of the vase, but there is much restoration and the reproduction of the missing parts is erroneous<sup>16</sup>.

8. The fragmentary condition of the Palermo cup (B211) removes certainty.
9. On the Palermo cup (B211) only one survives.
10. There are two interpretations given about these women. The first is that their presence has absolutely nothing to do with the myth; they are there just for the purpose of covering the empty space. Johansen Dragma pp.186. And the second which I find more likely suggests that they are nymphs serving as Cheiron's companions. Beazley Development pp.51-52, Langlotz Würzburg p.86,452. LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46, no.35 names them as Philyra, Chariclo and one daughter of Cheiron.
11. Like Böhr Schaukelmaler no.127
12. ABV 309,84 Swing Painter
13. ca. 550 B.C.
14. Palermo cup (B211), Würzburg cup (B212)
15. Beck Album p.11, no.3 suggests Thetis.
16. Mommsen Affecter pl.63, ABV 244,48

On the right a male figure is standing holding a spear in his left hand while his right is stretched out in a gesture of greeting. He faces to the left, where Peleus proceeds towards Cheiron, holding in his hands a grotesquely disproportioned Achilleus. What survives of the centaur is a fraction of his clothing<sup>17</sup> and his right hand extended to receive Achilleus<sup>18</sup>. The equine part of his body has been omitted by the modern restorer. Moreover what should have stood as the branch over his shoulder with a hare<sup>19</sup> hanging down, has been misinterpreted as a vertical tree with the hare hanging from its branches<sup>20</sup>. At the far left side of the picture another group of men stand watching the scene<sup>21</sup>.

The strange figure of Achilleus does not represent any innovation to the myth, but is a detail peculiar to the eccentric spirit of the Affecter<sup>22</sup>.

Napies neck-amphora (B215)

Boulogne neck-amphora (B216)

Baltimore neck-amphora (B217)

The next three vases are close in date<sup>23</sup> and very similar. All of them are neck-amphorae; the treatment of the subject which occupies their bellies, has many common features: the main characters of Peleus, Cheiron

17. It is the first time that the protagonists of the myth are draped; this tradition will continue from this point on.
18. Here we should also take into consideration the alteration of the receiving hand. Until now it was the left hand which received Achilleus and the right supported the branch.
19. And possibly other animals.
20. Such an arrangement depicted on two vases representing Achilleus as a child, Berlin (B223) and Roman Market (B224) hydriae, but it is highly unlikely to have been employed in this case since no other existing vase of Achilleus as an infant shows it.
21. The first also holding a spear.
22. Boardman Athenian black p.65.
23. ca.530-520 B.C.

and Achilleus are placed in the same relating to one another in the scene, they are all dressed and share the same spirit of calmness, seriousness and simplicity. The motifs that decorate the rest of their surfaces are identical on all of them.

B215. On Naples (B215) Hermes is on the far right moving away, but looking back over his shoulder at the meeting. Peleus armed with a sword is standing before Cheiron handing over Achilleus to him<sup>24</sup>. The centaur is facing to the right followed by a dog<sup>25</sup>, he is draped and holds out his right arm to receive the baby, while with his left hand and shoulder he supports the branch<sup>26</sup> with a hanging pair of hares.

On the next two vases Hermes is not portrayed and on Boulogne (B216) the dog is absent as well.

B216. On Boulogne (B216) Peleus is handing Achilleus over to Cheiron, who has stretched out his right hand and is already supporting him. Thus the scene is depicted as a few seconds later than the one on Naples (B215). It is also apparent that Peleus is not carrying a sword and that Cheiron's mantle is ornamented with scattered dots.

B217. On Baltimore (B217) Achilleus is already in the hands of Cheiron, stretching his arms towards his father, who has just handed him over.

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24. Achilleus is covered in a mantle and has turned his head towards the tutor. In this representation he seems to be slightly older than on the next two vases.
25. Never before has a living animal appeared on this scene as part of the myth. Of course, on the Würzburg (B212) and on the Louvre amphora (B214) there are swans and birds which serve as decoration.
26. It is not clear from the photograph whether the staff has any leaves or branches.

The continuous development of the scene on these three amphorae reminds us of a cinematic film.

Following the centaur there is an animal which looks more like a deer than a dog.

The remaining vases depicting the version of Achilles as infant are nearly contemporary ca.500 B.C.

B218. The Corinth neck-amphora (B218) is very fragmentary. It represents Peleus on the right holding in his right arm an oversize Achilles<sup>27</sup> and in his left hand two spears. On the left is Cheiron's figure very fragmentary, accompanied by a lion rather than a dog<sup>28</sup>.

B219. The Warsaw neck-amphora (B219) is of small size and follows the tradition of the Boulogne (B216) and the Baltimore (B217) neck-amphorae. The centaur is to the left, on his left shoulder he supports a branch with two hanging hares. His right hand is stretched towards Achilles, who still rests in Peleus' right arm, while in his left hand he is holding a pair of spears, most likely for hunting. By his side stands a dog unusually, painted white, thus denoting that it is a bitch, but it is not only her colour that draws our attention, but her position as well. She is by the side of Peleus, and not Cheiron, as seen earlier<sup>29</sup>, and is looking up towards him. Another important feature on this vase is that it carries inscriptions, which identify the figures of Peleus and Cheiron. It is the first time that these have appeared on this subject.

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27. Achilles on the Louvre neck-amphora (B214)

28. Most probably due to the painter's misinterpretation.

29. Baltimore neck-amphora (B217) and Naples neck-amphora (B215).



Florence neck-amphora (B220) is in a very fragmentary condition. Peleus is to the right and Cheiron to the left carrying on his left shoulder a branch from which hang three animals. He is accompanied by his dog. Achilleus' figure is much destroyed but from the remnants we suppose that he was sitting on Cheiron's hand, while Peleus' arm is still stretched in the centaur's direction. A woman is also present on the scene occupying the area behind Peleus.

B221. The Odessa kantharos (B221) is of Sotadean shape and it is "the only black-figure example of this shape known to us"<sup>30</sup>. The arrangement of the figures is reversed. Cheiron is on the right facing left and from the forklike branch on his shoulder hang the well known animals. Peleus stands to the left, dressed in a white dotted tunic, wearing a hat and holding two long spears;<sup>31</sup> he is handing over to the centaur the infant Achilleus, while a fully dressed woman on the far left is watching the scene. The presence of this female figure, takes us back to the Heidelberg painter<sup>32</sup> where she first appears<sup>33</sup>.

B222. The Brit. Mus. white-ground oinochoe (B222) pl. 36 presents a completely unusual treatment of the scene. The painter gives the feeling of open space, between the figures there is a narrow stemmed tree with rich foliage. Peleus is on the far right dressed in a mantle

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30. Caskey Attic Vase P. p.18

31. Warsaw neck-amphora (B219)

32. Würzburg cup (B212), Palermo cup fr. (B211)

33. Between the cups and the kantharos there is approximately a fifty year gap.

and a hat, holding his son in his arms; he walks to the left. In front of him Cheiron's dog looks up at them with his right paw in the air. Behind the tree on the far left the centaur with human forefeet, dressed in a long mantle, with long beard and hair, carries on his left shoulder a fork like shaft<sup>34</sup> nearly upright, with foliage similar to that of a tree, but with no animals hanging from it.

It is a carefully painted scene very much like the N.Y. oinochoe (B16) by the same painter treating the subject of Peleus up a tree.

#### 4.6.2. ACHILLEUS AS A CHILD

This new treatment seems to start at the end of the sixth century and presents Achilleus as a grown boy, which indicates a new understanding of the myth of Peleus and Thetis. When Achilleus was presented as an infant the current story must have been that of the separation of his parents while the boy was still very young. Yet the new rendering probably suggests that this event did not take place until later. This may not be a completely new version of the myth but one known earlier and not used. As I have discussed in the chapter of Early Literature, Homer uses two versions of the married life of Peleus and Thetis: That of the couple living together in Phthia<sup>35</sup> with Achilleus<sup>36</sup> tutored by Phoenix<sup>37</sup>, and the one that has them living separately Thetis under the sea<sup>38</sup>, Peleus in his palace<sup>39</sup> and Achilleus brought up

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34. Much like the one on the Odessa kantharos (B221)

35. Σ 60, Σ 330-1, Σ 440-1, Π 573-6

36. Ψ 63-90

37. I 485-495

38. A 357-8, Σ 35-49, Ω 78-84, Σ 434-5

39. Σ 434-435

by Cheiron<sup>40</sup>. It could be possible that apart from the two distinct versions, a third one existed which combined elements from the first and second versions. This contained the detail that after the collapse of their relations the couple lived separately and Achilles' education was undertaken by Cheiron. This might be a possible explanation of why Achilles is presented as a boy and not as an infant. The setting of the scene and the figures involved are more complex than the previous representations, although the surviving vases, are less in number than the previous ones. The most popular shape is the lekythos, four vases; then the hydria, three vases; and one of each, amphora and lid.

Berlin hydria (B223)

Roman Market hydria (B224)

Athens N.M. lekythos (B225)

Cab. Méd. Lekanis lid (B226)

Palermo lekythos (B227)

Syracuse lekythos (B228)

Art Market lekythos (B229)

pl. 37

- B223. On the Berlin hydria (B223) the scene of the handing over of Achilles to Cheiron has been squeezed to the right side. Only the human part of the centaur is represented, the horse body has been omitted. He is dressed and his hair is tied with a band. In front of him stands Achilles stretching his hands towards his future teacher; he is naked apart from a head band. Peleus follows, dressed in a short mantle and a hat with a big brim, and is carrying two spears<sup>41</sup> in his left hand, and a sword at his side, while his right hand is resting protectively

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40. A 831

41. Peleus carrying spears has been represented in the previous version with Achilles as an infant on Odessa kantharos (B221) and Warsaw neck-amphora (B219). In this rendering of the myth, Achilles as a child, Peleus is represented as always holding spears.

on his son's head. In the background, between Cheiron and the child, grows a six-branched tree<sup>42</sup>.

The rest of the representation on the left is filled with a four horse chariot mounted by a driver with a shield on his back. The forepart of the horses is excluded from the picture. The role of this chariot is enigmatic. It is highly unlikely for the parents of Achilles to have travelled in it all the way through the mountains in order to meet Cheiron. What could be a more acceptable explanation for its presence in the scene is<sup>43</sup> that the chariot does not serve the development of the story, but it is used only for decorative purposes<sup>44</sup>.

On the far left, overlapping the horses, the scene closes with the presence of a woman. She is wearing a long dress crowned by two branches and has her left arm raised in salutation<sup>45</sup>.

42. This tree is similar to the one on the Brit. Mus. oinochoe (B222) and to Cheiron's staff on the Odessa kantharos (B221), both depicting Achilles as a baby. It also resembles the one on the Roman market hydria (B224), where Achilles is a boy.

43. Johansen's view Dragma p.192-3.

44. Nevertheless, what could be a far fetched explanation is the story given by Pherecydes, Tzetzes' commentary on the tragic poet Lycophron 175, who says that Peleus took Thetis on his horses from Phthia and arrived at Pharsalus. In this manner the painter might have combined the two incidents on a single representation. The hydria was produced before the writer's story, so it could indicate knowledge of this version earlier than when first found in literature, however it is interesting to note that a chariot is present on the Capua amphora (B61) where Peleus is struggling with Thetis and it is the only example of this rendering.

45. Most probably Thetis.

In the background between the horses and the chariot stands another tree<sup>46</sup>, from which hang two hares<sup>47</sup>.

B224. The Roman Market hydria (B224) is very much like the previous vase. The group on the right hand side consists of Cheiron, on the far right, only half of whose animal body has been included. His figure is the largest of all, draped and bearded. Achilleus faces him holding in his right hand a circular object like a round ribbon that could be either a phylactery, or a gift for Cheiron, or a kind of wreath or more likely here a looped strap<sup>48</sup>.

Peleus in addition to the couple of spears is wearing a hat<sup>49</sup> and a pair of boots seen for the first time.

In the space between Cheiron and Achilleus there is the branch which is usually carried by Cheiron on his shoulder. Here it appears to be planted in the ground like a tree<sup>50</sup>, from its branches hang three animals. One behind Cheiron's back and two in front of him. They have been identified as<sup>51</sup> two rabbits and a fox.

46. Its resemblance to the previous one is great, with the only difference that this lacks a row of branches.
47. The common practice is for the animals to be hanging from Cheiron's staff. What we are given here is unusual but not unique because it appears on the Roman Market hydria (B224). It is possible that due to the lack of space the painter has placed them hanging from the tree. Or he could have seen the Roman Market hydria (B224), which is a contemporary vase, or any other vase depicting the subject in this manner.
48. We have encountered a similar object on the Basle Market lekythos (B229) and Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) also held by Achilleus.
49. Similar to the one on Berlin hydria (B223).
50. It looks like the trees on the Brit. Mus. cinochoe (B222), Odessa kantharos (B221), Berlin hydria (B223).
51. Gerhard p.73

We have seen animals hanging from Cheiron's staff in this manner before<sup>52</sup>. It is likely that the painter meant the tree to be a branch, which he has either placed on the ground on purpose, or misinterpreted from other scenes, may-be he was influenced by a representation that he saw carrying this version<sup>53</sup>.

The group on the left of the picture also resembles the previous vase, but here it is vice versa, the chariot and the driver are left out of the picture and only the forepart of four horses are shown accompanied by a crowned woman and a wolf like dog<sup>54</sup>.

The vase is inscribed but the inscriptions are meaningless<sup>55</sup>.

The similarities of the two vases in the aspects of the chariot group and the animals hanging from a tree which are unknown in other iconography of the myth, enforce the probability of a widely known but now lost popular source.

The Edinburgh painter has treated the subject twice, on Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) and on a very fragmentary lid Cab. Méd. (B226).

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52. Brit. Mus. (A11) Procession of the Gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, three animals behind his back and two in front of him.
53. Animals on a tree are on the Berlin hydria (B223)
54. Same interpretation as on the Berlin hydria (B223) could be given for these figures, that the chariot is of no connection with the story. The dog does not appear there. Gerhard p.73 says that suggestions have been made as for the accompanying animal such as a wolf or a boar but more likely seems to be a dog.
55. Gerhard p.73 and Baur Centaurs p.104 no.248

pl. 38

B225. On Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) Cheiron is on the right carrying a branch without any animals on it<sup>56</sup>. Achilleus is holding one spear in each hand<sup>57</sup> and a looped strap<sup>58</sup> in his right, probably used in throwing the spear. This time he is not facing Cheiron but his father who is leaning on two spears. Then follows Athena in full gear, who makes her appearance for the first and only time in this version on the myth. It is difficult to explain the reason for the painter including her here. It is possible that Athena, being the patroness of wisdom, appeared at that moment in order to bless young Achilleus for his future educational life with Cheiron, but also because the vase was Athenian and Athena was a popular figure. Yet Baur<sup>59</sup> believes that both Athena and Hermes were added just to fill in the vacant space. Following Athena, but looking backwards, comes Hermes, dressed in his characteristic boots, with kerykeion and hat.

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56. It is not the first time that Cheiron's branch does not have any animals. We have seen this before on Palermo cup (B211), Brit. Mus. oinochoe (B222) depicting Achilleus as an infant, but it seems that from now on the branch will appear bare, a tradition which will be followed later.
57. Until now spears were held by Peleus, Warsaw amphora (B219) and Odessa kantharos (B221) where Achilleus is a baby, and on all representations with Achilleus as a child. Achilleus is holding spears only on two vases, where he is a boy on Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) and Cab. Méd. lekane lid (B226) both painted by the same painter.
58. It is very similar to the ones held by Achilleus on the Roman Market hydria (B224) Basel Art Market lekythos (B229)
59. Centaurs p.102, no.245.

B226. The second sample of the Edinburgh painter's work is a very fragmentary lid Cab. Méd (B226), of which only three pieces have survived, thus making difficult the reconstruction of the whole picture. These pieces are numbered after their publication in the CVA 22, 17, 4<sup>60</sup>.

No. 22 is the largest. On the right Cheiron dressed in a short dress looks to the left, only part of his human body and the front part of his horse-belly survive. What remains of his arm seems to be raised<sup>61</sup>. Facing him Achilles holds in his right hand two spears<sup>62</sup> while in the other he grasps two strings which support an aryballos<sup>63</sup>. Of the figure of Peleus nothing remains only the lower part of two spears rooted in the ground.

As for no 17's identity opinions vary. The CVA<sup>64</sup> shows it as a fragment of a cup or a skyphos representing Artemis or Apollo and a female deer, where as Beazley in JHS<sup>65</sup> makes a possible connection with No. 22. This is not unlikely since animals have been present on the scene before<sup>66</sup>.

60. CVA Cab.Méd. 2(10) pl. 83 (469)

61. In the same manner as on the previous representations, where he supports the branch.

62. For Achilles holding spears, see note 36.

63. It is the first time that Achilles holds an aryballos, but we have a parallel representation of the Roman Market hydria (B224) group, where Achilles is holding a round ribbon. It is possible that both have the same aim, either being talismen, to protect him from evil in his future life, or young Achilles carries them as a gift to his tutor. But it is likely that neither of the two explanations is effective and the truth lies on the simple fact that the artist was not thinking of the story when he painted it, but added an article which was used in young men's athletics.

64. CVA Cab. Méd. 2 (10) pl. 83 (469)

65. JHS 52 (1932) p.141

66. On the Roman Market hydria (B224) there is a dog. A deer is present on the Baltimore neck-amphora (B217) which carries the version of the infant Achilles. In this case if this fragment belongs to No. 22, then we have another addition to the myth.



On No. 4 a head with part of a face and hat survives; this could be Hermes<sup>67</sup>, while to the left there is white paint, which marks the flesh of a woman<sup>68</sup> and lines which may be identified as reins of a chariot<sup>69</sup>.

As a result the Edinburgh painter has brought many new elements to the myth. These are more likely to be innovations than the product of misunderstanding or carelessness, because, as Haspels believes<sup>70</sup>, "his pictures are definite myths, and the action is always clear: no complication, vagueness, or ambiguity. Space-filling branches and inscriptions are very rare".

B227. The Palermo lekythos (B227) introduces new elements to the story. At the far right behind Cheiron we can see his dwelling place, a cave in the rocks. Also for the first time Peleus and Cheiron are shaking hands over Achilles' head as if sealing an agreement. Cheiron is draped in a long dress<sup>71</sup>, but he is still barefoot, while Peleus is wearing boots and hat<sup>72</sup>, holding his two spears in his left hand.

A dog is at Peleus' side and a deer at Cheiron's, here also the branch is empty. On the far left there is a weeping woman.

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67. Hermes is present on Palermo cup (B211), Naples neck-amphora (B215) version of Achilles as an infant and on the previous vase, Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) by the name painter.
68. Possibly the same woman as the one seen on Berlin (B223) and Roman market (B224) hydria or Athena, who is presented on Athens N.M. lekythos (B225).
69. Two vases show a chariot Berlin (B223) and Roman market (B224) hydria.
70. ABL p.88
71. Up to this point Cheiron, including the earlier representations of Achilles as a baby, has always worn a short dress.
72. Peleus wears boots and hat on Roman market hydria (B224) for the first time.

pl. 39

B228. The Syracuse lekythos (B228) presents Cheiron with a branch over his right shoulder from which is suspended a hare. In his left he is holding a knotted stick. Achilles stands in front of him facing him, he is nearly fully grown holding two spears in his left hand. Behind him Peleus bearded is in travelling gear, boots, hat, and spears, and is waving farewell as he walks away. To the far left a woman is facing to the right and has her left hand raised. According to Benndorf<sup>73</sup> she is more likely to be Chariclo, Cheiron's wife, than Thetis. In the background are meaningless inscriptions.

B229. On the Basle Art Market lekythos (B229) Cheiron, without a branch on his shoulder, and Peleus in a hat and a pair of spears in his left hand, shake hands<sup>74</sup> over Achilles' head who is between them. He is facing to the left and holds two spears in his left hand and a loped strap<sup>75</sup> in his right hand. To the far left stands a woman.

B230. As for the Lucern Art Market lekythos (B230) it has been impossible to find any information.

The earliest surviving representations in black-figure<sup>76</sup> appear ca. 560 B.C. and the theme remains popular until the beginning of the fifth century. All of them follow a formulaic style in depicting the myth. This applies especially to the central figures of Cheiron, Peleus and Achilles. Nevertheless, each artist attaches his individual attributes to the scene.

73. Benndorf pl. 41

74. They also shake hands on Palermo lekythos (B227).

75. Similar to the ones he holds on Roman Market hydria (B224) and Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) probably used to throw the spears with.

76. The Proto Attic Berlin amphora (A1) is not taken into consideration here.

On the version where Achilles is depicted as an infant, Cheiron stands to the left and Peleus to the right<sup>77</sup>, whereas on the second version, Achilles as a child, the figures occupy the reverse position.

Peleus and Cheiron are always dressed<sup>78</sup>. Achilles as an infant is also clothed<sup>79</sup>. By contrast when he is represented as a boy he is nude. Cheiron supports a branch on his shoulder<sup>80</sup>, which is either empty or carries animals.

Achilles is carried by his father when a baby<sup>81</sup> and from ca.500 B.C. onwards Peleus is always equipped with a couple of spears<sup>82</sup>. In the version of Achilles as a child sometimes<sup>83</sup> he holds a loose strap<sup>84</sup>.

77. With the exception of Odessa kantharos (B221).
78. Excluding the two earlier vases by the Heidelberg painter, Palermo cup (B211) and Würzburg cup (B212).
79. Not on Louvre neck-amphora (B214).
80. Except on Louvre neck-amphora (B214), Berlin hydria (B223), Roman Market hydria (B224) and Basel Art Market lekythos (B229)
81. On Baltimore neck-amphora (B217) he is carried by Cheiron.
82. They are not depicted on Brit. Mus. oinochoe (B222)
83. Roman Market hydria (B224), Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) and Basel Art Market lekythos (B229). Similar to the ones held by the bride on the Oxford, (B200) and Dr. Ludwig (B204) hydriae representing Peleus and Thetis as a married couple.
84. They could be gifts or phylactories but in this case it is more likely a strap used to throw a spear.

The accompanying figures vary from animals dogs<sup>85</sup>, deers<sup>86</sup> and lion<sup>87</sup>, to various characters. Most popular is a female figure<sup>88</sup> who is very difficult to identify, she probably is the same person on most vases. Johansen<sup>89</sup>, Beck<sup>90</sup> and LIMC<sup>91</sup> suggest Thetis, this is strengthened by

85. Naples neck-amphora (B215), Warsaw neck-amphora (B219), Brit. Mus. oinochoe (B222), Roman Market hydria (B224).
86. Baltimore neck-amphora (B217), Athens N.M. lekythos (B225), Palermo lekythos (B227).
87. Corinth Amphora (B218)
88. Würzburg cup (B212), Florence neck-amphora (B213), Odessa kantharos (B221), Florence neck-amphora (B220), Berlin hydria (B223), Roman Market hydria (B224) Cab. Méd. lid (B226), Palermo lekythos (B227), Syracuse lekythos (B228), Basel Art Market (B229) and possibly on Palermo cup (B211). She first appears on the rendering of Achilleus as an infant, on the cups by the Heidelberg Painter Palermo (B211) and Würzburg (B212), then on the Odessa Kantharos (B221). Between the cups and the kantharos there is approximately a fifty year gap, during which a series of neck-amphora makes its appearance. Nevertheless she is absent from most of them and it is only on the two Florence neck-amphorae (B213) and (B220) and on the less popular shapes that she is represented. I should also indicate that on the kantharos she is the only additional figure to the main ones (Peleus-Achilleus-Cheiron) whereas on the cups there are other secondary ones as well (Palermo (B211) Hermes, Würzburg (B212) group of women). It is possible that the shape of the vase is responsible for this arrangement. On the version of Achilleus as a child she appears on all vases with the exception of the Athens N.M. lekythos (B225).
89. Dragma pp.181 ff.
90. Album pp. 11-12, no.3 Florence neck-amphora (B213) no.9 Odessa kantharos (B221), no.15 Florence neck-amphora (B220), no.20 Syracuse lekythos (B228), no.21 Berlin hydria (B223), no.25 Palermo lekythos (B227) no.29 Roman Market hydria (B224), and possibly no.30 Cab.Méd. lid (B226).
91. Vol.I,1 pp.45-46, no.22 Berlin hydria (B223), no.24 Florence neck-amphora (B213), no.29 Odessa kantharos (B221), no.31 Palermo lekythos (B227), no.33 Syracuse lekythos (B228), no.35 Würzburg cup (B212), no.36 Basel Market lekythos, no.37 Roman Market hydria (B224), no.25 Florence neck-amphora (B220), and possibly no. 32 Cab. Méd. lid (B226).

the fact that on the Palermo lekythos (B227) the woman is weeping most probably because she is parting from her son. The painters thought likely the presence of Achilles' mother on such an occasion and did not consider the contrary evidence of literature<sup>92</sup>. On some vases the identity of the female figure has been suggested<sup>93</sup> as Chariclo, Cheiron's wife. Other characters present on this incident are Hermes<sup>94</sup>, Athena<sup>95</sup> and groups of people<sup>96</sup> as well as chariots<sup>97</sup>.

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92. The couple was separated (Homer Iliad A357-358, Σ 35-49, Σ 434-435) since Thetis left abandoning her child and husband after Peleus discovered her casting their children in a cauldron of water, where eventually many got killed (Aegimius MW300).
93. Benndorf pl. 41 referring to the Syracuse lekythos (B228) and LIMC Vol.I.1. p.46, no.30 referring to the Odessa kantharos (B211)
94. On Palermo cup (B211), Naples neck-amphora (B215), Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) and possibly Cab. Méd. lid (B226). On the red figure rendering of this incident Hermes is represented on the Copenhagen lekythos (D106) as bringing on his own Achilles to Cheiron. Probably the painter has mistaken Peleus for Hermes, because Peleus is often depicted in hunting gear, similar to those of Hermes as on Berlin hydria (B223), Roman Market (B224), Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76), Louvre Stamps (D105). Yet there is no literary evidence of Hermes' presence on this occasion.
95. Athens N.M. lekythos (B225)
96. Palermo cup (B211), Würzburg cup (B212).
97. Berlin (B223) and Roman Market (B224) hydriae.

#### 4.7. VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Apart of the seven distinct subjects which depict Peleus' career, there are certainly three vases where he is represented as a secondary figure. These belong roughly between the years 555 and 540 B.C.

Athens plate (B231)

Taranto cup (B232)

Berlin hydria (B233)

- B231. On Athens plate (B231) pl. 41 the centre of the scene is occupied by a shield shown in side view. Achilles is on the left nude, his weight on his right leg, while on his raised left he is fastening a greave. Facing him is Thetis who is supporting the shield with her left hand while in her right she holds a spear. Behind her stands Neoptolēmos, Achilles' son, also with a spear in his right hand; he is beardless and fully dressed. On the far left behind Achilles stands Peleus, bearded, equipped with a spear, in a white mantle, his old age clearly discerned. The last two figures being of minor importance to the scene are of smaller size and occupy the edges of the circle. The vase is inscribed. The representation here depicts Achilles receiving the armour from his mother,

Thetis<sup>1</sup>, Johansen<sup>2</sup> suggests that most probably the scene takes place in Phthia. It is unlikely that this is the set of armour given by the gods to Peleus as a wedding gift, because then Peleus would have handed them to Achilleus rather than his mother, also in this case the presence of Neoptolemos would be unexplicable. Yet there is no reference in literature to the fact that Peleus was present when Thetis gave Achilleus the armour she had ordered from Hephaestus. So the most likely explanation seems to be that the inscription "Peleus" is a mistake for "Phoenix".

The interpretation of the scenes on the next two vases depends heavily on scholarly ingenuity.

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1. This is not the only scene in Attic black-figure vase painting of this subject, but it is the only one that has the name of Peleus inscribed. On the following six vases which I list here, there is the figure of an old man often occupying the same position as Peleus does on Athens plate (B231), but his identity is not certain being either Peleus or Phoenix (Johansen Iliad p.108 and p.113, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.70-71).
    1. Berlin V.1376 column-crater Johansen Iliad pl. 31, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.70, no. 188, Vol.I,2 p.76, pl. 191.
    2. Boston 2121 neck-amphora Johansen Iliad pl. 23,25 LIMC Vol.I,1 p.70, no.191, Vol.I,2 p.77, pl.191
    3. Brit. Mus. 1922.6-15 neck-amphora Johansen Iliad pl. 29 LIMC Vol.I,1 p.70, no.197
    4. Munich 1450 neck-amphora Johansen Iliad pl. 30 LIMC Vol.I,1 p.71, no.199
    5. Art Market Gallery André Emmerich column-crater LIMC Vol.I,1 p.71, no.203
    6. Rome Vatican cup fragment Johansen Iliad pl. 32 LIMC Vol.I,1 p.71, no.202
  2. Johansen Iliad p.113

B232. The Taranto cup 20137 (B232) pl. 40 on its outer side depicts a duel between two fighters while an imposing figure in the middle is trying to separate them. Behind each fighter an old man with white beard and hair holds a spear, most probably their fathers, followed by two male figures one fully armed and the second carrying only a spear. The figures of this scene have not been identified because it was thought to be a duel between unimportant participants<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless Tiberios<sup>4</sup> suggests that the fighters could be Homeric figures as Achilleus and Aeneias or Achilleus and Hector, parted by Poseidon or Apollo. In these cases the old men could be Peleus and Anchises or Peleus and Priam. From the literary evidence<sup>5</sup> we know that Peleus was never at Troy, but unprotected at home, so it is more likely for Phoenix to stand behind Achilleus, but if the old man is meant to be Peleus then his presence must have been the artist's own invention.

B233. The last representation is on the Berlin hydria (B233) pl. 42 Schefold<sup>6</sup> suggests the following interpretation of the scene. A man, Acastus reclines on a couch holding a dagger in his left hand. He looks towards the woman, his wife, who is sitting at the feet of his couch holding a flower, trying to persuade him of her innocence. A man, Peleus, is standing beside them, he has lowered his head and his left arm is stretched towards Acastus as if pleading and defending himself against the slanders attributed to him. To the far left stands a woman and on the far right two male figures who are gesturing with their hands.

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3. ABV 112.65, CVA Taranto 3(35) pl.22.2,4 (1565) pl.23 (1566)

4. Lydos p.45

5. Iliad ε 434-435, π 14-15, τ 322-324, ρ 486-494, ρ 504.

6. GuH. p.170



These figures have not been identified. A white dog is eating under the couch.

If the interpretation<sup>7</sup> is correct, it is a unique depiction of this incident of the myth, which has been narrated<sup>8</sup> in literature.

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7. ABV 269,34 refers to it as unexplained subject, and Professor Robertson has recently proposed a new interpretation of this scene connected with Thebes' being irrelevant to Peleus' story.
  8. Catalogue of Women MW 208

## 5. FIFTH CENTURY LITERATURE

In the ~~second~~ chapter of this thesis I discussed the evidence concerning Peleus found in the literary sources down to the end of the archaic period.

It is now time to deal with writers of the 5th century who make mention of the myth of Peleus. Chronologically these are:

	5.1. Pindar 518-438 B.C.
The three tragic poets:	5.2. Aeschylus 525-456 B.C.
	5.3. Sophocles 496-406 B.C.
	5.4. Euripides 480-406 B.C.
The historian	5.5. Herodotus 484-420 B.C.
and his contemporary	5.6. Pherecydes
and the comedian	5.7. Aristophanes 450-385 B.C.

They make elaborate additions to the myth, introducing new versions of the story.

### 5.1. PINDAR

Pindar includes Peleus among those<sup>1</sup> who have been three times, "ἑστῆς", courageous in keeping their souls pure from all deeds of wrong. He is also referred to as an example παλαιᾶσιν ἐν ἀρεταῖς<sup>2</sup>, as ἀντίθεος god-like<sup>3</sup> as a famous hero<sup>4</sup> known to all the cities and as εὐσεβέστατος<sup>5</sup>. Mostly honoured in his native Aegina<sup>6</sup>, where he stands among the patrons of the island.

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1. Olympian Odes II.68-78

2. Nemean Odes III.32

3. Frag.172 (158) Snell

4. Isthmian Odes VI.25

5. Isthmian Odes VIII.40, the most pious man that lives in the plain of Iolcus.

6. Pythian Odes VIII.98-100

His father<sup>7</sup> and his brother Telamon descend from Cronus and Zeus and the Nereids, and their mother is Endais. But they are not the only children of Aeacus, who has another son, Phocus, by the goddess Psamatheia, thus being step brother of Peleus and Telamon. The poet alludes to a great venture which drove Peleus and Telamon away from the island, probably the murder of Phocus, but does not refer directly to it<sup>8</sup>.

It is not clear from Pindar's work where Peleus spent his time before marrying Thetis. There are only some hints, without any chronological order, which inform us about his wanderings.

Peleus was a guest in the house of Acastus<sup>9</sup>, son of Pelias, lord of the Magnetes, and was slandered by Hippolyte, daughter of Cretheus, Acastus' wife, who claimed that he violated the rules of hospitality and made indecent propositions to her. Quite the contrary had happened, and on his refusal she persuaded her husband to plot his murder. Nevertheless, Peleus was saved from

7. Nemean Odes V 7-20

8. Pindar Nemean Odes V 14 αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν δίκῃ τε μὴ κενυδυνευμένον. He uses reserved language and avoids to characterise the moral quality of the deed. Bury Pindar Nem. p.90, note 14.

9. Nemean Odes IV 57-64, Nemean Odes V 31-36. Pindar takes for granted that this story is known to his audience and his narration, Nemean Odes IV 57-64, is not explicit, it is a difficult piece and has raised many problems for scholars. See Farnell Pindar 2 p p.268 f.f.

the dagger<sup>10</sup> by Cheiron on the orders of Zeus, the patron of hospitality.

For the injustice that Peleus suffered he sought revenge by conquering the town. "Ἰαωλκὸν πολεμῖα χερὶ προστραπῶν"<sup>11</sup>. Also Iolcus is mentioned as a place which "εἶλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς"<sup>12</sup> and that he "παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν"<sup>13</sup> was also believed to be there when he was chosen to marry Thetis<sup>14</sup>.

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10. The lines referring to the dagger δάμαρτος Ἰππολύτας "Ἀκαστος δολίαις/τέχναισι χρησάμενος/τῆ Δαιδάλου τε μαχαίρᾳ φύτενε οἱ θάνατον/ἐκ λόχου, Πελῖας παῖς" Nemean Odes IV 59-60 have caused many disputes, largely concerning the word Δαιδάλου see Farnell Pindar 2 p.270 note 59. In my opinion the most likely explanation is the one that uses the word in its adjectival form and thus characterises the knife as well-carved. But Pindar does not make clear to whom does the dagger belong. If it was Acastus' by which he intended to kill Peleus, we are presented with another variation of the incident different from the one in early literature Catalogue of Women MW 209 where the dagger belongs to Peleus and was hidden by Acastus so Peleus could be slain.
11. Nemean Odes IV.54-55
12. Nemean Odes III.34. According to Farnell Pindar 2 p.257 note 34, this achievement "is in the style of folk-lore and is probably a vague folk-memory of some actual event".
13. Nemean Odes IV.56
14. Isthmian Odes VIII.40

In a fragment attributed to Pindar<sup>15</sup>, Peleus is supposed to have undergone "μόχθοις μυρίοις" in his youth<sup>16</sup> participating in the first Trojan war<sup>17</sup> with the son of Alcmena, in the search for the belt of the Amazon<sup>18</sup>, and in the expedition with Jason. These are incidents which have not appeared before.

While Peleus was strolling from place to place, Zeus and Poseidon were running after Thetis<sup>19</sup>, but they eventually gave her up after Themis foretold them that she would bear a son stronger than his father and advised them to give her in marriage to Peleus. It is the first time that this incident appears, thus giving an explanation for Thetis' marriage to a mortal man. The version adopted in the early literary sources was different. In the Iliad<sup>20</sup> we are told that Hera had brought up Thetis and in the Catalogue of Women<sup>21</sup> and

15. Frag. 172 (158) Snell

16. νεότης

17. Pindar must have confused Telamon with Peleus because in Apollodorus Library II.VI.4 there is no mention of Peleus but of Telamon.

18. This is an unknown version of the story. Apollodorus Library II.V.9, where he discusses the ninth labor of Heracles, does not refer to Peleus.

19. Isthmian Odes VIII.29-48

20. Ω 55-85

21. MW 210

the Cypria<sup>22</sup> we learn that Thetis owed a favour to Hera (presumably because Hera raised her) and thus Thetis avoided Zeus who was chasing her, but the god in his anger made her marry a mortal. Eventhough there is no substantial change to the story given in early literature, the attitude and the spirit of this wedding changes. It is not anymore that the brave mortal wins an immortal bride, but she is given to him as a solution to the problem that has arisen. Thus the story now is looked at through the eyes of the gods, whereas in early literature the incident was observed from the mortal's point of view.

And Pindar continues the account by telling that the message was sent to Cheiron<sup>23</sup> who instructed Peleus on how to win her<sup>24</sup> in the struggle<sup>25</sup>. It is here that we learn for the first time from the literary sources that Thetis was transformed into fire and lions with sharp claws and terrible teeth<sup>26</sup>.

Finally, the couple married<sup>27</sup> and at the wedding

22. OCT Homer V p.118

23. Nemean Odes III.56-58, Isthmian Odes VIII.42.

24. Nemean Odes III.56-58, Pindar states that Peleus was given certain advice, but does not explain what.

25. Nemean Odes III.35-36. Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν ἔγκονητι (Peleus) who finally pinned down Thetis, despite the many forms she assumed. Farnell Pindar2 p.258 note 36 proposes that κατέμαρψεν suggests that he caught her by running. This may allude to the knowledge of a version seen rarely on early vase painting where Peleus is not engaged in an actual struggle with Thetis but chases her as on Kavalla Melian amphora (A4), Louvre Corinthian Crater (A14), and Taranto cup (B19).

26. It is interesting to note that Pindar uses plural for the lions, where as on the visual evidence usually only one is represented.

27. Pythian odes III.86-96, Nemean odes IV.65-68, Nemean Odes V.22-27, Isthmian Odes VI.25, Isthmian Odes VIII.47

banquet, which took place on mount<sup>28</sup> Pelion the gods were present, having brought their gifts with them<sup>30</sup>. Thus Peleus was made the happiest man on earth<sup>31</sup>.

In Phthia Thetis bore him Achilleus<sup>32</sup>, who was brought up by Cheiron<sup>33</sup>. There is no explanation as to why the child was not brought up at his parents' house.

Pindar's knowledge of the myth of Peleus was based on the earlier literature, and especially this must have been the case with the incident of Acastus wife, most probably influenced by Hesiod's Catalogue of Women<sup>34</sup>. He has used the basic substance of the already known myth and has elaborated it with his own additions in order to serve his purpose, that of praising the community of the winner rather than the athlete himself.

28. Pythian Odes III.90

29. Nemean Odes V.22-27

30. The procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is represented only on early vase painting Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), Acr. dinos (A12) and the François vase (A13). Here Pindar does not identify the gifts brought by the gods. Homer Iliad Π 130-144 tells us that they were a set of armour. In Nemean Odes III.33 we are informed that Peleus had a matchless spear, which is unlikely to be a wedding present, but more probably the spear given to him by Cheiron Iliad Π 140-141.

31. Pythian Odes III.86-96

32. Pythian Odes III.100-101

33. Nemean Odes III.43-58, Achilleus is brought up in Cheiron's cave, but we are not told at what age the child was first taken under the centaur's supervision.

34. MW 208, MW 209.

## 5.2. AESCHYLUS

Aeschylus does not refer to Peleus directly, but the underlying theme on which the trilogy of Prometheus<sup>35</sup> is based relates to the eventual wedding of Peleus to Thetis. Prometheus stole the fire from the gods and gave it to mortals. For his deed he was bound by Zeus on a rock of Caucasus while an eagle devoured his liver. Finally Heracles killed the eagle and Prometheus was released in exchange for divulging the secret to Thetis, that she would bear a son mightier than his father. As a consequence Zeus who was pursuing her, gave her in marriage to a mortal Peleus<sup>36</sup>.

In the surviving play Prometheus insists in keeping the secret to himself<sup>37</sup> and it was only in the Prometheus Unbound that he revealed it. The surviving fragments of this play are very few<sup>38</sup> and an accurate reconstruction of the story is impossible. Yet, special attention should be paid to frag. xva<sup>39</sup>, where Thetis was given to marry a mortal as a convenient solution to Zeus' knowledge of the oracle.

Thus the general idea in Aeschylus' work follows Pindar's version, that Thetis is unwanted by the gods and so she is given to Peleus, which proves an alteration of the people's perception of Peleus, that he is not the hero who wins a goddess, but the lucky mortal.

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35. Only Prometheus Bound, perhaps the first play, survives.

36. Griffith p.281 ff.

37. 907-927, 987-996

38. Griffith xva, xvb

39. Griffith p.301



### 5.3. SOPHOCLES

Sophocles wrote a play entitled Peleus<sup>40</sup>, but it is lost and only scattered fragments survive. Fr. 487<sup>41</sup> is the longest, and from this we gather that the play was about Peleus' old age; he was helpless and obliged to stay at home and to be looked after by a woman only.

Pearson<sup>42</sup> proposes a possible plot for this tragedy based on the work of Dictys(6.7-9) who might have taken his material from this lost play of Sophocles.

### 5.4. EURIPIDES

Euripides in Iphigenia at Aulis refers to Peleus twice, first in a dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra<sup>43</sup>, where Peleus' genealogy is given: Asopus gave birth to the nymph Aegina, she and Zeus bore Aeacus, and he fathered Peleus. Thetis was given in marriage by her father<sup>44</sup> to Peleus on the orders of Zeus. The wedding

40. Aristotle in Poetics 18,145a2 names Peleus as an example of ethic tragedy without referring to its author; a Peleus is also ascribed to Euripides.

41. "Πηλέα τὸν Αἰάκειον οἰκουρὸς μόνῃ  
γερονταγωγῶ κἄναπαιδεύω πάλιν  
πάλιν γὰρ αὐθις παῖς ὁ γηράσκων ἀνὴρ"

42. Sophocles Vol.II pp.141-142

43. 697-714

44. In the Iliad Ω 59-62 we were told that Hera reared Thetis and gave her in marriage to Peleus.

took place on mount Pelion, where the centaurs are believed to live, near Cheiron's dwelling place<sup>45</sup>. This is the first time that the exact setting of the marriage on Pelion is said to be situated near the land of the centaurs.

Achilleus was not brought up by his parents but by Cheiron, and this "Ἰν ἧθη μὴ μάθου κακῶν βροτῶν"<sup>46</sup>. This is a different explanation than the one given in Aegimius<sup>47</sup>, where we were told that Thetis had killed many of her children by dipping them in a cauldron of water, because she wanted to know if they were mortal. Peleus, seeing what she was doing, was enraged. So from this fact we presume that this was the reason for their separation and Achilleus' eventual rearing by Cheiron. Still this was not stated in Aegimius, but is a modern assumption, thus making the above explanation of Euripides the first one stated in literature.

45. In early literature the place of their marriage which is here connected with the centaurs is only vaguely given. In the Iliad Cheiron gives a heavy spear from Pelion, as a wedding gift to Peleus, Π 140-143, and after their marriage the couple lives together in Phthia Σ 60, Σ 330-331, Σ 440-441, Σ 573-576. In the Catalogue of Women we are given parallel information, MW 211, the couple after their marriage returned to live in Phthia. The only exceptions are first in the Cypria (OCT Homer V p.118, III), where we are specifically told that the wedding took place on Pelion and then in the poem of Alcaeus B10 where the couple goes ἐς δόμον Χέρρωνος.

46. 709

47. MW 300

Nevertheless, it seems that Euripides had in mind that the parents were living apart<sup>48</sup>, why else would he make Clytemnestra ask<sup>49</sup> "Θέτις δ' ἔθρεφεν ἦ πατὴρ Ἀχιλλεΐα;"?

Later on in the same play<sup>50</sup> the chorus narrates the scene of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis describing details which have not been given before. The Pierides were singing, Ganymedes ladled nectar out of craters, fifty Nereids were dancing in a circle on the white beach, while a group of crowned centaurs joined the gods' feast, prophesying in a loud voice Achilleus' grand career. Thus the gods blessed this wedding with utmost happiness.

In the Troades<sup>51</sup> we hear that Neoptolemos, Peleus' grandson, left Troy hastily in order to return home to Phthia, because his grandfather was exiled by Acastus, the son of Pelias<sup>52</sup>.

In Andromache we see that in fact Neoptolemos and Peleus live together in the same house<sup>53</sup> in the palace of Phthia.

48. This was already known to Homer Iliad A 357-358, Σ 35-49, Ω 78-84, Σ 434-435.

49. 708

50. 1034-1079

51. 1123-1140

52. It seems that Euripides has been confused about the name of Acastus, since the episode with Acastus' wife was already known from the Catalogue of Women, MW 208 and Peleus' revenge by sacking Iolcus, MW 211 (also in Pindar Nemean Odes IV.54-56) which took place at an early stage of the hero's life, before his marriage to Thetis. What the poet must have meant is that Peleus was expelled by the two sons of Acastus and not Acastus himself, as we are informed by Apollodorus in the Epitome VI.13.

53. 12-25

The Thessalians in remembrance of Peleus' wedding to Thetis, who was much honoured and revered<sup>54</sup>, called the plain next to Pharsalos Περίδειο<sup>55</sup>. It is obvious that the couple lives separately now<sup>56</sup>, but no explanation is given as to the reason. Nevertheless, the wedding was a memorable incident in which the gods participated<sup>57</sup> as well and must have taken place on Pelion<sup>58</sup>.

We are also supplied with additional details about Peleus' past<sup>59</sup>, that he fought in the battle with the Lapiths against the Centaurs<sup>60</sup>, that he participated in the Argonautic expedition<sup>61</sup> and he also took part in the Trojan war<sup>62</sup>. He had the reputation of a strong, brave and wise man in his youth<sup>63</sup>, but his name was also associated with the murder of his brother Phokos<sup>64</sup>.

In this play Euripides gives an account of Peleus' old age after the return of the Greeks from Troy. Neoptolemos brings with him Andromache and their illegitimate son. Peleus intervenes to prevent their murder and weeps for his ill fate<sup>65</sup>. Thetis *is dea ex machina*: providing the play with a solution<sup>66</sup>, where among other assurances she says that Peleus will become immortal and will live forever with her in Nereus' palace.

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54. 566

55. 20

56. 1221-1225

57. 1218-1220

58. 1277-1278

59. 790-800

60. This is a new event

61. Also in Pindar frag. 172 (158) Snell

62. Also in Pindar frag. 172 (158) Snell

63. 342-343, 645-647. As we have seen in the Iliad  
Σ 18, Η 126.

64. 687 also alluded in the Catalogue of Women MW 208.

65. 1085-1089

66. 1231-1272

Here we meet Peleus after the return of the warriors from Troy, and there is no mention of him being wronged by the sons of Acastus as we were informed in the Troades<sup>67</sup>. As in other sources mentioned earlier, here as well the couple has been separated<sup>68</sup>, but the reasons are not stated. Nevertheless, a new conclusion of their story is introduced where Peleus is made immortal and once again united with Thetis to live in her father's palace.

Euripides also wrote a Phoenix and Peleus both of which undoubtedly included Peleus (Webster Euripides p p.84-86.) Yet very little of their plots is known to us. In Phoenix Peleus probably took Phoenix to Cheiron to heal his blind eyes and possibly wanted to make him king of the Dolopes. Peleus possibly dealt with Peleus' old age, because the only likely incident for a tragedy about Peleus in his youth must have been that at Acastus's house.

The tragedians always seem to represent Peleus as a pitiable old man. They invent a character for the figure. This is not always consistent even in their own work, but varies according to their purposes and manipulations of the plots.

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67. 1123-1140

68. 1253

### 5.5. HERODOTUS

Herodotus<sup>69</sup> in his History makes only a small remark about Peleus. He mentions that the Persian fleet, in their second campaign under Xerxes, suffered a great loss off the Magnesian coast between Casthanea and Cape Sepias, July 480 B.C.<sup>70</sup> so, after hearing from the Ionians that it was from this area that Peleus carried off Thetis<sup>71</sup>, they made sacrifices to her.

Consequently, it is possible to assume that the struggle of the couple, which is so popular in vase painting, must have taken place here<sup>72</sup>.

### 5.6. PHERECYDES

Pherecydes of Athens<sup>73</sup> attaches more details, e.g. on the relation of Peleus to Telamon which we have not met before in earlier literature. He states<sup>74</sup> that Telamon, whose parents were Actaeus and Glauke, was a friend and not a brother of Peleus. People erroneously thought that he was a brother, due to the close friendship of the two.

69. VII 191

70. Bury p.172

71. Herodotus makes no mention of the gods' part in this story. Peleus is not presented with Thetis by them, he is boldly carrying her off.

72. Pindar Isthmian Odes VIII.40-42 says that Peleus lived in Iolcus when the gods decided to give him Thetis as his wife. This does not contradict the story given by Herodotus seeing that the two locations are not distant.

73. Contemporary logographer of Herodotus, who wrote a mythological history in ten books. The main body of his work is lost, but fragments are preserved in the works of other writers such as scholiasts and Apollodorus.

74. Apollodorus III.XII.6

He also<sup>75</sup> adds that Peleus travelled with Jason and the Tyndarids to Iolcus, thus joining the Argonautic expedition<sup>76</sup>. In Tzetzes' commentary on the tragic poet Lycophron<sup>77</sup> we are informed that Pherecydes made Antigone<sup>78</sup>, daughter of Eurytion, Peleus' first wife and exiled him to Phthia<sup>79</sup> where he took Thetis by chariot<sup>80</sup> and arrived at Pharsalus, which was named Θαιΐδειο in honour of Thetis<sup>81</sup>.

75. Schol. Pindar Nemean Odes III.55

76. It has been mentioned before by Pindar frag.172 (158) Snell; Euripides Andromache 793-796

77. 175

78. It is the first time that the name of his first wife is reported, in early literature we were given the name of his daughter Polydora, probably of this marriage. Iliad Π 174-178 and Catalogue of Women MW 213

79. Also in Schol. Nem. IV.81

80. This account is new in literature, but the only connection that can be made is with the representations of three black-figure vases, which for no clear reason depict, in combination with the subject, a chariot or parts of it. The Capua amphora (B61) treats the theme of Peleus struggling with Thetis, while on the two hydriae Berlin (B223) and Roman Market (B224) appears the incident of Peleus bringing young Achilles to Cheiron. So it is possible that Pherecydes' version was known earlier and thus represented on vases.

81. Euripides in Andromache 20 also refers to the honorary naming of the area.

### 5.7. ARISTOPHANES

Aristophanes in the Clouds<sup>82</sup> mentions Peleus as an example "διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν"<sup>83</sup> and because of that he gained a dagger<sup>84</sup> and Thetis as his wife<sup>85</sup>, but she deserted him and ran away<sup>86</sup>.

The scholia on Aristophanes Clouds 1063 give a synoptic account of the hero's life as we have seen it before with the addition of the information that Peleus participated in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, where he accidentally killed Eurytus.<sup>87</sup>

It is very difficult to draw conclusions from 5th c. literature, and this due to the fact that on one hand the evidence is very fragmentary and on the other there are different types of literature which refer to Peleus: Lyric poetry, drama and history. Each writer manipulates his material in order to serve his own purpose.

82. 1063-1070

83. 1061, 1067

84. Most probably the one made by Hephaestus, Catalogue of Women MW 209. Yet it is possible that Aristophanes here does not have in mind the time when Peleus was actually presented by the gods with the dagger, but another instance where Peleus gained it for his σωφρονεῖν: He refused Acastus' wife's indecent propositions, so she slandered Peleus to her husband, who organised a hunt. There he hid Peleus' dagger so that he might be slain, and it was here that the gods intervened and Peleus was saved. In Attic black-figure vase painting Peleus is represented up a tree trying to avoid the wild beasts. In any case as Dover Clouds note 1063, points out the article "τὴν" before the word "μάχαιραν" supposes that the audience was familiar with the story.

85. Here for the first time we are given an explanation of why Peleus was granted a goddess as wife, whereas until now it was why Thetis married Peleus, Catalogue of Women, MW 210, Cypria OCT Homer V p.118, II, Isthmian Odes VIII.29-48 etc.

86. Here it is clearly said that Thetis left Peleus and that they actually separated. In previous writers the fact was not stated, but alluded.

87. Never before known to us.



Nevertheless one change is obvious from early literature, that Peleus is no longer the brave mortal who is allowed by the gods to marry a goddess, but the gods have given Thetis to a mortal in order to solve their problems. In this respect the story is no longer looked at from the point of view of men but of the gods.

Other minor additions have been added to the myth, but the main idea remains unaltered.

6. REPRESENTATIONS OTHER  
THAN VASES 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

Before discussing the Attic red-figure vases I will deal with the non-vase representations of the 5th c. Which have been manufactured in various places. They are made of many different materials, but depict only two incidents of Peleus' career: his wrestling match with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias and his struggle to win Thetis.

These are the following:

- N.Y. gem (C1)
- N.Y. gem (C2)
- Berlin "Melian" relief (C3)
- Brit. Mus. "Melian" relief (C4)
- From Aegina "Melian" relief (C5)
- Athens N.M. gold earrings (C6)
- Leningrad gold band (C7)

I will first discuss the two gems dated ca. 500 B.C. which represent the wrestling match with Atalanta.

- C1. On the N.Y. gem (C1) pl. 43 Peleus is to the left, bearded wearing a skirt type of garment. His right arm is stretched out and his right hand is on Atalanta's left shoulder. Atalanta is facing him. She wears a split skirt and a short sleeved dress, her hair is long, tied in a hair band. Her left arm is also stretched out and her left hand is pressing Peleus' right armpit, Peleus' left hand and Atalanta's right hand are locked in a grip. Both wrestlers feet are wide apart forming a step. Between the two figures, as if on the floor, lies a boar

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1. I have not examined Etruscan work.

head<sup>2</sup>.

- C2. On the N.Y. gem (C2) pl. 44, Atalanta is to the left wearing a loin cloth. With her left hand she holds Peleus' right arm, while her right arm is gripped by Peleus' left hand. Peleus is nude and is facing her. Both figures are in profile and have their feet apart. These gems show more resemblance to black-figure vase paintings of the same incident than to those of red-figure.

Then ca. 475-450 B.C. comes a series of three clay "Melian" reliefs:

- C3. The Berlin "Melian" relief (C3) pl. 46 is composed of five fragments. Peleus is on the right trying to lift Atalanta. The whole of his left foot is on the floor, while only the toes of the right foot touch the ground. His waist and right knee are bent and his head is pressing against Atalanta's breast. She is to the left with her left knee bent trying to kick Peleus. She stands only on the toes of her right foot and uses her hands in trying to escape Peleus' grip. Peleus is naked and Atalanta seems to wear a loin cloth.

The next two "Melian" reliefs Brit. Mus. (C4) pl. 47 and from Aegina (C5), represent the struggle of Peleus and Thetis and look very much alike.

- pl. 47  
C4. The figures on the Brit. Mus. (C4) form a triangle. Peleus is nude and occupies the left, both knees are bent and his feet touch the ground only by his toes. He has caught Thetis by the waist and his hands interlock in a grip. Thetis wears a long dress and her himation falls over her left shoulder. She is attempting to flee to the right, her body in side view, while her

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2. The Munich hydria (A20) depicting the same subject is the only other iconographic interpretation where a boar head appears, yet there is also the addition of a boar hide as well.

head faces us. Her feet are wide apart forming a large step, her left hand touches her head and her right is behind Peleus' back. On the right a large lion with his front claws on Thetis' body is leaping up. The three figures stand on a vertical base.

- C5. The "Melian" relief from Aegina (C5) is very close to the one discussed above, Brit. Mus. (C4). The major difference lies in the fact that Thetis' head is in profile looking to the right, in addition there are parts of this relief missing: a section of the base, the lion, Thetis' mantle and the fingers of her left hand.

In both reliefs, Brit. Mus. (C4) and Aegina (C5) the setting of the figures recall the representations of the vase painting of the equivalent subject.

- C6. The next object is a pair of gold earrings in Athens N.M. (C6) pl. 48 which also treats the struggle of Peleus and Thetis. These are heavily ornate with detailed fine work. They bear close similarity with each other with minor differences, yet they are symmetrically opposite, thus in the one Peleus, who is depicted nude, is to the right while in the other he is to the left his knees and waist bent trying to keep his grip round her waist. Thetis wearing a long dress in frontal view, is trying to escape his grip. Coiled snakes have attacked Peleus, one his thigh and others the top part of his body<sup>2</sup>, while another is climbing on Thetis' free arm. A lion is clinging to Thetis' dress. The earrings consist of three parts, the central depicting the figures, the top composed of flowers and the lower of a round ornate section from which hang three chains

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2. Here there is difference between the two earrings, on the one there are three snakes, yet on the other four, the additional one is above his head.

supporting miniature shells. The central part is very similar to the representation of this incident on the Attic vases; on the other hand, it is unlike the one on the Leningrad gold band (C7).

- C7. On the Leningrad gold band (C7) pl. 45 the same scene is repeated five times. Peleus is represented nude but only in part, from his chest and above. With both hands he has gripped Thetis, who was to the right, round her waist and has lifted her over his head, so that her head drops behind his neck. She is clothed and her long dress continues out of the picture without revealing her feet. Both her elbows are bent. Her left hand is on the top of Peleus' head, while with her right hand she has gripped his neck. A lion is to the right and has climbed on her under her left arm.

The representations on non-vases deal only with two incidents of the myth: the wrestling match with Atalanta and the struggle with Thetis. The materials used vary from clay, "Melian" reliefs, to gems and gold. So do the places of manufacture: Greece (C2), (C6), Cyprus (C1), "Melos" (?), (C3), (C4), (C5), South Russia (?), (C7).

## 7. RED-FIGURE VASES

The red-figure vases which depict Peleus are far less numerous than the ones in the black-figure technique and also have a less wide range of episodes. The black-figure presented seven major themes, whereas there are no representations in red-figure of Peleus up a tree or of the wedding procession. Apart from the Attic red-figure vases, there are some South Italian, showing incidents of the myth of Peleus, but I shall not discuss them here.

Red-figure representations begin around 520 B.C. and go down to about 390 B.C., without any large gaps in time. Then there is only one vase as late as ca. 350 B.C. The earliest vase in red-figure depicting the myth of Peleus carries the incident of young Achilleus brought to Cheiron, while the latest is that of the struggle of Peleus and Thetis.

In the following pages I will discuss them according to their subject:

- 7.1. The Hunt of the Calydonian boar.
- 7.2. Peleus wrestling with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias.
- 7.3. Peleus struggling with Thetis.
- 7.4. Peleus and Thetis as a married couple.
- 7.5. Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron.

### 7.1. THE HUNT OF THE CALYDONIAN BOAR.

The interest<sup>1</sup> in the theme of the Hunt of the Calydonian Boar in Attic red-figure has faded and the only surviving representation which carries the name of Peleus

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1. Here I have omitted those illustrations that do not inscribe the name of Peleus. Brommer VL<sup>3</sup> 311, B 1-3 give a total of three red-figure examples that depict the hunt of the Calydonian boar.

inscribed is the Berlin F 2538 cup (D1). The composition is free and does not follow the formulaic pattern of the black-figure predecessors.

- D1. Berlin cup (D1) pl. 49 . On one side of its exterior (B) there is the hunting of a stag. The animal is in the centre facing left, a young man is holding it by the horns and he is ready to strike it. On the far right another man with a hat holds a stick. To the left facing the stag stands Peleus, his name inscribed, in a hat, with a dagger and a stick with a rough thick end is about to strike the animal. Behind him at the far left is another young man with a spear.

All the men are beardless and equipped with chlamydes with the exception of Peleus. The scene is one of active movement all the figures participate in the hunt. It is the only time that Peleus is represented as hunting a stag. We know nothing of such an incident from literature and it may be an invention of the artist to complement the hunt of the Calydonian boar taking place on the other side of the cup and in which usually Peleus participated. This vase is dated ca.440-430 B.C.

#### 7.2. PELEUS WRESTLING WITH ATALANTA AT THE FUNERAL GAMES OF PELIAS

This incident of the myth of Peleus is painted on six vases only<sup>1</sup>, but they cover a very wide period of time<sup>2</sup>.

It is only on the earliest red-figure cup by Oltos<sup>3</sup> that the black-figure tradition, of representing the two figures wrestling, continues. On the rest of the vases

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1. The corresponding black-figure are five.

2. Nearly 120 years from ca.510-500 B.C. to ca.390 B.C.

3. Bologna cup (D2)

a totally new approach is introduced. The subject is depicted on cups only<sup>4</sup> and occupies the circle of the interior<sup>5</sup>. The figures are not engaged in a fight, where a rectangular space might be more convenient, but they simply stand or sit in different postures equipped with the appropriate wrestling gear<sup>6</sup>.

The red-figure vases of the wrestling match between Peleus and Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias are the following cups:

Bologna 361 (D2)  
 Boston 03.820 (D3)  
 Villa Giulia 48234 (D4)  
 Ferrara T991 (D5)  
 Greifswald 336 (D6)  
 Cab. Méd. 818 (D7)

D2. 1. The Bologna cup (D2) was painted by Oltos, but the work is slapdash. On the centre of side B the couple is occupied in a wrestling match. Peleus on the left, bearded and nude, is winning at this point, pulling Atalanta's left wrist and arm with both his hands, while she is trying to free herself from his grip<sup>7</sup>. Atalanta is

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4. Whereas the black-figure employed various shapes as amphora, hydria, skyphos and lekythos, but not cups.
  5. With the exception of Bologna cup (D2) where the subject is painted on the exterior. In black-figure because of the shape of the vases decorated, the representations were fitted into the rectangular areas of the exteriors.
  6. Atalanta usually in shorts and hat and Peleus as in Ferrara cup (D5) Boston cup (D3), Villa Giulia cup (D4).
  7. On the Manchester Eretrian hydria (A17), where the same scene is treated, Atalanta occupies the left and Peleus the right, the grip employed by Atalanta there is very similar to the one used by Peleus here.



topless, dressed in a loin cloth on which a panther is painted<sup>8</sup>; her hair is covered by a cap<sup>9</sup> painted with a palmette. The position of the two recall earlier black-figure examples of the subject, where it is popular<sup>10</sup>. In the red-figure technique this is the only representation of the incident where Peleus and Atalanta are depicted engaged in actual wrestling.

The next four cups that follow were painted by the Aberdeen painter, who depicted the subject in the tondi of the cups in very much the same way, differing from all previous treatments of the subject. Round the picture there is a branch of bay leaves, enclosing the theme. Peleus is usually to the left and Atalanta to the right<sup>11</sup>.

Boston cup (D3)

Villa Giulia cup (D4)

Ferrara cup (D5)

Greifswald cup (D6).

- D3. The Boston (D3) pl. 50 and the Villa Giulia (D4)  
D4. cups are nearly identical, so I will discuss them together. Atalanta topless in an ornamented loin cloth sits on a stool<sup>12</sup>. Her hair is tied in a net or what could be a scarf. Her hands relax on her thighs, and her

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8. This recalls the one she wears on Manchester Eretrian hydria (A17), where instead of a panther it is decorated with a flower.
9. On the following red-figure representations her head is always covered.
10. This is a stylized posture by which this subject is represented in Attic black-figure Adolphseck hydria (B8), Munich neck-amphora (B11), Brit. Mus. Skyphos (B12), Syracuse lekythos (B13), Berlin neck-amphora (B14).
11. With the exception of Cab. Méd. (D7)
12. On Villa Giulia cup (D4), Atalanta seems to sit on what looks more like a rock than a stool.

look rests on Peleus who is leaning on a laver and has turned slightly to her side. He is nude, beardless, and is holding his strigil in his left hand<sup>13</sup>. On the Villa Giulia cup (D4) he holds it with both hands.

D5. On the Ferrara cup (D5) Atalanta wears a cap on her head and is standing lifting a pick, there is no stool nor laver on the picture. The two figures are not engaged in any match. There are probably waiting for the games to start.

D6. For the Greifswald cup (D6) I could not obtain any information.

D7. The Cab. Méd. cup (D7) comes much later than the vases discussed above<sup>14</sup> and reminds us of the composition of the Boston (D3) and Villa Giulia (D4) cups. The rim of the circle is decorated in meanders and crosses.

Peleus occupies the right of the picture and sits where Atalanta was in the previous vases, whereas she stands in his place with the difference that she is completely nude here<sup>15</sup>. On the far left there is once more the laver. The scene does not remind us of games. The atmosphere is dictated by the coquettish female figure.

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13. It is the first time that he is seen with this.

14. To the period between the Greifswald cup (D6) and the Cab. Méd. cup (D7) belongs a volute-crater from Spina in Ferrara T404 dated ca.440-430 B.C. This depicts preparation for the funeral games of Pelias. Among other figures represented are Atalanta and Hippomenes who is believed (Beazley AJA 64 (1960) p.221 ff.) to have been misnamed by the artist for Peleus.

15. It is the first time that she appears without clothes.

On all the cups<sup>16</sup> Peleus is young, beardless, not at all the majestic figure of the hero, he is merely represented as an ordinary athlete. The two figures are not wrestling and it is likely that the artist was not particularly interested in the actual story.

### 7.3. PELEUS STRUGGLING WITH THETIS

The representations of the struggle of Peleus and Thetis are by far the most popular, as well as the earliest<sup>1</sup> of the myth of Peleus in Attic red-figure. The subject was favoured for nearly 120 years, thus making it the longest in duration, together with Peleus wrestling with Atalanta at the funeral games of Pelias. The vase-paintings range from ca.520 B.C. to ca.420-400 B.C., and then there is one isolated painting that dates ca.350 B.C.

The myth is treated in a stylized manner, and the pictures have many common elements. Usually the couple occupy the centre of the scene, Peleus on the left, either chasing or grasping Thetis who is on the right. The most popular subsidiary figures are the Nereids, then Nereus, Doris and Cheiron. Peleus is either nude or in a short dress, while Thetis appears in long drapery. Most vases lack inscriptions, but some name all the figures.

If we compare the black-figure and the red-figure work that deal with this incident of the myth, we notice that the depiction of the subject is similar, with the difference that the red-figure painter is even more formulaic and more abstract than his predecessor.

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16. With the exception of the Bologna cup (D2).

1. ca.520 B.C. Eleusis plate fr. by Oltos

In order to facilitate the examination of these vases, they have been divided into four sections<sup>2</sup>, as far as possible, within rough chronological order, also, apart from the first section, each one is characterised by its particular iconography.

7.3.1. The earliest vases ca.520-510 B.C.

7.3.2. ca.510-480 B.C. where the couple struggle body to body.

7.3.3. ca.480-420 B.C. where Peleus sometimes chases Thetis.

7.3.4. ca.350 B.C., the isolated red-figure vase.

7.3.1. ca.520-510 B.C.

The first representation is a fragmentary plate by Oltos<sup>3</sup> pl. 51. The struggling couple occupies the centre of the tondo. Peleus is wearing a skirt-type loin cloth, resembling the ones on the nearly contemporary black-figure vases<sup>4</sup>.

It is difficult to identify the exact position of the top parts of their bodies, because they are not preserved. But from the remnants we can assume their possible posture.

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2. In addition to these Attic red-figure vases there is a group of five Apulian amphorae ca.420-320 B.C. which treat the same subject.
  3. Eleusis plate frag. (D8). This is not the only vase on which Oltos depicts Peleus, see Bologna cup (D2), where he fights with Atalanta at the funeral games in honour of Pelias (see earlier).
  4. Brit. Mus. neck-amphora (B27), Munich belly-amphora (B31).

The surviving elbow on the left most probably belonged to Peleus. This was part of his right arm, which gripped his left one, embracing Thetis round her waist<sup>5</sup>. The fingers that hold his wrist most likely belong to Thetis' right hand who is trying to free herself<sup>6</sup>, as seen on a later hydria<sup>7</sup>.

The next painter who treated this subject was the Euergides Painter; he interpreted the theme on six cups. He added numerous figures to the original group of the strugglers, but the couple was always dealt with in the same fashion.

Brit. Mus. E9 (D9)

Victoria and Albert 4807. 1901 (D10)

Athens Acr. fr. 184 (D11)

Louvre CP 10869 (D12)

Louvre G 87 (D13)

Tarquinius (D14)

Of these I have information for the first five. On some the representation occupies both sides of the exterior<sup>8</sup>. The central figures are Peleus struggling with Thetis. Fleeing, two on each side, are the Nereids<sup>9</sup>. On the reverse of the cups the pictures change.

D9. On the Brit. Mus. cup (D9) old Nereus, seated, holds a stick in his left hand and a dolphin in his right. This is his first appearance in red-figure, but he will become popular from now on. Hermes is approaching him from the right, while two Nereids on the left and one on the right are hastening to break the news to him.

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5. As it is often seen in both red-figure (e.g. Brit. Mus. cup (D9), Louvre pelike (D65)) and black-figure (e.g. Syracuse lekythos (B69), Louvre oinochoe (B160)).

6. It is highly unlikely to be Peleus' left hand grip because in nearly all representations (with the exception of the black-figure Naples neck-amphora (B115)) his right hand is over his left, and one may also note that the fingers follow the opposite direction from what they would if they were his.

7. Louvre hydria (D29)

8. Of the Brit. Mus. cup (D9) and Victoria and Albert cup (D10).

9. On the Victoria and Albert cup (D10) there is only one on the left, and on the Louvre cup (D12) one on each side.

- D10. On the Victoria and Albert cup (D10) an altar takes up the centre of the scene with a palm tree standing behind it, and two Nereids on each side are running towards it.
- D11. Of the Acr. cup (D11) only a small fragment survives. This depicts a dolphin held by a female hand, probably a Nereid, also parts of the arm and of drapery.
- D12. The Louvre cup (D12) has fewer figures than the previous vases<sup>10</sup>; the painting is careless and looks as if the painter has copied his own work, whilst the inscriptions are irrelevant to the subject.
- D13. On the Louvre cup (D13)<sup>11</sup> we have the presence of Cheiron<sup>12</sup>, who stands to the left of the pair.

All of the above vases with the exception of the Eleusis plate (D8) are cups, these carry the struggle of Peleus and Thetis on their outer sides where numerous additional figures are depicted. Except for the Nereids,

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10. Brit. Mus. cup (D9) and Victoria and Albert cup (D10)
11. I have not seen a picture of this vase, but I have information concerning its subject from Arch. Eph. 1953-4, 203.
12. It is the first time that he is present on this subject in red-figure. We have seen him before on the same incident of the myth on black-figure. There his appearance is made for the first time on Munich belly-amphora (B31), a near contemporary vase of the Louvre cup (D13). It is likely that the artists painted the centaur here as advising Peleus on how to win Thetis. This information is given to us in literature by Pindar Nemean Odes III 56-58.

we have Nereus, Hermes<sup>13</sup> an altar and a palm tree<sup>14</sup>, as well as Cheiron<sup>15</sup>. Animals representing Thetis' transformation are totally absent<sup>16</sup> and the only one painted is a dolphin held by a Nereid on the Brit. Mus. cup (D9), and on the Acr. cup (D11).

Nevertheless, despite all variations of the subordinate figures, the couple of Peleus and Thetis keep the same position on all the vases. He is nude<sup>17</sup> with a sword tied round his waist and occupies the left of the group having his hands round her waist trying to lift her up, while Thetis is dressed and stands to the right.

### 7.3.2. ca.510-480 B.C.

The second section consists of thirty one vases:

Leipzig T523 stamnos (D15)  
 Leningrad 616 (st. 1527) pelike (D16)  
 Louvre G65 pelike (D17)  
 Once Roman Market (Campanari) hydria (D18)  
 Berlin 2279 cup (D19)  
 Brit. Mus. E15 cup (D20)  
 Münster 584 cup (D21)  
 Munich 2619A (J331) cup (D22)  
 Athens Acr. 212 cup (D23)  
 Taranto 20319 column-crater (D24)  
 J. Paul Getty Mus. volute-crater (D25)  
 Brit. Mus. E73 cup (D26)  
 Aberdeen 695 hydria (D27)  
 Munich 8738 stamnos (D28)

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13. On the Brit. Mus. cup (D9).
  14. Victoria and Albert cup (D10).
  15. Louvre cup (D13).
  16. Of course we ignore what could have been painted on the lost part of the Eleusis plate (D8).
  17. Except on the Eleusis plate (D8).

Louvre G178 hydria (D29)  
 Reggio column-crater (D30)  
 Cab. Méd. 572 cup (D31)  
 Worcester 1953.92 stamnos frag. (D32)  
 Prague E128 column-crater frag. (D33)  
 Leningrad 643 (st. 1531) stamnos (D34)  
 Salerno 1652 column-crater (D35)  
 Louvre G116 cup (D36)  
 Munich 2648 cup (D37)  
 Louvre G126 cup (D38)  
 Cab. Méd. 539 cup (D39)  
 Boston 03.856 cup (D40)  
 Louvre C11272 cup (D41)  
 Florence PD278 cup (D42)  
 Athens Acr. 334 cup (D43)  
 Paris Ganay stamnos (D44)  
 Louvre G53 hydria (D45)

Of these vases the most popular shape is the cup, where the subject often occupies large areas of the vase<sup>18</sup>.

The subject is depicted in a very similar manner. The arrangement of the theme is stereotyped. The principle figures of the couple are painted in the same formulaic posture with only slight variations. Peleus has his arms round Thetis' waist. His hands are clasped together, enclosing her tightly in his embrace. This grip was represented in two ways: either one palm holds the top

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18. As for example Louvre cup (D36), Louvre cup (D38) and Munich cup (D37) occupy both exterior sides of the vases.



of the hand, wrist or arm<sup>19</sup>, or the fingers of one hand are engaged with the fingers of the other hand shown sideways<sup>20</sup> or frontal<sup>21</sup>.

The transformations of Thetis are represented by various animals near the couple. The most popular is that of a lion<sup>22</sup> and then of a snake<sup>23</sup>. The figure of the dragon was introduced<sup>24</sup> as a combination of a fish body with lion head. Then<sup>25</sup> it appears in a snaky form as a large coiled snake with a big head and this reappears later on vases<sup>26</sup> of the next sections. The panther is painted only once<sup>27</sup>.

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19. Louvre Pelike (D17), Munich cup (D22), Munich stamnos (D28).
  20. Leningrad Pelike (D16), Berlin cup (D19), Louvre cup (D36), Louvre cup (D38), Munich cup (D37)
  21. Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre hydria (D45).
  22. Leningrad Pelike (D16), Berlin cup (D19), Louvre cup (D38), Munich cup (D37), Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre hydria (D45), Munich cup (D22), J. Paul Getty Mus. crater (D25).
  23. Berlin cup (D19) here instead of one we are presented with three snakes, Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre hydria (D45), Brit. Mus. cup (D26).
  24. Brit. Mus. cup (D26)
  25. Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre hydria (D45), Louvre cup (D36).
  26. Ferrara hydria (D81), Athens onos (D83). It is also present on the Brit. Mus. pelike (D85), which is as late as ca. 350 B.C.
  27. Leipzig stamnos (D15)

Other animals which are often depicted are the dolphins, but they do not necessarily mean that Thetis was transformed into them, they most probably denote the connection of the figures with the marine world. These are held by the Nereids<sup>28</sup>, Nereus<sup>29</sup>, Triton<sup>30</sup>, or less likely by Thetis<sup>31</sup>, on one vase they are painted in the background<sup>32</sup>.

The couple is alone<sup>33</sup> or accompanied by other figures, most commonly by Nereids, who vary in number<sup>34</sup>. Nereus

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28. Munich cup (D22), Boston cup (D40), Florence cup (D42), Louvre cup (D38), Munich cup (D37), Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre cup (D36).
29. Boston cup (D40), Louvre cup (D36), Brit. Mus. cup (D26).
30. Brit. Mus. cup (D26).
31. Louvre hydria (D45). This is the only time in this section, when she holds a fish. In the third section this appears twice on Munich pyxis (D60), and on Copenhagen pyxis (D56). In black-figure also we encounter this only once on Brit. Mus. lekythos (B70)
32. Louvre cup (D36)
33. Only on Berlin cup (D19)
34. One on :    Louvre hydria (D29) Louvre hydria (D45)  
              Louvre pelike (D17)
- Two on :    Leipsia stamnos (D15), Boston cup (D40),  
                  Worcester stamnos (D32), J. Paul Getty  
                  Mus. crater (D25).
- Three on:    Louvre cup (D36), Florence cup (D42).
- Four on:    Munich stamnos (D28)
- Five on:    Munich cup (D22)
- Six on:    Brit. Mus. cup (D26)
- Eight on:    Louvre cup (D36).
- Nine on:    Louvre cup (D38), Munich cup (D37).

is also often depicted as an old man: with a stick<sup>35</sup>, later a sceptre<sup>36</sup>, seated<sup>37</sup>, or standing<sup>38</sup>. On a few vases we are shown the additional figures of Doris<sup>39</sup>, and Triton<sup>40</sup>, as well as the centaur Cheiron<sup>41</sup>.

There are two additional elements which make their appearance on some of the vases. These are: an altar<sup>42</sup>, and various flowers which are always held by the Nereid left of Peleus<sup>43</sup>.

D15. The Leipsic stamnos (D15) is attributed to Euphronios<sup>44</sup>. Unfortunately due to its fragmentary condition, it is difficult to reconstruct the original picture. On either side of the couple one woman is rushing off. It is on this vase that the Nereid on the left holds a flower.

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35. Aberdeen hydria (D27)
36. Brit. Mus. cup (D26). In Louvre cup (D36) he holds a trident.
37. Boston cup (D40), Louvre cup (D36), Brit. Mus. (D26), J. Paul Getty Mus. crater (D25).
38. Leningrad Pelike (D16), Aberdeen hydria (D27), Cab. Méd. cup (D31), Louvre cup (D38), Munich cup (D37).
39. Louvre cup (D36), J. Paul Getty Mus. crater (D25).
40. Brit. Mus. cup (D26).
41. J. Paul Getty Mus. crater (D25).
42. Munich cup (D22), Munich stamnos (D28), Louvre cup (D36), Brit. Mus. cup (D26). It first appears on the earlier cup in Victoria and Albert (D10).
43. Leipsic stamnos (D15). Also on a later vase of the group Villa Giulia stamnos (D48). It has been suggested in JHS 12 (1891) p. 369 that Thetis and her sisters were gathering flowers by the sea when Peleus attacked Thetis, following a similar legend connected with Persephone, Gerhard 178-9 mid. I 138. Nevertheless, there is no mention of this in literature. Not much later on Munich cup (D22) the Nereid holds what looks like a garland, probably to crown the victor of the struggle; where as on the black-figure rendering of this incident Thetis holds flowers in her right hand on the Amsterdam alabastron (B65).
44. ARV2 15,8. A.A. 33 (1918) pp. 64-72 pl. 68

The subject is treated on two pelikā which were at one time attributed to Smikros, an "imitator of Euphronios"<sup>45</sup>:

Leningrad (D16)

Louvre (D17).

- D16. In both cases the couple occupies the left of the picture. On the Leningrad pelike (D16), Peleus is dressed in a short chiton and carries a sword at his side, while a lion climbs up his back. His fingers are clasped together in a typical grip, while on the right Nereus stands watching, holding a long stick.
- D17. On the Louvre pelike (D17), Peleus is nude and has also caught Thetis tight round her waist, but his grip differs from that of the previous vase. With his right hand he holds the back of his left hand. There are no animals on the scene. On the right a Nereid is fleeing away. The work is careful and attentive.
- D18. Of the Roman Market hydria (D18) I have no information.
- D19. The Berlin cup (D19) pl. 52 is the most beautiful and most arresting illustration of the incident in all red-figure. The artist used the tondo of the cup to represent the couple struggling alone. Peleus occupying the left, dressed in a short chiton with a sword at his side, uses the same grip as on Leningrad pelike (D16). A lion climbs down Peleus' back while for the first time we are presented with three snakes instead of one. They are coiled round Thetis' left wrist, both Peleus' wrists and his right calf. The drapery and the features of the figures are painted in great detail. In the background we also find inscriptions of the names of Peleus

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45. ARV2 20-21; but in Para 323 he says "delete these"

and Thetis, as well as the painter's signature and "Athenodotos kalos".

The next two vases Brit. Mus. cup (D20) and D21. Münster cup (D21) are painted by the Poseidon Painter; of these I have information only for the first.

D20. Brit. Mus. cup (D20) of which I have seen no picture, but Walters<sup>46</sup> informs us that Peleus is to the right, unlike in the other representations, and that one of Thetis' transformations is indicated by a panther.

D22. On the Munich cup (D22) the subject occupies one of the exterior sides. The couple is in the centre, Peleus is bearded<sup>47</sup>, a lion climbing down his back, while his hands are in the grip we saw earlier on Louvre cup (D17). There are inscriptions which identify the main figures, and the Nereids, fleeing away, also have their names inscribed: two on the left XOPO holding a garland and ΓΑΛΥΚΟ a dolphin, while three occupy the right EPATO, IPIEIA also holding a dolphin, and KYMATOΘAI<sup>48</sup>. Under the handles stand an altar<sup>49</sup> and a hydria.

46. Cat. III p.51

47. This is the only example of this incident in red-figure, where Peleus appears bearded. In black-figure also we meet it only on three vases Brit. Mus. neck-amphora (B27), Tel Aviv lekythos (B42), Palermo Mormino lekythos (B76).

48. He probably meant KYMATOΘOA.

49. An altar is also painted on the Victoria and Albert cup (D10).

D23. On the surviving fragments of the Acr. cup (D23) Peleus uses the finger grip, while a lion is on his back and part of what looks like a coiled tail, probably a snake, near his feet.

D24. Of the following vase, Taranto column -crater (D24) I could not obtain any information.

Of the Kleophrades Painter's work we have two examples:

J. Paul Getty Mus. volute crater (D25).

Brit. Mus. cup (D26).

D25. The J. Paul Getty Mus. crater (D25) depicts this incident of the myth on the second frieze of the neck. Between the figures of Nereus and Doris, two Nereids fly away, while Cheiron watches them, carrying his branch on his left shoulder. Fragments of this crater were embedded in a crater in the Louvre<sup>50</sup>.

D26. On the Brit. Mus. cup (D26) the theme is painted on the interior of the cup, but its arrangement is unusual. Peleus and Thetis occupy the tondo while the other figures are arranged in a frieze around it. The vase has many missing fragments. From what is left of the tondo we see one of Thetis' transformations, as a dragon, possibly on an altar. This has a fish-like scaly body and a lion head, yet it is different from the ones we encounter later<sup>51</sup> which look more like snakes. The

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50. G 166. The restoration of this vase has been made by the addition of fragments which initially belonged to two distinct volute-craters, one by the Berlin Painter and the other in J. Paul Getty Mus. (D25) "It is well known that such a procedure was not uncommon in the last century" JHS 42, (1922) p.94 note 51. Also J.P. Getty Journ.<sup>4</sup> (1977) p.63.

51. It is the first time a dragon appears on the red-figure. Yet we see them on later representations as on Louvre cup (D36), Worcester stamnos (D32), Louvre hydria (D45).

figures on the surrounding frieze are six Nereids, Nereus seated on a chair holding his sceptre and a dolphin, and Triton<sup>52</sup> with a fish tail, also carrying the same items as Nereus.

The names of the figures are inscribed. The Nereids are given the following names: ΚΥΜΑΘΕΑ<sup>53</sup>, ΓΑΛΗΝΗ, (ΠΑΣΙ) ΘΕΑ, ΚΥΜΩ, ΓΛΥΚΗ<sup>54</sup>.

The Berlin Painter interpreted the theme twice on a hydria Aberdeen (D27) and on a stamnos Munich (D28). The rendering of the incident is painted differently on each one.

D27. On the Aberdeen hydria (D27), there are only three figures on the scene. Peleus is on the left. He is nude and his long hair falls over his shoulders. He has grasped Thetis round the waist using the finger grip. Thetis is on the right, wearing a long dress and a crown on her hair. She has extended her right arm to the left trying to escape. To the far right there is the standing figure of old Nereus who faces the couple holding a long stick.

D28. On the Munich stamnos (D28) pl. 53A,B the subject occupies a band which runs round the vase uninterrupted. There are ten figures represented. Peleus and Thetis are the centre of interest struggling next to a blazing altar<sup>55</sup>. Here Peleus is dressed and his hair is tied at the back of his head. He applies a different grip than that on the previous vase<sup>56</sup>. The rest of the figures form two major groups. The first is to the right of the

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52. It is the first time that he appears on the scene in red-figure. His tail is similar to the ones referred to on note 51.

53. Her name could be the same as ΚΥΜΑΤΟΘΑΙ on Munich cup (D22).

54. This reminds us of ΓΑΛΥΚΟ on Munich cup (D22).

55. We have seen an altar on Victoria and Albert cup (D10) cf. also Munich cup (D22)

56. His right hand holds his left wrist.

couple next the altar, two Nereids run to the right towards a third figure, Cheiron. His front legs are human and in his left hand he holds a long branch. The second group is on the left of the couple and consists of two Nereids who flee to the left towards the elderly figure of Nereus. He is holding a sceptre and has a big coiled fish tail. Behind him there is another Nereid facing towards his direction. On the reverse of the vase between this last Nereid and Cheiron as if connecting the two groups is another Nereid who has stretched her arms wide open.

D29. On the Louvre hydria (D29) Peleus and Thetis fight on the right, while a Nereid runs to the left.

D30. Next is Reggio column-crater (D30) from Locri of which I have no information.

D31. The Cab. Méd. cup (D31) is in a very fragmentary condition. The subject of the struggle of Peleus and Thetis occupies both external sides as well as its tondo. In addition to the fleeing Nereids on the scene, part of Nereus survives, there are also some inscriptions.

The Tyszkiewicz Painter painted five vases with this subject:

- Louvre hydria (D32)
- Worcester stamnos (D33)
- Prague crater (D34)
- Leningrad stamnos (D35)
- Salerno crater (D36)



D32. The representation on the Louvre hydria (D32) is very similar to Worcester stamnos (D33), Peleus' grip and the animals marking Thetis' transformations are very alike. The exception is that here it is Thetis and not the Nereid<sup>60</sup> who holds the dolphin. This is very unusual and the only time that it appears in red-figure.

D33. On Worcester stamnos (D33), Peleus uses the finger grip<sup>57</sup>. A snake is coiled round his right leg, a lion coming down his back and a dragon on the left of Thetis<sup>58</sup>. Two Nereids run one on each side, one holding a dolphin.

D34. Of the Prague crater (D34), we have only a fragment depicting female drapery, and of Leningrad stamnos (B35),  
D35. the picture which I have seen<sup>59</sup> is of the Nereid fleeing, while holding a dolphin. This does not resemble the Worcester treatment of the women.

D36. Of the Salerno crater (D36), I have no information.

The following four vases are all cups and were painted by Douris:

Louvre (D37)

Munich (D38)

Louvre (D39)

Cab. Méd. (D40)

57. It is like the one on Berlin cup (D19), but he has slightly altered the position of his wrists so that we see the back of his left hand, instead of his hands in profile.

58. Both dragon and snake are dotted.

59. AJA 20 (1916) p.148 fig.6

60. Only one Nereid is present here.

- D40. On the first three the painter used both the exterior sides to interpret the incident, while on the Cab. Méd. (D40) he represented it in the interior.
- D37.  
D38. The Louvre (D37) and the Munich (D38) cups, I will discuss together, since they resemble one another in the setting of the figures. On one side the struggling couple is in the middle of the scene, while two Nereids flee on each side<sup>61</sup>. On the reverse of these two vases, four Nereids hasten to the right where, on Munich (D38), Triton is standing. He is holding a sceptre and is being embraced by a female figure, probably one of his daughters<sup>62</sup>. On Louvre (D37) Doris and Nereus, holding a trident, are seated on elaborate stools, while two dolphins are in the background.
- D39. On the Louvre (D39), the couple occupies the centre of the scene, while to the left two Nereids are fleeing and to the right another is standing next to Nereus who holds a sceptre. All Nereids hold a dolphin each in their hand. The reverse is filled with fleeing Nereids.
- D40. On the last cup in Cab. Méd. (D40), the couple is struggling alone a lion is climbing down from Thetis to Peleus while on their right there is part of an altar.

Boston cup (D41)

Louvre cup (D42)

Florence cup (D43)

are painted by Makron.

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61. On the Munich cup (D38), two of them are holding dolphins and on Louvre cup (D37) Doris has added a dragon, on what could have been an altar.
62. Never seen like this before or after, it is most probably the artist's own invention.

From the first only three figures survive: Nereus, who is shown seated holding a sceptre and a dolphin in his right hand, whilst a Nereid approaches him, also carrying a dolphin; finally there is part of another Nereid.

- D42. From the Louvre (D42) only part of a Nereid exists.
- D43. And from the Florence cup (D43) parts of three Nereids survive one holding a dolphin.
- D44. In the same fragmentary state is the Acr. cup (D44) where only parts of two fleeing Nereids survive, one also holding a dolphin.
- D45. Of the Paris Ganay stamnos (D45), I have no picture, but the information<sup>63</sup> is that on the one side Peleus struggles with Thetis and on the other Nereus is mounting a chariot.

### 7.3.3. ca.480 B.C.

This section consists of the following thirty eight vases:

- Rome Besozzi stamnos (D46)
- Brit. Mus. E472 column-crater (D47)
- Villa Giulia 5241 stamnos (D48)
- Orviet<sup>o</sup> Faina 66 stamnos (D49)
- Boston Ol. 8031 stamnos (D50)
- Louvre C11064 pelike (D51)
- Würzburg 519 stamnos (D52)
- Louvre 189 stamnos (D53)
- Copenhagen crater (D54)
- Madrid 11038 pelike (D55)

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63. ARV<sup>2</sup> 228,31

Copenhagen inv. 4735 pyxis (D56)  
 Brit. Mus. E647 lekythos (D57)  
 Vatican cup (D58)  
 Munich 6581 and 8467 cup (D59)  
 Munich (von Schoen 64) pyxis (D60)  
 Vatican Astarita 28 cup (D61)  
 Louvre G428 hydria (D62)  
 N.Y. Rolfe stamnos (D63)  
 Agora P 18007, P 18414 (D64)  
 Cambridge Fitzwilliam Mus. I. 1933 (D65)  
 Louvre G373 pelike (D66)  
 Vatican Astarita 111 stamnos (D67)  
 Athens N.M. 2192 (CC1202) bobbin (D68)  
 Boston 19.59 cup (D69)  
 Boston 95.63 cup (D70)  
 Cab. Méd. volute-crater frag. (D71)  
 Boston 72.850 calyx-crater (D72)  
 Palermo inv. 1366 (D73)  
 Padua hydria (D74)  
 N.Y. 56.171.51 stamnos (D75)  
 Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76)  
 Publication Harvard excavation (D77)  
 Naples H 2638 lekanis (D79)  
 Würzburg 540 dinos (D80)  
 Ferrara T 271 hydria (D81)  
 Bologna 195 column-crater (D82)  
 Athens 1629 (CC 1588) onos (D83)  
 Athens Pb Private hydria (D84)

Here the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is depicted in different ways: either as a body-to body fight following the tradition of the previous group<sup>64</sup>, preferring the

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64. Madrid pelike (D55), Munich cup (D59), Louvre pelike (D66), Boston crater (D72), Naples crater (D78), Naples lekythos (D79), Würzburg dinos (D80), Athens onos (D83).

arm<sup>65</sup> to the finger<sup>66</sup> grip, or introducing the chase by Peleus<sup>67</sup>. On some vases he has already caught a piece of Thetis drapery<sup>68</sup> or part of her body<sup>69</sup>, whereas elsewhere he has not touched her yet<sup>70</sup>.

Peleus is on the left and Thetis on the right, the opposite setting occurs only on two vases<sup>71</sup>.

Thetis is dressed in a long dress and on a few vases holds on to a fish<sup>72</sup>. Peleus is usually wearing a short dress<sup>73</sup>, is barefoot sometimes with a sword round his waist<sup>74</sup> or carrying a shield<sup>75</sup> or a long stick<sup>76</sup> which could be a spear.

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- 65. Munich cup (D59), Louvre pelike (D66), Naples crater (D78), Naples lekythos (D79), Würzburg dinos (D80)
  - 66. Madrid pelike (D55), Athens onos (D83).
  - 67. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Würzburg stamnos (D52), Louvre stamnos (D53), Munich pyxis (D60), Copenhagen pyxis (D56), Louvre hydria (D62), Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologna crater (D82).
  - 68. Würzburg stamnos (D52).
  - 69. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48)
  - 70. Copenhagen pyxis (D56), Munich pyxis (D60), Louvre hydria (D62), Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologna crater (D82).
  - 71. Louvre hydria (D62), Ferrara hydria (D81).
  - 72. Munich pyxis (D60), Copenhagen pyxis (D56).
  - 73. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Louvre stamnos (D53), Madrid pelike (D55), Munich cup (D59), Munich pyxis (D60), Copenhagen pyxis (D56), Athens N.M. bobbin (D68), Boston crater (D72), Naples crater (D78), Naples lekythos (D79), Würzburg dinos (D80),
  - 74. Athens N.M. bobbin (D68), Rome Besozzi stamnos (D46)
  - 75. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Bologna crater (D82).
  - 76. Würzburg stamnos (D52), Ferrara hydria (D81), two spears.

There are a few instances though, where he appears nude<sup>77</sup> or in a loin cloth<sup>78</sup> and once<sup>79</sup> very unusually wearing a hat and boots<sup>80</sup>.

It is not common for the couple to be alone<sup>81</sup>. Their most popular escorts are the Nereids<sup>82</sup>, then Nereus<sup>83</sup>, Doris<sup>84</sup> and Cheiron<sup>85</sup>. It is very odd for Pelops and his chariot with the winged horses to be seen on this theme<sup>86</sup>.

77. Würzburg stamnos (D52) with a chiton on his shoulder Athens 1629.
78. Louvre pelike (D66).
79. Ferrara hydria (D81).
80. He also wears boots on Bologna crater (D82).
81. Athens N.M. bobbin (D68).
82. Two on Ferrara hydria (D81) Würzburg stamnos (D52) and at least two on Munich cup (D59).  
Three on Munich pyxis (D60), Copenhagen pyxis (D56).  
Four on Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Madrid pelike (D55), Louvre pelike (D66), Naples crater (D78).  
Five on Athens onos (D83) at least five on Boston Crater (D72).  
Six on Naples lekythos (D79)  
Seven on Würzburg dinos (D80)
83. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Würzburg stamnos (D52), Louvre stamnos (D53), Madrid pelike (D55), Munich pyxis (D60), Louvre pelike (D66), Louvre hydria (D62), Würzburg dinos (D80), Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologne crater (D82), Athens onos (D83), Naples crater (D78).
84. Würzburg stamnos (D52), Louvre pelike (D66).
85. Louvre pelike (D66), Boston crater (D72), Naples crater (D78), Naples lekythos (D79).
86. Only on Ferrara hydria (D81).

Thetis' transformations into animals are not so popular here as on the previous group, nevertheless there are snakes<sup>87</sup>, panthers<sup>88</sup>, and dragons<sup>89</sup> with ears in a milder form. The lion which appeared so often on the previous group is totally missing here.

Dolphins are customary figures held by Thetis<sup>90</sup>, the Nereids<sup>91</sup>, or Nereus<sup>92</sup>, or painted in the background<sup>93</sup>.

- D46. On the Rome Besozzi stamnos (D46) a snake is coiled round Thetis' right hand, while the couple is surrounded by fleeing Nereids who occupy the whole frieze.
- D47. On the Brit. Mus. crater (D47) the snake, which denotes Thetis' transformation, appears again.

Hermonax has treated the subject on three stamnoi and on one pelike for which I have no information.

Villa Giulia stamnos (D48)  
 Orvieto Faina stamnos (D49)  
 Boston stamnos (D50)  
 Louvre pelike (D51).

On all the stamnoi the painting is similar. The subject occupies all the vase. Here Peleus no longer fights with Thetis as seen before, but he is chasing her and has caught her by the right shoulder.

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87. Munich cup (D59), Louvre pelike (D66), Athens N.M. bobbin (D68), Naples crater (D78). Rome Besozzi stamnos (D46). Brit. Mus. crater (D47).
88. Louvre pelike (D66), Ferrara hydria (D81).
89. Ferrara hydria (D81), Athens bobbin (D68).
90. Munich pyxis (D60), Copenhagen pyxis (D56)
91. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Louvre pelike (D66), Boston crater (D72).
92. Würzburg stamnos (D52).
93. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48), Copenhagen pyxis (D56), Athens N.M. bobbin (D68).

A number of Nereids flee away from the couple. On the D48. Villa Giulia stamnos (D48) a Nereid holds a flower<sup>94</sup>. On all the vases the figure of old Nereus is seated on a chair holding a sceptre.

The Deepdene Painter treated the theme twice on two stamnoi.

Würzburg (D52).

Louvre (D53)

D52. On the Würzburg stamnos (D52), the subject is depicted on both sides. On one Peleus, nude and holding a long stick, chases Thetis and has grabbed her right sleeve with his right hand. On the reverse, Nereus is seated with two Nereids.

D53. The Louvre stamnos (D53), representation occupies only one side of the vase. Nereus is standing to the left of the couple. There are no Nereids and Peleus is dressed in short chiton, here he is also chasing Thetis.

D54. The Copenhagen crater (D54) depicts Peleus chasing Thetis, yet the two Nereids on the scene face the couple and are not fleeing, they seem rather static unlike the ones on the other vases.

D55. On the Madrid pelike (D55) the scene is presented as on earlier vases. Peleus has caught Thetis and holds her in his frontal finger grip. Two Nereids are fleeing, while another two are on the reverse with Nereus.

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94. Elaborately painted. I have discussed about Nereids holding flowers in the second section.



D56. On the Copenhagen pyxis (D56) the subject is depicted all around it. The figures are painted in a careless manner and look childish, as if the painter had not really understood what the characters were representing, just using them to fill his space. Thetis runs holding a fish<sup>95</sup> in her hand, while another fish is placed in the background between her and Peleus, who is chasing after her, and two Nereids flee.

D57. Of the Brit. Mus. lekythos (D57) I have no information.

Followers of Douris have painted the following three vases:

Vatican cup (D58)

Munich cup (D59)

Munich pyxis (D60)

D58. On the Vatican cup (D58) the subject occupies both sides of the exterior<sup>96</sup>.

D59. The Munich cup (D59) is in a very fragmentary state. Peleus attacks Thetis and holds her in a typical grip, while a snake climbs up his back. Nereids rush away.

D60. On the Munich pyxis (D60) the quality of the painting is very much like the Copenhagen (D56) pyxis. The setting is also similar, except for the addition of Nereus, who stands by an altar<sup>97</sup>, behind which there is a palm tree.

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95. The common practice is for the Nereids to hold fish in their hands, nevertheless Thetis appears holding one on some vases: on black-figure only once Brit. Mus. lekythos (B70) on the red-figure Louvre hydria (D45), Copenhagen pyxis (D56).

96. ARV<sup>2</sup> 785,10

97. We have seen an altar together with a palm tree on Victoria and Albert cup (D10) on the first group of red-figure depicting the struggle.

D61. Of the Vatican Astarita cup (D61), there is no information.

The Painter of the Yale oinochoe<sup>98</sup> treated three vases:

The Louvre hydria (D62)  
 N.Y. Rolfe stamnos (D63)  
 Agora kalathos (D64)

D62. On the Louvre hydria (D62) Peleus is on the right of Thetis<sup>99</sup>, he is kneeling under a tree and looks as if he is going to attack her by surprise. She sees him and runs away. They are not yet engaged in any kind of struggle.

D63. On the N.Y. Rolfe stamnos (D63) Peleus is chasing Thetis. The setting of the figures is similar to the Copenhagen crater (D54).

D64. Of the Agora kalathos (D64) I have no information.

D65. The figures on the Cambridge pyxis (D65) are not clearly identified. Peleus is not represented here<sup>100</sup>. Three Nereids are fleeing off<sup>101</sup> one of them holds a dolphin. There are also two other figures, possibly Nereus and Doris.

98. Or manner of the Yale oinochoe (D64).

99. Usually Peleus is on the left of Thetis, and only here and on the Ferrara hydria (D81) is he on the right.

100. JHS 90 (1970) p.193

101. One of them is most probably Thetis.

D66. On the Louvre pelike (D66), the story occupies all the exterior. Peleus holds Thetis in his grip, a panther and a snake represent the transformations of Thetis. Doris has her hand raised over an altar<sup>102</sup>, Nereus is next to her, while Cheiron watches the struggle.

D67. Of the Vatican Astarita vase (D67) only fragments survive, which join to Florence 6 B44 by which a more legible picture is produced, with the usual figures.

D68. On the Athens N.M. bobbin (D68) the couple is depicted alone. Peleus has his hands round Thetis' shoulder and chest, in an attempt to capture her. The shape of this vase, a bobbin, is very unusual.

The next two vases are in the Manner of Pisto Xenos Painter.

D69. Boston cup (D69)

D70. Boston cup (D70).

Unfortunately I have no pictures of these vases

D71. nor of the Cab. Méd. crater (D71).

The Pan Painter treated the subject on a calyx-crater in Boston (D72). He illustrated this version of the myth on the upper band, which runs round the vase. Thetis is held by Peleus while the Nereids flee and Cheiron watches.

D73. On the Palermo frag. (D73) Peleus has embraced Thetis round her waist and his two hands cross, while a snake is climbing on his back.

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102. Altars appear on Victoria and Albert cup (D10) and Munich pyxis (D60).

D74. Of the Padua hydria (D74) I have no information.

D75. On the N.Y. stamnos (D75) the incident occupies both sides of the vase. On (A) Peleus has grasped Thetis using the hand grip, two Nereids, one on each side are fleeing, one holding a flower. On side (B) two Nereids flee towards Nereus.

D76. On the Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76), Peleus is dressed like a hunter, in a mantle and laced boots, and is holding two spears<sup>103</sup>. He chases Thetis who flees to the right towards old Nereus. On the left a Nereid runs holding a branch of leaves and flowers. The painter has made his own additions and elaborations on the theme<sup>104</sup>.

D77. In addition to this vase the Harvard excavations (D77) depicts a similar scene.

Naples volute crater (D78)

Naples lekane (D79)

are painted by the Niobid Painter.

D78. On Naples (D78) the theme occupies one side of the

D79. neck frieze of a volute-crater, while Naples (D79) the scene is painted on the flat-lid. On both Peleus holds Thetis, while the Nereids rush away under Cheiron's gaze.

On the second vase Cheiron holds a simple stick with two animals, most probably hares<sup>105</sup>.

103. He is dressed in this manner, on the Ferrara hydria (D81) the Bologna crater (D82), Palermo stamnos (D104) with Thetis to Cheiron and on the Louvre stamnos (D105) bringing Achilles to Cheiron.

104. Also this rendering is similar to the one on the Louvre G427 hydria CVA Louvre 9 (14) pl.52 (637), K 187 where the man has drawn his dagger and chases the woman, while girls are fleeing. Yet I do not think that this is a representation of Peleus and Thetis, because Peleus is never shown having drawn a dagger.

105. As we have seen on the version of Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron. Here Cheiron does not hold the branch on his shoulder.

D80. Würzburg dinos (D80).

This vase bears inscriptions of the names of all figures depicted ΝΑΩ, ΨΑΜΑΘΗ, ΚΥΜΑΤΟΛΗΓΗ, ΜΕΛΙΤΗ, ΣΠΕΩ, ΓΛΑΥΚΗ, ΚΥΜΑΘΟΗ, ΘΕΤΙΣ, ΠΗΛΕΥΣ, except Nereus who runs towards the couple holding his sceptre parallel to the ground.

D81. Ferrara hydria (D81) pl. 54

The representaiton is very odd. Peleus is on the right<sup>106</sup> dressed in hat and boots<sup>107</sup>, with a hydria under his feet. He holds two spears in his right hand and runs after Thetis. On the far left Pelops, whose name is inscribed is mounting a chariot with winged horses<sup>108</sup>. Between him and Thetis there is a large dragon with a long snaky body. A panther leaps up in front of Nereus who is also running. Bordering the scene are two columns.

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106. As I have noted earlier, Peleus is nearly always on the left of Thetis with two exceptions Louvre hydria (D62) and this present vase.

107. He is dressed as a hunter, as he is also on the next vase, Bologna crater (D82) and on the Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76). He is depicted in the same appearance on the Palermo stamnos (D104), with Thetis to Cheiron and on the Louvre stamnos (D105) bringing young Achilleus to Cheiron.

108. Never before is Pelops present nor is a chariot included.

D82. Bologna crater (D82). On this column crater Peleus is nude booted, probably wearing a petasos and runs after Thetis. Nereus is standing to the left holding a spear.

D83. Athens N.M. (D83) is an epinetron from Eretria. The struggle is represented on a frieze occupying the front part of the curve. The names of the figures are inscribed ΑΛΤΙΣ, ΜΕΛΙΤΗ, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ, ΠΗΛΕΥΣ, ΘΕΤΙΣ, ΝΗΡΕΥΣ, ΑΥΡΑ, ΝΑΩ<sup>109</sup>.

Peleus has caught Thetis and holds her in his finger grip. A dragon climbs up his back.

D84. Of Athens private collection hydria (D84), I have no information.

In this group the representation of the subject is not as uniform as on the previous one. The artists elaborate the incident with new elements of their own invention.

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109. The Würzburg dinos (D80) except for the names of Thetis and Peleus also carries the names of ΝΑΩ and ΜΕΛΙΤΗ.

## 7.3.4. c.350 B.C.

This section consists of only one vase<sup>107</sup>, pl. 55 (D85) painted after a gap of approximately two generations. It is very different in the treatment of the subject. Peleus and Thetis occupy the centre of the scene. Peleus is on the left, nude with a cloak wrapped round his back and a triangular hat. He surprises Thetis, who is squatting and taking her bath. She is nude, wearing a necklace and earrings, and holds a piece of cloth in her left hand. A dragon is coiled round Peleus' right leg having bitten it near his knee. A dolphin is painted in the background to the right of Thetis. Eros, nude, crowned and furnished with big wings, is flying over Peleus' head. On the right of the couple a draped standing Nereid is looking at them surprised. On her right another nude Nereid is stepping on a stone and holds a piece of cloth towards Thetis. Behind these figures as if in the background there are another three Nereids, two draped in long dresses to the left and one nude running to the right.

The painting on this vase is completely different from what we have seen before on earlier representations. The figures are plump and coquettish and many of the females are nude. The setting appears in a new way and does not follow the formulaic postures of the ones seen before. Thetis is completely nude and she is about to take her bath, while behind the couple in the background appear other figures. Nevertheless the dragon and a dolphin are still there.

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107. Brit. Mus. pelike (D85)

This subject has also been painted on nine vases for which I have no information, thus I cannot classify them on any of the above sections, these are:

Denver crater (D86)  
 Agrigento crater (D87)  
 Basel Market hydria (D88)  
 Cerveteri cup (D89)  
 Providence alabastron (D90)  
 Louvre hydria (D91)  
 Frag. (D92)  
 Lekanis lid (D93)  
 Cup (D94)

In the later years of the red-figure renderings of the struggle of Peleus and Thetis, the heroic element of the myth is gradually withdrawn. Peleus is not represented as the strong, heroic figure. The romantic idea wins grounds and the figures are depicted as the protagonists of a love story. Complete with running girls Peleus loses his heroic outstanding valour which is replaced by the qualities of an ordinary youth<sup>108</sup>.

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108. This attitude is very strong on the rendering of five Apulian amphorae which treat this subject (ca.420-320 B.C.). Yet the posture of the couple is more similar to the earlier red-figure, but with many additional details. These vases are the following:

1. Warsaw 142296
2. Munich 3267 (J 807)
3. Villa Giulia 249
4. Vatican X 5
5. Palermo fragment



#### 7.4. PELEUS AND THETIS AS A MARRIED COUPLE

The earliest representations of this subject appear in the late sixth and early fifth century. The theme continues to attract attention for approximately the next hundred years down to around 420 B.C. Six vases depict this incident of the myth. Their shapes involve a great variety, which does not correspond with those of black-figure<sup>1</sup>. The composition of the themes also differs in the two techniques; in black-figure the married couple is always mounted on a chariot, whereas in red-figure the two of them walk side by side, with the exception of two vases where the bridegroom<sup>2</sup> or the bride<sup>3</sup> is mounting a chariot. The vases in red-figure depicting Peleus and Thetis as a married couple are:

Athens Acropolis 176 cup (D95)  
 Leipsic T 3840 skyphos (D96)  
 Louvre G 226 pelike (D97)  
 Athens Acr. loutrophoros (D98)  
 Athens N.M. 1172 (CC1229) lebes gamikos (D99)  
 Louvre L 55 pyxis (D100)  
 Berlin 2530 cup (D101)  
 Ferrara T 617 calyx-crater (D102)  
 Athens bell-crater (D103)

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1. It is only the craters and the cups that were employed in both techniques. In black-figure most popular were the amphorae and hydriae of which we have no surviving examples in red-figure.
  2. Athens Acr. loutrophoros (D98)
  3. Ferrara crater (D102)

D95. Of the Athens Acr. cup (D95) pl. 57 only scattered fragments have survived. At the edge of one fragment the inscription ..... ΙΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ can be restored as Euphronios egraphsen on the basis of the style of the painting.

In order to reconstruct the original picture E.Svatick<sup>4</sup> referred to earlier black-figure treatments as the François vase (A13) and the Sophilos dinos in Athens (A12)

In her work the cup is divided into two parts:

Side A: Peleus and Thetis are the central figures preceded by a chariot mounted by Apollo<sup>5</sup> and a charioteer and escorted by Hermes. The couple are followed by Aphrodite and another three gods and goddesses, Athena Hephaistos and Artemis, each of whom raises a bowl to them<sup>6</sup>.

Side B: Dionysus occupies the centre and from either side of him two chariots leave, the one on the left mounted by Hera and Zeus, and the one on the right by Poseidon and Amphitrite, accompanied by a muse.

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4. Art. Bull. 21 (1939) p.264

5. Art. Bull. 21 (1939) p.269 "There is no identifying clue, yet one of the figures is reconstructed as Apollo, as this divinity playing his lyre frequently accompanies the quadriga of Peleus and Thetis on black-figure vases and seems indispensable to the scene".

6. Possibly connecting the scene with the wedding banquet.

If we accept her version of the reconstruction, then B represents the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in a similar manner to what we have encountered in earlier vases<sup>7</sup>, and A treats the subject in a unique way. There seems to have been a combination of two different time periods in one representation, the procession of the gods to the wedding and in addition Peleus and Thetis as a married couple<sup>8</sup>.

Nevertheless, despite the detailed reconstruction, the fact remains that only fragments survive, of these some carry inscriptions of the figures represented which are: Thetis grabbed by the wrist certainly by Peleus, Hephaistos, with his golden cup and Hera on the chariot with, most probably, Zeus.

The vase is very carefully painted, special attention being paid to the details such as drapery.

On the remaining vases which carry the same subject, the treatment is similar in composition. The bride and groom are pedestrians, the man is leading the way while they hold hands.

D97. On the Louvre pelike (D97) pl. 56 the couple is preceded by a female figure. She and the bridegroom are each carrying a torch. The bride is veiled and in her left hand holds a fruit<sup>9</sup>. Apollo follows, playing the lyre, accompanied by a deer.

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7. Brit. Mus. dino: (A11) and François Vase (A13)

8. On the black-figure version the couple is mounted on a chariot, accompanied by pedestrians, whereas on the red-figure vases the couple is always on foot and no chariots are present.

9. It looks like a pomegranate which could symbolize prosperity and fertility, as it still does in modern Greece.

- D99. On the Athens lebes gamikos (D99), the couple are accompanied by two women and a winged figure. The young woman at the head of the procession is holding a torch in each hand, while the other is playing the kithara.
- D100. On the Louvre pyxis (D100) the couple is accompanied by numerous figures. On the far right we see a closed door<sup>10</sup>, which symbolizes the house to which the couple is going after the wedding<sup>11</sup>. Outside receiving the procession is a bearded man holding a spear<sup>12</sup>. On the far left a woman is helping the bride with her peplos, while a man, Peleus is holding her by the hand. In the centre there are three additional figures: a man with light hair<sup>13</sup> leaning on a bay tree, a woman armed with a bow, probably Artemis and another female figure, much like the last of the procession, who is greeting the man with the spear.

This is the only vase where torches are not held and no musical instrument is present<sup>14</sup>. The pyxis was a vase for the use of women, and the subject of a married couple would be very suitable, especially to be presented as a gift to a bride.

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10. It is very similar to the doors depicted on the François vase (A13), Athens Acr. frag. dinos (A12) and the Brit. Mus. dinos (A11), which represent the wedding procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.
11. Already from early literature Alcaeus B10, we are informed that the couple go *εἰς δόμον Χέρρωνος*. This was probably a cave, but it is represented here as a house.
12. Had this figure had equine body, he could be Cheiron greeting the couple to his home, Alcaeus B10. The spear which he holds could be his gift to Peleus as we know from literature *Iliad* Π 140-141, *Cypria* Schol. on *Iliad* Π 140 OCT Homer V p.118, III.
13. He might be Apollo.
14. We do not take in consideration the Athens Acr. cup (D95), whose fragmentary condition does not allow us much information.

D101. On the Berlin cup (D101), the subject occupies one exterior side. On the far left there is a house seen from side view. In the porch there is a woman<sup>15</sup> holding two torches one in each hand. Outside the house is Apollo playing the lyre, crowned with leaves. Then follows the couple, both also crowned, the groom is wearing the same crown as Apollo, while the bride's looks more like a modern tiara. The procession is closed with another female figure holding one torch; she wears a scarf on her head.

D102. The Ferrara calyx crater (D102), presents us with a different approach to the subject. The bride has already mounted the chariot, while the groom is just on the point of doing so. Aphrodite is crowning Peleus, while a winged Eros, flying near the head of Thetis, is touching her tiara. On the far side of the chariot Apollo is looking at the couple and playing the lyre, he is also crowned. Further to the left Hekate is holding two torches and looking towards the couple, while Hermes holds the chariot reins. The presence of the chariot could be a new addition, except of course for what was painted on the Athens Acr. cup (D45).

D96. On the remaining vases<sup>16</sup> Leipsic skyphos (D96).

D97. Athens Acr. loutrophoros (D97)

D103. And Athens crater (D103)

I have no information.

15. Her proportions are too big for the house, her head reaches the ceiling.

16. At this point I should mention the Athens Acr. 732 crater by the Berlin Painter, of this vase only few fragments survive, and among the suggestions for the subject represented Beazley's, ARV2 205, 119, suggesting Peleus leading Thetis as a bride.

The incident of the myth in red-figure provides a uniformity in the treatment of Peleus and Thetis with the addition of individual characteristics.

The couple is on foot<sup>17</sup> proceeding to the left<sup>18</sup>, Peleus leading the way holding Thetis by the hand. He is draped<sup>19</sup> and crowned<sup>20</sup>. Thetis is wearing long drapery, tiara, and her head is covered by a cloak, sometimes she holds fruit<sup>21</sup>. In all cases the couple are accompanied by various figures. Most popular are the females<sup>22</sup>; of the male figures Apollo is the most favoured<sup>23</sup>, usually playing the lyre<sup>24</sup> while Hermes appears only once<sup>25</sup>, as does the man with the spear<sup>26</sup>. On Athens Acr. cup (D95), we see Hephaistos and Zeus mounted on a chariot, plus another two figures also mounted on another quadriga.

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17. Except for Ferrara crater (D102).
  18. On Louvre pyxis (D100) they follow the opposite direction.
  19. On Athens Acr. cup (D95) he has only a cloak over his shoulders.
  20. On Athens Acr. cup (D95) his head is missing and on Ferrara crater (D102) he is about to be crowned.
  21. Athens Acr. cup (D95), Louvre pelike (D97).
  22. One on Louvre pelike (D97); two on Athens N.M. lebes gamikos (D99), one of whom is playing the lyre, also two on Berlin cup (D101) and two on Ferrara crater (D102), where Aphrodite is crowning Peleus. Three on Louvre pyxis (D100) one of whom is Artemis dressed in her hunting gear and at least three on Athens Acr. cup (D95) plus Hera on a chariot.
  23. Louvre pyxis (D100).
  24. Louvre pelike (D97), Berlin cup (D101) and Ferrara crater (D102).
  25. On Ferrara crater (D102).
  26. Louvre pyxis (D100).

In two instances we encounter young Eros with wings<sup>27</sup>, and a deer<sup>28</sup>.

Additional items on some vases are part of a house<sup>29</sup> and torches, which, on nearly all vases<sup>30</sup>, are being held, at the head of the procession, by women<sup>31</sup>. On two vases a second figure also holds a torch<sup>32</sup>.

Usually, a chariot is shown, on Ferrara crater (D102) as well as on the Athens Acr. cup. (D95). These are the only vases which bear inscriptions.

Relevant to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is a stamnos in Palermo (D104). It is the only example in art which carries this iconography. On side (A), Peleus, in the centre of the scene, is dressed like a hunter<sup>33</sup> in boots and hat. In his left hand he carries two spears. Round his waist he wears an animal hide. To his left, her left wrist in his right hand, is Thetis, dressed in a long chiton. On the far right is Cheiron, who emerges from a cave. He is bearded and makes a welcoming gesture

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27. Athens N.M. lebes gamikos (D99), Ferrara crater (D102)
  28. Athens Acr. cup (D95), Louvre pelike (D97)
  29. Louvre pyxis (D100), Berlin cup (D101)
  30. Except on Louvre pyxis (D100) and Athens Acr. cup (D95), where due to the fragmentary state of the vase we cannot know.
  31. On Louvre pelike (D97) and on Ferrara crater (D102) and one in each hand on Athens lebes gamikos (D99) and Berlin cup (D101).
  32. Louvre pelike (D97) Peleus, and on Berlin cup (D101) a woman at the end of the group.
  33. He is also represented as a hunter when struggling with Thetis on Baltimore lebes-gamikos (D76), Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologna crater (D82), when taking Thetis to Cheiron, Palermo stamnos (D104) and when bringing Achilles to Cheiron Louvre stamnos (D105) and Acr. cup (D107).

with his right hand and head. In his left hand he holds a thick knotted stick<sup>34</sup>. The equine part of his body is hidden in the cave. The names of Peleus, Thetis and Cheiron are inscribed next to the figures. It is difficult to tell when this incident is thought to take place. One possibility is likely to have been after the wedding of the couple, when Peleus took Thetis ἐξ δόμον Χέρρωνος<sup>35</sup>. Yet if we take into consideration the reverse of the vase, side (B), we notice that the centre of the scene is occupied by an old man and on each side of him there is a running girl. There are no inscriptions but this scene reminds us of Nereus and the fleeing Nereids on the vases where the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is depicted. It is possible then that the scene on side (A) depicts the couple just after their struggle and before their wedding. In any case this is a unique representation.

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34. Not like the fork like branch, from which animals suspend, that he usually carries.

35. Alcaeus B10



### 7.5. PELEUS TAKING ACHILLEUS TO CHEIRON

The theme of Peleus taking Achilleus to Cheiron covers a period of about twenty years, thus being one of the subjects that lasts the shortest time in red figure<sup>1</sup>. The first representation appears ca.500-475 B.C.<sup>2</sup> and the latest ca.480 B.C. Only four vases survive: These are the following:

- Louvre stamnos (D105)
- Copenhagen lekythos (D106)
- Athens Acr. cup (D107)
- Coll. Canino amphora (D108)

- 
1. Less popular is the hunt of the Calydonian boar of which only one representation survives where the name of Peleus is inscribed, the Berlin cup (D1). Yet we should not forget that the hunt is initially more popular but it is only that Peleus is rarely named that brings down the number.
  2. The Painter Oltos, ca.520 B.C., treated the subject of Achilleus with Cheiron twice: On a neck-amphora in Louvre G3, ARV2 53,1 and on a cup in Berlin F4220, ARV2 61,76. On both these vases Peleus is absent. On the Louvre G3 neck-amphora, there is only Cheiron holding the infant Achilleus in his right hand, while in the other hand he holds a fork-like branch over his shoulder, from which is suspended an animal, possibly a hare. On the Berlin F 4220 cup there is the additional figure of Thetis to the right. Achilleus here is a grown up boy and stands facing Cheiron, whose staff here is without animals. On both vases the names of the figures are inscribed.

D105. On the Louvre stamnos (D105) pl. 60 Cheiron is on the far right dressed in a chiton and carrying on his left shoulder a branch with two animals; his head is crowned with leaves. His right arm is stretched towards Achilles in a welcoming gesture. Between the two there is a tree full of leaves and fruits, probably denoting that they are on Pelion.

Achilleus is represented as a young boy, the shortest of the figures; he is nude, wears a head band on his long hair and walks towards his foster father. Behind him, to the left, Peleus bids him farewell with his right hand, while his left is covered in his mantle and carries two spears. The outfit of Peleus is one of a hunter<sup>3</sup>: boots, animal-skin, and a shield in addition. His hair is tied in a headband, which ends in a tassel at the back of his head.

It is this hunting gear, and especially his boots, which might have been mistaken for Hermes' by the painter D106. of the next vase, the Copenhagen lekythos (D106) pl. 58 for he has represented Hermes instead of Peleus, dressed in a short chiton, hat, boots and carrying in his left hand the kerykeion, whereas with both hands he supports the baby Achilleus, who is stretching his arms towards the centaur. Cheiron is dressed in a long chiton, wearing a crown of leaves on his long hair. This time he is not carrying a branch over his shoulder, but he is leaning on a knotted club, while with his right hand he is greeting the god.

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3. Similar to the Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76), Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologna crater (D82) where Peleus struggles with Thetis and to the Palermo stamnos (D104) where Peleus is taking Thetis to Cheiron also to the Acr. cup (D107) where Peleus is bringing Achilleus to Cheiron.

D107. The Acr. cup (D107) pl. 59 is in a very fragmentary condition. On the far right stands Cheiron, facing left<sup>4</sup>. Towards him walks a figure in boots, who looks like a hunter<sup>5</sup>. Behind him follow in a row a group of gods<sup>6</sup> Hermes, Zeus, possibly Poseidon, Dionysos, Apollo and Artemis who are identified by their characteristic attributes. The rest of the vase is missing. Langlotz<sup>7</sup> interpreted the hunter as Achilleus and suggested that it was Hermes who brought him to Cheiron. Yet I think it is more likely the interpretation of LIMC<sup>8</sup> is correct, where the hunter is identified as Peleus who carries young Achilleus in his arms.

D108. Of the Canino amphora (D108) I know only<sup>9</sup> that the figures represented are inscribed and that Achilleus is depicted twice, once in the arms of Peleus and on the reverse of the vase in the arms of Cheiron. It is the only time that the incident is painted in such a manner. It is possible that the artist showed that the child was given from the father to the centaur.

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4. Only his feet survive

5. Only the lower parts of his legs and feet survive.

6. Whose heads are missing.

7. pl. 22

8. Vol. I, 1 p.46 no.38

9. Baur Centaurs p.105 no.254

The subject appears on various shapes<sup>10</sup>, and is treated by different painters. Cheiron has always an equestrian body and his human part is dressed. He is bearded and with long hair. He always faces to the left. On the Louvre stamnos (D105) he carries a fork like branch from which two animals are suspended on the Copenhagen lekythos (D106) he leans on a thick knotted club<sup>11</sup>. Achilleus is depicted either as an infant<sup>12</sup> or as a child<sup>13</sup>. Peleus is represented as a hunter<sup>14</sup> on the Louvre stamnos (D105), and on the Acr. cup (D107). On the Copenhagen lekythos (D106) he has been mistaken for Hermes who is depicted as bringing Achilleus to Cheiron and on the Acr. cup (D107) the theme has been elaborated by the addition not only of Hermes but of other gods as well. In the literary evidence there is no evidence denoting the presence of Hermes at this occasion. yet on the black-figure interpretations of the theme Hermes is present on the scene on four vases<sup>15</sup>.

As an appendix to this section, one might mention a Kabeiric Boeotian skyphos in the Brit. Mus. B77<sup>16</sup>, of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. This does not belong among the red-figure vases, but it is interesting as the only example of that style which depicts an incident from the life of Peleus. It is really a parody of Achilleus brought to Cheiron by Peleus.

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10. Stamnos, lekythos, cup, amphora
  11. On the Acr. cup (D107) only Cheiron' feet survive and of the Canino amphora (D108) I have not seen a picture.
  12. Copenhagaen lekythos (D106), Acr. cup (D107), Canino amphora (D108)
  13. Louvre stamnos (D105)
  14. He is also represented as a hunter when struggling with Thetis on Baltimore lebes gamikos (D76) Ferrara hydria (D81), Bologna crater (D82) and when taking Thetis to Cheiron on Palermo stamnos (D104) and on the black-figure rendering of the same incident Berlin hydria (B223) Roman Market hydria (B224).
  15. Palermo cup (B211), Naples neck-amphora (B215), Athens N.M. lekythos (B225) and possibly on Cab.Méd. lid (B226).
  16. Walters History I p.392 pl.98, Brommer VL3 331, D2, LIMC Vol.I.1 p.47 no.43, Vol.I,2 p.62 no.43

## CONCLUSION

The figure of Peleus appears in the beginning of Greek literature in the poems of Homer, where he is presented as the man with the heroic past who is now enfeebled by old age. By contrast, in art the first surviving representation is that of the Protoattic amphora (AI) ca.660-650 B.C. which depicts Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron. In early literature he is seen as a good, honest man, heroic and glorious despite the fact that his participation in the murder of Phocus was already known, and it is his heroic nature that is depicted in art.

As in the case of many other myths and mythical figures, earlier Archaic art is the most imaginative and deals with the figure of Peleus without the dry repetition of a formulaic interpretation, which eventually appears in the black and red-figure renderings of the myth. The materials on which the images were treated vary from vases, to a clay relief, bronze band (?) and stone throne. Their manufacture is Attic, Peloponnesian, Cretan, Corinthian, Eretrian, "Melian", covering many areas of the Greek world, thus showing that the myth of Peleus was widely known. As for the incidents of his career that are chosen, these comprise a wide range despite the fact that there are only twenty objects, (see Chart 1). Some of these subjects such as Peleus wrestling with Jason and Hippalkimos, as well as the gods' procession to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, do not appear again in the iconography of this figure, whereas others such as the struggle of Peleus and Thetis become extremely popular in later art. This freedom of interpretation, variety of medium, multiplicity of areas of production and assortment of subjects is typical of other myths of earlier Archaic art, these can be seen

most clearly illustrated in Schefold's Myths and Legend in Early Greek Art. From the middle of the 6th c. onwards, as Attic black-and red-figure vase production increases, the period of experiment and enthusiasm gives way to more rigid choice. The dominant material that has survived is pottery, not only because of its large production, but also the indestructible nature of the clay and the fact that many vases were preserved in tombs. The figure of Peleus becomes very popular in Attic vase painting, where the treatment in the setting and the arrangement of the figures, is very different from that of earlier Archaic art. Attic black-figure provides 233 illustrations and covers a wide range of subjects. Next in popularity come the red-figure renderings which reduce the subjects, and last, the fewest in number and subject, are the non-vase representations of the 5th c. B.C. (see Chart 1). Their scarcity is caused not only by their limited production, but also by the difficulty of their salvage because valuable materials such as gold are often plundered and melted down. During this period, as again can be most clearly seen in Schefold's Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der Spätarchaischen Kunst, the materials used, the areas of production and the subjects depicted tend to decrease, as the interest narrows.

There are painters in both black-and red-figure, who treated the theme of Peleus more than once, some painted the same subject repetitively, and others chose to interpret different incidents of the myth (see Charts 2A and 2B). Here we might mention the Eucharides Painter who depicted Peleus in both the black-and red-figure technique, once Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron in black-figure, and once Peleus struggling with Thetis in red-figure.

The theme of Peleus in art covers a period of three centuries, from the mid 7th to the mid 4th c. B.C., reaching the peak of its popularity at the beginning of the 5th c. B.C. (see Chart 3). The Attic black-figure technique overlapped Attic red-figure (see Chart 3), and it would be very interesting, but too great a task to be included in this work, to study the influence of the one over the other and their contribution to the evolution of the treatment of the myth. Yet the most interesting period, as I have noted already, is the earlier Archaic before interest fades. It is sad to see the representations becoming repetitive and dull, losing their meaning and finally (as on the last of the red-figure Brit. Mus. pelike (D85)), becoming antiheroic and bourgeois. This evolution is common in all myths in vase painting and is explained by Henle in Greek Myths chapter 1, where she points out that in the Archaic period illustration can be very complex and rich, then the interest is concentrated in the action of a dramatic moment and finally the mythological scene loses its meaning and slips into genre.

In examining the subjects within chronological boundaries (see Chart 4), we note variations in popularity which differ from one incident to the other. The longest lasting are the subjects concerning Peleus with a female partner i.e. Thetis, or Atalanta. Thus the duration of the subject is due to the interest in the women on the scene, especially Thetis. Next is the subject of Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron. Here it is perhaps because of Achilles that this interpretation remains popular. Then comes the hunt of the Calydonian boar, which lasts as long as action scenes are popular. As for the representations of the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis these were painted for specific reasons possibly weddings, within a limited time in Attica. Finally the strange scene of Peleus up a tree appeared and died instantly as an aberration to the general trend.

As for the materials that were used for representing the myth, best preserved are the vases. Of these most popular (Charts 5 and 5A), were the lekythoi, because they were cheap to obtain and were used as funeral vases and were thus more likely to survive. Next come the cups, amphorae, hydriai, craters, oinochoai, stamnoi, skyphoi, pelikai and various other shapes. The determining factor for the popularity of the vase shapes is their suitability for representing a specific subject. The shapes employed in black-and red-figure appear in (Chart 5 and 5B). In black-figure most popular are the lekythoi, amphorae, hydriai, oinochoai and cups, while in red-figure the preference is to the cups, craters, stamnoi, hydriai and pelikai. So it is apparent that the trend has changed, and shapes that were numerous in one technique (lekythoi and amphorae in black-figure, and cups in red-figure) are absent or scarcely appear in the other.

The relation of the vase shapes, or other materials used to interpret the myth, to the subjects is studied in Chart 5. In earlier Archaic art there is no specific popularity of a certain subject on a particular shape. In black-figure the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is represented mostly on lekythoi (78), amphorae (31), oinochoai (14), hydriai and craters (9). Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron is more popular on amphorae (8) and lekythoi (5), the married couple on hydriai (5), and the remaining themes on various shapes.

In red-figure the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is represented more often on cups (28), craters (14), stamnoi (13), hydriai (10), and pelikai (6). Then the wrestling match with Atalanta only on cups and the remaining subjects are scattered on various shapes. As for the 5th c. non-vase illustrations, the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is depicted twice on gold and twice on "Melian" reliefs and the wrestling match with Atalanta once on



a "Melian" relief and twice on gems. It is only these two subjects that represent Peleus on non-vase illustrations of the 5th c. B.C., both with his women opponents.

Charts 6 and 6A compare the popularity of the subjects to the shapes in general. Most popular is the struggle of Peleus and Thetis on lekythoi and cups; Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron on amphorae and lekythoi; the wrestling match between Atalanta and Peleus on cups and hydriai; Peleus and Thetis as a married couple on hydriai and lebetes gamikoi; and the procession of the gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on craters and dinoi. The rest of the subjects are distributed on various shapes.

In many cases the evidence is contradictory, and that of the literary sources is not always matched by that of the visual evidence. Many incidents that seem to have been important in literature such as Thetis dipping her children in a cauldron of water are omitted completely in art; or such as the story of Acastus' wife (?) and Peleus up a tree, subjects which appear only on very few representations. A likely explanation to the above very rare occurrence is the fact that some subjects are difficult to interpret visually. Nevertheless the contrary is also encountered. Scenes that are common in art are not explicitly narrated in literature such as the wrestling match of Peleus with Atalanta, Jason and Hippalkimos. The reasons for the above inconsistencies could be that various incidents may not be widely known either to the writers or painters; and there is the possibility of the existence of different versions and local divergencies of the myths.

The life of Peleus might not have been widely known, yet his name was connected with Achilleus his son and with Thetis his wife. His own figure was of relatively minor importance and seems to have been manipulated both in literature and vase-painting in the interest of those more important than himself. Yet it is on the three procession vases (A11, A12, A13) that the focus of interest is Peleus receiving the outstanding guests to his wedding. This incident of his marriage to a goddess is the most important moment of his life.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF CHARTS

- S1 The procession of the Gods to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.  
 S2 The hunt of the Calydonian Boar.  
 S3 The wrestling match with Atalanta.  
 S4 Peleus up a tree  
 S5 Peleus struggling with Thetis  
 S6 Peleus and Thetis as a married couple  
 S7 Peleus taking Achilles to Cheiron  
 S8 Various black-figure illustrations

- A Earlier Archaic art  
 B Black-figure  
 C 5th. c. non vase illustrations  
 D Red-figure  
 T Total

- |    |             |    |               |
|----|-------------|----|---------------|
| AM | amphora     | LE | lekythos      |
| AL | alabastron  | LG | lebes gamikos |
| BO | bobbin      | LI | lid           |
| BR | bronze      | LN | lekanis       |
| CH | chest       | LO | lutrophoros   |
| CL | clay relief | MA | mastoid       |
| CR | crater      | OI | oinochoe      |
| CU | cup         | OL | olpe          |
| DI | dinos       | ON | onos          |
| FR | fragment    | PE | pelike        |
| GE | gem         | PL | plate         |
| GO | gold        | PY | pyxis         |
| HY | hydria      | SK | skyphos       |
| KA | kantharos   | ST | stamnos       |
| KL | kalathos    | TH | throne        |
| KY | kyathos     |    |               |

## Notes on charts

The procession vases are listed under A, but being black-figure can be considered under B as well.

Objects that carry more than one representation are listed as many times as the representations appear.



Where representations are dated within a date range,  
the earliest date is used in the charts.

Colour key for charts 1 and 6A.

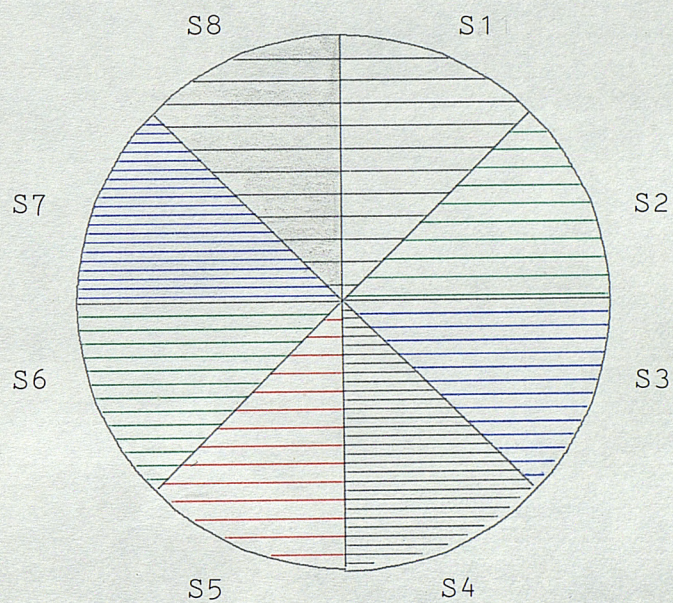
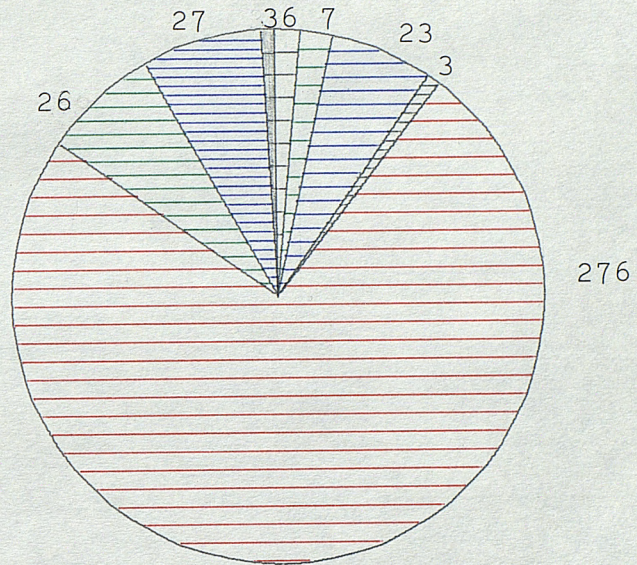




CHART 1

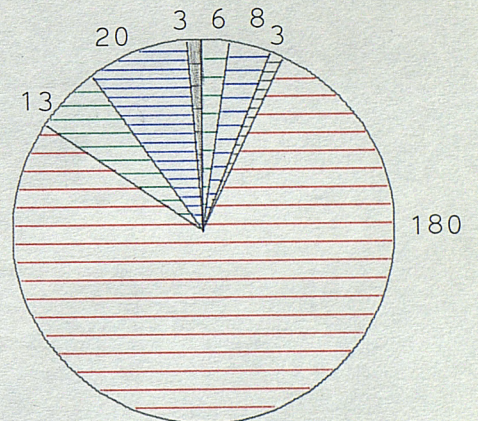
Relation of subjects to representations



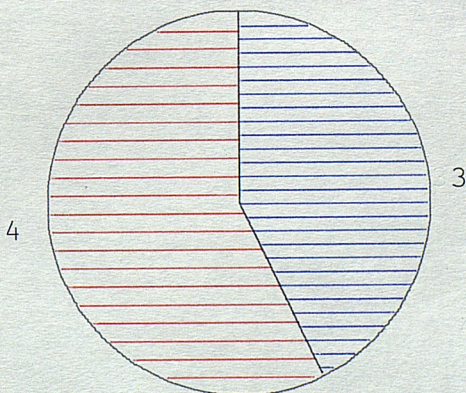
Total A + B + C + D : 371



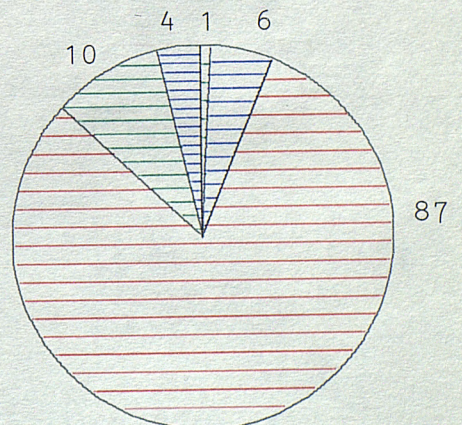
Total A : 23



Total B : 233



Total C : 7



Total D : 108

Note: For colour key see Abbreviations of charts



CHART 2A  
Painters of more than one vase  
Archaic and black-figure Painters

PAINTERS	S3	S4	S5	S1	S6	S7
Sophilos				A11, A12		
Krokotos Group	B12		B180-B181			
Sappho Painter	B13		B 57-B 60			
Diosphos Painter	B14		B 61-B 68			B219
Painter of London B620		B16				B222
C Painter			B 18, B 19			
EyeSiren Painter			B 27		B204	
Leagros Group			B 31-B 38			B223, B224
Group of Cracow Peleus			B 43, B 44			
Class of Athens 581			B 45-B 55			
Theseus Painter			B 69, B 70			
Athena Painter			B 71-B 76			B227
Haimon Painter			B 91-B110			
Red line Painter			B111-B119		B208	
Lysippides Painter					B220, B202	
Antimenes Painter					B203	B215, B233
Edinburgh Painter					B205	B225, B226 B228
Heidelberg Painter						B211, B212
Eucharides Painter			D 45			B218

CHART 2B  
Painters of more than one vase  
Red-figure Painters

	S3	S5	S6	S7
Eucharides Painter		D45		B218
Oltos	D2	D 8		
Aberdeen Painter	D4, D5, D6			
Euergides Painter		D 9-D14		
Euphronios Painter		D15	D 95	
Smikros		D16, D17		
Poseidon Painter		D20, D21		
Kleophrades Painter		D25, D26	D97?	
Berlin Painter		D27, D28	D105	D105
Tyszkiewicz Painter		D32-D36		
Douris		D37-D40		
Douris Followers		D59, D60 D65		
Makron		D41-D44		D107
Sylews Painter		D46	D97	
Hermohax		D48-D51		
Earlier Mannerists		D55	D99	
Painter of Yale oinochoe		D62-D64		
Pistoxenos Painter+Manner		D68-D70		
Niobid Painter		D78, D79		





CHART 4  
Chronological chart of subjects aggregate

	6			7th c.			6   5			6th c.			5   4			5th c.			4   3			4th c.											
	60	50	40	30	20	10	00	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10	00	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10	00	90	80	70	60	50	
S1							2		3	1																							
S2								1	4	1											1												
S3	1						1			3	2	3				1	5	1	4	1								1					
S4																	3																
S5	1		1	1			1			3	4	1	7	15	6	3	16	3	19	3	10	5	6	2	1	1							1
S6			1																														
S7	1						1			1	3	1	3	2	2	2	13	2															
S8											2						1																
TS	1	2	2	1			5	4	8	8	29	6	13	18	6	19	14	4	22	12	7	6	1	3	2	1		1					1

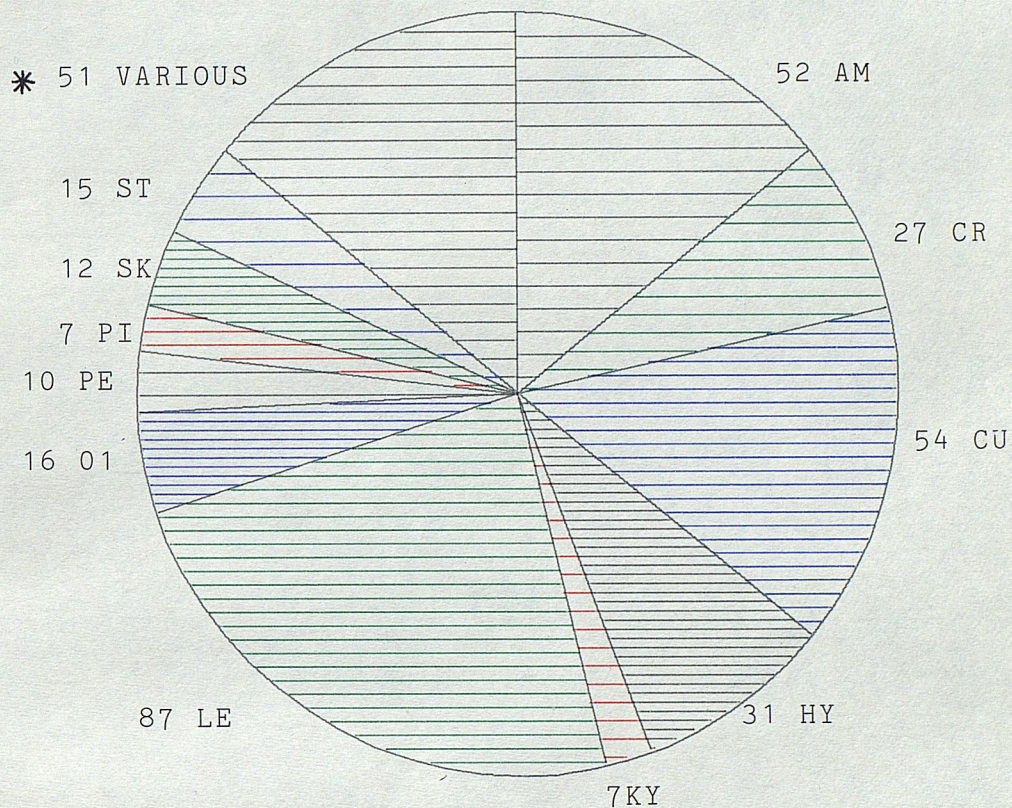
CHART 5

Analytical shapes to subjects by type of representation (A,B,C,D)

	AMAL	BO	BR	CH	CL	CRCW	DI	FR	GE	GO	HY	KAKL	KYLE	LE	LG	LI	LN	LO	MA	OI	OL	ON	PE	PL	PY	SK	ST	TH		
A S1				1		2	2								1													66		
" S3				1	1	1	1			2																		66		
" S5	1			1	1																		1					53		
" S6	1													2														33		
" S7	1																						1					33		
T A	3	1		3	1	4	3			2					2	1							2					23		
B S2	3					1	1				2																	66		
" S3	2					2				2			1												1			88		
" S4	1						2																					33		
" S5	31	3				4	9	3		9		7	78	1				1	1	1	14	2	3	3	2	10		180		
" S6	3					2	1			5			1	1														13		
" S7	8						2			2					1													20		
" S8							1			1																		33		
T B	48	3				7	16	1	3	19	1	7	85	2	1			1	16	3	3	4	2	11				233		
C S3									2																			33		
" S5										2																		47		
T C										2																		11		
D S2																												66		
" S3							1																					87		
" S5	1	1				14	28	1	3	10		1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	6	1	3	13			10		
" S6						2	2								1								1		1	1		10		
" S7	1						1								1													44		
T D	1	1				16	38	1	3	10		1	2	2	1	1	1	1			1	7	1	4	1	15		108		
TOTAL	52	4	1	1	4	27	54	5	6	2	2	31	1	1	7	87	6	3	1	1	16	3	1	10	7	6	12	15	1	371



CHART 5A  
 General chart of Shapes (Total 371)



\* VARIOUS (51)

ONE OF  
 BO, LN, ON,  
 BR, LO, TH,  
 CH, MA, KA,  
 KL

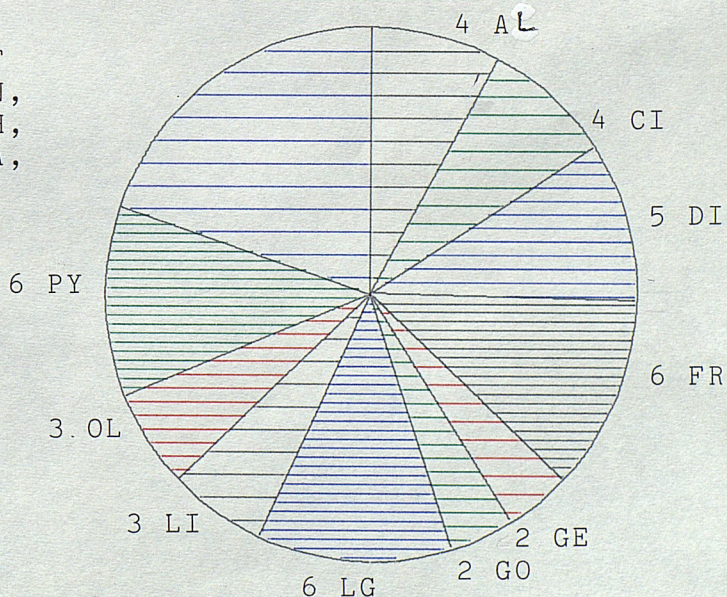




CHART 5B

Black-and red-figure shapes

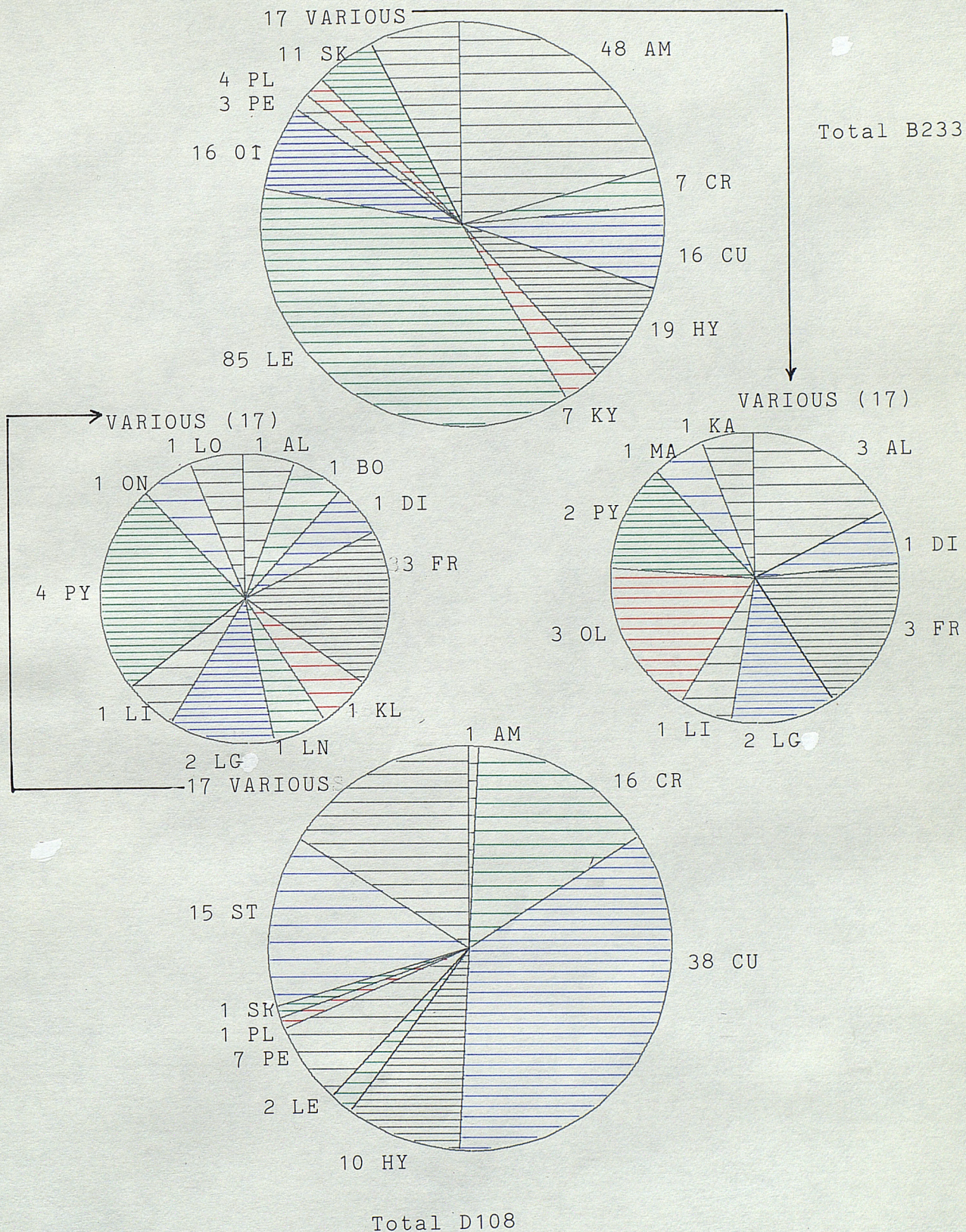




CHART 6

Shapes to subjects

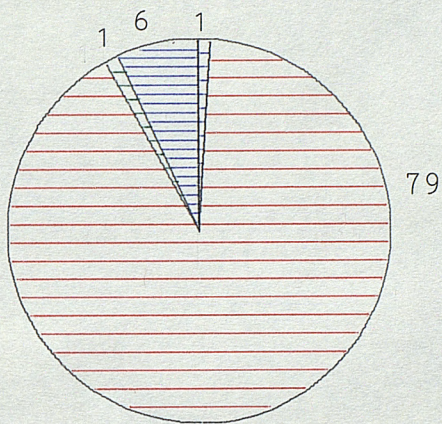
	AM	AL	BO	BR	CH	CL	CR	CU	DI	FR	GE	GO	HY	KA	KL	KY	LE	LG	LI	LN	LO	MA	OI	OL	ON	PE	PL	PY	SK	ST	TH	
S1				1			2	2										1														6
S2	3					1	2	1																								7
S3	2			1	2	1	8	1		2		4				1										1						23
S4	1																					1	1									3
S5	3	2	4	1	1	2	19	37	1	6	2	19	1	7	79	2	1	1	1	1	14	2	1	9	5	5	10	13				276
S6	4					4	3					5			1	4		1						1		1	1	1				26
S7	10						3					2	1		6			1			1				1			1	1			27
S8							1				1															1						3
	5	2	4	1	1	4	27	54	5	6	2	3	1	1	7	8	7	6	3	1	1	1	16	3	1	10	7	6	12	15	1	371



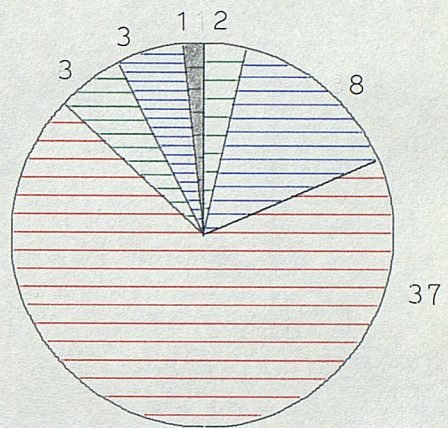
CHART 6A

Four most common shapes of vases by subject

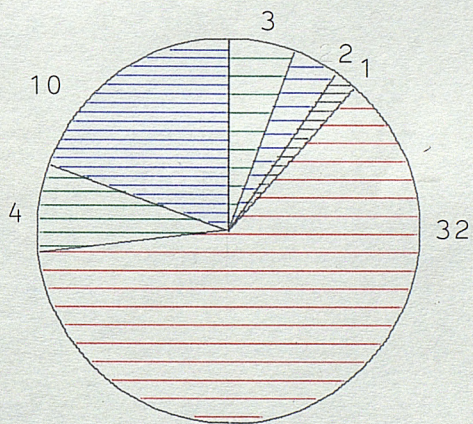
LE (87)



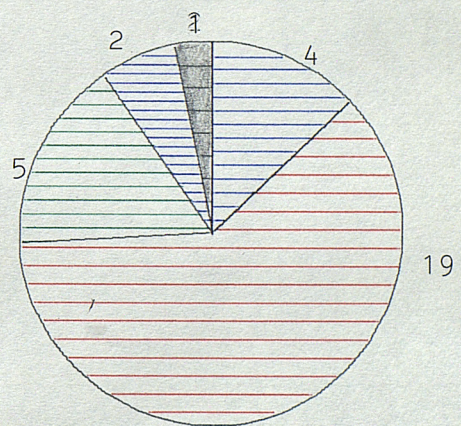
CU (54)



AM (52)



HY (31)



Note: For colour key see abbreviations of charts





- A7. Cab. Méd., Corinthian plate fragments, Probably by  
the Corinthian Chimaera Painter, ca.600-575 B.C.  
BCH 86 (1962)p.154 Nr.71, AJA 61 (1957) 5 NoI, Brommer  
VL3 331,C1, Archæol.Stud. p.10, LIMC Vol.I.1, p.47,  
no.44.
- A8. Amsterdam 2032-2034, pl.5 , Corinthian column-crater  
from Rhodos, ca.600-580 B.C.  
AA (1922)p.233 fig.25,Payne NC No.1188, Brommer VL3  
320, C2.
- A9. Syracuse, Chalcidian lid fragments from Leontinoi,  
ca.580 B.C.  
Rumpf Chalk Nr.17, pl.36, Brommer VL3 320,C1.
- A10. Athens N.M. 15466 Acr.590 a-e pl.6 , Attic black-  
figure, dinos fragments, ca.560 B.C.  
Graef I pl.27, Hesperia 2 II (1933) p.340 fig.12,  
Hesperia 9 (1940) fig.1, Brommer VL3 316, A7,  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.695, pl.62.

### 3.2. THE PROCESSION OF THE GODS TO THE WEDDING OF PELEUS AND THETIS

- A11. Brit. Mus. pl.7 , Attic black-figure, dinos on stand  
71cm high. Bowl 28,6cm height, 32,8cm diameter,  
Sophilos , ca.580 B.C.  
BMQ 36 (1971) pls.34-37, Para 19,16 bis, BMS Bull. 10  
(June 1972), Brommer VL3 320, A3, Boardman Athenian  
Black fig.24, Greek Vases I Vol. I (1983)
- A12. Athens Acr.587, pl.8 , Attick black-figure, Dinos  
fragments, Sophilos , from Acr. Athens  
ca.580-570 B.C.  
ABV 39,15, Brommer VL3 320, A2, Addenda 4.



A13. Florence 4209, "François Vase", pl. 9, Attic black-figure, volute-crater, Klitias, Ergotimos potter, from Chiusi, ca.570 B.C.  
ABV 76,1, Para 29, Brommer VL3 320, A1, Simon Greek Vases pls.51-57, Addenda 7, Art and Iconography (1983) pls.4.1a-4.1d.

### 3.3. NON ATTIC MID 6TH c.ONWARDS

A14. Louvre E639, Black-figure, Corinthian crater height 39cm, from Caere, pl.10 ca.560 B.C.

Payne NC No.1461, Schefold Myth pl.70bc, Brommer VL3 329, C1.

A15. Formely Berlin 1655, now whereabouts unknown, Black-figure, Corinthian crater, pl.11 ca.560 B.C.  
 Furtwangler III. pl.121.

A16. The stone throne of Apollo at Amyclae in Arcadia, ca.550 B.C.  
 Pausanias III.18.12, LIMC Vol I, 1p.47, no.45.

A17. Manchester III H5, pl.15, black-figure, Eretrian hydria, Atalanta group, from Veii, ca.550 B.C.  
AJA 48 (1944) p.253 fig.2, ABV 91,3, MMA Journ 2 (1969) p.30,32, Brommer VL3 316, A2, Beck Album pl.410, Addenda 9, LIMC Vol.II.2, p.695, pl.63.

A18. Athens N.M.1004, Black-figure, Eretrian Lebes gamikos "The wedding amphora", From Eretria, pl.12, ca.550 B.C.  
Catalogue M.N.Ath. 667, pl.28

A19. Athens N.M. 12076, pl.13, black-figure, Eretrian lebes gamikos, "The Peleus amphora", from Eretria ca.550 B.C.

BCH 54 (1930), p.23, Zervos L'Art p.144, BSA 47 (1952) pl. 9c, Brommer VL3 320, C1.

- A20. Munich 596 (J125), pl.14, black-figure, Chalcidian hydria height 46cm, from Vulci, ca.540-530 B.C.  
Rumpf Chalk. pl.23, Schefold Myth pl.IV, CVA Munich 6 (28) pls.280.1, 281.1 (1349, 1350), Brommer VL3 317, C1, Simon Gr. Vases pl.39, LIMC Vol.II.2, p.698, pl.74.

#### 4. A T T I C B L A C K - F I G U R E

##### 4.1. THE HUNT OF THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

- B1. Agora (1712) P.334, dinos, Connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, ca.580 B.C.  
Hesperia 4 (1935) fig.6, ABV 23M, Brommer VL3 310, A2, LIMC Vol.II.2, p.687, pl.1.
- B2. Florence 4209, see A13, pl.18, ca.570 B.C.  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.687, pl.2.
- B3. Berlin F 1705, Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian group, from Marciano in Valdichiano, ca.570 B.C.  
Gerhard pl.10,1, ABV 96,16, Brommer VL3 310, A5, CVA Berlin 5 (45) pl.16 (2161), Addenda 10.
- B4. Berlin F1707, Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Timiades Painter, from South Etruria, ca.570 B.C.  
Gerhard pl.10,4-6, ABV 96,19, Para 36, Brommer VL3 310, A6, Addenda 10.
- B5. Tübingen D2 (ex Berlin 1706), Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, from Orvieto, ca.570 B.C.  
Watzinger C.r.V. pl.4, ABV 96.18, CVA 2 (44) pls. 28.1,3 (2129), 29 (2130), Brommer VL3 311, A7, Addenda 10.

- B6. Munich 2243, cup, *Achilles & Glaucytes* potters, from Vulci,  
pl. 19 ca.550 B.C.  
Furtwangler pl.153,1 and iii,219, Buschor 126,  
ABV 163,2, Para 68, Brommer VL3 311,A14,  
Addenda 20.

#### 4.2. PELEUS WRESTLING WITH ATALANTA

- B7. Bonn University Fontana collection inv.46, hydria  
height 33cm, ca.560-550 B.C.  
AA 50 (1935) p.459-60 fig.37 no.25, LIMC Vol.II.2,  
p.696, pl.65.
- B8. Adolphseck 6, Pl.20, hydria height 31cm, from Italy,  
ca.550 B.C.  
CVA Adolphseck 1(11) pl.10 (488), Brommer VL3 316,A1  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.696, pl.64.
- B9. Munich 2241, cup. ca.540 B.C.  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.696, pl.66.
- B10. Oxford Ashmolean Mus. 1978.49, cup, ca.540 B.C.  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.696, pl.67.
- B11. Munich 1541, neck-amphora height 43cm, from Vulci,  
ca.500 B.C.  
Gerhard pl.177, CVA Munich 9(48) pl.28,1 (2325),  
Brommer VL3 316,A5, Beck Album pl.413, LIMC Vol.II.1,  
p.945, no.68.
- B12. Brit. Mus. 1925.12-17.10, skyphos, Krokotos group,  
ca.500 B.C.  
JHS 75 (1955) p.94 figs.2-3, Brommer VL3 316,A6,  
LIMC Vol.II.2, p.696, pl.69.
- B13. Syracuse 26822, lekythos, from Agrigento, Sappho  
Painter, ca.500 B.C.

ABL p.96,228.48, Brommer VL3 316,A3, Beck Album  
pl.412, LIMC Vol.II.2, p.697, pl.70.

B14. Berlin F2837, pl.21, neck-amphora height 24cm, from  
Nola, Diosphos Painter, ca.490-480 B.C.

Licht S.G. I, fig. p.229, ABL p.238,121, ABV 509,  
Para 248, Brommer VL3 316,A4, Beck Album  
pl.415, CVA Berlin 5 (45) pl.43.3,4 (2188), LIMC  
Vol.II.2, p.697, pl.71, Addenda 61.

43 PELEUS UP A TREE

B15. Villa Giulia 24247, neck-amphora, from Vulci,  
pl. 17 ca.500 B.C.

CVA 1(1) pl.9.3,5 ( 13 ), Brommer VL3 318, A1

B16. N.Y. 46.11.7, pl.16, oinochoe white ground, Painter  
of London B620, from Vulci, ca.500 B.C.

Strong Cat. pl.40, Brommer VL3 318, A2

B17. Market 1962, Olpe, ca.500 B.C.

Brommer VL3 318, A3

4.4. PELEUS STRUGGLING WITH THETIS

- B18. Leningrad B351 cup C Painter, from Berezan  
ca.570 B.C.  
Para 24, 48 bis, Brommer VL3 323, A71, K98
- B19. Taranto pl.22 cup C Painter from Taranto  
ca.570 B.C.  
ABV 53, 48 (40), N.Sc. 1903 p.208 fig.3, K226
- B20. Florence Vagonville 102b pl. 23 plate Lydos,  
from Chiusi ca.560 B.C.  
ABV 111, 46, Brommer VL3 323, A50,  
Callipolitis Plates pl.21,3, Tiberios Lydos  
pl.71.C, K80, Addenda 13
- B21. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 149.64 crater  
ca.540 B.C.  
AK Beiheft 7 (1970) pl.14,3
- B22. Munich 1650 (J.486) neck-amphora, Three line group  
from Vulci ca.530-520 B.C.  
CVA Munich 9 (48) pl.61.1 (2358), Brommer VL3  
321, A4, K132
- B23. Parma C2 neck-amphora, from Vulci ca.530-520 B.C.  
CVA Parma 1 (45) pl.3.1 (2004), Brommer VL3 321,  
A12, K195
- B24. Madrid 10903 neck-amphora ca.530-520 B.C.  
CVA Madrid 1 (1) pl.14.1a (14), Brommer VL3 322,  
A25, K123
- B25. Baltimore WAG 48,18 neck-amphora, Group of Würzburg  
199 ca.530-520 B.C.  
ABV 288,13, Brommer VL3 321, A18, K39, Addenda 37

- B26. Brit. Mus. B465 kyathos, Nicosthenic workshop  
from Vulci ca.530-520 B.C.  
Walters Cat Vol.II 237, B465, Brommer VL3 323,  
A62, Eisman Kyathos p.678, 256, K108
- B27. Brit. Mus. B215 neck-amphora, Eye-siren Group  
from Vulci ca.530-520 B.C.  
Walters History fig.128, CVA Brit. Mus. 4 (5)  
pl.52.1a (197), ABV 286,1, Brommer VL3 321, A7,  
K104, Addenda 37
- B28. Agora P266 fragment amphora? ca.530-520 B.C.  
Hesperia Suppl. 10 (1956) pl.1.3, Brommer VL3 324,  
A87, K28.
- B29. Brussels R268 kyathos, Group of Berlin 2095  
ca.520-510 B.C.  
CVA Brussels 1 (1) pl.3.2b (16), ABV 610, 4, K53
- B30. Glasgow Hunterian Mus. D131 plate, Group of Paseas  
from Chiusi pl. 24 ca.520-510 B.C.  
Callipolitis Plates pl.73,6
- B31. Munich 1415 (J380) pl. 26 belly-amphora, Leagros  
group ca.520-510 B.C.  
Gerhard III pl.227, CVA Munich 1 (3) 46.2 (140)  
Brommer VL3 322, A23, K127
- B32. Munich 1524 (J450) neck-amphora, Leagros group  
from Vulci ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 372,169, CVA Munich 9 (48) pl.57.1 (2353),  
Brommer VL3 321, A1, K128
- B33. Civitavecchia neck-amphora, Leagros group, from  
Civitavecchia ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 373,172, Brommer VL3 321, A10, K69

- B34. Tarquinia RC 1803 neck-amphora, Leagros group,  
from Tarquinia ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 372, 170, Brommer VL3 321, A15, K231
- B35. Collection of the Duke University Mus. of Art  
Durham (1974,6) neck-amphora, Leagros group  
ca.520-510 B.C.  
Art Myth and Culture p.79 side(A)
- B36. Louvre F301 hydria, Leagros group, Painter A  
from Vulci ca.520-510 B.C.  
Pottier Louvre pl.84, CVA Louvre 6 (9) pl.72.5  
(411), ABV 361,20, Brommer VL3 322, A26, K173,  
Addenda 47
- B37. Roman Market hydria, Leagros group  
ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 361,21, Brommer VL3 322, A29, K216
- B38. Syracuse 19883, lekythos, Leagros period from  
Gela ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABL 50, Brommer VL3 325, lek.25, K222
- B39. Munich 1542 (J653) pl. 25 neck-amphora, A.D.  
Painter ca.510-500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 321, A2, CVA Munich 9 (48) pl.14.1  
(2311), K129
- B40. Amieŋs 468 neck-amphora, Group of Munich 1501  
ca.510-500 B.C.  
Para 153, 13, Brommer VL3 321, A5, K6.
- B41. Chertsey Town Hall oinochoe, Briachos class  
ca.510-500B.C.  
Para 186, Brommer VL3 322, A39, K68

- B42. Tel Aviv lekythos, Gela Painter ca.510-500 B.C.  
Para 216, Brommer VL3 326, lek.55, K234
- B43. Cracow 1452 lekythos, Group of Cracow Peleus  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Cracow 1 (2) pl.6.1a,1b (60), Para 213,2  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.53, K95.
- B44. Syracuse lekythos, Group of Cracow Peleus from  
Megara Hyblea ca.500 B.C.  
Para 213,1u, Brommer VL3 326, lek.54, K225
- B45. Bologna 88 lekythos, Class of Athens 581 from  
the province of Bologna ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Bologna 2 (7) pl.41.2 (340), ABV 492,66  
Brommer VL3 324, lek.2
- B46. Athens (old no.2238), lekythos, Class of Athens  
581 ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 492, 67, Brommer VL3 324, lek.3, K17
- B47. Athens N.M. 398 (CC982) lekythos white ground  
Class of Athens 581 from Tanagra ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 492,68, Brommer VL3 324, lek.4, K9
- B48. Brit. Mus. (old no.2663) lekythos, Class of  
Athens 581 ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 500, 47, Brommer VL3 324, lek.6, K113
- B49. Olympia lekythos, Class of Athens 581 from  
Olympia ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 500, 48, Brommer VL3 324, lek.7, K159
- B50. Louvre lekythos, Class of Athens 581  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 500, 49, Brommer VL3 324, lek.8, K177



- B51. Salerno lekythos, Class of Athens 581,ii from  
Padula ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 702, 48 bis, Para 231, Brommer VL3 325,  
lek.23, K161
- B52. Agora P24515 lekythos, Class of Athens 581,ii  
from Athens ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.44, K33
- B53. Athens P18939 lekythos, Class of Athens 581  
from Vari ca.500 B.C.  
Para 238, Brommer VL3 326, lek.45, K18.
- B54. Myrrhinus lekythos, Class of Athens 581i from  
Myrrhinus ca.500 B.C.  
Ergon Arch.36 (1960) fig.50,2, BCH 85 (1961)  
p.629 fig.9, Para 225, Brommer VL3 326, lek.52,  
K38
- B55. Heraclion Giamalakis lekythos, Class of Athens  
581, Group of Delos 555 ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 500,46, Para 233, Brommer VL3 326, lek.51,  
K89.
- B56. Formely in private possession Athens lekythos  
Class of Athens 581, Group of Delos 555 from  
Tanagra ca.500 B.C.  
Heydemann G.V. pl.6,3, ABV 501, 80, Brommer VL3  
324, lek.9 and 326, lek.46, K36
- B57. Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology 109  
lekythos white ground, Sappho Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 507, 2, Brommer VL3, K59.

- B58. Louvre CA156 (L26) lekythos, Sappho Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 226, 11 pl.33.2, Brommer VL3 325, lek.28,  
K166.
- B59. Providence 14.432 (C2155) lekythos white ground  
Sappho Painter ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Providence 1 (2) pl.12.2a,b (65), ABL 227,40  
Brommer VL3 325, lek.29, K200
- B60. Lipari lekythos white ground, Sappho Painter  
from Lipari ca.500 B.C.  
Bernabò Lipara ii no.44, 4-6. p.154 fig.15  
Para 247, Brommer VL3 326, lek.56, K108
- B61. Capua inv.7555 (old inv 446) neck-amphora  
Diosphos Painter ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 240, 154, CVA Capua 2 (23) pl.4.5,6 (1067)  
Brommer VL3 321, A9, K63
- B62. Munich 1582 (J.1155) neck-amphora, Diosphos  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 241, 161, Brommer VL3 321, A3, K131
- B63. Vienna 226=IV 3599, neck-amphora, Diosphos  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 240, 148, Brommer VL3 321, A17, K237
- B64. N.Y. Market Tozzi neck-amphora, Diosphos  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 510, 26, Brommer VL3 322, A21, K158
- B65. Amsterdam 318 (1365), Alabastron white ground  
Diosphos Painter ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Scheurleer 1 (1) pl.1.1 (37), Brommer  
VL3 323, A54, K7

- B66. Fogg 1925.30.49, lekythos white ground, Diosphos  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Hoppin 1 (1) pl.19.1,3 (19), ABL 233, 20,  
Brommer VL3 325, lek.30, K87
- B67. Cambridge G126, lekythos white ground Diosphos  
Painter from Athens ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Cambridge 1 (6) pl.22.29 (260), ABL 234, 60  
Brommer VL3 325, lek.32, K58
- B68. Berlin F2003 lekythos white ground, Diosphos  
Painter from Athens ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 234, 39, Brommer VL3 325, lek.31, K45
- B69. Syracuse 33501 lekythos white ground Theseus  
Painter from Gela ca.500 B.C.  
ML 17 (1906) pl.13,2, ABL 252,59 pl.42,4, Brommer  
VL3 325, lek.36, K224
- B70. Brit. Mus. 1904, 7-8.5, lekythos white ground  
Theseus Painter from Thebes pl.29 ca.500 B.C.  
JHS 31 (1911) fig.10, ABL 252,68, Brommer VL3  
325, lek.37, K112
- B71. Philadelphia Art Market 1966 kyathos, Athena  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
Eisman Kyathos p.451, no.128, Brommer VL3  
323, A65, AJA 77 (1973) p.72
- B72. Brit. Mus. B500, oinochoe white ground, Athena  
Painter or his workshop from Camiros ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 261, 26, ABV 528, 37 = 535, 12, Brommer  
VL3 322, A40, K109

- B73. Brit. Mus. B619, oinochoe white ground Athena Painter or his workshop from Camiros  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 261, 34, ABV 525, 8, Brommer VL3 322, A41, K111
- B74. Philadelphia Market oinochoe, Athena Painter or his workshop  
ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer, VL3 323, A48, K197
- B75. Goluchow Cz.29 oinochoe, Athena Painter or his workshop  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 526,2, CVA Goluchow 1 (1) pl.42.1 (42), Para 263,2, Brommer VL3 323, A47, K85.
- B76. Palermo Mormino 308 lekythos, Athena Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Palermo 1 (50) pl.19.1,3 (2229), Brommer VL3 326, lek.69, K261.
- B77. Ferrara 1554 (T445) oinochoe, Group of Haimon from Spina Valle Trebba  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Ferrara 2 (48) pl.27.1 (2152), Para 283 Brommer VL3 322, A43, A45, K78
- B78. Athens 12768 (N977), alabastron white ground Haimon Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 555, 423, ABL 245, 83, pl.41.3, Brommer VL3 323, A52, K15
- B79. Bochum S487 kyathos, Haimon group ca.500 B.C.  
Funcke Bochum no.78, Brommer VL3 323, A60, K242
- B80. Louvre A245 cup, Manner of Haimon Painter from Cyprus  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 564, 578, CVA Louvre 10 (17) pl.115.3,9 (750), Brommer VL3 323, A66, K165

- B81. Brit. Mus. B449 cup, Haimon Painter from Rhodes  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 561, 536, Brommer VL3 323, A67, K107,  
pl.4a, Addenda 65
- B82. Taranto cup, Haimon group, from Taranto  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Taranto 2 (18) pl.7.2 (873), ABV 563, 577,  
Brommer VL3 323, A70, K227
- B83. Bucarest 03355 skyphos, Manner of Haimon  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
Para 286, CVA Bucarest 1 (1), pl.23.5 (23),  
Brommer VL3 324, A75, K54
- B84. Agora P85 40 cup skyphos, Haimon group, from  
Athens ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 567, 633, Brommer VL3 323, A73, K30
- B85. Agora P23321 cup skyphos, Haimon group, from  
Athens ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 569, 663, Brommer VL3 323, A74, K32
- B86. Philadelphia 418 cup skyphos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 708, 663 bis, Brommer VL3 324, A76, K196
- B87. Agora P23333 skyphos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 571, 705, Brommer VL3 324, A77, K29
- B88. Thebes R.46.79 skyphos, Haimon group from  
Rhitsona ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 571, 701, Brommer VL3 324, A80, K236

- B89. Cab. Méd. 349, mastoid, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 245, 91, ABV 558, 469, CVA Bibliothèque  
Nationale 2 (10) pl.67.5-9 (453), Brommer  
VL3 324, 82, K189
- B90. Berkeley 8.891, mastoid, Haimon group from  
Orvieto ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 558, 470, CVA Berkeley 1 (5) pl.18.3a,b  
(199), Brommer VL3 324, A83, K43
- B91. N.Y. 41.162.207 lekythos white ground, Haimon  
group ca.500 B.C.  
ABY 538,8, CVA Fogg and Gallatin 1 (8) pl.43.7  
(391), Brommer VL3 324, lek.11, K155
- B92. Dunedin 48.251, lekythos, Haimon group from  
Athens ca.500 B.C.  
JHS 71 (1951) p.185 fig.4,a, ABV 550, 319  
Brommer VL3 324, lek.12, K75.
- B93. London Winslow lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 320, Brommer VL3 325, lek.13, K121
- B94. Larnaka Pierides lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 321, Brommer VL3 325, lek.14, K96
- B95. Mannheim C.g.42 lekythos, Haimon group from  
Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 322, CVA 1 (13) pl.19.8,9 (605)  
Para 233 and 270, Brommer VL3 325, lek.15, K125
- B96. Agora P10365 lekythos, Haimon group from  
Athens ca.500 B.C.;  
ABV 550, 323, Para 270, Brommer VL3 325,  
lek.16=326, lek.42, K31

- B97. Vienna University 739, 18, lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 324, CVA 1 (Germany 5), pl.6.15 (200)  
Para 233 and 270, Brommer VL3 325, lek.17, K238
- B98. Athens N.M. 604 (CC885) lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 325, Brommer VL3 325, lek.18, K11
- B99. Lyons lekythos, Haimon group ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 326, Para 233, Brommer VL3 325, lek.19  
K122
- B100. Catania 668 lekythos, Haimon group from Camarina  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 327, Brommer VL3 325, lek.20, K64
- B101. Geneva inv. I 744 (P428) lekythos, Manner of  
the Haimon Painter ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 550, 328 = 541, 68, Para 270, CVA 2 (3)  
pl.74.13-15 (130), Brommer VL3 325, lek.21, K84,  
Addenda 64
- B102. Capua 170 lekythos, Haimon Group from Capua  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 706, 326 bis, CVA Capua 2(23) pl.8,3-5  
(1071), Brommer VL3 325, lek.24, K62.
- B103. Formerly Burgon 104 lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 243, 51, Brommer VL3 325, lek.33, K55
- B104. Louvre F452 lekythos, Haimon group  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 243, 52, Brommer VL3 325, lek.34, K176

- B105. Cambridge G96 lekythos, Haimon group from  
Athens ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 244, 69, CVA Cambridge 1 (6) pl.22.10 (259)  
Para 233, Brommer VL3 325, lek.35, K57.
- B106. Basel Z 336 lekythos, ca.500 B.C.  
Manner of the Haimon Painter, CVA Basel 1 (4)  
pl.55.8 (201)
- B107. Delphi lekythos, Haimon group from Delphi  
ca.500 B.C.  
Para 279, Brommer VL3 326, lek.47, K72.
- B108. Delphi 3 lekythos, Haimon group from Delphi  
ca.500 B.C.  
Para 279, Brommer VL3 326, lek.48, K73.
- B109. Taranto lekythos, Haimon group ca.500 B.C.  
Para 278, Brommer VL3 326, lek.57, K229
- B110. Gena 163 lekythos, Haimon group ca.500 B.C.  
Para 279, Brommer VL3 326, lek.58, K90
- B111. Naples H 2449 neck-amphora, Red line Painter  
from Ruvo ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 601, 8, Brommer VL3 321, A11, K146.
- B112. Villa Giulia (M 488) neck-amphora, Red line  
Painter from Etruria ca.500 B.C.  
Mingazzini pl.78,1, ABV 373, 171 = 603, 64  
Para 300, Brommer VL3 321, A13, K206
- B113. Capesthorpe Hall 11 neck-amphora, Red line  
Painter ca.500 B.C.  
JHS 78 (1958) pl.10a, Para 301, 8 bis, Brommer  
VL3 321, A19, = 322, A20, K61



- B114. Munich 1543 (J.501) neck-amphora, Red line painter from Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Munich 9 (48) pl.18.4 (2315), K130
- B115. Naples inv.81178 (H 2535) pl. 27 neck-amphora related to the Red Line Painter from Etruria ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Naples 1 (20) pl.3.3,4 (947), ABV 607,u, Brommer VL3 322, A24, K148
- B116. Copenhagen NM2 pelike, Red line Painter from Capua ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 604, 71, CVA Copenhagen 3 (3) pl.121.1a (123), Brommer VL3 323, A55, K92
- B117. Naples RC 205 pelike, Red line Painter from Cumae ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 604, 72, Brommer VL3 323, A56, K144
- B118. Naples inv.86334 hydria, Manner of Red line Painter from Cumae ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 606, 20, Brommer VL3 322, A28, K149
- B119. Munich 1889 (J.767) lekythos, Red line Painter from Sicily ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 197, 6, ABV 380, 288 and 605, 85, Brommer VL3 324, lek.A1, K134
- B120. Athens NM 849 (490) (CC905) lekythos, ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Athens 1 (1) pl.7.6 (15), Brommer VL3 325, lek.39, K10
- B121. Athens N.M. 11732a lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 325, lek.40 = 326, lek.65, K12

- B122. Athens N.M. 117321 lekythos white ground  
ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.41, 67, K16
- B123. Agora P1282 lekythos, ca.500 B.C.  
Hesperia 15 (1946) 304, No.152, pl.55, Brommer  
VL3 326, lek.43, K253
- B124. Eleusis 2367 (311) lekythos from Eleusis  
ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.49, Mylonas Eleusis pl.213,  
80.
- B125. Eleusis 2374 (115) lekythos from Eleusis  
ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.50, Mylonas Eleusis  
pl. 385, 795 and pl. 426, 795
- B126. Vienna Mus. Beaux Arts lekythos white ground  
ca.500 B.C.;  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.59
- B127. Ann Arbor Marburg Collection (2598) lekythos  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA University of Michigan 1 (3) pl.163 (101)  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.60, K8
- B128. Cambridge G95 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.61, K56
- B129. Brit. Mus. B540 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.62, K110
- B130. Rouen lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.63, K218

- B131. Paris Mikas lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.64, K194
- B132. Siena lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.66, K221
- B133. Darmstadt Landesmus lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 326, lek.68, K71
- B134. Berlin F1997 lekythos, Krotala group from  
Phaleron ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 231, 5, Heydemann G.V. pl.6,2, ABV 515,  
Brommer VL3 325, lek.38, K44
- B135. N.Y. 06.1021.158 lekythos white ground  
Krotala group ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 119,2 = 231,2, Brommer VL3 325, lek.26,  
K154
- B136. Palermo 79 lekythos, Marathon Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 221, 4u, Brommer VL3 325, lek.27, K162.
- B137. Nauplion 80 lekythos ca.500 B.C.
- B138. Athens (CC328) lekythos ca.500 B.C.;  
Baur Centaurs p.107, no.261
- B139. Agrigento 148 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
K4
- B140. Cambridge Corpus Christi College lekythos  
ca.500 B.C.  
Schauenburg 51 note 344, K60

- B141. Heidelberg inv. 63/10 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Heidelberg 4 (31) pl.170, 3-4 (1509)  
K88
- B142. Leyden lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
K102
- B143. Marseille before 160.6 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
 Schauenburg 51 note 344, K126
- B144. Naples H2738 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
K148
- B145. Prague N.M. lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
 Brommer VL2 113, K199
- B146. Taranto 52183 lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
 Schauenburg 51 note 344, K228
- B147. Fogg Khalebdjan Sept.1929 lekythos,  
 ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Fogg and Gallatin Collection 1 (8) pl.43.7
- B148. Publication from Vari lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
Arch. Delt 17 (1961-62) Vol.II Chronicα pl.39  
 tomb X, K248
- B149. Publication from Olynthus lekythos  
 ca.500 B.C.  
Olynthus V.pl.54, fig.46, inv.470, K250
- B150. Publication lekythos ca.500 B.C.  
N.Sc. 14 (1960) 140 fig. 5b, K249

- B151. Syracuse 21962 neck-amphora from Gela  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Syracuse 1 (17) pl.7.2 (812), Brommer  
VL3 321, A14, K223
- B152. Bologna 85 neck-amphora, Group of Brussels  
R312 ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 483,3, Para 157, 9, 6, Brommer VL3 321,  
A6.
- B153. Agrigento Giudice 678 neck-amphora from Gela  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 599, 41, Brommer VL3 321, A8, K2
- B154. Tarquinia neck-amphora ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 321, A22
- B155. San Simeon Hearst inv.5523 neck-amphora,  
ca.500 B.C.;  
Brommer VL3 322, A22, K220
- B156. Gela amphora ca.500 B.C.  
ML 17, 468, f.333, pl.34, Baur Centaurs p.106,  
no.256.
- B157. Villa Giulia 50280 neck-amphora ca.500 B.C.  
K208.
- B158. Tarquinia inv.652, neck-amphora ca.500 B.C.  
Studi Etruschi 36 (1968) Series II pl.60,  
fig.F, K232
- B159. Compiègne 1030 oinochoe, Painter of Vatican  
G.49 from Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Compiègne 1 (3) pl.12.6 (110), ABV 535, 23  
Brommer VL3 322, A35

- B160. Louvre F348 oinochoe, Class of Louvre F348  
from Etruria ca.500 B.C.  
Pottier Louvre pl.86, ABV 428, 1, Brommer VL3  
322, 36, 37, K175
- B161. Ferrara 266 (T475) oinochoe, Class of Alten-  
burg, from Valle Trebba ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Ferrara 2 (48) pl.9,1 (2134), Para 168,  
Brommer VL3 322, A44, K79.
- B162. Dresden H216 oinochoe ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A33
- B163. Munich oinochoe ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A34, K136
- B164. Athens 12711 oinochoe ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A38, K14
- B165. Cerveteri Mus. 47459 oinochoe ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A42=A46, K65
- B166. Cerveteri Vit. IV T426 oinochoe from Bandi-  
taccia ca.500 B.C.  
K66
- B167. Leiden P.C. 48 xve 29 hydria from Vulci  
ca.500 B.C.  
Roulez Choix pl.12,2, Baur Centaurus pl.no.257  
Brommer VL3 322, A31, K101
- B168. Brit. Mus. B349 hydria from Camiros  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Brit. Mus. 6 (8) pl.97,3 (356), ABL 248,1  
Brommer VL3 322, A27, K106

- B169. Vatican inv.16452 hydria ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A30, K203
- B170. Frankfurt hydria ca.500 B.C.  
Schaal pl.13
- B171. Rome Sala Cerveteri Vitr.12 hydria ca.500 B.C.  
K211
- B172. Athens Acr.756 hydria frag. ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz I, 93 no.756, K25
- B173. Villa Giulia inv.35.58 cup ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Villa Giulia 3 (3) pl.44.1-4 (128),  
Brommer VL3 323, A69, K207
- B174. Villa Giulia cup fr. ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 323, A68, K210
- B175. Market 1959 (Ars Antiqua) cup ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 323, A72
- B176. Barcelona cup ca.500 B.C.  
Schauenburg 51 note 344, K41
- B177. Rome Museo Artistico Industriale (Vas.inv.379)  
kyathos white ground ca.500 B.C.  
RM 38-39 (1923-1924) pl.5, Brommer VL3 323, A63  
K214
- B178. Munich J133 kyathos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 323, A61, K135
- B179. Basel Art Dealer 16 kyathos ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 323, A64

- B180. Athens 928 (N183) 12584 skyphos, Krokotos group  
ca.500 B.C.  
Nicole Cat. pl.12,13, ABV 209, 4, Brommer VL3  
324, A78, K13
- B181. Thebes R 18.95 skyphos, Krokotos group from Rhitsona  
ca.500 B.C.;  
ABL 253, 14, ABV 209, 3, Brommer VL3 324, A81  
K235
- B182. Athens Acr. skyphos white ground  
ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz I, no.1337, Brommer VL3 324, A79, K26
- B183. Louvre F307 column-crater ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 2 (2) pl.4.4 (76), Brommer VL3 323,  
A58, K174
- B184. Agrigento C1535 column-crater ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 323, A59, K3
- B185. Munich (J538) 1740 volute-crater ca.500 B.C.  
Baur Centaurs pl107, no.263, K133
- B186. Naples RC 207 H874 alabastron ca.500 B.C.  
ML 22 (1914) pl.61.2, Brommer VL3 323, A53, K145
- B187. Athens Kerameikos alabastron white ground  
ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3, A51, K35
- B188. Berlin F 4008 pyxis from Attica ca.500 B.C.  
Roberts Pyxis p.26.6, Brommer VL3 324, A84, K46
- B189. Athens Acr. 2086 pyxis ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz I no.2086, Brommer VL3 324, A85



- B190. Florence 2121 (new inv.3850) olpe ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 322, A32, K81.
- B191. Villa Giulia olpe ca.500 B.C.  
Schauenburg 51 note 344, K209
- B192. Louvre MN 905 CA 2569 plate from Beotia  
ca.500 B.C.  
Callipolitis Plates pl.10,67, Brommer VL3 322,  
A49, K167
- B193. Brit.Mus. B298 pl. 30 lebes gamikos  
ca.500 B.C.  
Milne Shapes pl.72, Boardman Athenian Black  
fig.293, Brommer VL3 323, A57, K105
- B194. Capua pl.28 pelike ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Capua 2 (23) pl.7.3,4 (1070)
- B195. Brauron frag. ca.500B.C.  
Brommer VL3 324, A88
- B196. Athens Acr. 1209 frag. ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz I pl.69, Brommer VL3 324, A86, K27
- B197. Athens Acr. 1173 frag. ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz I 130 No.1173 pl.67, K26

4.5. PELEUS AND THETIS AS A MARRIED COUPLE

- B198. Brit Mus. B197 pl. 31 belly-amphora. The Painter of Berlin 1686 from Camiros  
ca.540-530 B.C.  
ABV 296,1, Para 128, Walters Cat. pl.5, CVA Brit. Mus. 3 (4) pl.38.1a (158), Brommer VL3 319, A6
- B199. Orvieto 315 belly-amphora. The Towry Whyte Painter from Orvieto ca.540-530 B.C.  
ABV 142,2, Brommer VL3 318, A1
- B200. Oxford 1965.119 hydria, Manner of Lysippides Painter ca.530-520 B.C.  
ABV 261, 35, Para 115, ARV 6, 14, CVA Oxford 3 (14) pl.38.4 (653), Brommer VL3 318, A3
- B201. Brit. Mus. B339 hydria, Related to the Lysippides Painter, Group of London B339, from Vulci  
ca.530-520 B.C.  
ABV 264,1, JHS 71 (1951) pl.18a, CVA 6 (8), pl. 92,3 (351), Brommer VL3 318, A4.
- B202. Florence 3790 hydria, Manner of Lysippides Painter from Orvieto ca.530-520 B.C.  
ABV 260, 30, ARV 4, 24, Para 114, 30, Brommer VL3 318, A2
- B203. Brit. Mus. B340 hydria, Antimenes Painter from Vulci ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 267, 9, CVA Brit. Mus. 6 (8) pl. 92.4 (351)
- B204. Dr. Ludwig hydria, Eye-Siren group pl. 32 ca.520-510 B.C.  
ABV 287, 13, Lullies A.K.M. 37 (1968) no.23, Para 125, Brommer VL3 318, A5

- B205. N.Y. Noble lekythos, Edinburgh Painter  
ca.510 B.C.  
Ancient Art no.213, Brommer VL3 319, A7
- B206. Market 1970, column-crater ca.500 B.C.  
Sotheby 13 July 1970, no.132, Brommer VL3 319, A9
- B207. Brit. Mus. B298 lebes gamikos ca.500 B.C.  
pl. 30  
Milne shapes pl.72, Boardman Athenian Black  
fig.293, Brommer VL3 323, A57
- B208. Naples inv. 81178 (H 2535) neck-amphora, related  
to the Red line Painter from Etruria pl. 27  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Naples 1 (20) pl.3.3,4 (947), ABV 607,u  
Brommer VL3 322, A4
- B209. Kavalla A3132 cup ca.500 B.C.  
Lasaridis Odigos 97, Brommer VL3 319, A10
- B210. Bari crater ca.500 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 319, A8

4.6. PELEUS BRINGING ACHILLEUS TO CHEIRON

- B211. Palermo pl. 33 cup fr. Siana, Heidelberg Painter  
from Selinus ca.560 B.C.  
Beazley Development pl.20 no.2, ABV 65, 45,  
Brommer VL3 330, A22, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46, no.30
- B212. Würzburg L452 pl. 34 cup Siana, Heidelberg  
Painter from Vulci ca.550 B.C.  
Johansen Dragma p.185 fig.3, ABV 63, 6, Brommer  
VL3 330, A20, Boardman Athenian Black fig.40,  
LIMC Vol.I,1. p.46, no.35, Vol.I,2. p.60, no.35,  
Addenda 6
- B213. Florence neck-amphora fr., Swing Painter  
ca.550 B.C.  
ABV 309, 84, Brommer VL3 330, A4, LIMC Vol.I,1,  
pl.45, no.24.
- B214. Louvre F21 pl.35 neck-amphora, Affecter  
Painter ca.540-520 B.C.  
ABV 244, 48, CVA Louvre 3 (4) pl.12,2,8 (149)  
pl.13,2 (150), Brommer VL3 330, A3, Mommsen  
Affecter pl.63A, Beck Album pl.1,1, Addenda 30
- B215. Naples Stg.160 neck-amphora, Antimenes Painter  
ca.530-520 B.C.  
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VL3 330, A6, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46, no.28, Addenda 35
- B216. Boulogne 572 neck-amphora ca.530-520 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 330, A2, Beck Album pl.2, 11, LIMC  
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- B217. Baltimore WAG 48.18 neck-amphora, Group of  
Würzburg 199 ca.530-520 B.C.  
ABV 288, 13, Brommer VL3 330, A8, LIMC Vol.I,1  
p.45, no.20, Vol.I,2 p.58, pl.20, Addenda 37
- B218. Corinth C 31.80 amphora Eucharides Painter from  
Corinth ca.500 B.C.  
ARV2 1637,9, Para 174, Brommer VL3 330, A9  
Arch. Stud pl.1, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.45, no.26
- B219. Warsaw 142328 neck-amphora Diosphos Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Goluchow 1 (1) pl.12,3a (12), Brommer VL3  
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- B220. Florence neck-amphora fr. ca.500 B.C.  
Johansen Dragma p.199 fig.8, Brommer VL3 330,  
A5, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.45, no.25.
- B221. Odessa 26650 kantharos, Pholos Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 708, 571, Brommer VL3 330, A13, LIMC Vol.I,1  
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- B222. Brit. Mus. B620 pl. 36 oinochoe, Painter of  
London B620, from Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
ABV 434, 1, Para 187, Brommer VL3 330, A19,  
LIMC Vol.I,1 p.45 no.27, Vol.I,2 p.59, pl.27  
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- B223. Berlin F1901 pl. 37 hydria Leagros group from  
Vulci ca.510-500 B.C.  
Johansen Dragma p.193 fig.5, ABV 361, 22, Brommer  
VL3 330, A11, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.45 no.22, Vol.I,2  
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- B224. Roman Market hydria Leagros group from Vulci  
ca.510-500 B.C.  
Gerhard pl.183, ABV 361, 23, Brommer VL3 330, A12,  
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- B225. Athens N.M. 550 (CC966) pl. 38 lekythos,  
Edinburgh Painter from Eretria ca.500 B.C.  
ABL 217, 28, pl.28, Johansen Dragma p.195 fig.6  
Brommer VL3 330, A14, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.45 no.19,  
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- B226. Cab. Méd. 212 lekanis lid., Edinburgh Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Bibliothèque Nationale 2 (10) pl.23.4, 17, 22  
(469), Brommer VL3 330, A10, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46 no.32
- B227. Palermo 2792 lekythos, Manner of Athena Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
Johansen Dragma p.197 fig.7, ABV 523, Brommer VL3  
330, A15, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46, no.31, Addenda 62
- B228. Syracuse 18418 pl. 39 lekythos, Edinburgh Painter  
from Camarina ca.500 B.C.  
Benndorf pl.41,1, ABV 476, Brommer VL3 330, A16,  
Beck Album pl.3,13, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46 no.33,  
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- B229. Basel Art Market lekythos ca.490 B.C.  
Brommer VL3 330, A17, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46 no.36,  
Vol.1,2 p.60 no.36
- B230. Lucern Art Market lekythos ca.490 B.C.  
Para 206, Brommer VL3 330, A18

- B231. Athens N.M. 507 pl. 41 (CC671) plate Lydos  
from Vari or Phaleron ca.555-540 B.C.  
ABV 112, 56, Johansen Iliad pl.35, Para 44,  
Callipolitis Plates pl. 26, 30, Tiberios Lydos  
pl.41, Addenda 13, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.70 no.187, Vol.  
I,2 p.76 no.187, Addenda 13
- B232. Taranto 20137 pl. 40 cup Lydos from Taranto  
ca.555-540 B.C.  
ABV 112, 65, Para 44, Tiberios Lydos pl.32, 33a, C  
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- B233. Berlin F1890 pl. 42 hydria Antimenes Painter  
from Vulci ca.520 B.C.  
ABV 269, 34, Para 118, Schefold GuH pl.223  
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6. REPRESENTATIONS OTHER  
THAN VASES 5th c. B. C.

- C1. N.Y. 74.51.4152 pl. 43 gem, Scaraboid, plasma  
Cypriot, from Curium ca.500 B.C.  
 Gaz. Arch. 6 (1880) p.94, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.946, no.75,  
 Vol.I,2 p.698, pl.75
- C2. N.Y. Derek J. Content Collection pl. 44 gem, Scarab,  
 Cornelian Greek, ca.500 B.C.  
LIMC Vol.I,1 p.946 no.76, Vol.I,2 p.698, pl.76
- C3. Berlin TC 8303 pl. 46 "Melian" relief, clay, from  
 Attica ca.475-450 B.C.  
 Jacobsthal Melian Reliefs no. 80, pl.41, Brommer  
DL3 364,2, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.946 no.77, Vol.I,2 p.698,  
 pl.76.
- C4. Brit. Mus. B363, pl. 47 "Melian" relief, clay,  
 from Camiros ca.475-450 B.C.  
 Jacobsthal Melian Reliefs no.14, pl.8, Brommer DL3  
 367, 1
- C5. From Aegina "Melian" relief, clay ca.475-450 B.C.  
 Jacobsthal Melian Reliefs no.15, pl.2, Brommer DL3  
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- C6. Athens N.M. 928 pl. 48 gold earrings from Eretria  
 ca.470 B.C.  
 Karouzos Nat. Mus. p.27, pl.42
- C7. Leningrad pl. 45 gold band, Cimmerian ca.450 B.C.  
 Reinach Bosphore pl. 13,3, Brommer DL3, 367, 3



7. RED - FIGURE VASES

7.1. CALYDONIAN BOAR HUNT

- D1. Berlin F2538 pl. 49 cup, Codrus Painter  
 from Vulci ca.440-430 B.C.  
 Gerhard pl.327-8, ARV2 1269,5, Brommer VL3 311,  
 B1, Para 471, CVA Berlin 3 (22) pl.114.1,2 (1043)  
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7.2. PELEUS WRESTLING WITH ATALANTA AT THE FUNERAL  
 GAMES OF PELIAS

- D2. Bologna 361 cup, Oltos from Bologna  
 ca.510-500 B.C.  
CVA Bologna 1 (5) pl.3,2 (200) pl.4,5 (201),  
 Bruhn fig.51,53, ARV2 65, 113, Brommer VL3 316,  
 B1, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.945 no.72, Vol.I,2 p.697 pl.72  
Addenda 81
- D3. Boston 03.820 pl. 50 cup, Aberdeen Painter  
 from Suessula ca.475-450 B.C.  
R.M. 63 (1956) pl.44,2, ARV2 919, 3, Brommer VL3  
 316, B3, Addenda 149
- D4. Villa Giulia 48234 cup, Aberdeen Painter,  
 from Cerveteri ca.475-450 B.C.  
ML 42 (1955) pl.260, ARV2 919, 4, Brommer VL3  
 316, B4, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.947 no.85, Vol.I,2 p.699,  
 no.85
- D5. Ferrara T991 cup, Aberdeen Painter from Spina  
 ca.475-450 B.C.  
ARV2 919, 5, Beck Album pl.84,407, Brommer VL3  
 316, B5, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.947 no.86, Vol.I,2 p.699,  
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- D6. Greifswald 336 cup ca.475-450 B.C.  
Aberdeen Painter, ARV2 919, 2u, Brommer VL3 316, B2
- D7. Cab. Méd. 818 cup, Jena Painter from Vulci  
ca.390 B.C.  
ARV2 1512, 23, Beck Album pl.84, 408, Brommer VL3  
316, B6, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.947, no.87, Vol.I,2 p.699,  
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- 7.3. PELEUS STRUGGLING WITH THETIS
- D8. Eleusis pl. 51 plate fr. Oltos, from Eleusis  
ca.520 B.C.  
Arch. Delt 9 (1924-5) p.4 pl.2, ARV2 67, 138,  
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- D9. Brit. Mus. E9 cup, Euergides Painter from  
Vulci ca.515-500 B.C.  
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Brommer VL3 327, B2, K114, Addenda 84
- D10. Victoria and Albert 4807.1901 cup, Euergides  
Painter from Vulci ca.515-500 B.C.  
Gerhard pls. 180-1, Chittenden pl.17, ARV2 89, 14,  
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- D11. Athens Acr. fr. 184 cup, Euergides Painter  
from Athens ca.515-500 B.C.  
Langlotz pl.9, ARV2 89, 17, Brommer VL3 327, B6,  
K22
- D12. Louvre CP 10869 cup, Euergides Painter  
ca.515-500 B.C.  
ARV2 89, 15, CVA Louvre 19 (28) pl.52,4 (1257)  
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- D13. Louvre G87 cup, Euergides Painter  
ca.515-500 B.C.  
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- D14. Tarquinia 699 cup, Euergides Painter from  
Tarquinia ca.515-500 B.C.  
ARV2 88,2, Brommer VL3 327, B1, K233
- D15. Leipsig T523 stamnos frags, Euphronios  
ca.510 B.C.  
JHS 12 (1891) p.366 pl.22, Hoppin Euthymides  
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- D16. Leningrad 616 (st. 1527) pelike Smikros  
ca.510-500 B.C.  
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Para 323, Brommer VL3 327, B28, K99
- D17. Louvre G65 pelike Smikros from Etruria  
ca.510-500 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 5 (8) pl.32, 8-9 (370), ARV2 21,5  
Para 323, Brommer VL3 327, B29, K179
- D18. Once Roman Market Campanari hydria, The  
Pioneer group Sundry ca.500 B.C.  
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- D19. Berlin 2279, pl.52 cup, Peithinos from  
Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
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- D20. Brit. Mus. E15 cup, Poseidon Painter from  
Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
ARV2 136,1, Brommer VL3 327, B9, K115,  
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- D21. Münster 584 cup, Poseidon Painter  
ca.500 B.C.  
ARV2 1705, 136, Brommer VL3 327, B24, K143.
- D22. Munich 2619 A (J 331) cup, Epeleios Painter  
from Vulci ca.500 B.C.  
Furtwängler pl.155, ARV2 146,2, Brommer VL3 327,  
B8, Addenda 89
- D23. Athens Acr. 212 cup fr. ca.500 B.C.  
Langlotz pl.10, Brommer VL3 327, B25, K23
- D24. Taranto 20319 column-crater, Goettingen Painter  
from Taranto ca.500 B.C.  
ABV2 234, 5, Brommer VL3 328, B57, K230
- D25. J. Paul Getty Mus. Malibu volute-crater,  
Kleophrades Painter ca.490 B.C.  
J.P. Getty Journ. 4 (1977) figs.1,5-7, also  
Louvre G166, ARV2 186, 51, Brommer VL3 328, B54,  
K183, Addenda 94
- D26. Brit. Mus. E73 cup, Kleophrades Painter from  
Camiros ca.480 B.C.  
J. Philology 7 (1877) pls. A,B, ARV2 192, 106,  
Brommer VL3 327, B10, J.P. Getty Journ 1 (1974)  
pls. 1-4, K116.

- D27. Aberdeen 695 hydria, Berlin Painter  
ca.500-480 B.C.  
JHS 70 (1950) Figs.6-7, ARV2 209, 164, Brommer  
VL3 328, B46, K1, Addenda 97
- D28. Munich 8738 pls.53A,B stamnos, Berlin Painter  
ca.480-470 B.C.  
CVA Munich 5 (20) pls.259-262 (974-977), ARV2  
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- D29. Louvre G178 hydria, The group of London E445  
from Vulci ca.500-475 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 6 (9) pl.54.2,3,5 (433), ARV2 218,3  
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- D30. Reggio 4057 column-crater, Group of Acropolis 787  
from Locri ca.500-480 B.C.  
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- D31. Cab. Méd. 572 cup, Painter of Paris Giganto-  
machy ca.500-475 B.C.  
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B12, K191
- D32. Louvre G53 hydria, Tyszkiewicz Painter from  
Vulci ca.490-480 B.C.  
Pottier pl.94, CVA Louvre 6 (9) pls.53.3,6 (432)  
ARV2 294,64, Brommer VL3 328, B48, K178
- D33. Worcester 1953.92, stamnos frags, Tyszkiewicz  
Painter from Taranto ca.490-480 B.C.  
Bull. Wor. Mus. 19 (1954) p.27-28, ARV2 291, 26,  
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- D34. Prague University E128 column-crater,  
Tyszkiewicz Painter form Greece ca.490-480 B.C.  
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pl.35,3, Brommer VL3 329, B72, K198, Addenda 105
- D35. Leningrad 643 (St.1531) stamnos, Tyszkiewicz  
Painter ca.490-480 B.C.  
AJA 20 (1916) p.148 fig.6, ARV2 291, 27, Brommer  
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- D36. Salerno 1652 column-crater, Tyszkiewicz Painter  
from Fratte ca.490-480 B.C.  
ARV2 290, 6, Brommer VL3 328, B58, K219
- D37. Louvre G116 cup, Douris, from Etruria  
ca.490-480 B.C.  
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327, B13, K181
- D38. Munich 2648 (J 369) cup, Douris ca.490-480 B.C.  
Furtwängler pl.24, Lullies pls.80,88-91, ARV2  
441, 185, Brommer VL3, K138, Addenda 118
- D39. Louvre G126 cup, Douris from Etruria  
ca.490-480 B.C.  
Pottier pl.112, ARV2 438, 129, Para 375, Brommer  
VL3 327, B14, K182
- D40. Cab. Méd. 539 cup, Douris ca.490-480 B.C.  
ARV2 438, 134, Arias Storia pl.68, 2, Para 375  
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- D41. Boston 03.856 cup fr., Makron ca.490-480 B.C.  
 Caskey Boston iii pl.19,2, ARV2 460, 16, Para 377  
 Brommer VL3 327, B17, K50
- D42. Louvre C11272 cup fr., Makron ca.490-480 B.C.  
ARV2 460, 17, Brommer VL3 327, B18, K170
- D43. Florence PD 278 *etc* cup fr., Makron  
 ca.490-480 B.C.  
 Caskey Boston iii pl.19,3, ARV2 460, 18, Para 377,  
 Brommer VL3, 327, B19, K82
- D44. Athens Acr. 334 cup, Makron from Athens  
 ca.490-480 B.C.  
 Langlotz pl.23, ARV2 387a, Brommer VL3 327, B11,  
K24.
- D45. Paris Ganay stamnos, Eucharides Painter  
 ca.480 B.C.  
ARV2 228, 31, Brommer VL3 328, B36, K193.
- D46. Rome private Besozzi stamnos, Syleus Painter  
 ca.480-470 B.C.  
ARV2 251, 33, Brommer VL3 328, B37, K215,  
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- D47. Brit. Mus. E472 column-crater, Near Oinocles  
 Painter from Gela ca.480-470 B.C.  
ARV2 1663, 649, Brommer VL3 328, B61, K118
- D48. Villa Giulia 5241 stamnos, Hermonax from Narce  
 ca.475-450 B.C.  
CVA Villa Giulia 1 (1) pl.12.(28) pl.14,2.3(30)  
ARV2 484, 9, Brommer VL3 328, B40, K213,  
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- D49. Orvieto Faina 66 stamnos, Hermonax from Orvieto  
ca.475-450 B.C.  
ARV2 483, 5, Philippaki Stamnos pl.46,1, K160
- D50. Boston 01.8031 stamnos, Hermonax from Orvieto  
ca.475-450 B.C.  
Hoppin R.F. ii,21, ARV2 483, 6, K49
- D51. Louvre C 11064 pelike, Hermonax ca.475-450 B.C.  
ARV2 486, 38, Brommer VL3 327, B30, K171
- D52. Würzburg 519 stamnos, Deepdene Painter from  
Vulci ca.475-450 B.C.  
Gerhard pl.182, ARV2 498,3, Brommer VL3 328, B41,  
K240
- D53. Louvre G 189 stamnos, Deepdene Painter  
ca.475-450 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 2 (2) pl.20,8 (90), ARV2 498, 4  
Brommer VL3 328, B42.
- D54. Copenhagen Carlsberg Glypt. 2681 column-crater  
ca.475-450 B.C.  
Poulsen Vases Grecs fig.38 no.19, ARV2 537, K94
- D55. Madrid 11038 (L156) pelike, Earlier Mannerists  
viii undetermined ca.475-450 B.C.  
CVA Madrid 2 (2) pl.9,1a (66) pl.10 (64), ARV2  
586, 46, Brommer VL3 328, B32, K124, Addenda 129
- D56. Copenhagen inv. 4735 pyxis, Villa Giulia Painter  
ca.475-450 B.C.  
CVA Copenhagen 4 (4) pl.162,4 (164), ARV2 625, 95,  
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D57. Brit. Mus. E647 lekythos, Painter of Oxford 1920  
ca.475-450 B.C.

ARV2 777, K119

D58. Vatican cup, Followers of Douris from Vulci  
ca.475-450 B.C.

ARV2 785, 10, Brommer VL3 327, B20, K204

D59. Munich 6581 and 8467 cup, Followers of Douris  
ca.475-450 B.C.

AA (1938) p.486 pls.35-37, ARV2 796, 115,  
Brommer VL3 327, B20, K140

D60. Munich (formely von Schoen 64) pyxis, Followers  
of Douris ca.475-450 B.C.

Lullies KK pl.26, ARV2 806, 93, Para 420, Brommer  
VL3 329, B63, K142, Addenda 143

D61. Vatican Astarita 28 cup, Sabouroff Painter  
ca.475-450 B.C.

ARV2 837,4, Brommer VL3 327, B22, K153

D62. Louvre G428 hydria, Painter of the Yale oinochoe  
ca.470 B.C.

Mon. Ined. I. pl.6, CVA Louvre 9 (14) pls. 51.1,4-6  
(636), ARV2 503, 19, Brommer VL3 328, B49, K188

D63, N.Y. Rolfe stamnos, Painter of the Yale oinochoe  
ca.470 B.C.

ARV2 1656, 501-3, Philippaki Stamnos p.71 pl.39  
K157

- D64. Agora P18007, P18414 kalathos, Manner of the  
Painter of the Yale oinochoe from Athens  
ca.470 B.C.  
ARV2 503, 1, Brommer VL3 329, B71, K34
- D65. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Mus. I.1933 Pyxis, Manner  
of Douris, from Greece ca.470 B.C.  
CVA Cambridge 2 (11) pl.26,3,1a-c (505) ARV 297
- D66. Louvre G373 pelike, Manner of the Leningrad  
Painter ca.470 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 8 (12) pl.40,1-7 (520), ARV2 573, 9,  
Brommer VL3, 328, B31, K186
- D67. Vatican Astarita 111 fragment, Providence  
Painter ca.470 B.C.  
CVA (8) pl.6, ARV2 639, 59, Brommer VL3 328, B43
- D68. Athens N.M. 2192 (CC 1202), bobbin, Pistoxenos  
Painter ca.470 B.C.  
Benndorf pl.32,4, Win. Prog. 1954, pl.7a, ARV2  
863, 32, Para 425, Brommer VL3 329, B64, K20  
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- D69. Boston 19.59 cup, Manner of the Pistoxenos  
Painter ca.470 B.C.  
ARV2 864, 11, Brommer VL3 327, B23, K51
- D70. Boston 95.63 cup, Manner of the Pistoxenos  
Painter ca.470 B.C.  
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- D71. Cab. Méd. volute-crater, Fröhner Painter  
ca.460 B.C.  
ARV2 510, 1, Brommer VL3 328, B55, K192
- D72. Boston 1972. 850 calyx-crater ca.460 B.C.  
Archaeology 6 (1973) p.145, Brommer VL3 329, B73,  
K254
- D73. Palermo inv. 1366, frag. G ca.460 B.C.  
Gabrici Vasi Greci 15 pl.3, K164
- D74. Padua hydria, Earlier mannerists vii undetermined  
ca.460 B.C.  
ARV2 587, 55bis, Brommer VL3 328, B50
- D75. N.Y. 56.171.51 stamnos, Altamura Painter  
ca.460 B.C.  
ARV2 593, 45, Noble Technique fig.120, Para 394  
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- D76. Baltimore lebes gamikos ca.450 B.C.  
AJA 40 (1936) 512 fg.4, CVA Baltimore 2 (6)  
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- D77. Publication Harvard Excavation at Samaria II  
by A. Reisner (1908-10) pl. 69, fig. 0 K252
- D78. Naples H2421, volute crater, Niobid Painter  
from Ruvo ca.450-440 B.C.  
Webster pl.23, ARV2 600, 13, Para 395, Brommer  
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- D79. Naples H2638 lekans, Niobid Painter from  
Locri ca.450-440 B.C.  
Mon. Ined. I pl.37, ARV2 607, 89, Brommer VL3  
329, B66, K151
- D80. Würzburg 540 dinos, Achilleus Painter from  
Vulci ca.450-430 B.C.  
Mon. Ined. I pl.38, Langlotz Würzburg pls.198-9,  
ARV2 992, 69, Brommer VL3 329, B65, K241
- D81. Ferrara T271 hydria, Polygnotos from Spina  
pl. 54 ca.440 B.C.  
Aurigemma pls.63-65, Aurigemma Spina p.227 pl.122,  
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B51, Addenda 155
- D82. Bologna 195 column-crater, Zannoni Painter  
from Bologna ca.440-430 B.C.  
CVA Bologna 1 (5) pl.26,1 (223), ARV2 673, 2,  
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- D83 Athens 1629 (CC1588) Onos, Eretria Painter  
from Eretria ca.430-420 B.C.  
Arch. Eph. (1897) pls.9-10, Pfuhl fig.561,  
ARV2 1250, 34, Para 469, Brommer VL3 329, B68,  
K19, Addenda 176
- D84. Athens private collection hydria  
ca.425-400 B.C.  
ARV2 1124, 8, Brommer VL3 328, B52
- D85. Brit. Mus. E424 pl.55 Pelike, Marsyas Painter  
from Camiros ca.350 B.C.  
Furtwängler pl.172 and iii, 333, ARV2 1475, 4,  
Para 495, Brommer VL3 328, B33, K117, Simon  
Gr. Vases pl.235, Addenda 191

- D86. Denver City Art. Mus. AN.108 crater  
K74
- D87. Agrigento column crater  
K5
- D88. Basel Market 1971 hydria,  
Brommer VL3 319, K42
- B89. Cerveteri cup  
Brommer VL3 327, B27, K67
- B90. Providence Alabastro  
Brommer VL3 329, B69, K201
- D91. Louvre CA2950 hydria  
Brommer VL3 328, B53, K168
- D92. Frag.  
Brommer VL3 329, B70, K251
- D93. Publication lekānis lid  
K247
- D94. Publication, cup.  
Compte Rendu 1869 pl.IV fig.3, K246

7.4. PELEUS AND THETIS AS A MARRIED COUPLE

- D95. Athens Acr. 176 cup. fr., Euphronios from  
Athens pl. 57 ca.510 B.C.  
Art Bull 21 (1939) p.268 fig.8, ARV2 17, 18,  
Brommer VL3 319, B1, Schefold GuH figs.258-61  
Addenda 73
- D96. Leipsic T 3840, skyphos frag., Kleophrades  
Painter possibly ca.500-480 B.C.  
ARV2 193, Brommer VL3 319, B2
- D97. Louvre G226 pl. 56 pelike, Syleus Painter  
from Etruria ca.480 B.C.  
Pottier p.234 fig.5, CVA Louvre 6 (9) pl.44,4,6,9  
(423), ARV2 250, 15, Brommer VL3 319, B3
- D98. Athens Acr. loutrophoros, Manner of the Alki-  
machos Painter from Athens ca.470 B.C.  
ARV2 534, 11, Brommer VL3 319, B4
- D99. Athens N.M. 1172 (CC1229) lebes gamikos,  
Earlier Mannerists ca.470-460 B.C.  
Catalogue M.N. Ath. pl.43, 1229, ARV2 585, 33,  
Brommer VL3 319, B5
- D100. Louvre L55 Pyxis, Wedding Painter from Athens  
ca.460-450 B.C.  
Pfuhl Malerei fig.580, ARV2 924, 33, Brommer  
VL3 319, B7, Addenda 149

- D101. Berlin 2530 cup, Amphitrite Painter from  
 Vulci ca.460-450 B.C.  
 Lenormant Elite 2 pl.50a, ARV2 831, 20,  
 Brommer VL3 319, B6,
- D102. Ferrara T617 calyx-crater, Peleus Painter  
 (named after this vase) from Spina  
 ca.435 B.C.  
ARV2 1038, 1, CVA Ferrara 1 (37) pl.22.2 (1666)  
Para 443, Brommer VL3 319, B8, Simon Gr. Vases  
 pls.194-5, Addenda 155
- D103. Athens bell-crater frag. Manner of the Dinos  
 Painter from Athens ca.420 B.C.  
ARV2 1155, 1, Brommer VL3 319, B9
- D104. Palermo V762 (inv.1503) stamnos, Berlin Painter  
 from Chiusi ca.500 B.C.  
CVA Palermo 1 (14) pl.29 (686) pl.30 (687)  
ARV2 207, 139, K163

7.5. PELEUS TAKING ACHILLEUS TO CHEIRON

- D105. Louvre G186 stamnos, Berlin Painter, from  
Chiusi pl. 60 ca.500-475 B.C.  
CVA Louvre 2 (2) pl.20.1 (90), JHS 1 (1880)  
pl.139, ARV2 207, 140, Philippaki Stamnos  
pl.22.2, Brommer VL3 331, B5, LIMC Vol.I,1  
p.47 no.41, Vol.I,2 p.61, pl.41, Addenda 96
- D106. Copenhagen inv.6328 pl. 58 white ground  
lekythos, Painter of Munich 2774  
ca.500-475 B.C.  
CVA Copenhagen 4 (4) pl.170,1 (172),  
ARV2 283,4, Brommer VL3 331, B2, LIMC Vol.I,1  
p.47 nb.40, Vol.I,2 p.61 pl.40, Addenda 104
- D107. Athens Acr. 328 (B771) pl. 59 cup fr. Makron  
ca.480 B.C.  
Langlotz pl.22, ARV2 460, 19, Brommer VL3 331,  
B4, LIMC Vol.I,1 p.46, no.38, Vol.I,2 p.60,  
pl.38, Addenda 120
- D108. Formely Coll. Canino amphora Praxias Painter  
Baur Centaurs p.105 no.254



## CATALOGUE OF COLLECTIONS

## ABERDEEN

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## ADOLPHSECK

6 hydria B8

## AEGINA

— "Melian"  
relief C5

## AGRIGENTO

148 lekythos B139

678 amphora B153

C1535 crater B184

— crater D87

## AMIENS

468 amphra B40

## AMSTERDAM

2032-  
-2034 crater A8318  
(1365) amphora B65

## AMYCLAE

— Stone throne  
of Apollo A16

## ANN ARBOR MARBURG

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## ATHENS

Acr.

587 dinos A12

756 hydria B172

— skyphos B182

2086 pyxis B189

1209 frag. B196

1173 frag. B197

184 frag. D11

## ATHENS

Acr.

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334 cup D44

176 cup D95

— loutropho-  
ros D98328  
(B771) cup D107

## ATHENS

Agora

(1712)

P334 dinos B1

P266 amphora B28

P24515 lekythos B52

P85/40 skyphos B84

P23321 skyphos B85

P23333 skyphos B87

P10365 lekythos B96

P1282 lekythos B123

P18007,  
P18414 kalathos D64

## ATHENS

Kerameikos

— alabastron B187

## ATHENS

N.M.

— clay  
relief A215466  
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1004 lebes  
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gamikos A19old no.  
2238 lekythos B46

## ATHENS

N.M.

398			
(CC982)	lekythos	B47	
P18939	lekythos	B53	
12768			
(N977)	alabastron	B78	
604			
(CC885)	lekythos	B98	
849			
(490)			
(CC905)	lekythos	B120	
11732a	lekythos	B121	
117321	lekythos	B122	
(CC328)	lekythos	B138	
12711	oinochoe	B164	
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(N183)			
12584	skyphos	B180	
550			
(CC966)	lekythos	B225	
507			
(CC671)	plate	B231	
928	gold earrings	C6	
2192			
(CC1202)	bobbin	D68	
1629			
(CC1588)	onos	D83	
1172			
(CC1229)	lebes gami- kos	D99	
—	crater	D103	

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—	lekythos	B56	
—	hydria	D84	

## BALTIMORE

WAG.			
48.18	amphora	B25	
WAG.			
48.18	amphora	B217	
—	lebes gami- kos	D76	

## BARCELONA

—	cup	B176	
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## BARI

—	crater	B210	
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## BASEL

Z336	lekythos	B106	
Market			
1971	hydria	D88	
Art Dealer			
16	kyathos	B179	

## BERKELEY

8891	mastoid	B90	
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## BERLIN

31573			
A9	amphora	A1	
1655	crater	A15	
F1705	amphora	B3	
F1707	amphora	B4	
F1837	amphora	B14	
F2003	lekythos	B68	
F1997	lekythos	B134	
F4008	pyxis	B188	
F1901	hydria	B223	
F1890	hydria	B233	
TC8303	"Melian" relief	C3	
F2538	cup	D1	
2279	cup	D19	
2530	cup	D101	

## BOCHUM

5487	kyathos	B79	
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## BOLOGNA

88	lekythos	B45	
85	amphora	B152	
361	cup	D2	
195	crater	D82	

BONN				COLL. CANINO formely			
	46	hydria	B7	—	amphora		D108
BOSTON				CAPESTHORNE			
	149.64	crater	B21	Hall 11	amphora		B113
	03.820	cup	D3	CAPUA			
	03.856	cup	D41	7555			
	01.8031	stamnos	D50	(old446)	amphora		B61
	19.59	cup	D69	170	lekythos		B102
	95.63	cup	D70	—	pelike		B194
	1972.850	crater	D72	CATANIA			
BOULOGNE				668	lekythos		B100
	572	amphora	B216	CERVETERI			
BRAURON				47459	oinochoe		B165
—		frag.	B195	IV T426	oinochoe		B166
BRUSSELS				—	cup		D89
	R268	kyathos	B29	CHERTSEY			
BUCAREST				Town			
	03355	skyphos	B83	Hall	oinochoe		B41
BURGON				CIVITAVECCHIA			
Formely				—	amphora		B33
	104	lekythos	B103	COMPIEGNE			
CAMBRIDGE				1030	oinochoe		B159
	109	lekythos	B57	COPENHAGEN			
	G126	lekythos	B67	N.M.2	Pelike		B116
	G96	lekythos	B105	2681	crater		D54
	G95	lekythos	B128	4735	pyxis		D56
Corpus				6328	lekythos		D106
Christi		lekythos	B140	CORINTH			
Fitzwil-				—	kypselos		
liam					chest		A6
I1933		pyxis	D65	C31.80	amphora		B218

CRACOW				FLORENCE		
1452	lekythos	B43		4209	crater	A13
				4209	crater	B2
DARMSTADT				102b	plate	B20
—	lekythos	B133		2121		
				(3850)	olpe	B190
DELPHI				3790	hydria	B202
—	lekythos	B107		—	amphora	B213
3	lekythos	B108		—	amphora	B220
DENVER				PD278usw	cup	B43
AN108	crater	D86				
DRESDEN				FOGG		
H216	oinochoe	B162		1925.30.		
				49	lekythos	B66
DUNEDIN				Khalebd-		
48.251	lekythos	B92		jian sept		
				1929	lekythos	B147
DURHAM				FRANKFURT		
Duke				—	hydria	B170
(1974.6)	amphora	B35				
ELEUSIS				GELA		
2367				—	amphora	B156
(311)	lekythos	B124				
2374				GENA		
(115)	lekythos	B125		163	lekythos	B110
—	plate	D8				
FERRARA				GENEVA		
1554				I 744		
(T445)	oinochoe	B77		(P428)	lekythos	B101
266				GLASGOW		
(T475)	oinochoe	B161		D131	plate	B30
T991	cup	D5				
T271	hydria	D81		GOLUCHOW		
T671	crater	D102		CZ29	oinochoe	B75
				GREIFSWALD		
				336	cup	D6

HEIDELBERG			LONDON		
63/10	lekythos	B141	Brit. Mus.		
HERACLION			1904.7-		
—	plate	A3	8.5	lekythos	B70
Giamala-			B500	oinochoe	B72
kis	lekythos	B55	B619	oinochoe	B73
KAVALLA			B449	cup	B81
A1086	amphora	A4	B540	lekythos	B129
A3132	cup	B209	B349	hydria	B168
LARNAKA			B298	lebes-	
Pierides	lekythos	B94		gamikos	B193
LEIPSIC			B197	amphora	B198
T523	stamnos	D15	B339	hydria	B201
T3840	skyphos	D96	B340	hydria	B203
LENINGRAD			B298	lebes-	
B351	cup	B18		gamikos	B207
—	gold band	C7	B620	oinochoe	B222
616			B363	clay relief	C4
(st1527)	pelike	D16	E9	cup	D9
643			E15	cup	D20
(st1531)	stamnos	D35	E73	cup	D26
LEYDEN			E472	crater	D47
—	lekythos	B142	E647	lekythos	D57
P.C.48			E424	pelike	D85
xve29	hydria	B167	Victoria + Albert		
LIPARI			4807.		
—	lekythos	B60	1901	cup	D10
LONDON			Winslow		
Brit. Mus.			—	lekythos	D93
—	dinos	A11	LUCERN ART MARKET		
1925.12-			—	lekythos	B230
17.10	skyphos	B12	Dr. LUDWIG		
B465	kyathos	B26	—	hydria	B204
B215	amphora	B27	LYONS		
(old no.			—	lekythos	B99
2663)	lekythos	B48	MADRID		
			10903	amphora	B24
			11038		
			(L156)	pelike	D55

## MALIBU

J.P. Get-  
ty Mus. crater D25

## MANNHEIM

C.g.42 lekythos B95

## MARKET

1962 olpe B17

1959 cup B175

1970 crater B206

— lekythos B229

## MANCHESTER

III H5 hydria A17

## MARSEILLE

formely  
1606 lekythos B143

## MUNICH

596  
(J125) hydria A20

2243 cup B6

2241 cup B9

1541 amphora B11

1650  
(J486) amphora B22

1415  
(J380) amphora B31

1524  
(J450) amphora B32

1542  
(J653) amphora B39

1582  
(J1155) amphora B62

1543  
(J501) amphora B114

1889  
(J767) lekythos B119

— oinochoe B163  
(J133) kyathos B178

## MUNICH

1740  
(J538) crater B185

2619A  
(J331) cup D22

8738 stamnos D28

2648  
(J369) cup D38

6581  
and8467 cup D59

formely  
Von  
Schoen64 pyxis D60

## MÜNSTER

584 cup D21

## MYRRHINUS

— lekythos B54

## NAPLES

H2449 amphora B111

81178  
(H2535) amphora B115, B208

RC205 pelike B117

86334 hydria B118

H2738 lekythos B144

R2607  
H874 alabastron B186

81178  
(H2535) amphora B208

stg.160 amphora B215

H2421 crater D78

H2638 lekane D79

## NAUPLION

80 lekythos B137

N.Y. Metropolitan			PARIS		
58.11.6			Cab. Méd.		
59.11.1	bronze band	A5	—	plate	A7
46.11.7	oinochoe	B16	349	skyphos	B89
41.162.			212	lid	B226
207	lekythos	B91	818	cup	D7
06.1021.			572	cup	D31
158	lekythos	B135	539	cup	D40
74.51.			—	crater	D71
4152	gem	C1			
56.171.			PARIS		
51	stamnos	D75	Louvre		
N.Y.			E639	crater	A14
Derek	gem	C2	F301	hydria	B36
Noble	lekythos	B205	—	lekythos	B50
Rolfe	stamnos	D63	CA156		
Tozzi	amphora	B64	(L26)	lekythos	B58
ODESSA			A245	cup	B80
26650	kantharos	B221	F452	lekythos	B104
OLYMPIA			F348	oinochoe	B160
—	lekythos	B49	F307	crater	B183
ORVIETO			MN905		
315	amphora	B199	CA2569	plate	B192
Faina66	stamnos	D49	F21	amphora	B214
OXFORD			CP10869	cup	D12
1978.49	cup	B10	G87	cup	D13
1965.119	hydria	B200	G65	pelike	D17
PADUA			G178	hydria	D29
—	hydria	D74	G53	hydria	D32
PALERMO			G116	cup	D37
Mormino			G126	cup	D39
308	lekythos	B76	C11272	cup	D42
79	lekythos	B136	C11064	pelike	D51
—	cup	B211	G189	stamnos	D53
2792	lekythos	B227	G428	hydria	D62
B66	frag.	D73	G373	pelike	D66
V762			CA2950	hydria	D91
(1503)	stamnos	D104	G226	pelike	D97
			L55	pyxis	D100
			G186	stamnos	D105

PARIS Market			ROME		
Mikas	lekythos	B131	SALA CERVETERI		
Ganay	stamnos	D45	Ut.12	hydria	B171
PARMA			Art.Ind.		
C2	amphora	B23	379	kyathos	B177
PHILADELPHIA			ROME		
418	skyphos	B86	MARKET		
PHILADELPHIA Market				hydria	B37
1966	kyathos	B71		hydria	B224
—	oinochoe	B74		hydria	D18
PRAGUE			ROME PRIVATE		
—	lekythos	B145	Besezzi	stamnos	D46
Univer-			ROME		
sity			Vatican		
E128	crater	D34	16452	hydria	B169
PROVIDENCE				cup	D58
14.432			Astarita		
(C2155)	lekythos	B59	28	cup	D61
	alabastron	D90	Astarita		
PUBLICATION			111	fragment	D67
	lekythos	B148	ROME		
	lekythos	B149	Villa Giulia		
	lekythos	B150	24247	amphora	B15
	crater	D77	(M488)	amphora	B112
	frag.	D92	50280	amphora	B157
	lid	D93	35.58	cup	B173
	cup	D94	—	cup	B174
REGGIO			—	olpe	B191
4057	crater	D30	48234	cup	D4
			5241	stamnos	D48
			ROUEN		
			—	lekythos	B130



SALERNO			THEBES		
—	lekythos	B51	R.46.79	skyphos	B88
1652	crater	D36	R.18.95	skyphos	B181
SAN SIMEON HEARST			TUBINGEN		
5523	amphora	B155	D2	amphora	B5
SIENA			VIENNA		
—	lekythos	B132	226=		
SYRACUSE			IV3599	amphora	B63
—	lid	A9	Univer-		
26822	lekythos	B13	sity		
19883	lekythos	B38	739,18	lekythos	B97
—	lekythos	B44	Beaux		
33501	lekythos	B69	Arts	lekythos	B126
21962	amphora	B151	WARSAW		
18418	lekythos	B228	142328	amphora	B219
TARANTO			WORCESTER		
—	cup	B19	1953.92	stamnos	D33
—	cup	B82	WÜRZBURG		
—	lekythos	B109	L452	cup	B212
52183	lekythos	B146	519	stamnos	D52
20137	cup	B232	540	dinos	D80
20319	crater	D24			
TARQUINIA					
RC1803	amphora	B34			
—	amphora	B154			
652	amphora	B158			
699	cup	D14			
TEL AVIV					
—	lekythos	B42			

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations are listed in with the Bibliography, and where an abbreviation would come alphabetically but is obvious from the full title it is omitted.

AA see Archäologischer Anzeiger

ABL see Haspels C.H.

ABSA see Annual of the British School at Athens

ABV see Beazley J.D. Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters

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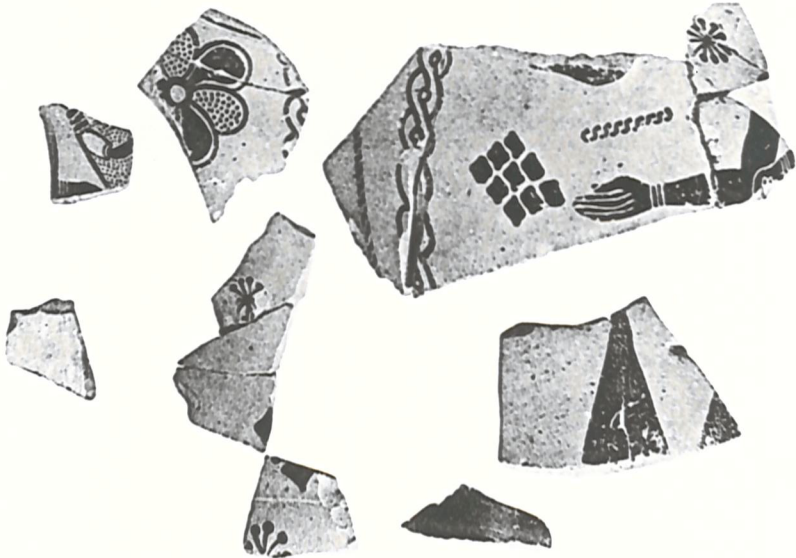
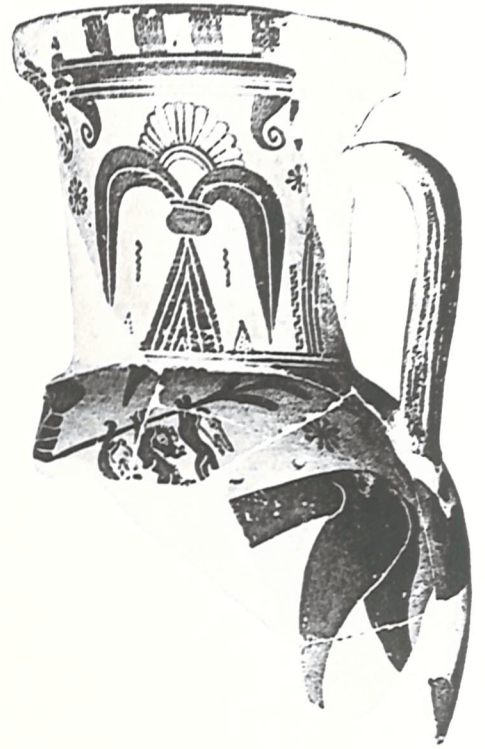


PLATE 1



PLATE 2



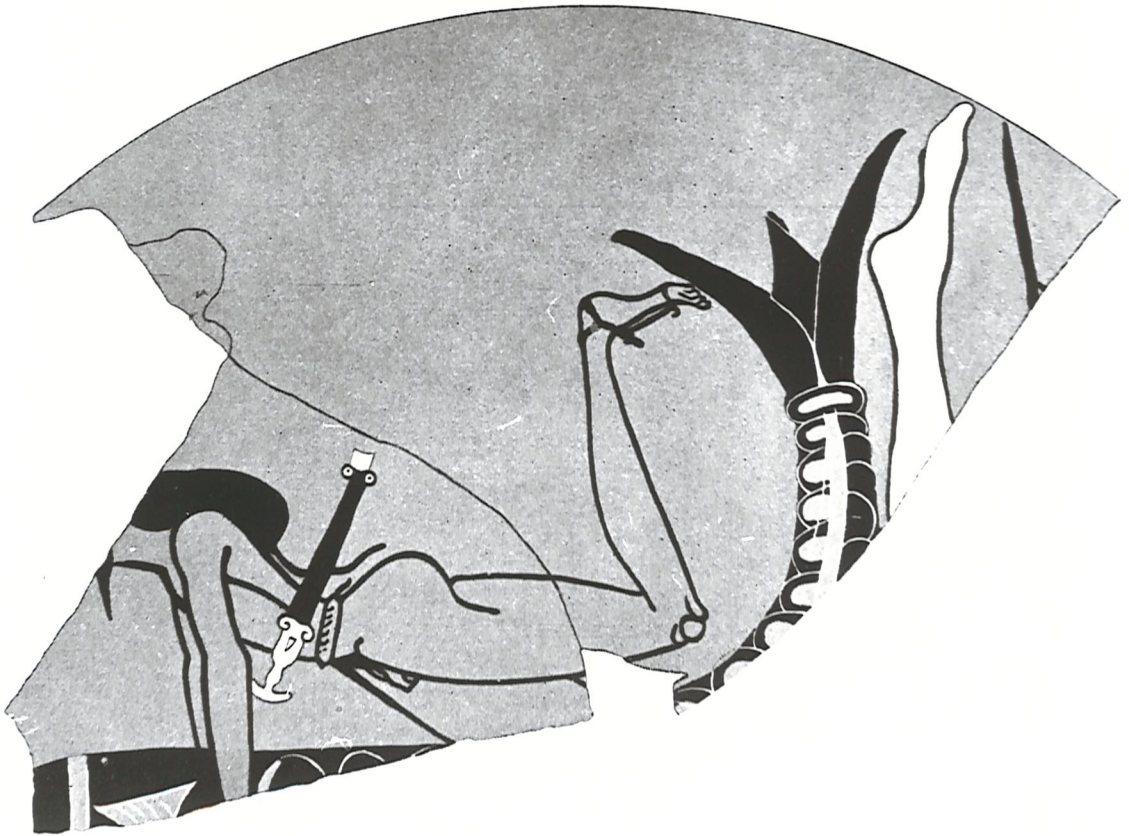
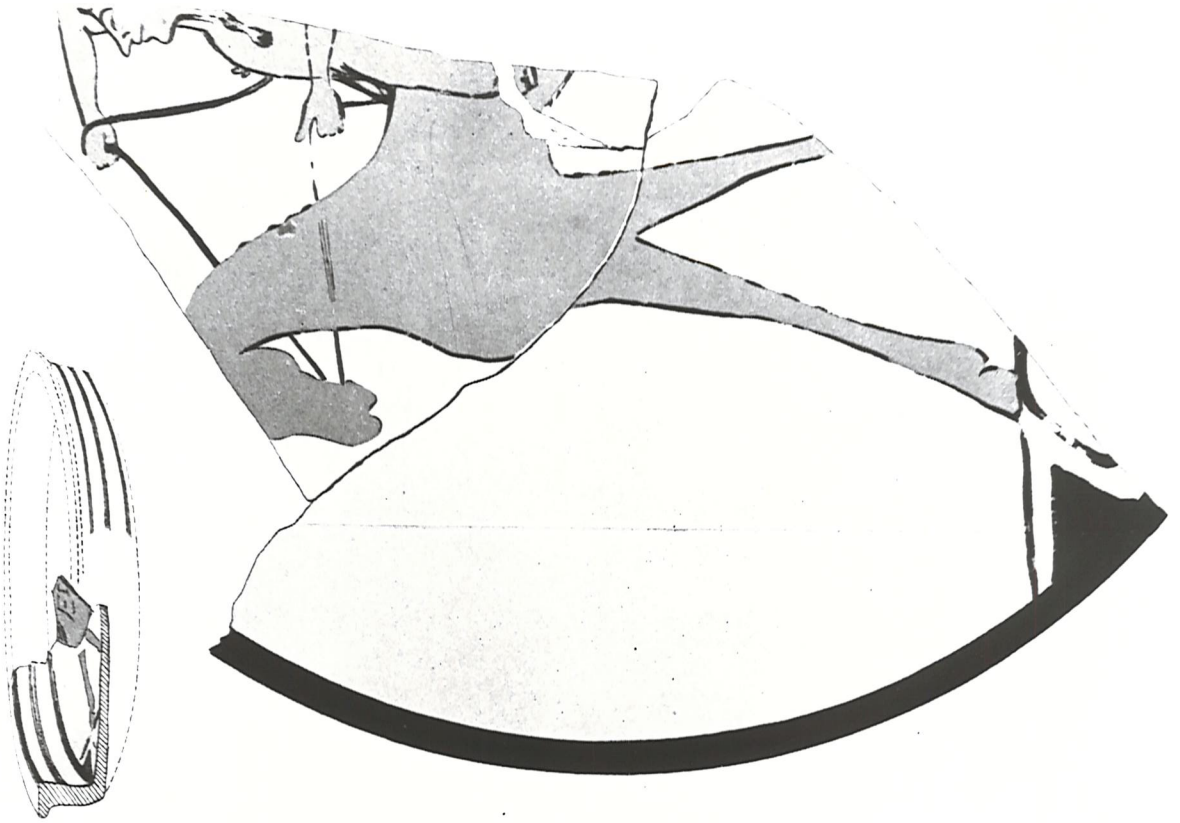
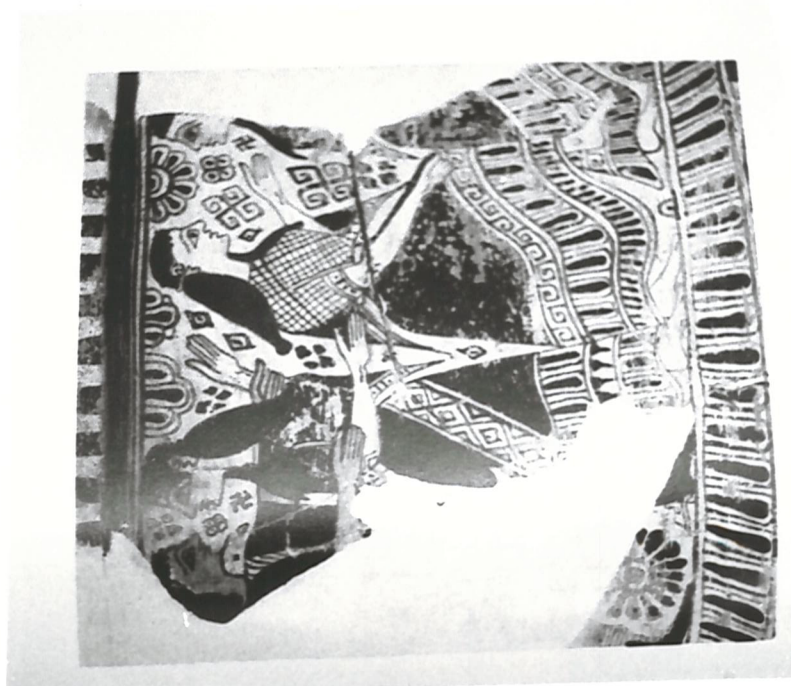


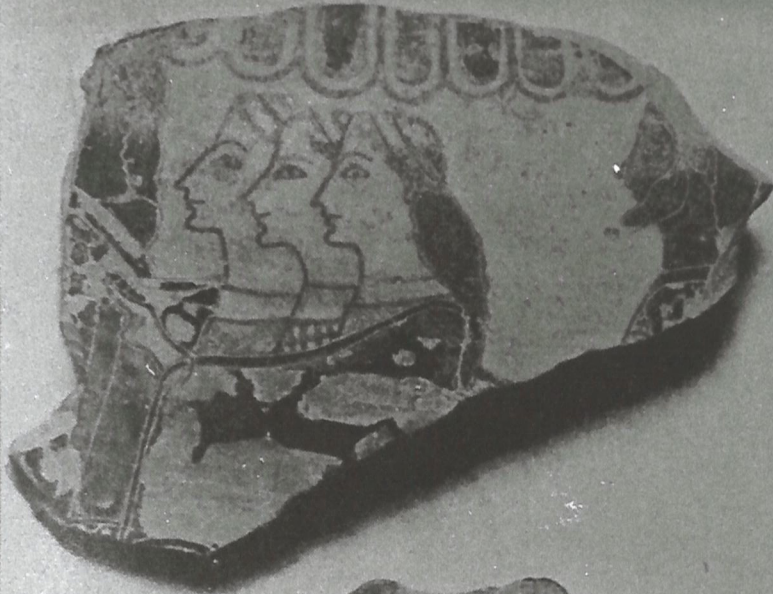
PLATE 3



PLATE 4









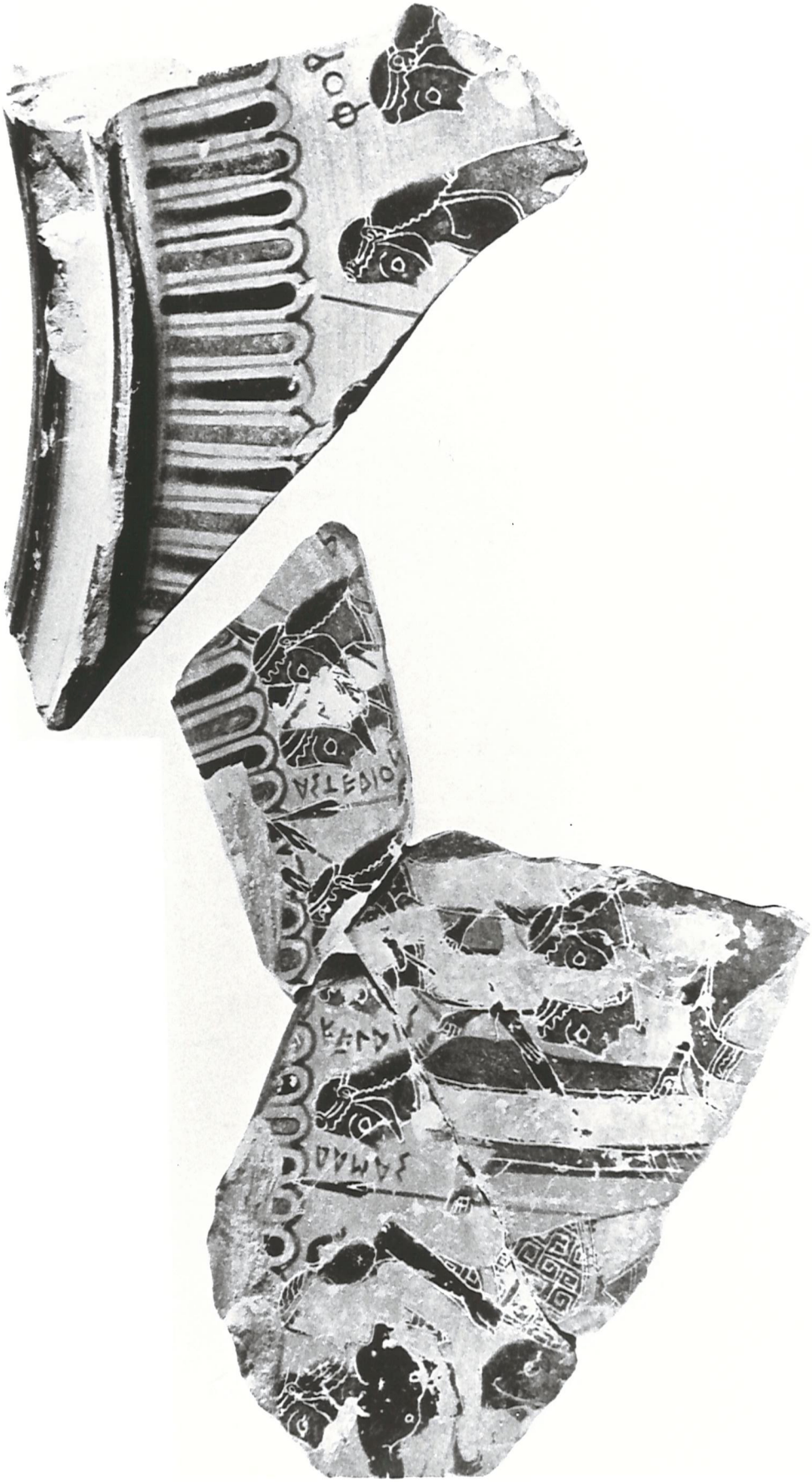
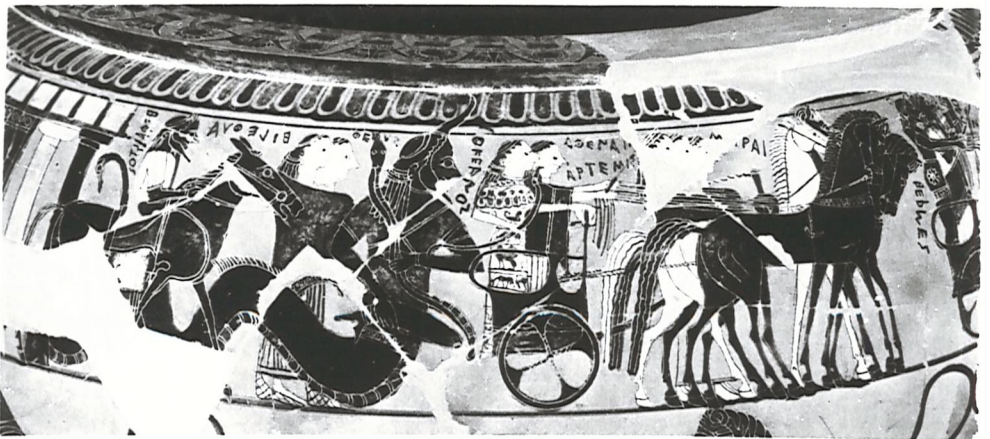
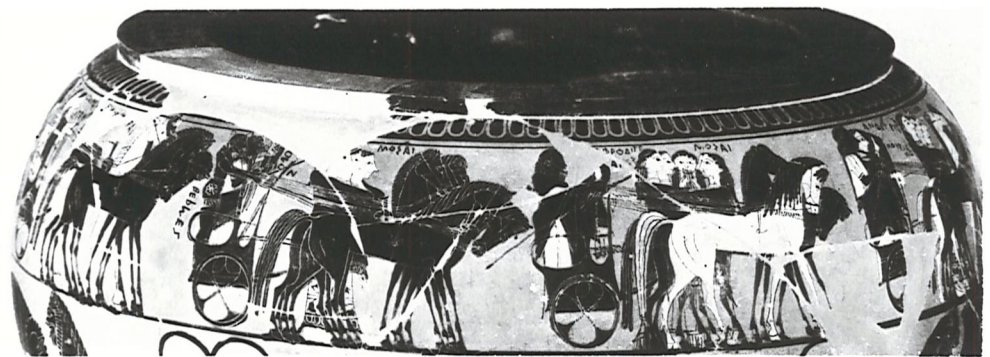


PLATE 6





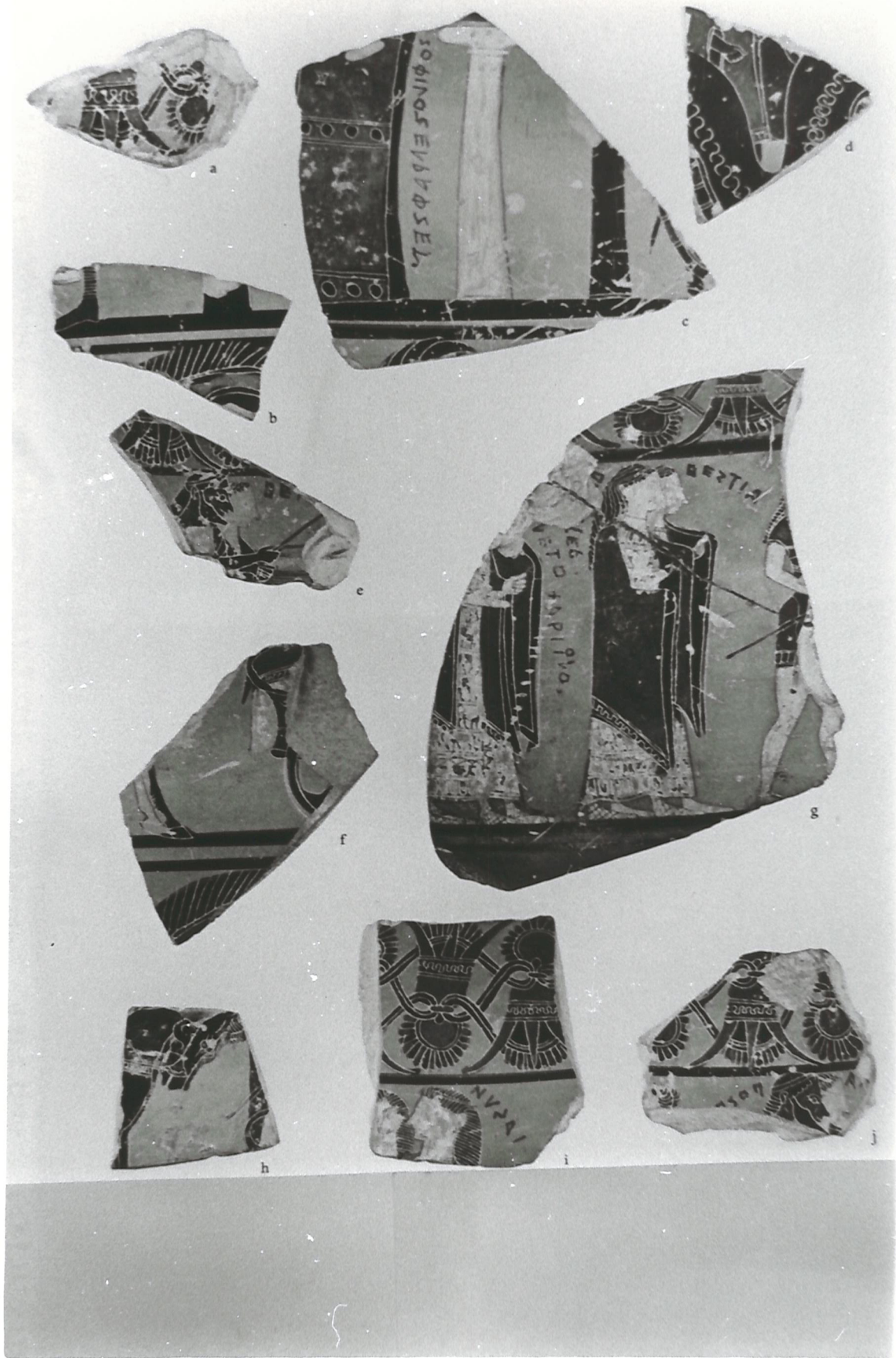


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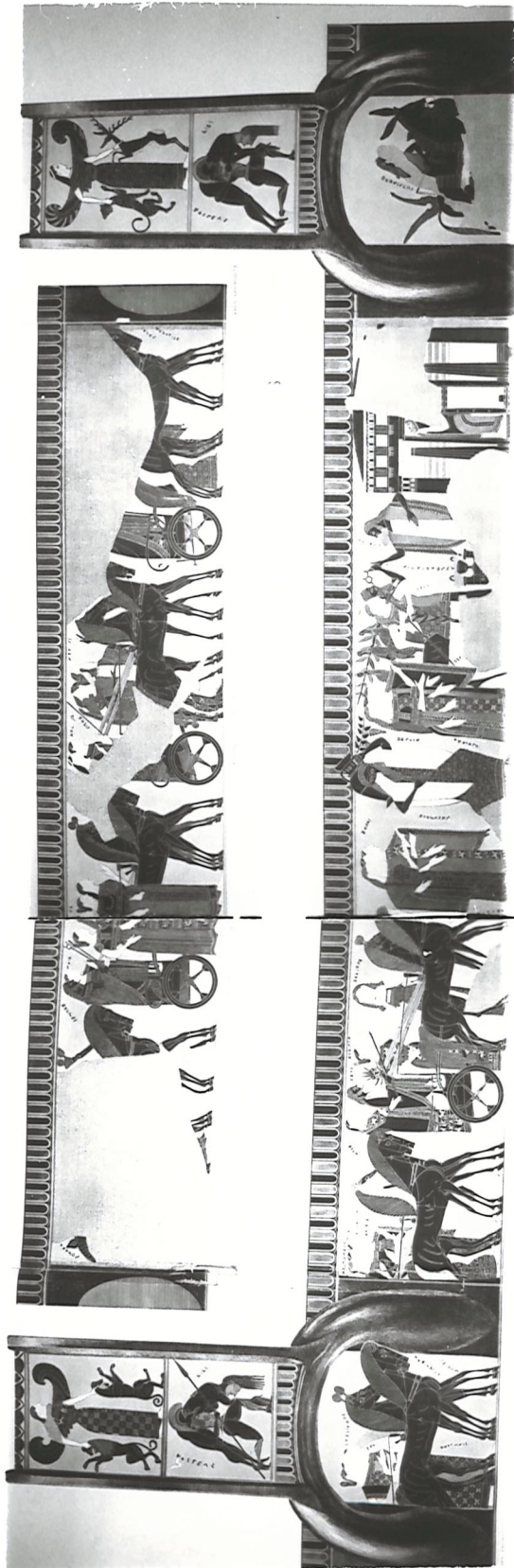


PLATE 9





PLATE 10





PLATE 11



PLATE 12





PLATE 13



PLATE 14





PLATE 15



PLATE 16

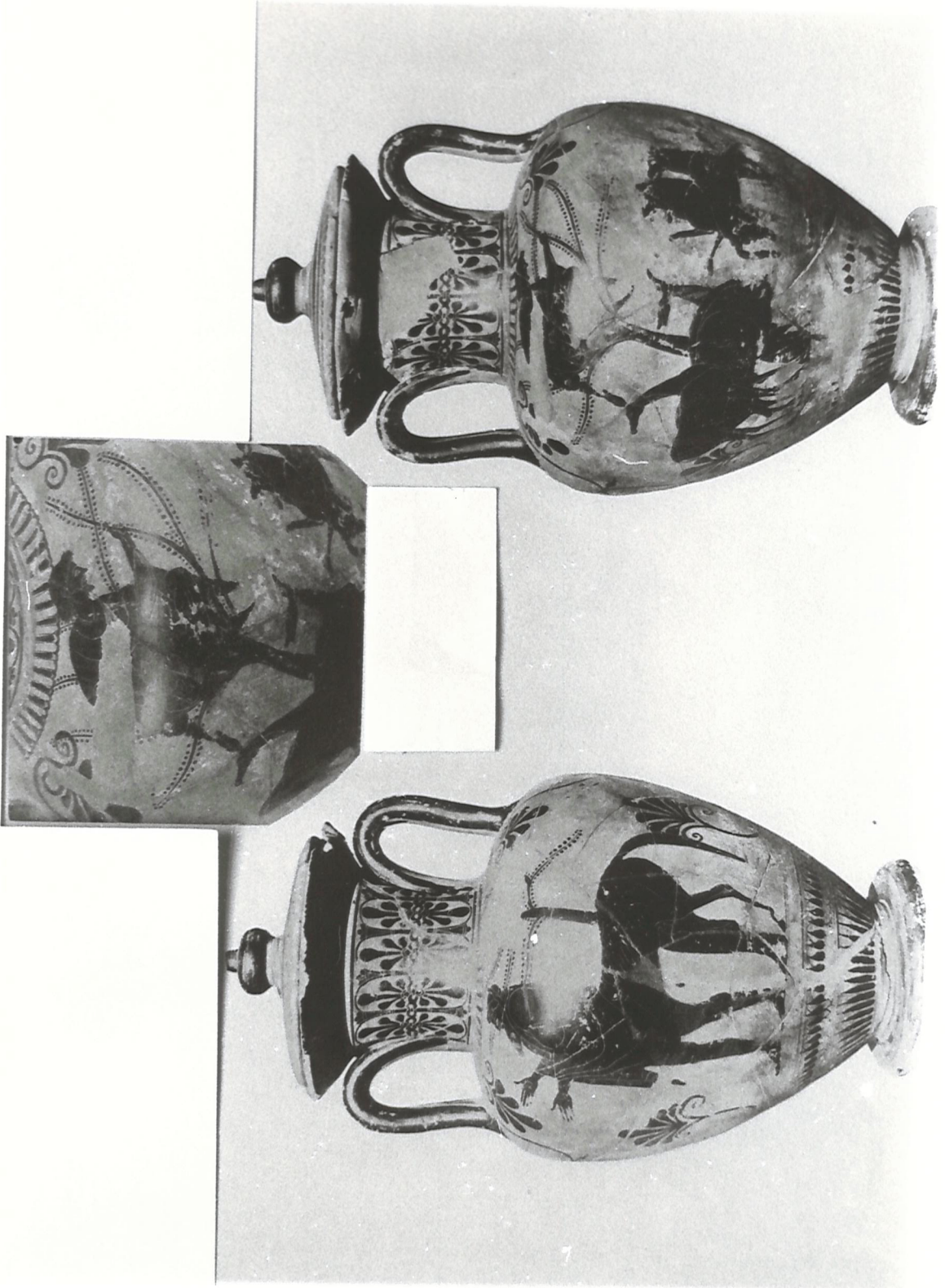


PLATE 17





PLATE 18

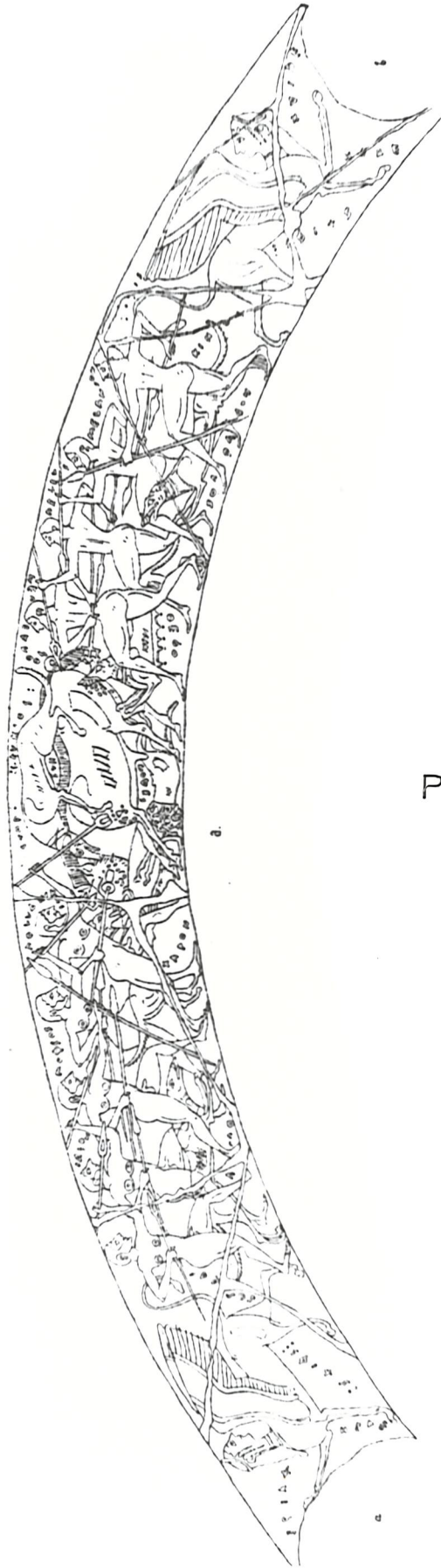


PLATE 19





PLATE 20



PLATE 21

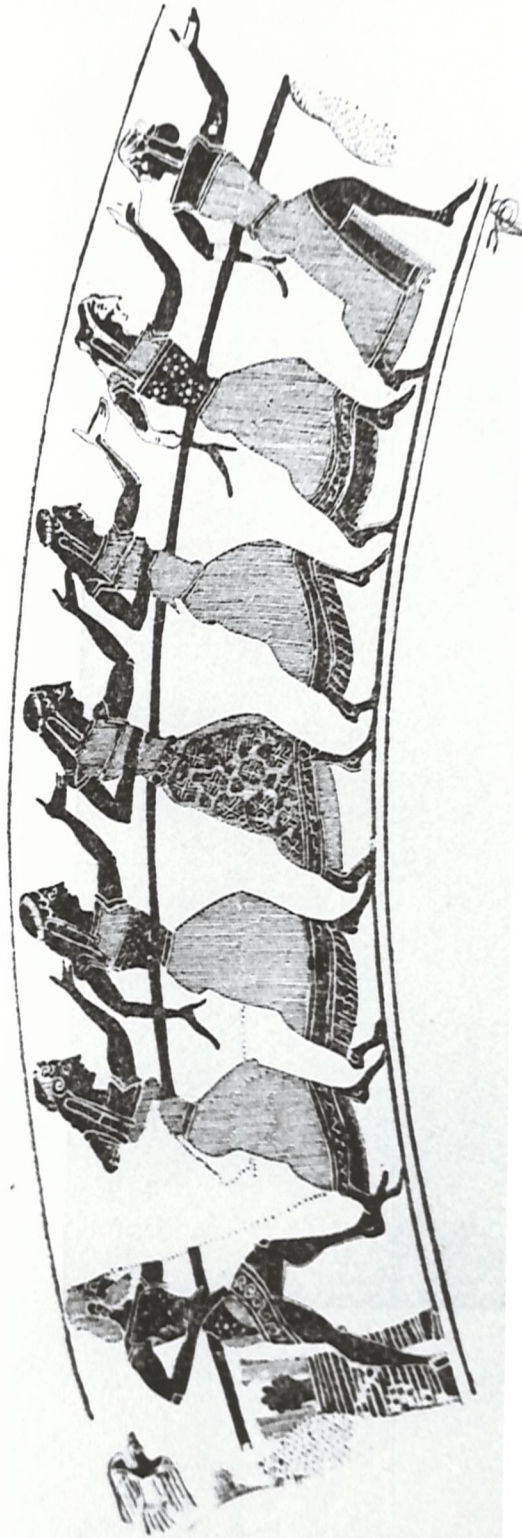


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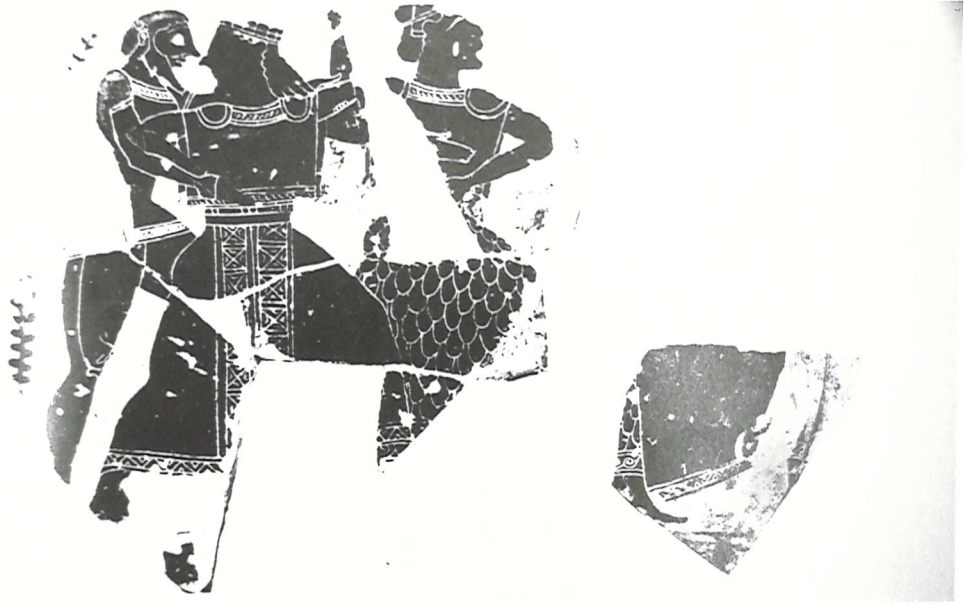


PLATE 23



PLATE 24





PLATE 25



PLATE 26

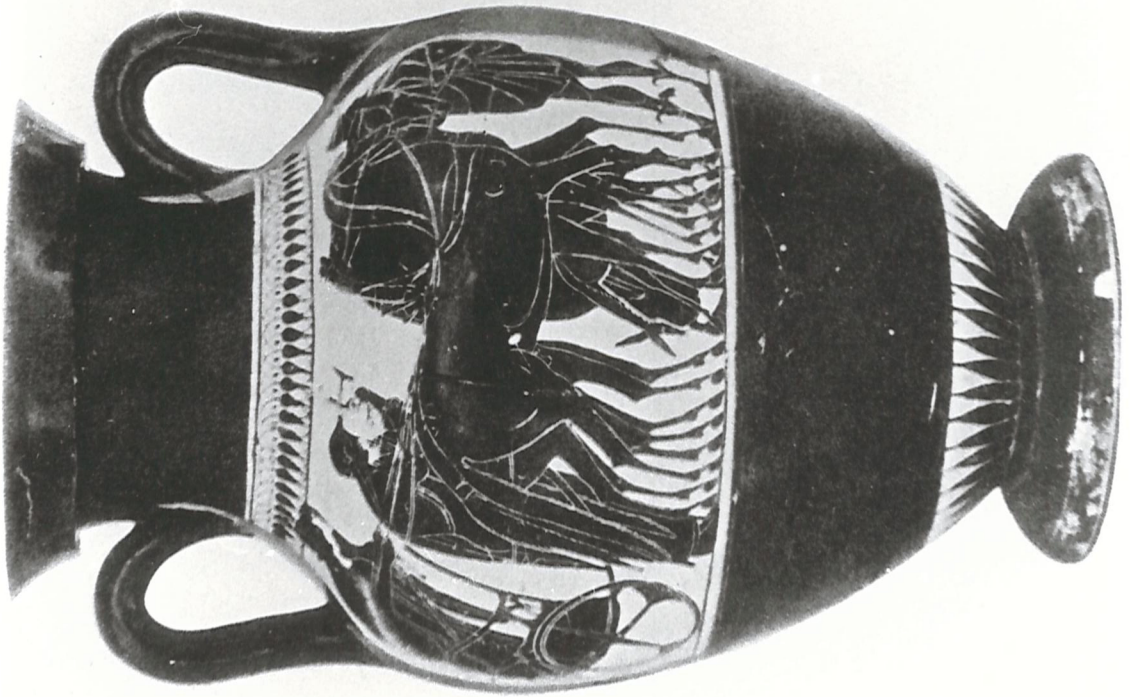
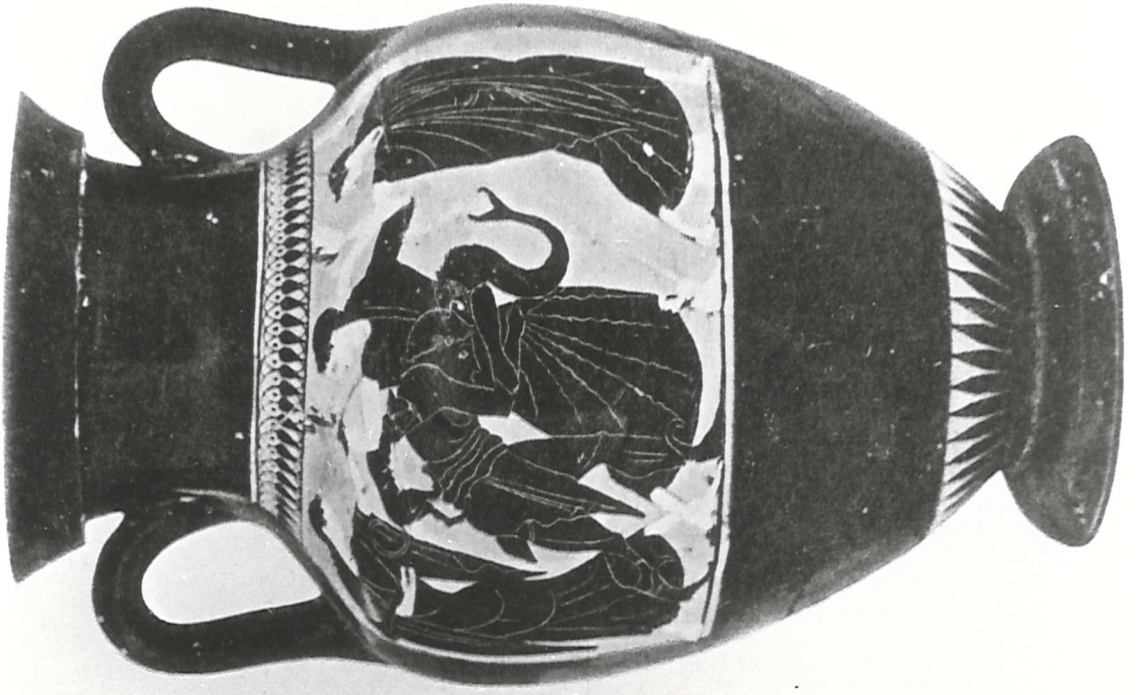






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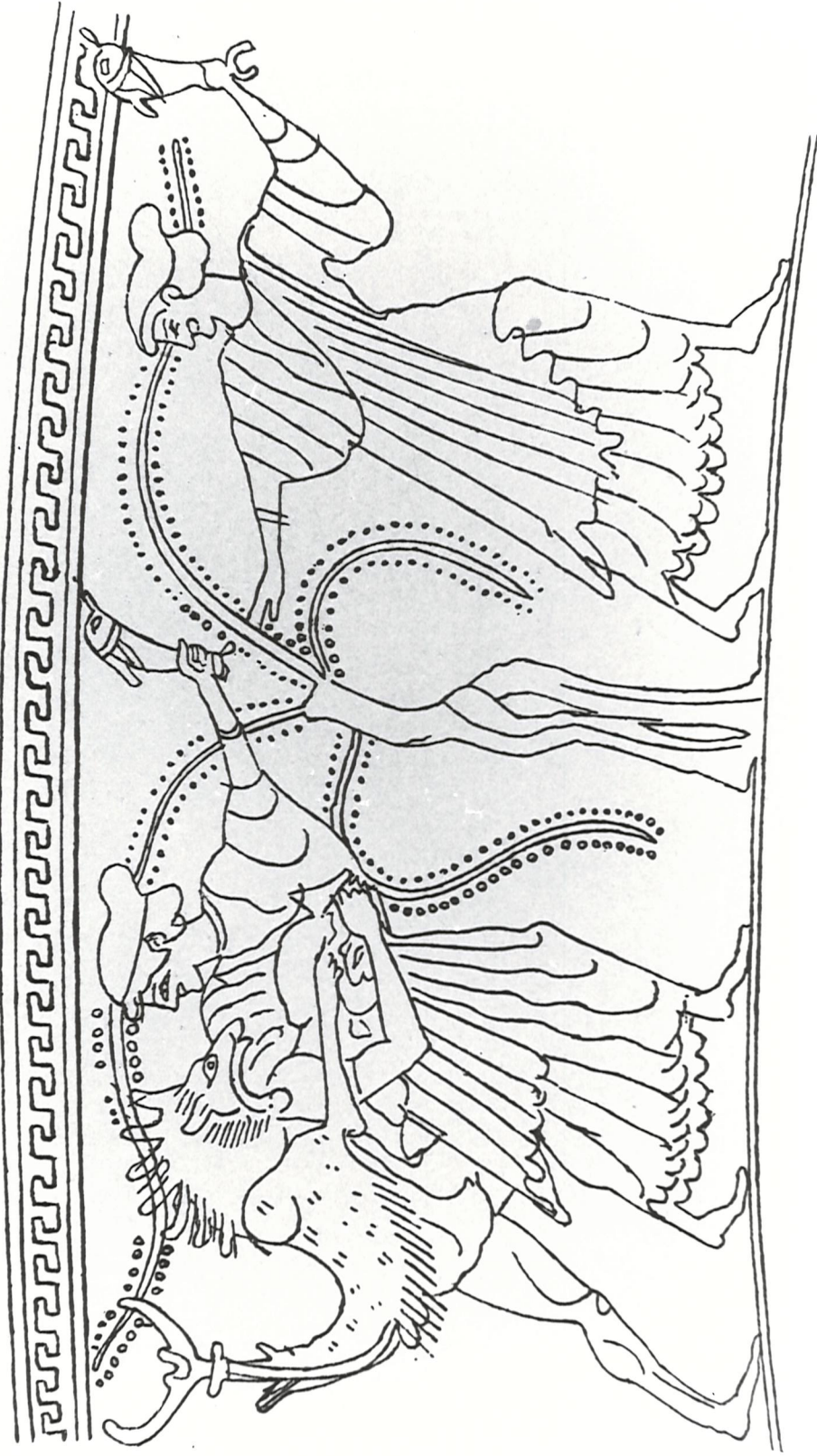


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PLATE 30



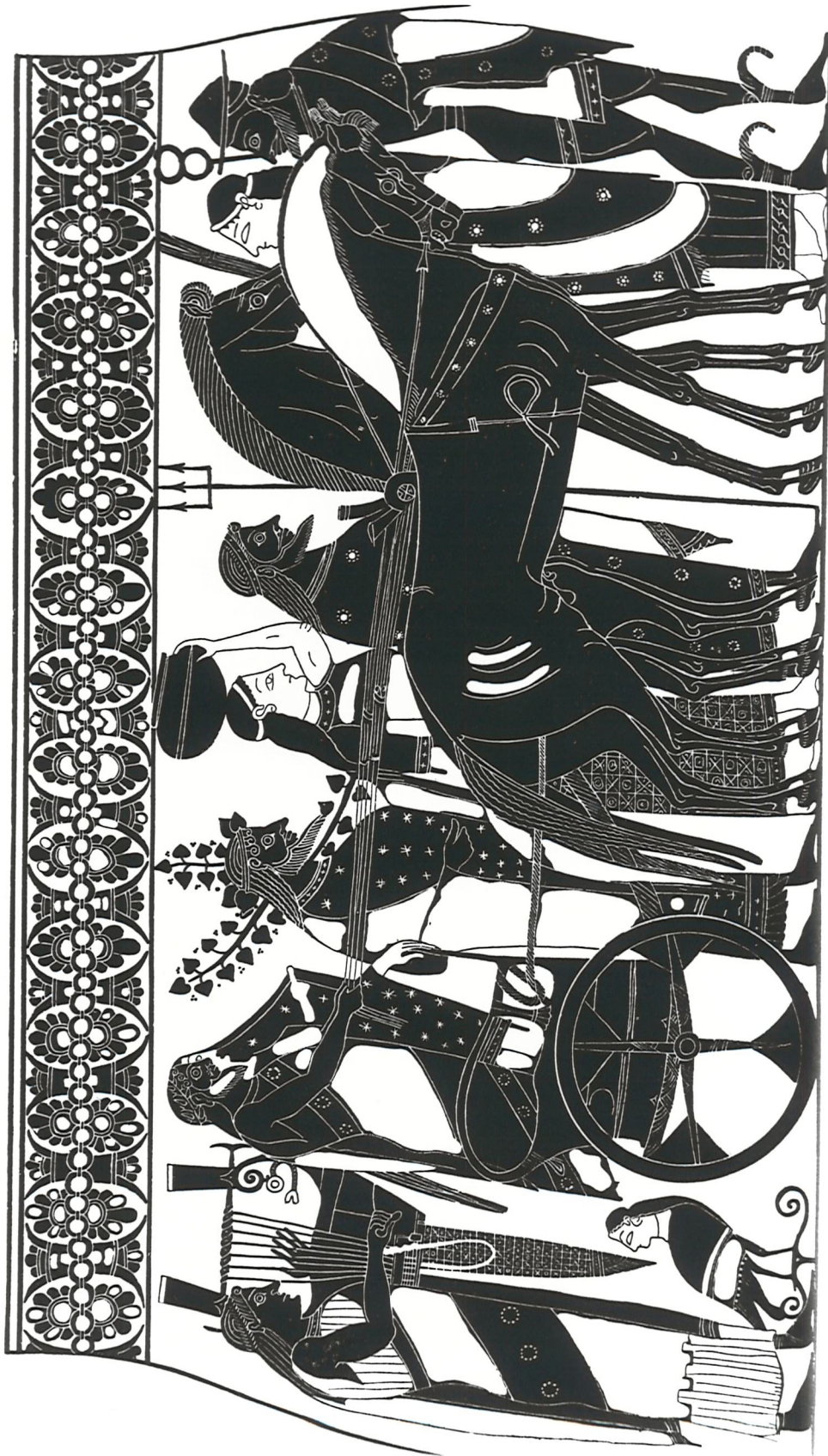


PLATE 31



PLATE 32





PLATE 33

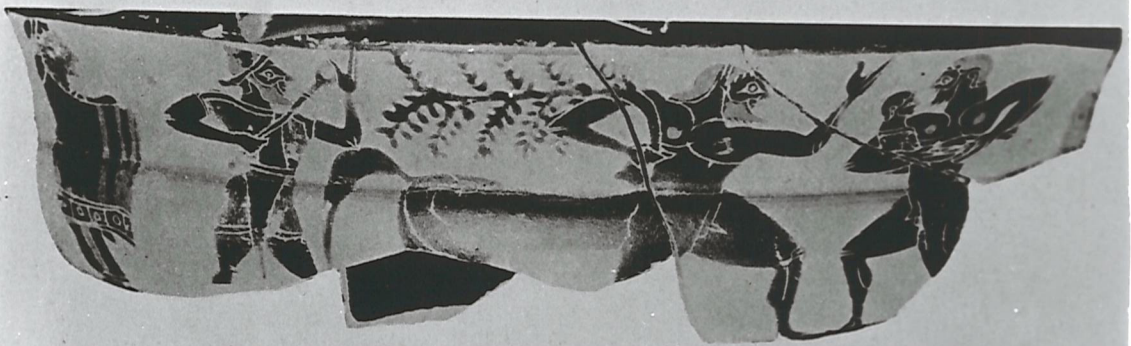


PLATE 34

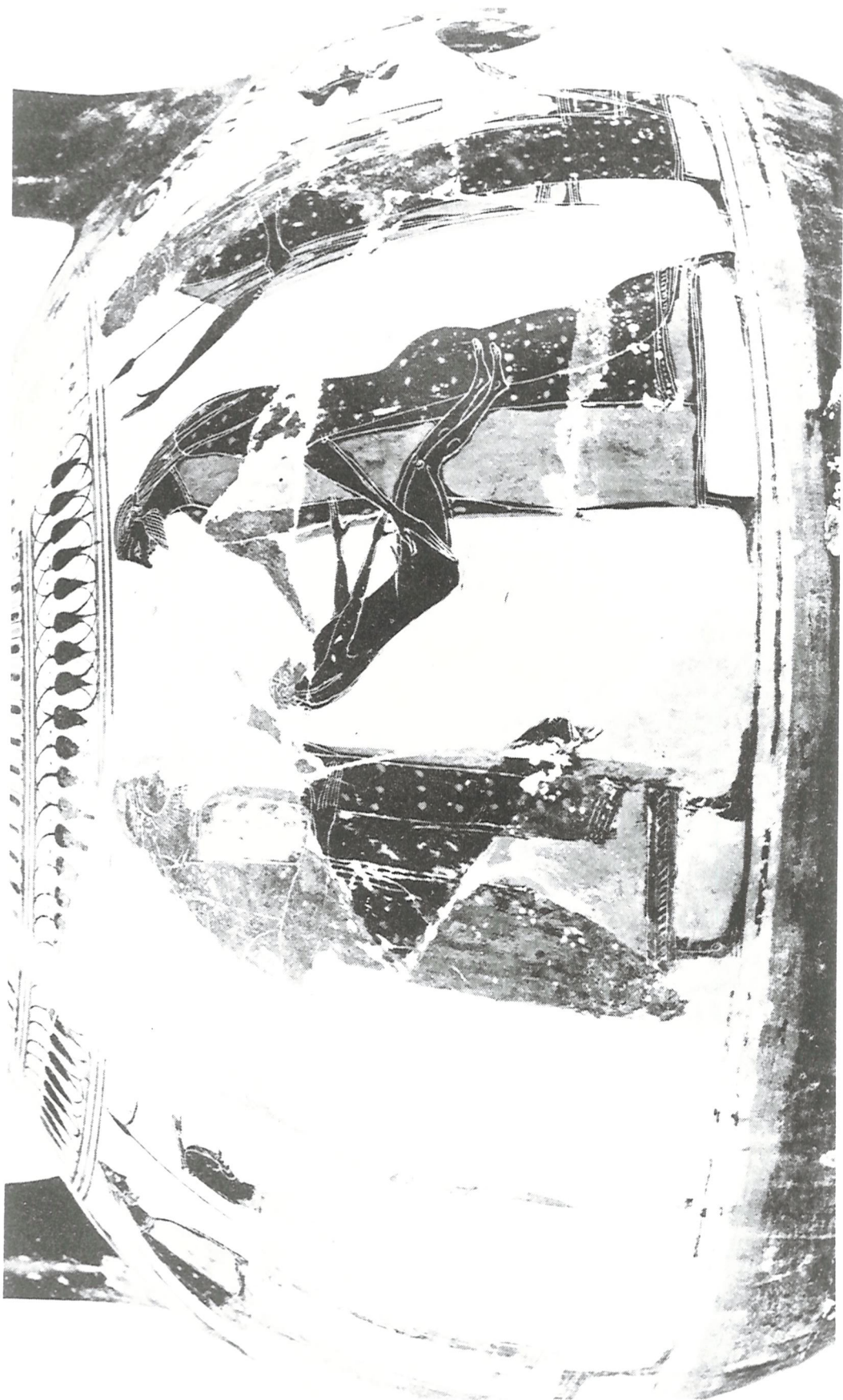


PLATE 35



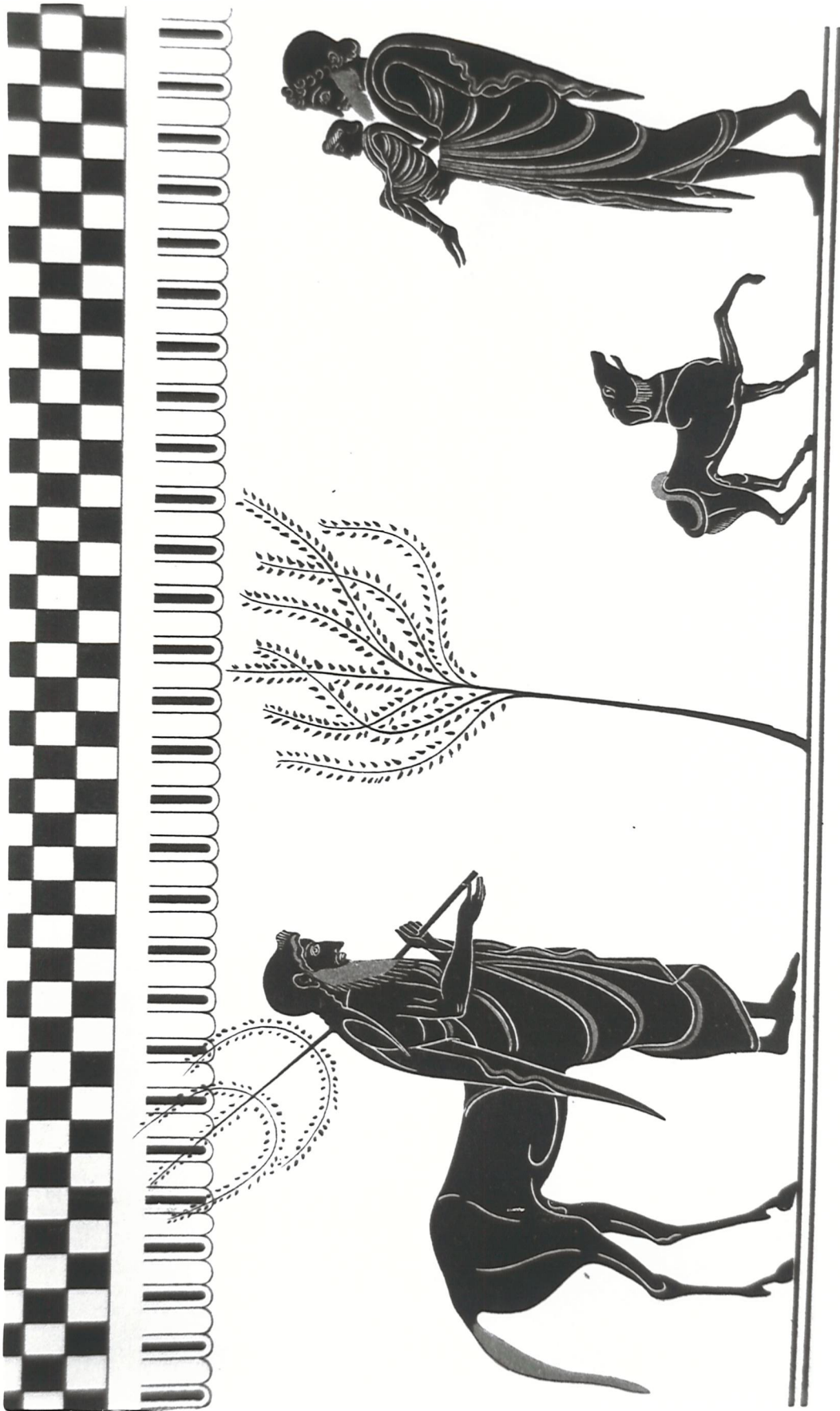


PLATE 36





PLATE 37





PLATE 38

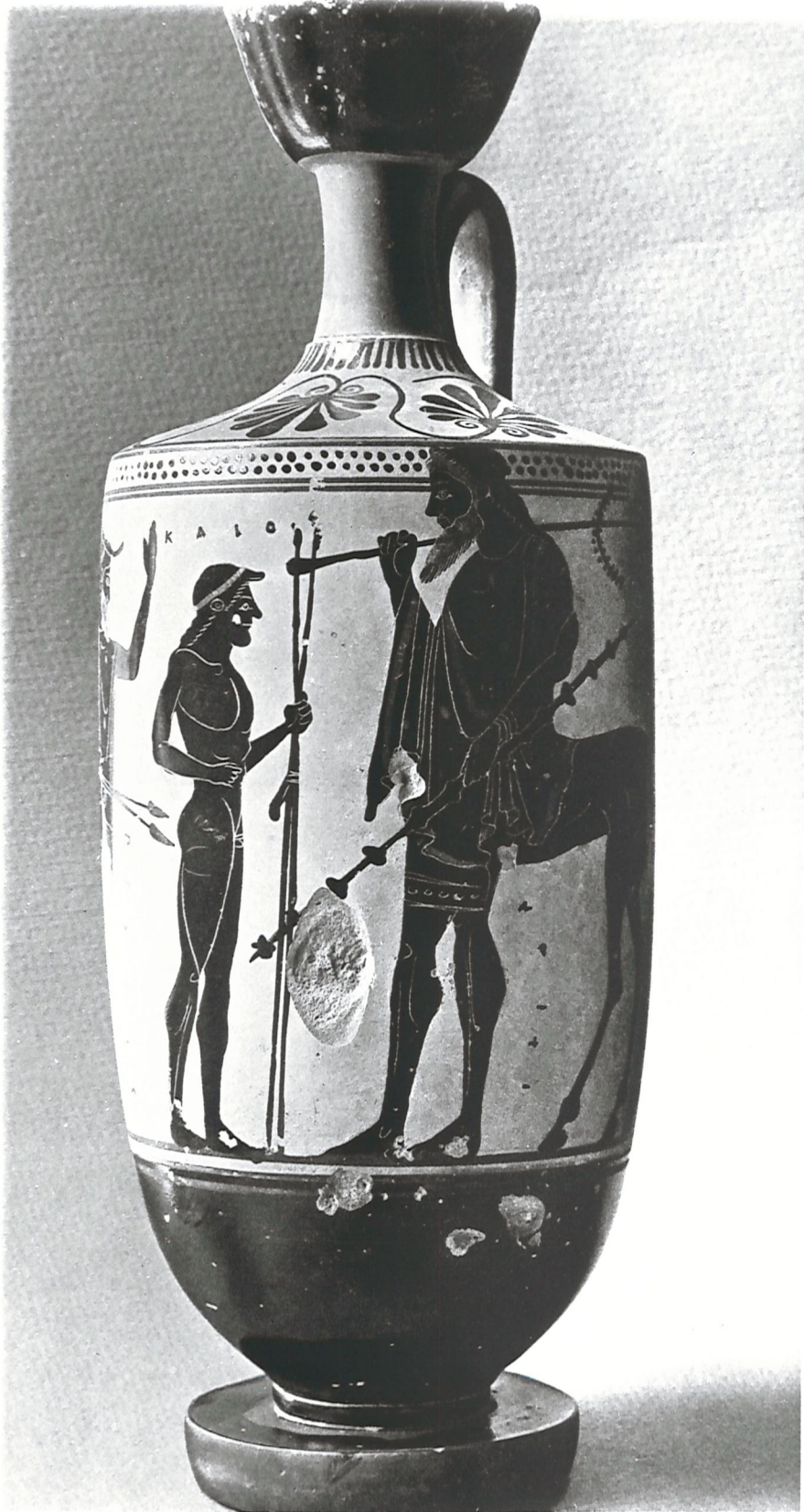






PLATE 40

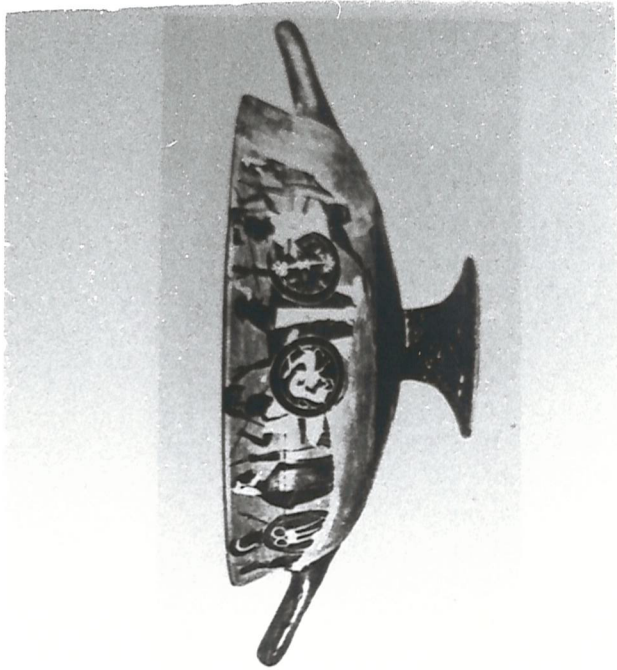




PLATE 41



PLATE 42



PLATE 44



PLATE 43

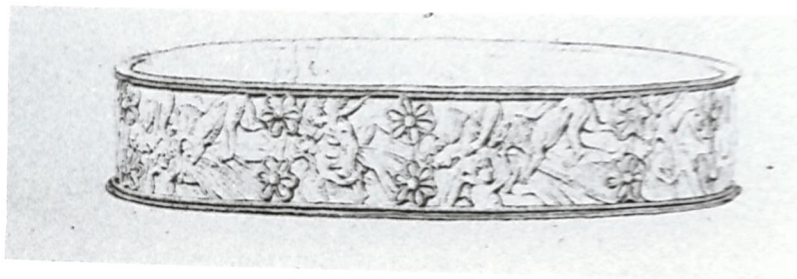


PLATE 45





PLATE 47





PLATE 48



PLATE 49





PLATE 50



PLATE 51





PLATE 52





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PLATE 53A





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*Reverse*

PLATE 53B





PLATE 54





PLATE 55



PLATE 56



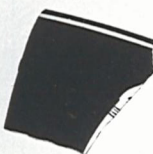




PLATE 58





PLATE 59

PLATE 60

