

## CHAPTER 23

# The Non-Greek in Greek Art

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### 23.1 Introduction

The interface of Greeks with foreign peoples in the Mediterranean world and beyond is an old story that extends back to the Mycenaean Bronze Age of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, whose local rulers and heroes are evoked during the 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC in the Homeric epic poems about the legendary Trojan War and its aftermath. Colonization, travel, trade, and foreign slaveholding, as well as war, increased Greek knowledge of and interest in the unfamiliar, even uncivilized, world beyond the boundaries of Greek culture during the early centuries of the historical period. Through representation of its presumed and real foreign inhabitants, this broader world is reflected in anthropocentric Greek and especially Athenian art, where depiction of the non-Greek ‘Other’ becomes a foil for constructing an ideal self-image (Cartledge 1993: esp. 11, 37–62; Sparkes 1997; Cohen 2000: 4, 18–20, 315–479; Lissarrague 2002; Nippel 2002: esp. 282–283). The extreme polarization of Greeks and barbarians, however, was not a hallmark of Greek cultural identity until the Classical period, in the wake of Greek victories in the Persian Wars, particularly at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC and over Xerxes’s invasion in 480/479 BC (Coleman 1997: 177–178, 186, 189; Hall 1997: 47). Moreover, the use of *barbaros* (‘not Greek-speaking’) to refer commonly to non-Greek people as *barbaroi* (‘barbarians’) likewise did not occur until this time (Hall 1989: 9–13; Hartog 2001: 79–82; Guiman 2007: 123).

This chapter offers a selective panorama of important mythological, legendary, and finally ‘historical’ non-Greeks shown in Greek art from the Orientalizing period of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the High Classical period of the 5<sup>th</sup>.

Artistic examples have been drawn from the abundant preserved repertory of Athenian and other vase-paintings, lost mural paintings mentioned in ancient literary sources, and monumental architectural sculpture. As these examples demonstrate, the evolving visual vocabulary employed in the artistic designation of non-Greeks includes the indicia of scale, gestures and poses, weapons and other attributes, gender, dress, and physiognomic or other physical characteristics. In the Greek artistic construction of non-Greeks, elements of myth and legend, history and reality often seem to merge.

## 23.2 Encountering the Uncivilized

### 23.2.1 The Cyclops

The encounter of the Greek hero Odysseus and his men on the way home from Troy with the gigantic cyclops Polyphemus is known to us from Homer's *Odyssey* (9.105–565). Odysseus, desiring to learn about the non-Greek Cyclopes while exploring their wild, uncultivated homeland, enters Polyphemus's empty cave with his twelve best men, bringing along a goat-skin of strong wine normally drunk diluted twenty times; here he hopes to receive hospitality, including gifts of guest friendship. After returning with his flock of sheep, the herdsman Polyphemus closes the cave's entrance with a boulder, kills and eats raw two of Odysseus's companions, and goes to sleep. Odysseus and his men cannot simply kill the cannibalistic cyclops because the cave's entrance would remain blocked, so he devises a plan. The next evening, after Polyphemus has eaten more Greeks, Odysseus offers him an undiluted bowl of wine. Polyphemus drains several and then falls back in a drunken stupor, vomiting human flesh. Odysseus and his men thrust and twirl a heated and sharpened stake – made from the giant's walking stick – in the cyclops's eye, blinding him. Odysseus ties his men beneath Polyphemus's sheep and clings beneath the ram. The blind cyclops, opening the cave in the morning to let out the flock, does not discover the surviving Greeks and they escape.

This Greek encounter with the primitive non-Greek in monstrous human form, which embodies hazards of overseas travel and colonization (Dougherty 2001:122, 127–130, 134–138; Hartog 2001: 25) and also the resolve to overcome them (Lowenstam 2008:17), counts among the early certainly identifiable mythological depictions in art (Figure 23.1). It is preserved on several decorated pots from the Mediterranean Greek world of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. (Lowenstam 2008: 13–17): the first one is the monumental Protoattic amphora from Eleusis (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 13) of c. 670 BC – the eponymous vase of the Polyphemus Painter. On the amphora's neck, three bearded Greek men

his own hands the lower part of a human leg, which is the same size as those of the approaching Greeks, graphically denotes the uncivilized towering cave man's cannibalism (Nippel 2002: 285, 287).

The engaging Protoattic jug of c. 660 BC from Aigina first shows the story's outcome – the Greeks escaping under the bellies of Polyphemus's flock (Boardman 1998: fig. 206). This moment is also depicted on the preserved fragment of an Athenian volute-krater from c. 570 BC, attributed to the black-figure master Kleitias. The escape's composition now features the sightless Polyphemus, with his bloody, wounded eye closed and his hands futilely groping the air, while, immediately before him, the unseen Odysseus escapes under the ram (Latacz et al. 2008: 419–420, no. 173 (Kreuzer)). Ancient viewers would surely have found the disabled cyclops's ineffectual gesturing amusing. The ram's woolly coat is indicated by incised markings, and Polyphemus's body is likewise covered with incision. Hirsute, and with a red face and long hair, the uncivilized Polyphemus is here shown as a wildman through conventions employed elsewhere for the part-man and part-horse satyrs (*satyroi*) or silens (*silēnai*), raucous followers of the wine-god Dionysos, whose humorous depiction may denote allicity in Greek art (Padgett 2003: 27–28; Mitchell 2009: esp. 206–207, 306–311).

### 23.2.2 Centaurs

Kleitias is best known as the painter of the elaborately decorated Athenian black-figure volute-krater potted by Ergotimos of c. 570 BC, called the François Vase (Figure 30.1). The Battle of the Lapith Greeks with the centaurs, an enduring theme in Greek art, appears on the back of the krater's neck. A preserved name tag for the Athenian hero Theseus, who has come to the Lapiths' aid, notably suggests the story's relevance for the *polis* of Athens (Padgett 2003: 16–17; Torelli 2007: 30). The Greeks are shown like contemporary hoplites, armed with shields and spears, and one is even given the 'speaking' name Hoplon ('Round Shield') (Torelli 2007: 29–30). The bestial centaurs have equipped themselves with unwrought, primitive weapons – branches and rocks – readily pressed into service during this battle raging in the wild Thessalian countryside. But they are not yet conceived with the bulbous or snub-nosed non-Greek profiles that elsewhere brand centaurs' human heads physiognomically as 'Other'.

Centaurs figure among the earliest identifiable mythological creatures in Greek art, as a late 10<sup>th</sup> c. BC large terracotta statuette from Lefkandi on Euboea attests (Boardman 1975: fig. 4; Padgett 2003: 7, 8, fig. 3; 9). A mid 8<sup>th</sup> c. bronze statuette, said to come from Olympia, already depicts a Greek hero locked in combat with a centaur (Boardman 1975: fig. 13, drawing; Padgett 2003: 133–136, cat. no. 13). During the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Herakles appears to be depicted fighting centaurs, such as on the Protocorinthian polychrome aryballos of c. 660, now in Berlin (Amyx 1988: I, 37.1, bottom). Here the



Figure 23.1 Bronze relief-cut ornament. Odysseus escaping the cave of Polyphemus under the ram. c. 540–530 BC. (Delphi, Archaeological Museum 2650. © ALIKI SAPOUNTZI/aliki image library/Alamy).

working in unison – recalling hoplites cooperating in a phalanx – thrust the stake in the cyclops's eye. The first, white-bodied Greek may well be Odysseus. With his mouth open in surprise and pain, Polyphemus grabs the stake with one hand, attempting to stop the attack, while holding a wine cup, symbolizing his uncivilized, inordinate drunkenness, in the other. The cyclops's gigantic size is conveyed by his filling the entire height of the picture field despite being seated. Otherwise, save for separately incised locks in his beard, he looks like the Greeks. Polyphemus's deformed face with one central functioning eye, shown definitively in Classical and Hellenistic art, is merely implied here by the standard early facial convention of a profile head with a single frontal eye.

A mid 7<sup>th</sup> c. vase-painting of the blinding, on a West Greek krater in Rome, from Caere in Etruria (modern Cerveteri), bears the very early Greek maker's signature of Aristonothos (Figure 19.1). Here, Odysseus and his men blinding the cyclops are paired with a naval battle of helmeted warriors with round shields aboard a Greek oared ship confronting similarly armed warriors on a curved foreign sailing vessel that might be Etruscan (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 14; 275). This possibly contemporary military encounter, like the Polyphemus story itself, may suggest ongoing perils of colonization in the West (Dougherty 2003: 36, 41–42, 48, 50, 52).

A century later, the blinding appears again inside an Archaic black-figure Lakonian cup of c. 565–555 BC, attributed to the Rider Painter (Pipili 1987: 32, fig. 47), which shows the first Greek manning the stake proffering the wine cup to the giant, seated Polyphemus. That the cyclops holds in each of

Greek hero hunts them down as an archer (Cohen 1994: 696, 697, n. 11), and each centaur's forepart is a bestially hairy full human body. Early artistic encounters with centaurs in Greek art denote the primordial struggle of Greek civilization against the uncivilized in wild nature rather than a particular conflict with particular foreigners (Hölscher 2000: 291–294).

## 23.3 Pre-Classical Amazons

Amazons, members of a race of female warriors, are complex, multifarious, and ever-changing beings in Greek art and culture. Most ancient literary sources postdate their early images, and there is a disparate range of modern Amazon interpretations (e.g. Henderson 1994; Blok 1995; Stewart 1995; Venes 2002). Whether the Amazon was a totally mythological construction (probably) or ought to be associated with archaeological finds supporting the existence of ancient warrior women has not definitively been decided (Stewart 1995: 575–576).

The Amazons's distant homeland was reputedly located beyond the boundaries of Greek civilization, generally in the northeast, in Asia Minor, perhaps somewhere along the Black Sea or particularly at the city of Themiskyra along the River Thermodon (modern Turkey) (*LIMC* 1: Amazones, 586). Thus Amazons were non-Greeks – faraway foreigners – and this aspect of their identity is the central concern here.

Non-Greek Amazons fought Greek heroes – an old tradition that can be traced back to Homer (Priam in Phrygia: *Il.* 3.182–190; Bellerophon in Lycia: *Il.* 6.171–186) and which continued thereafter in both literature and art. Amazon warriors were physically desirable. The Amazon queen Penthesilea came to aid Troy (Arktinos, *Aithiopsis*), where she fought and was killed by the Greek hero Achilles (who fell in love with her after wielding the death blow). Herakles, seeking the girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolyte, on his 9<sup>th</sup> labor, fought the Amazons along the Black Sea; and, in a late Archaic story, Theseus abducted the Amazon queen Antiope, who became his bride, but, in a Classical version, that rape resulted in an Amazon attack on Athens (*LIMC* 1: Amazones, 586; Boardman 1982: 6–15, 27–28; Reeder 1995: 373–380).

In early Greek art, Amazons first appear – in combat with Greek warriors – on a terracotta votive shield of c. 700, from Tiryns (*LIMC* 1: Amazones, 168, pl. 464; Boardman 1998: 118, fig. 213, drawing). Significantly, the adversaries all employ Greek weapons. At the center, a bearded Greek warrior wearing a helmet with a high crest is about to dispatch with his sword a spear-wielding Amazon he has grabbed by the high crest of her own helmet. The male hero depicted could be either Achilles or Herakles. The dueling pair is backed by a Greek warrior and an Amazon, who each wield a shield and spear. The female Amazons may wear

peplos with patterned knee-length skirts, or they may be exotically nude above the waist (von Bothmer 1957: 1–2; cf. Veness 2002: 95).

Amazons do not appear on the François Vase (Figure 30.1), but several black-figure Amazonomachy fragments probably from a cup-skyphos of similar date (c. 570) found on the Athenian Acropolis have been attributed to Kleitias (Oakley 1997: 300, fig. 4, drawing). His Amazons wear abbreviated Attic helmets with high crests, and they wield spears. Their richly patterned dresses (originally short) recall the peploi of Greek females on the François Vase. This Amazonomachy's lost Greek hero is probably Herakles (von Bothmer 1957: 9, no. 39), whose battle with the Amazons was popular in Athenian art c. 560 BC on so-called Tyrrenian amphorae (von Bothmer 1957: 6–21; see Chapter 3). As on the Timiades Painter's name-vase in Boston (Boardman 2001a: 49, fig. 58), with inscribed names for Herakles and Andromache, the lion skin-clad hunter-hero (Cohen 1994: 696–698) commonly wields a sword, while the Amazons wear patterned short dresses and are outfitted with Greek armor and weapons.



Figure 23.2 Athenian black-figure neck-amphora, signed by Exekias. Achilles and Penthesilea. c. 540 BC (London, British Museum B210. © Universal Images Group/SuperStock).

dress discussed below, consisting of a patterned long-sleeved jacket and trousers, and yet also sports a Greek short chiton. Her exotic cap is an Athenian artistic variant – neither ‘Scythian’ nor Persian – with a point twisted into a soft peak. In fact, painted on the cusp of Greek conflict with Persia, this amphora's respectful and unexotic depiction of an Eastern ruler and its positive portrayal of Theseus's pointedly exotic, long-distance Amazonian bride-rape both pass from fashion (Shapiro 1991: 131–134).

### 23.4 Legendary Trojans

Although depicted early on in art as military opponents of the Greeks in the legendary Trojan War, as in Homer's poetry, Trojans are not commonly differentiated as foreigners through their physical appearance, armor, or weapons (Hölscher 2000: 288). On an inscribed polychrome plate of the late 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC from Rhodes showing Menelaos and the Trojan Hektor fighting over the body of the fallen Trojan Euphorbos, all three warriors are outfitted like contemporary Greek hoplites, with helmets, corslets, greaves, and round shields (Boardman 1998: 154, fig. 290). The dueling pair wields spears. That Menelaos's helmet has a high, stilted crest and Hektor's a low crest is not a Greek/Trojan distinction, since Euphorbos's helmet also has a high crest. Before the Persian Wars (and after), military enemies of the Greeks tended to be Greeks from other *poleis*. For example, the Protocorinthian Chigi Vase of c. 650, in a unique depiction, shows a military encounter between opposing Greek phalanxes of identically armed hoplites (Boardman 1998: 95, fig. 178.2; see Chapter 4). Thus early Greeks did not conceive of enemy male warriors as looking different from themselves. And, more than a century later, even the giants – primordial enemies of the Greek gods – in the Gigantomachy on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (c. 525 BC) are shown as hoplites (Stewart 1990: figs. 195–196; cf. Chapter 7, Figure 7.1).

The tradition of not distinguishing Trojans visually as foreign warriors, in fact, characterizes the Archaic period in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. On the François Vase, Priam's sons, Hektor and Polites, passing through the gate of Troy in their attempt to rescue Troilos, look like Greek hoplites (Arias and Hirmer 1962: pl. 44, bottom). Even in the early 5<sup>th</sup> c., on the Late Archaic inscribed red-figure cup by Douris showing Menelaos pursuing Paris and Ajax attacking Hektor, all of the warriors still look Greek (Carpenter 1991: 218, fig. 305; Latacz et al. 2008: 365–366, no. 100 (Denoyelle)).

An exception is the craft of archery, which the Archaic Greeks held in low esteem within their own culture and strongly associated with foreigners; they generally depicted all archers with foreign dress and equipment. Exotic archery costume shown on vases is restrained by the limitations of the black-

Amazons on 6<sup>th</sup> c. Athenian vases soon incorporate exotic and/or non-hoplitic features into their battle dress and arms. For example, an inscribed black-figure neck-amphora of c. 540 signed by Exekias, and now in the British Museum (Figure 23.2), depicts Achilles killing Penthesilea. Each bears hoplite arms: but here Achilles's standard protective body armor and face-concealing Corinthian helmet contrast not only with Penthesilea's more feminine, open-faced Attic helmet, but also with the spotted leopard skin draped over her short, patterned tunic (Mackay 2010: 317, 319). Wearing a wildcat skin has been believed to associate an Amazon warrior – like the maenads, female followers of Dionysos, who also wear skins in art – with Thrace (Shapiro 1983: 108–110, 114). Instead, it marks her more broadly as a rustic huntress from a distant land capable of killing such a fierce exotic creature (cf. Veness 2002: 96, 105). The Amazon, wearing a leopard skin – originally painted yellow with black spots – of a Classical Athenian rhyton or statuette-vase fashioned by Sotades is shown on horseback hunting lion and wild boar (Hoffman 1997: figs. 50a–c; 89–96, 158, H1; Cohen 2006: 285, no. 87).

As non-Greeks on Athenian vases, Amazons soon combine with their customary hoplite arms and armor elements of the dress and military equipment of ‘historical’ foreigners, first archers traditionally identified as Scythians, then Thracians, and finally Persians (Veness 2002: 98–99; see Plate 21.4). Amazons thus become archers themselves, dress in un-Greek long-sleeved jackets and trousers as well as short tunics and chitons, wear exotic caps in addition to Greek helmets, carry the *pelte*, crescent-shaped shield of a non-hoplitic warrior) in addition to the round *hoplon*, and fight from horseback. The Andokides Painter's varied depiction of Amazons around 520 BC is particularly engaging. In battle preparations on his unique white-figure amphora in Paris (Cohen 2006: 196, fig. 51.1; 197–198, cat. no. 51), a hoplite Amazon adjusts her corslet, while her shield and elaborate Corinthian helmet rest on the ground; an archer Amazon, wearing a stiffly pointed foreign cap generally referred to as ‘Scythian’, is mounted on a white horse, and a spear-bearing Amazon wears a *sakkos* (soft cap) and a chic matching cloak and skirt.

An Athenian red-figure amphora of c. 500–490 BC, attributed to Myson, bears a rare inscribed representation of a historical 6<sup>th</sup> c. foreigner, the by-now legendary wealthy Lydian King Croesus (c. 595–c. 547 BC), on the pyre (Figure 21.2; Bacchylides III; Herodotos 1.86); famously philhellene, he is shown here as a Greek-looking monarch (Boardman 1982: 15–16; Georges 1994: 37–38; Shapiro 2009: 60–61). Myson's amphora depicts on the reverse Theseus and Peirithoos abducting Antiope, who will become the Athenian hero's wife, from her distant homeland (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 130; 332). Both heroes, running from an unseen Amazon contingent, are shown as Greek warriors. The contrasting Amazon queen cradled in Theseus's arms is strikingly outfitted in a non-Greek get up, like the male archers in ‘Scythian’

red-figure palettes. Archers in ‘Scythian’-Persian dress, however, also appear in the sculpted battle, probably of Greeks and Trojans, from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina (500–490 BC; Stewart 1990: pls. 240–245; see Chapter 6). A scientific polychromatic reconstruction of the pediment's left kneeling archer, possibly depicting the Trojan prince Paris, restores his patterned costume in bright blue, green, red, brown, and yellow (Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004: 84, fig. 132; 97, fig. 158). The Aigina archer's exotic garb, however, may in one sense be a harbinger of post-Persian War Classical art, where all Trojan warriors sport Persianizing dress rather than Greek hoplite armor and thus visually become Orientals for the first time (Hartog 2001: 82; Shapiro 2009: 80).

## 23.5 Encountering Non-Greeks

### 23.5.1 Africans

In ancient Greece, black skin color was believed to be environmentally caused: the result of exposure to Africa's strong sun (e.g. Hdt. 2.22). Since ‘blackness’ was not understood as an inherited (i.e. racial) characteristic, in his influential 20<sup>th</sup> c. scholarship, Frank M. Snowden, Jr therefore concluded that classical antiquity was a time ‘before color prejudice’ (Snowden 1970: 2, 172–175, 258, n. 6; 1983: 7, 85–86, 112, n.13; *LIMC* 1: Aithiopes; Isaac 2004: 353; cf. Gruen 2011: 197). In Archaic and Classical Greek art, surviving depictions of black people are generally found on vases, where, with a few notable exceptions, the flesh color of all human figures is dictated by the conventions of the prevailing pottery-decoration technique rather than by actual flesh colors that a viewer might observe in reality. First, in black-figure vase-painting, all male figures are shown as black and female figures as white (applied over black); then, in red-figure, beginning in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, all human figures are shown as red; that is, reserved in the red-orange color of the vase's clay. In order to determine Greek artistic rather than literary views of various mythological characters and human beings from Africa, it is necessary to look at vases closely.

The amusing old story of the legendary Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes occurs first in Greek art on the foot of the François Vase (Figure 30.1). According to Homer (*Il.* 3.1–6), it takes place faraway across the sea, where the cranes have flown for the winter. The pygmies (located in Egypt) fight off the huge birds to save their crops; they are shown wielding primitive, rustic weapons – the club and the crook. Their cavalry, mounted on goats rather than horses, carries slings loaded with rocks (Boardman 1999: 151; Walsh 2009: 50). Kleitias's pygmies of c. 570 BC are perfectly proportioned tiny male nudes

and not the deformed foreign dwarfs (with exotic caps) shown later, as on the Brygos Painter's red-figure rhyton of c. 480 in St Petersburg (Rack 1981: 204; Boardman 1975: 157, fig. 258; Dasen 1993: 185; Lissarrague 2002: 104–105; Guiman 2007: 130–133). Since Kleitias's pygmies are painted the standard black for males in black-figure and at this early date do not display distinctive physiognomic characteristics (Dasen 1993: 185), it is in fact not possible to say whether or not they are conceived of as black men associated with distant, hot, and exotic Africa (cf. Mitchell 2009: 105–106). But their liminal placement on this great vessel's foot symbolically locates the pygmies at the southernmost extremity of the world (Lissarrague 2002: 104; Torelli 2007: 71).

The migratory crane as a marker of distant exotic location also occurs in the rare 'historical' depiction on a black-figure Lakonian cup of c. 560 BC (Arias and Hirmer 1962: color pl. 24; 309–310; Boardman 1998: 208, fig. 420.1; see Chapter 4), the eponymous vase of the Arkesilas Painter. On the tondo, identified by an inscribed name tag, King Arkesilas II, who ruled the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya (Hdt. 4.160) during the 560s, oversees workers weighing a commodity – perhaps wool or the extinct local medicinal plant silphion – and stacking bales of it in the exergue. This memorable Egyptizing composition (Boardman 1999: 149) suggests a traveled artist's account of Sparta's commercial ties with the North African colony, and its remote locale is also suggested by additional animals, including a monkey on the beam supporting the balance, a tame wildcat beneath the king's stool, and a climbing lizard (Hurwit 2006: 129–130). An awning, a wide-brimmed hat, and shoes shield long-haired Arkesilas from the sun. The seated king wears noble Greek dress, a long chiton and a mantle, and holds a scepter. In contrast, the lively workers wear short garments, and some are nude above the waist. They are smaller in size than seated Arkesilas. Some have funny inscribed names, like *Silphomachos* (perhaps a 'speaking' name playing on silphion). These elements distinguish class, but one ought to consider the identity of these black-figure workers further. They are not shown with the physiognomies employed later in Archaic Greek art to designate black people and others from Africa: it is still too early in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. to assume that the Arkesilas Painter has simply intended to depict Greek colonists rather than non-Greek Africans (Simon et al. 1976: 60). Might these workers be imagined as subjugated local Libyans or imported black slaves?

The color constraints of pottery-decoration notwithstanding, beginning around 540–530 BC, vase-painters explored the specific depiction of various people from Africa in Greek mythology, through physiognomy as well as dress, weapons, and other attributes. These non-Greek figures often appear in contexts contrasting social class and/or ethnicity.

Memnon, the Ethiopian king who fought as a Trojan ally and was killed by Achilles, is sometimes depicted – looking like a Greek hoplite – accompanied by



Figure 23.3 Athenian red-figure pelike. Andromeda tied to a stake by black slaves. c. 460 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.2663. Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund/The Bridgeman Art Library).

alabastron (a cylindrical perfume vase for women) toward a tombstone in the genre scene on a white funerary lekythos of c. 440 BC (Boardman 1989a: 139, fig. 270; Miller 1997: 213, fig. 140; Isaac 2004: fig. 5a, with caption). By law, after Solon, only non-Athenians could be enslaved in Athens (Lape 2010: 12–13), and non-Greeks were considered especially suitable for slavery. Although the number of slaves of foreign ethnicity in Late Archaic and Classical Athens cannot be quantified precisely (Garlan 1988: 46–47; Coleman 1997: 180–181, 201), the depiction of black people as slaves on Athenian pottery suggests that at this time black foreigners were surely not widely integrated into ancient Greek society (cf. Gruen 2011: 197–220).

Athenian white-ground alabastra of the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the so-called Group of the Negro Alabastra (Beazley 1963: 267–269, 1641; Beazley 1971: 352; Neils 1980), interestingly defy the outline-drawing convention of white-ground and depict with black-painted flesh archers displaying Negroid physiognomy and short, woolly hair, who wear exotic outfits with long sleeves and trousers. Some of these alabastra show identically attired 'white' Amazon archers with outlined

his short black African squires (Lissarrague 2002: 114–115). For example, Exekias, on a black-figure amphora of c. 540–530 BC, now in London, delineates the contrasting Negroid physiognomy of Memnon's squires, with furrowed brows, pug noses, protruding lips, and woolly hair (Bérard 2000: 395–400, fig. 15.4; Kaminski 2005: 110–111, 497, no. 50; Mackay 2010: 202, 206; cf. Gruen 2011: 215–216). They wield smooth clubs, and one, amusingly named Amasis (like a black ruler of Egypt, as well as a rival Athenian potter; Sparkes 1997: 149; Boardman 1999: 152), carries a pelta (Mackay 2010: 206).

The Egyptian king Bousiris's attempted sacrifice of the 'foreigner' Herakles at an altar (and that act's implied cannibalism) is thwarted by the Greek hero, who is depicted turning the tables and killing Bousiris and his Egyptian priests, sometimes as the pharaoh's black Nubian guard accomplices. A parody of the story appears on the colorful Caeretan black-figure hydria of c. 520–510 BC in Vienna (Boardman 1998: 255, fig. 499.1–2, drawing; Kaminski 2005: 104–106, 492–493, no. 45; Walsh 2009: 97–98), which unusually employs both the black glaze of black-figure and yellow for human flesh. Later, an extreme, comic ethnic contrast of Egyptian and Nubian foreigners with the ideally nude Greek hero appears on the Pan Painter's red-figure pelike of c. 470 (Carpenter 1991: 149, fig. 208; Kaminski 2005: 109, fig. 5) – a contrast that includes exposing the tunic-wearing Egyptians' non-Greek circumcised penises (McNiven 1995; Miller 2000: 430; Lissarrague 2002: 122–124).

In the red-figure technique, blacks are normally distinguished by physiognomy, sometimes in conjunction with exotic dress, rather than by differentiation of flesh color. However, there are interesting exceptions. On a red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter (c. 490–480 BC), now in Boston, on which the Greek hero Achilles chases Hektor around the walls of Troy, the walls' gateways are reserved and upon them a pair of black men in exotic archery dress – probably Memnon's Ethiopians – have been painted in black glaze (Carpenter 1991: 222, fig. 314; Neils 1980: 22, pl. 7, fig. 8). The artist of a unique red-figure pelike of c. 460 BC depicting the mythological Ethiopian princess Andromeda being tied to a stake for exposure to a sea monster exceptionally represents her short black slaves with black flesh by drawing them with white outlines upon the pot's black ground (Figure 23.3; Cohen 2006: 182–184, cat. no. 49, color figs. 49.1, 49.2). As a sign of her elevated class, the Ethiopian princess is shown in standard red-figure. Only her exotic costume, with patterned sleeves and trousers plus a soft cap, which recalls the dress of Amazons and Persians in Classical Greek art, signifies her foreign 'race' and ethnicity (Bérard 2000: 402–406, figs. 15.9, 15.10; Kaminski 2005: 111; cf. Gruen 2011: 215–216).

In white-ground, a third technique of Athenian vase-painting, all figures, including blacks, are normally drawn with dark outlines on the pale ground, such as the female slave with Negroid physiognomy carrying a stool and an

flesh. Recently, identifying the black archers as black Amazons, who hailed from Libya in North Africa (e.g. Diodorus Siculus 3.52–55), Jenifer Neils has reinterpreted these vessels as the Group of the Negress Alabastra (Neils 2007b).

Athenian sculptural vases – partly moldmade plastic vases whose production began in the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. – facilitated the use of black glaze to depict black flesh (Beazley 1929b: 11). Head vases (plastic vases limited to figures' heads) count among the earliest examples. A plastic aryballos (men's vase for perfumed oil) with conjoined heads of a black man made from the same mold displays a carefully observed portrayal (Snowden 2010: 172, 174, fig. 199) that is more naturalistic than the snub-nosed profile canonical in vase-painting (Keuls 2007: 22). Two different moldmade faces may also be conjoined in a single head vase, affording dramatic contrasts of gender, 'race', and ethnicity (Lissarrague 1995a: 4, 5, fig. 1; 6; Lissarrague 2002: 108–110; Snowden 2010: 154, fig. 159; 155, fig. 160; cf. Gruen 2011: 216–220).

Athenian plastic vases in the form of little sculptural groups produced in the pottery workshop of Sotades around the mid 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC include types depicting black men with animals that suggest an exotic African locale. The popular crocodile-group rhyton, in which a black youth is devoured by (or wrestles with) a pistachio-green crocodile (e.g. Cohen 2006: 282, no. 86), continued to be produced, sometimes with local variations, in South Italian pottery workshops into the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Hoffmann 1997: 156–157; Snowden 2010: 179, 182, fig. 213; 183, fig. 214). Another Sotadean rhyton depicts a dwarf-pygmy struggling with a dead crane; on some examples, the pygmy is black (Dasen 1993: 185; Hoffmann 1997: 36–38, figs. 13–15; Boardman 2001a: 166, fig. 190). Ancient audiences, familiar with foreign black people in inferior social roles such as slaves and entertainers, would surely have found these Sotadean vases amusing (Hoffmann and Metzler 1977: 7–10, 18, n.12; cf. Bäbler 1998: 73–74; Lissarrague 2002: 105–107). The imagery associated with black people and Africa depicted on Greek vases speaks against there having been an absence of racial or color prejudice, and recent scholarship has recognized the emergence of nonscientific racial or proto-racial prejudice in Greek antiquity (Isaac 2004: 176; Tanner 2010: 25–26; cf. Gruen 2011: 213).

### 23.5.2 Thracians

Desecration of the flesh by tattooing was taboo in Greek culture. Tattoos were an attribute of foreigners, notably Thracian women, with whom Athenians were intimately familiar because they served as household slaves (*Thratata*) (Cartledge 1993: 138–140), particularly nursemaids. Thracian female slaves are shown accordingly in genre scenes on 5<sup>th</sup> c. vases (Sparkes 1997: 141; Bäbler 1998: 37–38; Tsifakis 2000: 372–376). A red-figure

skyphos dating to c. 460 BC employs a pejorative caricature of a Thracian nursemaid in the realm of myth as a foil for constructing an ideal image of the handsome, young Greek hero Herakles, shown on the way to his ill-fated music lesson with Linos (Tsiafakis 2000: 374, fig. 14.4). Her inscribed name is Gerapso (Old), and she supports herself with a walking stick. Gerapso's aged, wrinkled face has a protruding long nose, and the tattooed lines on her exposed flesh are thick and jagged. This skyphos is attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter, who, interestingly, represents the death of Orpheus at the hands of a delicately tattooed beautiful young Thracian woman on a fragmentary white-ground cup from the Athenian Acropolis (Cohen 2000: 113, fig. 4.4). On a red-figure column-krater of c. 470 BC, now in Munich, the Pan Painter further suggests the foreign ethnicity of a running tattooed Thracian woman from the Orpheus myth by means of her loose streaming hair (Tsiafakis 2000: 375, fig. 14.5; 376), which is painted in dilute glaze in order to show its non-Greek pale-orange color.

A rare bilingual Nikosthenic amphora in Vienna of c. 520 already appears to attribute negative characteristics to Thracian foreigners during Athens's Peisistratid tyranny (Shapiro 1993: 39; Figure 22.3). It bears an inscribed red-figure depiction of the female personification Dike (Justice) attacking Adikia (Injustice), a subject shown earlier on the now-lost chest of the tyrant Kypselos at Olympia (Paus. 5.18.2). On the vase, Adikia's limbs are covered with dotted circles that recall a Thracian woman's tattoos. The Vienna amphora thus implies that injustice is non-Greek.

Later, however, in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (430/429 BC), the exotic cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis, associated with nature and the hunt – like the Greek Artemis – was introduced to Athens. On an inscribed red-figure skyphos in Tübingen (c. 420–410), the young Thracian goddess and her accompanying deer are addressed by the formally dressed Greek goddess of justice, Themis (mother of Dike) (Shapiro 1993: 225, fig. 185, no. 147; Tsiafakis 2000: 386–388; Shapiro 2009: 78–79, 80, fig. 3.19). The rustic Bendis wears an animal skin over a short chiton, fawn-skin boots (*embades*), and a fox-skin cap (*alopekis*). The furry cap, which here looks like a fox crouching on her head with its tail hanging down in the back, suggests the goddess's uncouth wildness. However, unlike mortal Thracian women, Bendis is not tattooed.

That the fox-skin cap and tall, fawn-skin boots likewise belonged to the attire of Thracian men (who were also not tattooed) is documented by Thracian myths shown in Athenian art, like the bard Orpheus playing for a Thracian male audience (Raeck 1981: 67, 85–87; Tsiafakis 2000: 376–377, fig. 14.6). This foreign male dress also included a heavy, boldly patterned mantle (*seira*). In a military context, Thracians carried the pelta. Thracian men were renowned horsemen, and their warm, protective attire was most appropriate for riding, particularly in their northern homeland beside the Black Sea. In Athenian art,

Recently, Ivantchik (2005, 2006), building on the structuralist scholarship of Lissarrague (1990a), has proposed that none of the Archaic archers in exotic dress represented on Athenian vases are meant to be Scythians or any foreigners at all – instead they are simply secondary, non-hoplitic warriors whose exotic costume denotes their lowly military rank in art, though this costume was not actually employed in Greek life. He would identify these artistic archers, therefore, either as costumed Greek warriors or as costumed Trojan archers in the legendary Trojan army. Moreover, Ivantchik has also suggested that Athenian vase-painters did not pattern the artistic exotic outfitting of these Archaic archers on Scythians, who, according to Herodotus (7.64), wore a pointed cap (*kurbasia*), but rather on other Iranian peoples in the Median army or on Medes, who likewise wore a form of pointed cap (the *bushlyk*), or even on the Persian (Achaemenid) army; all of the latter were probably encountered in Ionia. And furthermore, according to Ivantchik, not only is exotic archery outfitting never a marker of foreign ethnicity in Greek art, but possible depictions of archers' aberrant facial profiles and unusual hair or beard styles ought to be discarded as purposeful indicia of foreign ethnicity.

Indeed, no documented historical basis exists for assuming the military presence of Scythians in 6<sup>th</sup> c. Athens (Lissarrague 1990a: 125–149; Sparkes 1997: 137; cf. Bäbler 1998: 163–174), though Scythian slaves reputedly served as police in the city during Classical times (Bäbler 2005). Yet, despite their distant location, Scythians were likely encountered by Archaic Greeks in the context of contemporary travel, colonization, and trade (cf. Bäbler 2005: 115–116), including the slave trade (Garlan 1988: 46). The importance of possible contacts between Archaic Greeks and foreigners north of the Black Sea (e.g. Boardman 1999: 238–264) is downplayed by substituting for Scythians, perhaps arbitrarily, Medes, or others in their army, as inspiration for all of the exotic outfitting of archers in pre-Classical Greek art. Such a shift would also significantly impact the interpretation of Amazons and their imagery.

Given the demonstrated receptivity of Athenian culture (Miller 1997), elements of some other foreign costumes and paraphernalia shown in art seem also to have been absorbed and/or emulated in Athenian life. As we have seen, for example, Thracian costume appears to have been worn by Athenian cavalrymen, and thus, outside of identifiable representations of Thracian myths or the *dokimasia* ceremony, it is often difficult to discern whether foreign-costumed men shown in art are intended to be Thracians or Athenians.

Ivantchik's reinterpretation of 'Scythian' archer imagery correctly recognizes exotically costumed archers in many artistic contexts as Athenians (or Trojans) with activity- and class-appropriate foreign garb and equipment. But ought one also conclude that none of the Archaic archers depicted are meant to be foreigners with their native costumes and equipment? It is

depictions of horsemen wearing Thracian dress abound. Determining which ones may actually represent foreigners, however, is generally complicated by the longstanding elite Athenian fashion of wearing Thracian dress for riding (Raeck 1981: c.g. 68–69; Lissarrague 1990a: 191–231; Sparkes 1997: 139, 141; Cohen 2001: 247–251, 259–261), as the horseman on the tondo of Euphronios's cup of c. 515 from Tarquinia (Boardman 1975: 38, fig. 26.1), Athenian vase-paintings of the *dokimasia* (annual registration of horses and knights), and the cavalry on the Parthenon's marble Ionic frieze of the 440s all document (Cohen 2001: 248–251, 260; see Chapter 7).

### 23.5.3 Scythians?

Exotically outfitted archers traditionally identified as Scythians, nomadic Iranian people who dwelled far to the north above the Black Sea during the Archaic period, are the earliest human beings depicted in Athenian vase-painting long presumed to be 'historical' foreigners. As discussed below, archers, wearing tall pointed caps, first appear c. 570 BC on the François Vase (Figure 30.1). Subsequently, exotic-looking, fully-costumed 'Scythian' archers, often shown as comrades of hoplites, proliferate in Archaic Athenian vase-painting, particularly during the last few decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., finally mostly disappearing c. 490–480 BC when archers become enemies in the Persian Wars (e.g. Vos 1963: 81, 84–88; Sparkes 1997: 137). Interpreting these archers has proved a conundrum in modern scholarship in regard to factors such as the veracity of their non-Greek ethnicity and the nature of their pictorial contexts, which may or may not depict myth and legend (Vos 1963; Raeck 1981: 10, 14–23, 37–59; Pinney 1983; Lissarrague 1990a: 125–149; Sparkes 1997: 137–139; Lissarrague 2002: 115–117; cf. Ivantchik 2005, 2006).

The depicted Archaic archers' standard outfitting includes: stiffly pointed caps (and later sometimes softer, rounded, peaked models); richly patterned long-sleeved jackets or tunics and trousers (sometimes conflated into one-piece bodysuits), which do not belong to the vocabulary of Greek untailored costume; double-curved composite Scythian bows, rather than Greek straight bows or Persian long bows; quivers (often the broad *korymbos*, which holds both bow and arrows) worn at the waist rather than on the back in Greek fashion; and sometimes battle axes. These distinctive archers, moreover, may participate in opposing armies: most cleverly, on the bilingual eye-cup potted by Andokides c. 520 BC and now in Palermo, where black- and red-figure hoplites fight each other at the cup's handles, a pair of bearded costumed archers holding double-curved composite bows flank a tree on the cup's black-figure side, and a youthful costumed archer blows a trumpet on the red-figure side (CVA, Museo Nazionale 1: pl. 659, 2.3; Vos 1963: 23–24).

wise to proceed with caution in the face of a monolithic, pointedly non-ethnic scenario.

The saga of the Caledonian Boar Hunt shown in the top frieze on the front of the richly inscribed François Vase (Figure 30.1) first features the notorious archers, but as hunters rather than warriors. In Kleitias's version of the story, named male Greek hunters, including famous heroes like Peleus and Meleager, along with the heroine Atalanta, who is elsewhere normally shown as an archer herself (Barringer 2001), advance on foot against the monstrous wild boar, wielding spears; named hunting dogs accompany them. Meanwhile, arrows shot by three male archers crouching amid the advancing spear bearers have already hit and weakened the beast. These archers wear stiffly pointed caps, and their quivers are slung at their waists, in non-Greek fashion. They wear short tunics and not yet long-sleeved and trousered archery costume. Significantly, the sole visible drawn bow is shown as the non-Greek double-curved composite type particularly associated with Scythians. Barringer has pointed out Atalanta's exotic identity, including her close association or assimilation with Amazons and foreign 'Scythian' archers: the last only appear in the Caledonian Boar Hunt when Atalanta herself is present (Barringer 2004: 14, 19–21, 24–25). Has Kleitias envisioned these bowmen as contemporary exotic non-Greeks appropriately renowned for the craft of archery (Cohen 1994: 699–700; Barringer 2004: 15–18) integrated within the heroic Greek world (Hölscher 2000: 288), or as secondary Greeks outfitted with foreign (Median) equipment (Ivantchik 2005: 108–111; Ivantchik 2006: 216–223)?

Exotic-sounding inscribed names have contributed to the traditional understanding of these archers as non-Greeks (Vos 1963: 48–50; Cohen 1994: 700), but, in rejecting their foreign ethnicity, Ivantchik stresses instead the Greek derivation of their names. He identifies two 'speaking' names: Euthymakos ('straight-fighter') and Toxamis (derived from the Greek *toxos* for 'a bow', rather than being a Scythian name), and he documents Kimerios (Cimmerian) as a name employed in ancient Greece (Ivantchik 2005: 108–111; 2006: 221–223). Ivantchik concludes further, "...that the Amazons on Attic vases often bear "speaking" names formed from "Toxis" or "Toxophile": of course they have nothing to do with Scythians' (Ivantchik 2006: 218). But, as we have seen, when Amazons become archers they assume elements of 'Scythian' clothing and equipment. And in the case of an Amazon archer, giving her a 'speaking' name derived from the Greek word for 'bow', though it is not authentically foreign, underscores her exotic nature. By juxtaposing inventive foreign-sounding names and foreign accoutrements in his image of archers, it is highly likely that Kleitias, working in cosmopolitan Early Archaic Athens, meant to inject an exotic element into this heroic scene by means of contemporary non-Greeks noted for a craft reviled within Greek culture (Vos 1963: 4; Cohen 1994: 699–700; Barringer 2004: 24–25).

The ability to depict the ethnicity of 'historical' foreigners by means of conventionalized or carefully observed physical features in addition to costume and attributes develops slowly and occurs only sporadically in Archaic Greek art. Kleitias's work on the François Vase is too early for the inclusion of physical indicia of ethnicity in human beings, but the later exceptional black-figure vase-painter Exekias stands at the forefront of this phenomenon. As we have seen, c. 540 bc Exekias employs a distinctive profile and woolly hair to denote the black squires of the hero Memnon (Bérard 2000: 396, fig. 15.4), and this recognizable portrayal of black people, which resembles the Greek depiction of monkeys, appears to have been the easiest convention for Archaic artists to master. Effectively identifying other ethnicities by means of profile-head types that contrast with the idealized straight bridgeless-nosed Greek norm (Moignard 2000: 198–199; Keuls 2007: 24) is rare in Archaic vase-painting. But Exekias also shows a male mourner on a fragmentary funerary plaque now in Berlin (Boardman 1974: fig. 105.1) with a hook-nosed profile commonly employed later in red-figure vase-painting for Semitic men (Keuls 2007: 22–23), including the old foreigner in a Greek himation, who might be a metic, walking a Maltese dog on the tondo of a cup from c. 500 bc attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, now in New York (Boardman 1975: fig. 126; Keuls 2007: 23–24, fig. 7; Moore 2008: 11, 12–13, figs. 2, 3, 14–16).

In unique depictions on a fragmentary black-figure amphora of c. 540 bc, now in Philadelphia, Exekias contrasts a Chalkidian-helmeted hoplite on side A with an archer in full 'Scythian' dress on side B, each of whom patiently holds the tether of a grazing horse (Sparkes 1997: 138, fig. 7.3; Mackay 2010: 275–280, pl. 67). While the hoplite's hair and forehead are concealed beneath his helmet, his profile looks straight, and his beard is closely clipped along the bottom edge. But the archer's nose juts forward from a curved forehead with an un-classical break at the bridge; he has straight-clipped bangs and hair. According to Mackay (2010: 279), 'Exekias seems to have taken care to include a further distinction between his warrior and his archer, in that the latter's beard is longer than the warrior's, and the incised hairs along its underside are longer and more closely-set, giving an impression of a finer, silkier texture. Were it not for Ivantchik's conclusions, this might have been interpreted as supporting the ethnic interpretation, for representations of historical Scythians in their own art of the fifth century suggest that their beards may well have been longer and stragglier than the Athenian norm...'. Pace Ivantchik (2005: 208–209, n. 83; 2006: 230, n. 93), Exekias visually conveys the impression of this black-figure archer as being non-Greek, and I think we should believe him.

Later, on the Kleophrades Painter's red-figure amphora of c. 500 bc, now in Würzburg (Figure 23.4), an exotically costumed archer sports a distinctive

contain a similar accusation of ties with Persia. Thus, the author of the ostrakon in question supplemented his accusation of *medismos* with the depiction of an archer, the ethnic attribution of which is clearly indicated: this is a Persian. So the figure, whose similarity with the 'Scythian' archers of Archaic vases is evident, calls clearly to the beholder's mind associations with Persians (not Scythians) in Athens in the mid-480s (2006: 249, 250, fig. 15, drawing; cf. Lissarrague 2002: 117–118).

The immediately recognizable Persian of the graffito wears long-sleeved and trousered archery costume, but in two important details his image's similarity with 'the "Scythian" archers of Archaic vases' is not evident. First, his rounded peaked Persian cap does not correspond to the original pointed 'Scythian' type of the depicted archers. And second, his bow is a straight Persian long-bow (Lissarrague 2002: 118) and not the double-curved composite Scythian bow characteristic of the 'Scythian' archers on vases. In fact, a shortcoming of Ivantchik's reappraisal, which assigns inspiration for the outfitting in the Archaic archer imagery to the realm of Medes rather than Scythians, is a lack of close attention to different shapes of ancient bows (e.g. Tolle-Kastenbein 1980) and their significant ethnic associations.

### 23.6 Greeks versus Persians: Non-Greek Others in Monumental Art of the Classical Period

After the unexpected Greek victory in the Persian Wars, oppositional battle imagery symbolizing conflict with a foreign foe became a hallmark of Greek art. This theme was explored in the newly important medium of monumental mural paintings (i.e. paintings on wooden panels affixed to building walls), which flourished in early Classical democratic Athens. None is preserved, but several relevant examples are mentioned in ancient literary sources. Among the first were battle paintings of the 470s bc in the Theseion, the Athenian sanctuary of Theseus founded by Kimon, son of Miltiades, victorious general at the Battle of Marathon of 490 bc. Here, however, instead of depicting Greek hoplites fighting exotic Orientals, two venerable mythological battles were pressed into service to symbolize the recent Persian conflict: the Amazonomachy (Boardman 1982: 5, 17, 27–28; cf. Veness 2002: 95, 104) and the Centauromachy; authorship of these Theseion paintings is often attributed to Mikon, who painted the sanctuary's third painting of Theseus retrieving the ring of Minos (Pausanias 1.17.2–6; Castriota 1992: 33, 247–248, n. 2).



Figure 23.4 Athenian red-figure amphora. 'Scythian' archer at the departure of a Greek hoplite performing an extispicy. c. 500 bc (Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Photo: K. Oehrlein).

small chin-beard (e.g. Pinney 1983: 136), which Ivantchik would have us discount as an indicium of foreign ethnicity. This archer stands opposite, and thus contrasts with, a departing beardless young Greek in hoplite armor, who is performing an extispicy (a divination ritual involving animal entrails; Vos 1963: 31–33; Lissarrague 1990a: 67–69; cf. Ivantchik 2006: 215). But here, that the archer, who is still an acolyte of the hoplite, wears a softly rounded peaked cap resembling the 'Persian' type rather than the pointed 'Scythian' one may suggest critical Greek awareness of more than one type of foreigner associated with archery.

Finally, moving down to the second decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. bc, the time of conflict with Persia, Ivantchik assesses an unusual artifact:

On one of the ostraca, which had probably been used for the ostracism of 485 bc, there is a scratched depiction of an archer in 'Scythian' costume accompanying the inscription ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΟ ΜΕΔΟΣ 'Kallias, son of Kratios, a Mede (i.e. Persian).' Ten other ostraca with the name of Kallias

A red-figure volute-krater of c. 460 attributed to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs may reflect both battle paintings of the Theseion (Mertens 2010: 124–129, no. 25, with figs.). In the Amazonomachy on the pot's body, these untamed foreign female warriors, standing in for 'effeminate' exotically dressed Persian barbarians (Castriota 1992: 43–58), are beautiful robust young women (Stewart 1995: 583–584), who, rather than a consistent military uniform, sport elements of Greek clothing and armor interspersed with the patterned tunic, sleeved top, or trousers, plus boots or soft Persian caps, and various foreign arms like the battle axe, composite bow, quiver of arrows worn at the waist, and wicker pelta. The Greek warriors either wear short chitons or fight in heroic nudity. In a key motif, an Amazon on horseback spears a nude Greek warrior fallen beneath his shield in rear view. Another Amazon steers a quadriga across the vase's back. Terrain lines indicating that the fight takes place on uneven ground reflect spatial advances of monumental free-painting (Boardman 2005: 64) and perhaps suggest the terrain of the now-legendary battlefield on home turf.

The Centauromachy on the front of this volute-krater's neck presents a new version of the Thessalian battle that must have been invented for the Theseion painting (Carpenter 1991: 176, fig. 255; Castriota 1992: 32–43, figs. 2a, 2b; Mertens 2010: 125, 128–129). Instead of the traditional Centauromachy in the countryside, depicted nearly a century earlier on the François Vase (Figure 30.1), the fight is now shown breaking out indoors, before a row of couches, at the wedding feast of Peirithoos. The surprised participants thus use makeshift weapons, and one centaur shields himself with a cushion. The fight at the feast, influenced by the Theseion painting, also appears in the marble sculpture of c. 460 bc from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Chapter 7), where drunken, grimacing, snub-nosed centaurs, violating all protocols of civilized order and hospitality, attack the beautiful serene bride and wedding guests.

The Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora, a porchlike building named for its now-lost colorful paintings, contained another composition by Mikon that specifically showed the Athenians and their hero Theseus fighting the Amazons (Paus. 1.15.2). But the Stoa's most renowned painting – a depiction of the Battle of Marathon (probably of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. bc) – evoked the by-now-legendary historical Athenian conflict. There is a brief surviving description by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD traveler Pausanias of this bold artistic invention:

The final part of the painting represents those who fought at Marathon [painted by Mikon and Panainos]. The Boeotians who inhabit Platea and the Attic force are coming to grips with the barbarians. In this section the struggle is an equal match. In the center of the battle, however, the barbarians are fleeing and are pushing one another into the marsh, and at the borders of

the painting there are Phoenician ships and Greeks slaying those of the barbarians who are climbing into them ... Of the combatants the most conspicuous in the painting are Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians to be the supreme commander, and, of the other generals, Miltiades, and also the hero who is named Echelos (1.15.3; trans. Pollitt 1990: 144).

In addition to Amazons and centaurs, 5<sup>th</sup> c. Athenian red-figure vases depict Persian warriors (Bovon 1963: 579–591; Raeck 1981: 111–129; Miller 1995; see Figure 21.5), and scholars have employed evidence from vase-painting, recently discovered architectural remains, and ancient literature, to reconstruct the historic Marathon depiction's composition and its placement within the ensemble of paintings that decorated the Stoa Poikile (e.g. Harrison 1972; Holscher 1973: 38–49; Castriota 1992: 77–82; 2005; Boardman 2005: 66–71; Stansbury O'Donnell 2005). Significantly, a well-known oinochoe attributed to the Chicago Painter in Boston (Boardman 1989: 29, fig. 29) and an unattributed amphora in New York (Castriota 1992: 50, fig. 5; Guiman 2007: 125, fig. 2) contrast individual spear-bearing Greek hoplites with Persian archers, bringing to mind the symbolic ethnic contrast of the spear and the bow in Aeschylus's *Persians* (85–86, 147–149) of 474 BC (Raeck 1981: 116–117; Hall 1989: 85–86), while in reality the Persians used spears too. On each vase, the scraggly-bearded Persian foe assumes a similar submissive pose, shrinking from the Greek, with the right arm and hand cast back over the head wielding a curved slashing sword (*machaira*), and the left hand extended downward, holding a straight bow. Each Persian wears a quiver suspended at the waist, a soft flapped cap, a sleeved upper garment, trousers, and shoes, and on the New York amphora the Persian's exotic attire is topped by a linen corslet (Hdt. 7.61; Miller 1997: 185). On the Boston oinochoe, the Persian's flying arrow has just missed its mark. Both vases' spear-wielding hoplites have the upper hand, and on the New York amphora, the Greek spear has already hit home. The New York hoplite is concealed behind his protective helmet, worn with the cheekpieces down, a corslet, and a short chiton (though no greaves). In contrast, the youthful and beardless Boston hoplite is heroically nude and fights protected only by greaves and an Attic helmet with its cheekpieces raised (Miller 1995: 41; Holscher 2000: 303–304; Guiman 2007: 125). The lost painting, surely punctuated by similar artistic displays of ideal Greek nudity, probably exhibited overall an equally eye-catching contrast of Greek and Persian military fashions and equipment (Miller 1997: 6).

The Stoa Poikile's extraordinary lost painting of the Battle of Marathon might be assumed to have nourished an immediate vogue for depictions of Athenians fighting Persians in monumental Classical art, but that does not appear to have been the case. Instead, venerable mythological battle analogues were featured in the sculptural program of the Temple of Athena Parthenos

(447–432 BC) on the Athenian Acropolis. The metopes in the Parthenon's Doric frieze from the 440s are believed to depict the Battle of the Gods and the Giants (east), the Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the Wedding Feast (south), the Battle of the Greeks and the Amazons (west) – rather than the Persians, who appear only later (c. 420) on the south frieze of the Acropolis Temple of Athena Nike (Stewart 1990: figs. 413–416) – and the Sack of Troy (north) (Schwab 2005: 167–190). Although imperial Athens's Parthenon may itself have been a thank-offering to Athena for triumphant defeat of the Persians, recent scholarship suggests that beyond denoting the legendary historic conflict between Greeks and Persians, the metopes' battles might also allude more generally to civilization's triumph over barbarians, or civilization versus wild nature, or even to civic values associated with marriage (Schwab 2005: 167–168).

Yet the poorly preserved Amazonomachy of the Parthenon's west metopes, which appears to include Amazons both on foot and on horseback, is thought to depict the Athenian battle in which the Amazons, like the Persians, penetrated the city and sacked the Acropolis, and then – unlike the Persians, who sacked the sanctuary – were defeated (Schwab 2005: 178). The Athenian Amazonomachy was surely found inside the temple, as the relief on the shield of its colossal chryselephantine statue, the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias of c. 447–438 (Plin. *HN* 36.18). Here, in a composition spread over the shield's convex exterior surface, the Amazons, literally shown ascending the rough terrain and scaling the walls of the Acropolis, were repulsed by the Athenians (Harrison 1981: 297, Ill. 4). Fine copies of shield motifs on Neo-Attic reliefs found in Piraeus (e.g. *LLMC* 1: pl. 472, Amazones, 246d[a]) clearly indicate that Pheidias turned away from the tradition of Amazons in exotic dress in favor of depicting them wearing Greek short chitons (and Attic helmets) (cf. Veness 2002: 103–104). In the shield's Amazonomachy, as well as in the temple's mythological metopes, rather than alluding visually to a particular Oriental barbarian fought at a particular time during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. – however legendary that conflict might have become – the Parthenon's embellishment seeks timelessness, thus assuring the eternal relevance of its battle imagery.

### 23.7 Conclusion

In early Greece, the struggle of Greek civilization against the uncivilized – often denoted by mythological beings – was an important artistic theme. There was not a strong tradition for showing human enemies as foreign-looking, since military enemies of the Greeks were not necessarily non-Greek. And non-Greeks, who were abundantly represented in pre-Classical Archaic Greek art and often distinguished by exotic dress, weapons, and/or occasionally

physiognomy, were not necessarily enemies; in actuality, they may most often have been encountered as slaves. In the 5<sup>th</sup> c., after the Greeks defeated exotically dressed and equipped Persians in the army of the despotic Eastern empire, their art sometimes turned to myth and legend to symbolize this strange military encounter, and also fostered oppositional images of idealized, self-assured Greeks contrasted with a variety of non-Greek Others.

### FURTHER READING

The subject of Greeks and non-Greek 'Others' has gained momentum in recent years. Boardman (1999) remains the starting point for an archaeological summary of peoples and places. For a general introduction to the larger themes of cultural opposition and for the wider implications across classical scholarship, readers are directed to books by Hartog (1988, 2001), Hall (1989), and Cartledge (1993), as well as to the edited volumes of Coleman and Walz (1997), Malkin (2001), and Harrison (2002). Two books by J. Hall (1997, 2002) have pushed the subject in the direction of ethnicity and identity. Athenian receptivity to Persian culture is illuminated by Miller (1997). On 'racism', see Hoffman and Metzler (1977) and Isaac (2004); Lape (2010) defines Classical Athenians' eponymous self-definition as a racial identity. Counter to the prevailing scholarly dialogue, Gruen (2011) seeks to minimize the phenomenon of otherness in classical antiquity.

For Greek art specifically, still-useful works are von Bothmer (1957) on Amazons and Raeck (1981) on depictions of various 'barbarians'. Lissarrague (1990a) examines images of 'foreign-armed' non-hoplite warriors. In regard to the opposition of Greeks and Persians, Harrison (1972), Hölscher (1973), and Castriota (1992, 2005) illuminate the lost painting in Athens's Stoa Poikile of the Battle of Marathon. Important essays by various authors, concerned with a wide range of characters (workers, non-Greeks, satyrs, etc.), are available in Davis and Cohen (1995), Cohen (2000), and Guidice and Panvini (2007). On disability and/or visual humor, see Dasen (1993), Walsh (2009), and Mitchell (2009). For ancient images of blacks, see Snowden (1970, 1983, 2010), and for introductory overviews of non-Greeks, see Sparkes (1997) and Lissarrague (2002).

Several exhibitions and their published catalogues have dealt with various aspects of the subject and have made fundamental contributions, among them Reeder (1995) on women, Padgett (2003) on centaurs and other part-human, part-animal mythological beings, and Cohen (2006) on unusual vase types and techniques of representation.