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EURYMEDON AND THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PERSONIFICATIONS IN THE EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD*

IN the 460s BC an unnamed artist painted an unusual oinochoe with a unique scene—a Greek chasing an Oriental archer—that marks an important stage in the development of symbolic imagery in the arts of early Classical Greece.[1] This oinochoe of unusual shape (PLATE 8a-b), now in Hamburg, was first published by Konrad Schauenburg.[2] On side A, a bearded Greek hunter, running ¾-view to the right, clutches his phallos in his right hand and reaches his left arm toward an Oriental archer, on side B. The archer stands ¾-view to the right, bent at the hips, with his upper body in a rare frontal pose, and his hands raised to his head. A curious inscription fills the space between the two characters. Two equally plausible restorations of the inscription, each of which carries its own divergent interpretation of the images, have emerged: the original publication by Schauenburg and a response by Gloria Pinney. The inscription that runs between the two characters was restored by Schauenburg as εὐρυμέδον εἰμ[ὶ] κυβά[δε] ἔστεκα 'I am Eurymedon. I stand bent forward', which he took to be the words of the bent figure on side B.[3] On the basis of this restoration, Schauenburg and others have interpreted the vase as anti-Persian—a patriotic reminder of the Athenian victory over the Persians at the river Eurymedon in 466.[4] This interpretation has been challenged by Gloria Pinney, who perceived that the first two words belong to the Greek man on side A. Pinney favoured a sexual, rather than political, interpretation, rejecting the association of the vase with the Battle of the Eurymedon.[5] According to her restoration, the Scythian 'squire', saying κυβά[δας] ἔστεκα 'I am the bendover', waits to receive gratification from the caricature of the epic hero, Eurymedon, who identifies himself by saying εὐρυμέδον εἰμ[ὶ].[6] As the Eurymedon Vase is unparalleled in Attic iconography, neither of these well-reasoned interpretations can be disproven. Yet a compromise interpretation is equally possible: certainly in Classical Athenian

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[1] All subsequent dates in this article are BC.

[2] Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg 1981.173. K. Schauenburg, 'Εὐρυμέδον εἰμί', *AthMitt* 90 (1975) 118 attributed the vase to the circle of the Triptolemos Painter, a late Archaic painter. This oinochoe shape—Beazley's type 7—is commonly decorated with Greek v. Persian imagery at this time. See, for example, W. Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bonn 1981) cat. P 573 (in a private collection, published by K. Schauenburg in *Kunst der Antike. Schatze aus norddeutschen Privatbesitz* (Mainz 1977) 344-46, no. 294) and P 602 (London, BM 1912.7-9.1, attributed to the Painter of the Brussels Oinochoai: *ARV*^{2} 775.1; *Add*^{2} 299), as well as Vatican 16536 (illustrated in J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period* (London 1989) fig. 220).

[3] Schauenburg (n.2) 103. His argument is championed, most notably, by K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 105.

[4] The exact date of the battle is much debated. See, most recently, E. Badian, 'The Peace of Callias', in *From Plataea to Potidaea. Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentecontaetia* (Baltimore 1993) 6-10 (with previous references).

[5] G.F. Pinney, 'For the heroes are at hand', *JHS* 104 (1984) 181. J.N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York 1998) 170-71 agrees with Pinney that it is not a patriotic statement, although he does not comment on her reading of the inscription (but seems to accept that of Schauenburg).

[6] Pinney (n.5) 182-83. I accept Pinney's reading of the inscription, which has also been accepted recently by M.F. Kilmer, 'Rape in early red-figure pottery: violence and threat in homo-erotic and hetero-erotic contexts', in S. Deacy and K.F. Pierce (eds.), *Rape in Antiquity* (London 1997) 137. I thank Andrew Stewart for bringing this collection of essays to my attention.

thought, sexual and political innuendoes are not mutually exclusive. (In the ensuing discussion I take as political anything that influences or comments on the internal or external affairs of a city state, what the ancient Greeks referred to as τὰ τῆς πόλεως.[7]) While the present article attempts such a compromise, it examines the vase from a different perspective: the stage it marks in the development of personification in Athenian visual arts. Before I discuss the iconography of the Eurymedon Vase and the cultural context in which it was produced, a summary of the evolution of personifications in the visual arts of Archaic and early Classical Athens is warranted.

It is in the early Classical period that the symbolic use of humanized characters in non-mythological but meaningful contexts began to appear. Such symbolic characters included—but were not restricted to—personifications, which I define as representations of things, places, events, or abstract ideas, by the human form. Personifications had been well known to Archaic Greek artists. Pausanias notes some personifications on the early Archaic 'Chest of Kypselos', the earliest work of Greek art (now lost) known to have been decorated with labelled personifications: Thanatos (Death) and Hypnos (Sleep), with their mother Nyx (Night), as well as Dike (Justice) and Adikia (Injustice).[8] Archaic vases are adorned with some of the same characters, but few other personifications are identified by labels in this period: Geras (Old Age),[9] Harmonia (Harmony),[10] Himeros (Desire),[11] Peitho (Persuasion),[12] and Themis (Law),[13] can be added to those that first appeared on the Chest of Kypselos.[14]

Although abstractions of ideas with political connotations are among the personifications found in Archaic art (Eris, Harmonia, Peitho, and Themis), they were largely confined to traditional mythological scenes during that period and were rarely shown in political contexts

[7] In *Prot.* 318e Plato uses this expression to contrast the affairs of the city with those of the home. Plato seeks a similar contrast in *Ap.* 20b, where Socrates asks τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν; 'Is there someone knowledgeable in both human and civic virtue?'

[8] Paus. 5.18.1-2. This work is customarily dated to 600-590, on the basis of the lifetimes of Kypselos and his son.

[9] On a black figured lekythos attributed to the Class of Athens 581 (490-480), in Eichenzell (Adolphseck), Schloß Fasanerie 12 (*ABV* 491.60; *Add*^{2} 122; *Para* 223; *CVA Schloss Fasanerie* 1, pl. 13.4-6); a pelike attributed to the Geras Painter (490-480), Louvre G 234 (*ARV*^{2} 286.16; *Add*^{2} 209); a Nolan amphora attributed to the Charmides Painter (490-480), London, BM cat. E 290 (*ARV*^{2} 653.1; *Add*^{2} 276; *CVA British Museum* 5, pl. 48.2); a pelike attributed to the Matsch Painter (480-470), Rome, Villa Giulia 48238 (*ARV*^{2} 284.1; *Add*^{2} 208; *CVA Villa Giulia* 4, pl. 22); the latest example is preserved on skyphos fragments attributed to the Penthesilea Painter (450-440), Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1943.79 (*ARV*^{2} 889.160; *Add*^{2} 302; *Para* 428).

[10] H.A. Shapiro, *Personfications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 BC* (Zurich 1993) 95-109, 239-42.

[11] On a black-figure pinax fragment (570-560), Athens, NM 2526: Shapiro (n.10) 242 no. 52.

[12] On a fragmentary oinochoe attributed to Euthymides (510-500), New York, MMA 1981.11.9 (with other fragment[s] in a private collection): *Add*^{2} 405; *LIMC* 7 (1994) 243 s.v. Peitho no.1 (N. Icard-Gianolio); and Makron's skyphos in Boston (mentioned in n.53).

[13] On a black-figure dinos signed by Sophilos (580-570), London, British Museum 1971.11-1 (*ARV*^{2} 40.16bis; *Add*^{2} 10-11; *Para* 19; Shapiro (n.10) 253 no. 141). She is also labelled on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (530-520): For the label see V. Brinkman, 'Die aufgemalten Namenbeischriften an Nord- und Ostfries des Siphnierschatzhauses', *BCH* 109 (1985) 77-130.

[14] The only other known Archaic personification, Oknos (Sloth), was said by Pausanias (10.29.1) to have been shown in the Classical period (470-460) on the Nekyia painting by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi. Shapiro (n.10) 257 no. 116 suggests that Oknos may also be present on an unlabelled black-figure lekythos (500-490) in Palermo, Museo Archeologico 996. Other non-Attic art works, particularly coins, of course, illustrate personifications, but these are all Classical or later.

before the Classical period.[15] An exception is the politically suggestive scene of beautiful Dike attacking ugly Adikia (Justice triumphing over Injustice), which appears on two Attic vases dating to the end of the sixth century, as well as the Chest of Kypselos.[16]

In the early Classical period (480-450) artists began to illustrate more personifications in non-mythological scenes, either alone or with other figures. Nike (Victory), already known in the Archaic period,[17] became popular on early Classical vases, shown alone or with one other figure.[18] The nature of each victory could be revealed through Nike's attributes or actions: she could celebrate a military victory, as when, for example, she erects a trophy, on the name vase (a pelike) of the Trophy Painter.[19] The only new personification in the early Classical period that represents an abstract concept is also a political entity: Anangke (Necessity) may be represented by a winged woman with a torch,[20] on an early Classical lekythos in Moscow (PLATE 8c).[21] The likelihood that this winged figure was intended to personify Anangke in a political vein is heightened by its importance as a political concept in literature by this time: Herodotos mentions that when the Athenian general Themistokles arrived on the island of Andros he reported that he and the Athenians had come with two gods, Peitho and Anangke, to which the Andrians replied their only gods were Penia (Poverty) and Amechania (Helplessness).[22]

[15] It is interesting to note also that three of these 'political ideas' are the only labelled personifications in the Archaic period to appear as participants in standard mythological stories: Harmonia discovered by her future husband, Kadmos; Peitho at the judgment of Paris; and Themis at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

[16] On a fragment of an unattributed black figured eye cup (520-510), Basel, Coll. Herbert Cahn HC 826 (Shapiro (n.10) 39-44; 231 no. 7, fig. 6; *LIMC* 3 (1986) 389 s.v. Dike no. 1 (H.A. Shapiro)); on an unattributed bilingual Nikosthenic neck amphora (520-510), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3722 (*ARV*^{2} 11.3, 1618; *ABV* 320; *Add*^{2} 151; *Para* 321; *CVA Vienna* 2, pl. 51). Despite Dike's popularity in the literature of fifth century Athens, she never appears in Classical Athenian art.

[17] C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Nike. Der Typus der laufenden Flügelfrau in archaischer Zeit* (Stuttgart 1969).

[18] Such representations of Nike are particularly apparent on Nolan amphorae, for which see Beazley's chapter 37 in *ARV*^{2}. As she appears earlier than most, and is intimately connected with Athena in Classical Athens, but rarely with other political personifications, Nike warrants special attention, which she has now begun to receive. See A. Gulaki, *Klassische und Klassizistische Nikedarstellungen. Untersuchung zur Typologie und zum Bedeutungswander* (Diss. Bonn 1981), and *LIMC* 7 (1994) 850-904 s.v. Nike (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote).

[19] *C.* 460-450. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 20.187: *ARV*^{2} 857.2; *Add*^{2} 298; *Para* 425.

[20] Anangke has no mythology, except for brief euhemeristic appearances, as the mother of Aphrodite (*Hymn. Orph.* 55.3), and the mother of Moira (Pl. *Plt.* 10.617b-e). See, most recently, *LIMC* 1 (1981) 757-58 s.v. Anangke (E. Simon).

[21] *C.* 470-460, thought to be in the style of the Providence Painter. Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II 1б 117. O. Tugusheva, *CVA Moscow* 5 (forthcoming); N.A. Sidorova, O.V. Tugusheva, and V.S. Zabelina, *Antique Painted Pottery in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Moscow 1985) no. 43, fig. 83; N.M. Lossewa, 'Attische rotfigurige Vasen des 5. Jhs. v. U.Z. in der Sammlung des Museums der Bildenden Künste (Puschkin Museum) in Moskau', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 16 (1967) *Gesellschafts und Sprachwisenschaftliche Reihe* 7/8, 9/10, 481-82, pl. 47.1; Государственный мусей изобразительных искусств им А.С. Лушкина Античное искусство каталог (Moscow 1963) no. 31; V. Blavatsky, 'К вопорсу об изобкражении Ананки. Трудьı Секции искусствоэнания Институа археологии и искусствоэнанияб', *РАНИОН* 4 (1928) 70-74, pl. 7.1.

The label for this character is ANANΛH, which is usually interpreted as a misspelling of ANAΓKH. Although a misspelled inscription is inconclusive, it is likely that a personification was intended, as this winged figure is comparable in form and function to the contemporary images of Nikai; the artist would have added the label to distinguish Anangke from the more popular Nike. The label (in red dipinti) is sloppily written (as well as misspelled, if Anangke was indeed intended to have been represented); it may even have been a nonsense inscription. On the basis of the inscription, the attribution of this vase to the Providence Painter is unlikely, because that artist generally wrote quite neatly, as also noted by H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script. A Survey* (Oxford 1990) 104.

[22] Hdt. 8.111. This may be the first explicitly political use of a personified abstract in Greek literature. A variant story was told by Plutarch (*Vit. Them.* 21), that the Greek deities were Peitho and Bia (Strength), and that the Andrian deities were Penia and Aporia (Resourcelessness). It is impossible to determine which story was correct, although I am inclined to favour Herodotos, for Bia, a masculine deity, was commonly paired with Kratos in Archaic

Artists in the early Classical period were likewise beginning to express political ideas through other types of figures, such as gods and heroes, and these were sometimes combined with personifications. I shall call these popular heroic and divinized characters in non-mythological contexts 'proto-personifications', for they functioned symbolically, like personifications, although they did not originally serve this purpose.[23] These proto-personifications bear their own attributes, but may also serve as each other's attributes. On a calyx krater in New Haven (PLATE 9a),[24] for example, Nike and the sea god, Poseidon, refer together to a naval victory. This scene may even refer to a specific military event: according to Herodotos, the Greeks had held Poseidon, along with Boreas, responsible for the storm off Euboea that destroyed much of the Persian fleet in 480.[25] To the military subtext may be added a political one: Kimon, the Athenian naval commander (478-463), who arguably shared control of the seas with Poseidon, conducted a campaign to associate himself with Theseus, the quintessential Athenian hero and Poseidon's son.[26] As part of this campaign he may have encouraged the representation of Theseus' maritime lineage. Father and son, Poseidon and Theseus, greet each other on the name vase of the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, where they seem to serve as symbols of post-war democratic Athens: Athens (Theseus) supported by fleet and sea (Poseidon) (PLATE 9b).[27] This method of introducing politics into the visual arts, by using recognizable characters, or proto-personifications, as symbols, is the most significant visual precedent for the use of political personifications in the high Classical period.

Another area of experimentation among Attic vase painters in the early Classical period was the use of human figures to represent places and other geographical features, local personifications. Local personifications belong to a larger class of geographical entities that began to appear in human form at this time. But geographical entities that seem to have been invented by the artists to represent the places after which they were named, and thus correspond to the definition of personification given above, were still uncommon in the early to high Classical period. Some appear in complex, multifigured scenes, where they primarily indicate the locus

art, as noted by Shapiro (n.10) 166-67, 189. *Bia* and *anangke* are, however, related concepts, paired in Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*: ἡ γὰρ Τύχης βουλήμασι καὶ θεῶν βουλεύμασι καὶ Ἀνάγκης ψηφίσμασιν ἔπραξεν ἃ ἔπραξεν, ἡ βίαι ἁρπασθεῖσα, ἡ λόγοις πεισθεῖσα, <ἡ ἔρωτι ἁλοῦσα> (82 B 11.6 DK).

[23] J.J. Pollitt, 'Pots, politics, and personifications in early Classical Athens', *YaleBull* 40 (1987) 14, suggests that they are 'quasi-personifications'.

[24] *C.* 480-470, attributed to the Aegisthus Painter. New Haven, Yale 1985.4.1: S.B. Matheson, 'A red-figure krater by the Aegisthus Painter', *YaleBull* 40 (1987) 2-7.

[25] Hdt. 7.189-92. See Pollitt (n.23) 10.

[26] It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether Kimon, a well known patron of the arts, directly commissioned vase painters to illustrate Theseus and Poseidon in reference to himself and his accomplishments. Certainly the association of Kimon with Theseus has been well documented elsewhere. For an overview of Kimon's use of Theseus, see H.A. Shapiro, 'Theseus in Kimonian Athens: the iconography of Empire', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992) 29-49. For Kimon's visit, in 474, to Skyros, the legendary burial site of Theseus, to recover the bones of the great hero, as described in Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 36 and *Vit. Cim.* 8.5-6, see A.J. Podlecki, 'Cimon, Skyros and "Theseus' Bones"', *JHS* 91 (1971) 141-43 and, more recently, S. Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1997) 35-36. For Kimon's patronage of the arts see Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 4; Kimon probably also commissioned the cycle of paintings that decorated the Stoa Poikile, *c.* 470-460, which prominently illustrated Theseus. These wall paintings, painted by Mikon and Panainos (both of Athens), are mentioned in Paus. 1.15.3, 5.11.6, and Plin. *HN* 35.57; for modern sources see, most recently, *LIMC* 6 (1992) 357 s.v. Marathon no. 1 (X. Arapojanni) (with previous bibliography). For political influence on the artists' choices of particular subjects see J. Boardman's series of articles regarding the tyrant Peisistratos and the iconography of Herakles, most recently 'The sixth century potters and painters of Athens and their public', in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge 1991) 79-102, and 'Herakles, Peisistratos, and the unconvinced', *JHS* 109 (1989) 158-9.

[27] *C.* 470-460. New Haven, Yale 1913.143 (*ARV*^{2} 503.25; *Add*^{2} 251). Pollitt (n.23) 9-11.

of each scene.[28] Their appearance in the early Classical period presages the later use of local personifications with overtly political meanings, in conjunction with personifications of abstract political ideas.[29]

Whether they represent Attic or other *topoi*, the local personifications in early Classical Athens certainly seem to advertise the importance of Athens to Greece, and the breadth of the Athenian empire. The geographical reference is unmistakable in the earliest instance of a named local personification: Eleusis, the personification of the Athenian site of the Mysteries, occurs on a skyphos attributed to Makron, in London (PLATE 9c).[30] Eleusis's primary function is topological: she identifies the place at which the illustrated event—the departure of Triptolemos—took place. But there may also have been a political motivation behind her inclusion. Kevin Clinton has suggested that she may have served to advertise the importance of Eleusis, an Athenian deme, as the foremost centre of the worship of Demeter and Persephone.[31] This hypothesis receives some support from her appearance slightly later on a red-figure footed dinos attributed to the Syleus Painter, now in Malibu (PLATE 9d), on which she is assembled with the Eleusinian divinities, as well as Hippothon, the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe Hippothontis, and Kalamites, the eponymous hero of the Attic festival Kalamaia (held in the spring at Eleusis).[32] The local heroes further emphasize the Attic, and thus Athenian locus of the Mysteries.

A distinct class of geographical entities that began to appear in human form in the early Classical period are water deities, particularly Okeanos and his sons, the rivers. Neither Okeanos nor his wife/sister Tethys, the parents of all water spirits, can themselves be considered personifications since the non-mythological sense of each word—ocean, sea—developed from the figure's original mythological role, whereas with true personifications the opposite seems to be the case.[33] Yet both characters were used by Classical artists in conjunction with personifications. Okeanos' form changed substantially, from a fishy monster (akin to Nereus) in Archaic

[28] See H.A. Shapiro, 'Local personifications in Greek vase painting', in Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς συνεδρίου κλασικής αρχαιολογίας 1983 B' (Athens 1988) 205-8, for an apolitical treatment of local personifications.

[29] The use of overtly political personifications of place and abstract ideas, in the late fifth century and fourth century, on document and votive reliefs and free-standing statues, as well as paintings, is surveyed in A.C. Smith, *Political Personifications in Classical Athenian Art* (Diss. New Haven 1997) chs. 3-4.

[30] *C.* 490-480. London, British Museum 1873.8-20.375 (cat. no. E 140): *ARV*^{2} 459.3, 481, 1654; *Add*^{2} 243. Although Eleusis is a feminine personification here, Panyassis (in Apollod. 1.5.2) called Eleusis the father of Triptolemos (Hyg. *Fab.* 147; Servius (ad Verg. G. 1.19), however, calls 'him' Eleusinos). For more on Eleusis, see *LIMC* 3 (1986) 720 s.v. Eleusis (D. Gondicas).

[31] K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm 1992) 124. For a broader view of the political significance of Triptolemos, see S.B. Matheson, 'The mission of Triptolemos and the politics of Athens', *GRBS* 35 (1994) 345-75.

[32] *C.* 470-460. The J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73 H.0.368m, attributed to the Syleus Painter by J.R. Guy. See Matheson (n.31) 355; Clinton (n.31) 106, figs. 43-46; 'Acquisitions/1989. Antiquities', *GettyMusJ* 18 (1990) 167 no. 5 (ill.). Neither Hippothon nor Kalamites may be regarded as true personifications in this context as their names are related to, but not identical to, the names of the tribe/event that each of them represents.

[33] Both Okeanos and Tethys were children of Earth and Heaven (Ge and Ouranos) (Hes. *Theog.* 136) and parents of the Okeanids and the rivers (Hes. *Theog.* 337-69; Hom. *Il.* 14.201). For Okeanos see *LIMC* 7 (1994) 31-33 s.v. Okeanos (H.A. Cahn). Tethys (Τηθύς) was initially the consort of Okeanos (Hom. *Il.* 14.201, 302; Hes. *Theog.* 136, 337), and later came to mean the sea itself: *Anth. Pal.* 7.214.6; Lycophr. 109; Nonnus, *Dion.* 31.187; Orph. *Argonautica* 335. It is difficult to decide whether the plethora of sons and daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, the eponymous heroes and heroines of rivers, fountains, and springs—themselves progenitors of islands and towns—should be regarded as true personifications. Their names are certainly old, and some are mentioned by Hesiod—Neilos, Alpheios, and Strymon, to name a few of the rivers (Hes. *Theog.* 338-39). Anthropomorphic representations of rivers and springs, whose identities are confirmed by labels, however, function like personifications, and are thus treated as such in this discussion.

art,[34] to a man in Classical art. This development may have influenced the decision of other vase painters to represent all manner of local entities as normal human beings: Okeanos' sons, the rivers, also came to be represented as heroic men, rather than as bulls, as in the Archaic period.[35] The earliest appearances of a labelled Okeanos in the Classical period are on two vases by Syriskos:[36] on the A side of a calyx krater in Malibu, Okeanos is shown with his mother, Ge Panteleia (Entire Earth), and Dionysos.[37] He may be represented here as a beardless youth because he is shown with his mother. He is also shown in a family scene, with his sons, anthropomorphic rivers, on Syriskos' pointed amphora in a German private collection (PLATE 10a-b).[38] In this case the artist shows that Okeanos belongs to an older generation by portraying him with a beard and white hair (as shown on PLATE 10a). His sons, Strymon, Neilos, and perhaps Skamander and Maeander, witness Herakles' rest in the garden of the Hesperides (PLATE 10b).[39] The bearded male figure behind Athena, for whom no label is extant, has been identified as Atlas.[40] If this identification is correct, it provides another genealogical connection, for Atlas is the father of the Hesperides and the son of Okeanos.[41] His paternal role is emphasized by the fact that he is bearded, although dark-haired in contrast to his father's white hair. Genealogical documentation was possibly Syriskos' primary goal in illustrating the vase with this scene. The grouping of rivers, none of which are close to Attica, but which together indicate the breadth of the known Greek world at the time, also suggests a political theme: Strymon was the largest river of the north, on which later in the century (437/6) Perikles founded Amphipolis; Neilos, to the south, was important because of the Athenian military involvement in Egyptian affairs in the 460s; Skamander and Maeander are important East Greek rivers, in the North (Troas) and South (between Lydia and Caria), respectively. The Hesperides, at the ends of earth, intensify the suggestion of geographical breadth. Perhaps to insinuate the spread of Athenian power, Athena is placed at the centre of the scene, just as Athens was at the centre of the world through which these rivers flowed. Whereas foreigners in Archaic and Classical Athenian art and local personifications in later periods are usually depicted with the marks, clothing, or other identifying characteristics of the regions from which they hailed, the rivers on Syriskos' pointed amphora are shown in the same manner as typical Athenian heroes, despite their non-Attic identities. Perhaps this is meant to indicate that they

[34] See a black-figure dinos, British Museum 1971.11-1.1 (*LIMC* 7 (1992) 32 no. 1, pl. 22 (H.A. Cahn)), for perhaps the earliest inscribed example of Archaic Okeanos.

[35] For river iconography see the discussion of Okeanos and his sons on the pointed amphora, above, as well as C. Weiss, *Griechische Flußgottheiten in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 1985), as well as relevant entries in *LIMC*.

[36] The Syriskos Painter was known as the Copenhagen Painter until the discovery of his signature on the Getty krater mentioned below (n.37).

[37] *C.* 480-470. The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.6. See *LIMC* 7 (1994) 32 s.v. Okeanos no.6 (H.A. Cahn); Shapiro (n.10) 219-20, 263 no. 145, fig. 181; 'Acquisitions/1992. Antiquities', *GettyMusJ* 21 (1993) 107 no. 10 (ill.).

[38] *C.* 470-460. See C. Weiss in E. Simon, *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung* (Mainz am Rhein 1997) 104-10 no. 30; *LIMC* 7 (1994) 32 s.v. Okeanos no. 4, pl. 22 (H.A. Cahn), 815 s.v. Strymon no. 1, pl. 577 (C. Weiss); s.v. Herakles no. 2631 or 2681 (J. Boardman *et al.*), s.v. Hesperides no. 72a (I. McPhee); *LIMC* 6 (1992) 177 s.v. Ladon 1 no. 1, pl. 81 (I. McPhee); 725 s.v. Neilos no. 68 (M.-O. Jentel); M.A. Tiverios, 'Ikonographie und Geschichte', *AthMitt* 106 (1991) 129-36 pls. 22-25; H.A. Cahn, 'Okeanos, Strymon und Atlas auf einer rotfiguren Spitzamphora', *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen 1988) 107-16, figs. 1-7.

[39] Weiss (n.38) 106 has now read the label of the man behind Strymon as [ΣK]–A–MANΔ[P]OΣ (Skamander) and that of the youth behind Okeanos as M[AI]–AΔPO–Σ (Maeander?).

[40] Tiverios (n.38) 123.

[41] This genealogy is provided by Diod. Sic. 4.27.2. Alternatively, the Hesperides are daughters of Nyx and Erebos (Hes. *Theog.* 215). Okeanos is also shown with the Hesperides on a later representation on a pelike attributed to the Pasithea Painter (400-390) in New York, MMA 08.258.20 (*ARV*^{2} 1472.2), where he appears as a horned man.

have become absorbed into the realm of Athenian power.

The grandchildren of Okeanos and Tethys, whose names are shared by many islands and towns, are also represented in politically suggestive contexts in the arts of early Classical Athens. For example, a skyphos, now said to be in a private collection in Israel (PLATE 10c-d), illustrates and labels Salamis and Thebe, daughters of the river Asopos, with the Eleusinian goddesses.[42] On side A Salamis, the eponymous nymph and personification of the island near Athens, faces a female thought to be Kore.[43] On side B Salamis' sister, Thebe, retreats from Demeter with a lingering glance and with her arm stretched toward the goddess.[44] Karl Schefold and Franz Jung have argued that the artist may have been hinting at a potential rapprochement between Thebes and Athens (represented by Demeter on side B) on the model of the friendly status between Salamis and Athens (represented by Kore on side A).[45] The artist probably chose Demeter and Kore because they were the Athenian deities whose major sanctuary was nearest Salamis, and because their traditional role as the teachers of religion and the art of agriculture to the rest of Greece might also have made them a suitable mythic parallel for the cultural influence of Athens.[46]

As the popularity of local personifications grew in the early to high Classical period, the symbolic purpose was sometimes combined with or superseded by divine and mythological meaning. Karim Arafat has recently argued for a political justification for the sudden rise (and subsequent fall) in the early Classical period in the popularity of the mythological story of Zeus' rape of Aigina.[47] Arafat argues that Zeus pursuing the nymph Aigina represents Athens' attempt to control the nearby island of Aigina, culminating in that island's incorporation into the Delian League in 458.[48] Although Arafat does not provide conclusive reasons for the use of Zeus as a cipher for Athens (he argues that Zeus is appropriate to the story because of literary precedence and his legendary role as pursuer), I agree with him that Zeus is not entirely inappropriate.[49] The equation of the island Aigina with its eponymous nymph is not only convenient but entirely natural in the realm of ancient thought, so it is more than likely that the vase painters would have recognized the potential appeal of this scene among their customers

[42] This vase, painted in a style near the Lewis Painter, is dated to *c.* 460-450. See *LIMC* 7 (1994) 652 s.v. Salamis no. 2, pl. 498 (E. Manakidou), 915 s.v. Thebe (c) (C. Vlassopoulou); K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Sagen von den Argonauten, von Theben und Troia in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Basel 1989) 86-87, figs. 68-69; *MuM* 56 (1980) no. 104 pl. 46.

[43] Salamis, a daughter of Asopos and Metope, gave birth with Poseidon to Ky(n)chreus, the eponymous hero of the Corinthian harbour, according to Apollod. 3.12.7 and Tzetz. *Lycophron* 110, 175, 451. For modern and ancient sources see *LIMC* 7 (1994) 652-53 s.v. Salamis (E. Manakidou).

[44] For Thebe in a variety of contexts see, most recently, *LIMC* 7 (1994) 914-16 s.v. Thebe (C. Vlassopoulou).

[45] Schefold and Jung (n.42) 87.

[46] According to *Hymn Hom. Cer.*, Demeter roamed the earth in search of her daughter, teaching agricultural techniques to all, before she came to settle at Athens.

[47] K.W. Arafat, 'State of the art—art of the State', in S. Deacy and K.F. Pierce (eds.), *Rape in Antiquity* (London 1997) 110-15. Arafat frames his arguments as an answer to John Boardman's query whether this 'otherwise important' scene was popularized by anything political or military: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period* (London 1975) 224. There are more examples of the scene on early Classical vases, but only two are labelled: a column krater attributed to the Boreas Painter (460-450), New York, MMA 96.19.1 (*ARV*^{2} 536.5; *LIMC* 1 (1981) 368 s.v. Aigina no. 15, pl. 282 (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou)) and a hydria by Polygnotos (450-440), Brussels, Musées Royaux R 226 (*ARV*^{2} 1032.65; *CVA Brussels* 3,3 1d pl. 9 (78) 1).

[48] For the controversy regarding the date of the surrender of Aigina see *CAH* V^2 501 and T.J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore 1991) 115-20.

[49] Arafat (n.47) 114-15 argues more convincingly against Alan Shapiro's association of the popularity of this scene with the establishment of the cult of Aiakos, for which see H.A. Shapiro, rev. of K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus* (1990), in *AJA* 95 (1991) 747-8. As Arafat points out (115), the popularity of this cult does not decline in the middle of the fifth century, when the depiction of Aigina's pursuit ceases to be depicted on Athenian vases.

at a time when Athens was seeking control of Aigina. With the exceptions of Aigina and Amymone,[50] no local personifications are used as central characters in mythological scenes. As I have noted in individual cases (Eleusis, Okeanos and his sons, Thebe and Salamis, Aigina), scenes illustrating anthropomorphic representations of geographical entities may have served as subtle reminders of the breadth of Athenian influence. It is not surprising that these images insinuating Athenian power occur at the same time as the Kimonian naval propaganda discussed above; the artists—regardless of the identities of their patrons—were working closely together in Athens, at a time when the *demos* was excited about the geographic and political domination that Athens was winning through her burgeoning naval prowess.

The survey in the preceding pages elucidates three important trends in early Classical art, all of which may be exemplified in the figure of Eurymedon. The first is the experimental use of symbolic figures such as personifications. Second, local personifications and their kin became especially popular, perhaps in response to an enthusiasm for geography inspired by Athens' new internationalism. Third, local and other personifications were used to evoke political messages. Eurymedon certainly exemplifies the first of these trends, and perhaps also the second and third. The Eurymedon River was, after all, the site of Kimon's victory in 466, an important political event nearly contemporary with the date usually assigned to the vase on the basis of its style. It is worth reconsidering the political message of the Eurymedon Vase in light of these early Classical trends.

In interpreting the meaning of the Eurymedon Vase one must begin with a determination of which figure is meant to represent Eurymedon and what exactly he is meant to represent. Schauenburg's interpretation of the Oriental archer as Eurymedon is untenable on iconographic grounds:[51] Athenian artists would not represent the battle, an Athenian victory, or the nearby river or region that may have consequently came under Athenian control, as a barbarian.[52] As the inscription originates just to the right of the head of the bearded man—who is Greek (as is the name Eurymedon)—it is more likely that these first two words of the inscription, εὐρυμέδον εἰμ[ί] 'I am Eurymedon', are indeed his.[53] If the Greek figure identifies himself as 'Eurymedon', in reference to the famous battle of 466, then he serves as a symbol, or representation of a river, place, or event, i.e., a personification. What exactly does he personify? The eponymous river may be eliminated from consideration as the image of the Greek man does not correspond to contemporary personifications of rivers.[54] It seems more likely that he personifies the Battle itself—what most Athenians would have thought of on hearing the name

[50] Amymone, the eponymous heroine and nymph of a spring at Lerna, in the Argolid, and a daughter of Danaos had a brief period of popularity in the mid-fifth century, when Attic vase painters depicted Poseidon's pursuit and rape of the heroine: see *LIMC* 1 (1981) 742-52 s.v. Amymone (E. Simon).

[51] Schauenburg (n.2) 103. Schauenburg's interpretation has been reasserted most recently by M.C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge 1997) 13. In *Die unheimliche Klassik der Griechen* (Bamberg 1989) 19, T. Hölscher accepts Schauenburg's overall interpretation, without specifying which character he takes to be Eurymedon.

[52] One might argue that, although neither the river nor the area around it were ever considered Greek, they too came under Greek control as a result of the battle: see Badian (n.4) 4.

[53] As suggested by Pinney (n.5). Up to the high Classical period dipinti labelling characters usually originated near the head of the characters, progressing forward if they were on the right side, and retrograde if they were on the left. For a clear example see the Makron skyphos in London (see n.30). For an interesting counter-example, however, see Makron's skyphos in Boston (490-480), on which two of the left-side red dipinti are not retrograde (Peitho on side A, and Kriseis on side B): Museum of Fine Arts 13.186 (ex Spinelli Coll.); *ARV*^{2} 458.1, 481; *Add*^{2} 243; *Para* 377. J. Boardman makes the same observation in 'Kaloi and Other Names on Euphronios' Vases', in M. Cygielman *et al.* (eds.), *Euphronios. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi. Arezzo 27-28 Maggio 1990* (Florence 1992) 45, pl. 56, where he discusses another counter-example: Hypnos, on a cup formerly in the Hunt Collection (*LIMC* 7 (1994), pl. 520). I thank H.A. Shapiro for bringing this article to my attention.

[54] Nor does the image of the archer correspond to the appearance of river personifications. See n.41 and the discussion of Okeanos and his sons on Syriskos' pointed amphora (PLATE 10a-b).

'Eurymedon'. He is dressed as a hunter, complete with an animal-skin cape—likened to the Thracian *zaira* by Pinney[55]—as well as a short beard, or 'goatee'. His lack of underclothing is probably intended to contrast Greek virility with Oriental effeminacy, as it is taken to do with a similar pair of figures on an unattributed calyx krater in Basel (PLATE 11a-b).[56] For Pinney the goatee suggested Eurymedon's 'barbarian' status, and indeed this unusual beard is another indication that the hunter might be a Thracian.[57] Even if one accepts the absence of Thracian weapons—*peltē* (crescent-shaped shield) and two spears—and the lack of undergarment for contextual reasons, this figure still lacks standard elements of the Thracian wardrobe, the *embades* (leather-skin boots) and the *alōpekis* (felt cap).[58] Similar beards are also worn by hunters on contemporary Greek vases. The clearest example is the hunter, perhaps Orion, on the tondo of the Sotades Painter's stemless white-ground kylix in London, who in addition to those features wears a hunter's conical fur hat (PLATE 11c).[59] On Attic vases similar attire—conical fur hat and animal-skin cape—is customarily worn by labourers, whether hunters, fishermen, or boatmen.[60] And when the labourer is bearded, he often wears a goatee, as in the case of Diktys (?), shown in a three-quarter view on a red-figure lekythos fragment attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, formerly in the Lullies Collection (PLATE 11d).[61] Indeed, if he is a personification of the battle, the hunter-iconography perfectly suits Eurymedon. The hunt-battle analogue had long been used in the arts of the Near East; see, for example, the alternating hunt and battle scenes on limestone reliefs from the walls of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud, *c.* 875 (now in the British Museum). And Judith Barringer has argued for the pervasive use of the hunt-battle analogue in Attic vase painting.[62] A hunter is a pursuer, whether in the context of game, sex, or war. As

[55] Pinney (n.5) 181. This cape is much more rectangular and schematic than those worn by Thracians found elsewhere in Attic vase painting. See, e.g. A. Lezzi-Hafter, 'Offerings made to measure: two special commissions by the Eretria painter for Apollonia Pontica', in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson and O. Palagia, *Athenian Potters and Painters* (*Oxbow Monographs* 67, Oxford 1997) figs. 12-18.

[56] Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 480, c. 460. See T. Hölscher, 'Ein Kelchkrater mit Perserkampf', *AK* 17 (1974) 78-85.

[57] M.F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London 1993) 128 takes it to be a sign of youth, in an interpretation that is likewise unsubstantiated. For comparable Thracian beards see Lezzi-Hafter (n.55) figs. 12-18.

[58] Pinney (n.5) 182. If one insists on the Thracian origins of this cloak and beard (which I shall not) they could be taken as an allusion to Kimon, who concentrated his efforts on Thrace immediately after the Battle of the Eurymedon. For more on the circumstances surrounding this battle see Badian (n.4) 2-6.

[59] London, BM D 7: *ARV*^{2} 763.3; *Add*^{2} 286. For this identification of the hunter see A. Griffith, '"What leaf-fringed legend...": A cup by the Sotades painter in London', *JHS* 106 (1986) 58-70. Alternative interpretations have been made recently by H. Hoffmann, *Sotades. Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases* (Oxford 1997) 134-39 (reworked from an earlier article, H. Hoffmann, 'Aletheia. The iconography of death/rebirth in three cups by the Sotades painter', *RES* 17-18 (1989) 67-88), and L. Burn, 'Honey pots: three white-ground cups by the Sotades painter', *AK* 38 (1985) 93-105. The traditional interpretation, that the hunter represented Hippomedon, at the death of Opheltes/Archemoros, was made by C.H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum 3. Vases of the Finest Period* (London 1896) 392.

[60] It is perhaps worth noting that the pilos—another form of headgear common to labourers—is worn by the Greek battling the Persian on the Basel krater (PLATE 11a).

[61] *ARV*^{2} 624.77, 1662; *Add*^{2} 271. This character has been identified as Diktys, the fisherman who found Danae in Aischylos' *Diktyoulkoi*: H. Luschey, 'Danae auf Seriphos', *BABesch* 24-26 (1949-51) 28, n.15. (John Oakley now tells me that he believes this fragment might actually represent another boatman, Charon). In comparable representations of the Danae story the fisherman does wear the conical fur hat, but not the 'goatee': see J. Oakley, 'Danae and Perseus on Seriphos', *AJA* 86 (1982) 114.

[62] J.M. Barringer, 'The aristocratic response to democracy as evidenced by Attic vase painting images of the hunt', *American Philological Association 130th Annual Meeting. Abstracts* (Washington, D.C. 1998) 91. A full discussion and list of relevant vases are forthcoming in J.M. Barringer, *Manhood, Myth, and Valor: The Hunt in Ancient Greece* (forthcoming 1999).

Karim Arafat has recently pointed out, '...if the pursuit is the battle, the rape is the victory'.[63]

'Eurymedon's' most important attribute is his phallos, the symbol of male power.[64] The erect phallos emphasizes that Eurymedon's pursuit of the archer is sexual; that he grasps it as a weapon adds to the explicit sexual threat an implicit military idea.[65] On this point it is also worth comparing the images on the Eurymedon Vase to the Greek v. Persian scene on the Basel krater (PLATE 11a). In each case, as mentioned above, the Greek's manly nakedness (revealed beneath the cape) contrasts with the Persian's full attire. And the Greeks' manly weapons (phallos on the former; hoplite spear on the latter) contrast with the Persian's bow—a cowardly weapon, as it is the weapon that kills from afar.[66] The Greek on the Basel krater looks as if he should and will win, as he is the more 'macho' of the two. The same contrast is implicit, even without the military weapons, on the Eurymedon Vase—the archer's quiver and his open-handed gesture emphasize the absence of his bow and his weak position; here the Oriental epitomizes an effeminate warrior unarmed.

How does the image of the Oriental archer—Eurymedon's quarry—further the inference that the Greek hunter personifies the Battle of the Eurymedon? First there is a question of identity: is he Persian or Scythian? Schauenburg asserted that he was Persian.[67] In her attempt to dissociate this vase from the battle, Pinney argued that he was Scythian.[68] As Arafat notes '... there is a case to be made for the identity of the victim either as Skythian or as Persian. It is possible that there is a genuine muddle on the part of the painter'.[69] Wulf Raeck has observed that the costume and appearance of later Archaic Scythians and early Classical Persians are virtually indistinguishable.[70] And this archer does clearly resemble the late Archaic image of the Scythian: with the exception of his soft leather, pointed Persian slippers,[71] he is dressed like the two Scythian archers on a late Archaic amphora in Munich (FIG. 1).[72] One could argue also that the archer's facial features—long nose with prominent bridge, moustache, and pointed beard—distinguish Eurymedon's foe as a genuine Persian.[73] This visual conflation of Scythians and Persians is not surprising: although the Persian became the quintessential enemy of Athens after the Battle of Marathon (490), by this time the Scythian archer had already become a familiar character in the streets of Athens, where he was exploited, and sometimes ridiculed, by

[63] Arafat (n.47) 103.

[64] For the power of the phallos see C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe im Antiken Griechenland* (Munich 1989) 177. Davidson (n.5) 169-82 argues convincingly that Athens' phallocratic nature has been overstated, although he admits (170) that the Hamburg oinochoe 'seems to demonstrate unequivocally a connection between penetration and power'.

[65] Kilmer (n.57) 107 explains that it is the only clear homosexual example of the use of the penis as a weapon. He compares this scene to that on a cup in Florence by the Antiphon Painter (*ARV*^{2} 339.54), in which a balding, bearded man prepares to mount a nude woman *a tergo*: 'his right (hand) grasps his erect phallos as though it were a weapon: the four finger grip is not required for guidance'.

[66] M.C. Miller, 'Persians: the Oriental other', *Source. Notes in the History of Art* 15 (1995) 40.

[67] Schauenburg (n.2) 105; see also K. Schauenburg, 'Siegreiche Barbaren', *AthMitt* 92 (1977) 91-100, pls. 40-41.

[68] Pinney (n.5) 181.

[69] Arafat (n.47) 102.

[70] Raeck (n.2) 102-03. This is also discussed in A. Bovon, 'La représentation des guerriers Perses et la notion de Barbare dans la 1re moitié du Ve siècle', *BCH* 137 (1963) 587. In *Die Darstellung der Perser in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus* (Coburg 1933) 28, H. Schoppa also noted that the representation of Persian battles is a new phenomenon in the early fifth century, for which new iconographic types were evolving.

[71] For more on these slippers see Bovon (n.70) 594.

[72] Munich, Antikenmuseum 2308 (J 374): *ARV*^{2} 26.2, 1620; *Add*^{2} 156 (signed by Euthymides).

[73] These are the salient physical features that distinguish Greek archers in oriental costume from Persian archers, according to Bovon (n.70) 592.

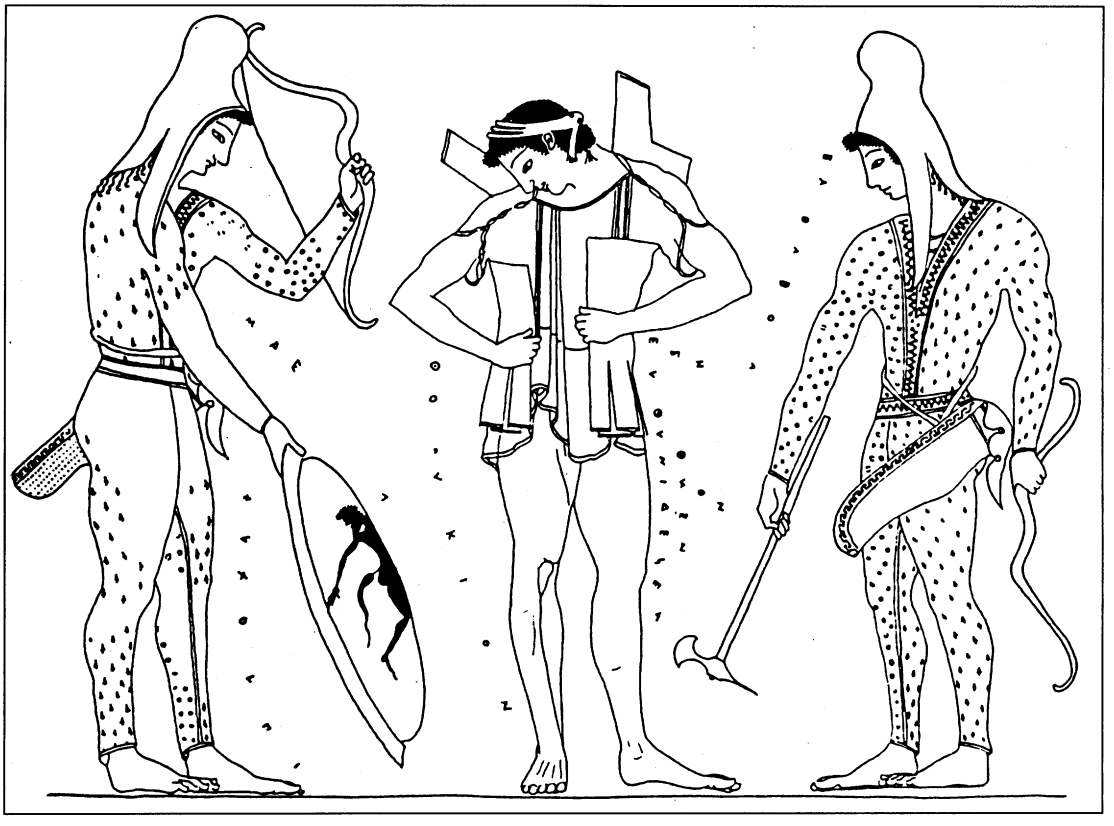

FIG. 1 Two Scythian archers helping an Athenian, on side A of an amphora. Drawing after F. Lissarrague, *L'Autre Guerrier. Archers, Peltastes, Cavaliers dans l'imagerie Attique* (Paris 1990) fig. 18

the populace.[74] As such the Scythian is the most identifiable of several types of barbarians who on this vase could have represented various peoples of the East, the people who were to be ruled and exploited by Greeks as a result of the Battle of the Eurymedon.

The archer's posture, hinting at sexual passivity, is also appropriate to the expressed victory. The Oriental archer's arms are held up and forward, in an exaggerated version of the conventional gesture of terror/shock on the part of (female) rape victims.[75] His frontal face and torso may also indicate his helplessness.[76] Perhaps the exaggeration of the gesture is for dramatic effect. And just as the Scythians on the Munich amphora (FIG. 1) play a feminine role (helping an Athenian hoplite to arm himself),[77] the Oriental archer on the Eurymedon

[74] Hdt. 4.1.1. The Scythian was probably the most common eastern 'type' encountered in fifth century Athens, as the Scythian archers served as a police force. For the Scythian in fifth century Athens see O. Jacob, *Les Esclaves publics à Athènes* (Paris 1928) 53-78. For written sources see Ar. *Acharn.*, and particularly Sch. Ar. *Acharn.* 54, as well as Andoc. 3.5; *Etym. Magn.* 761; Poll. *Onom.* 8.104, 132; *Suda* s.v. τοξόται. For depictions of archers in vase painting see M.F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (Groningen 1963).

[75] For this gesture in the context of rape see F. Zeitlin, 'Configurations of rape in Greek myth', in S. Tomaselli and R. Porter (eds.), *Rape* (Oxford 1986) 128. This gesture has been read also as an indication that he is supporting himself on an invisible window: Pinney (n.5) 181. It has been discussed at length by J. Rusten, '"I am Eurymedon": comparative obscenity and the birth of comedy', lecture at Yale University, 17 April 1997, and D. Fehling, *Ethologische Untersuchungen auf dem Geburt der Altertumskunde* (Munich 1974) 103-4.

[76] The Persian on the Basel krater (PLATE 11b) is also shown in a frontal pose and Miller (n.66) notes that his frontal face 'expresses his lack of control'.

[77] F. Lissarrague, *L'Autre Guerrier. Archers, Peltastes, Cavaliers dans l'imagerie Attique* (Paris 1990) 48-49.

Vase—the self-proclaimed 'bendover'—finds himself in a role relegated to women, as the (potential) passive partner in *a tergo* anal copulation.[78] As Martin Kilmer notes, this scene is the only clear exception to the apparent taboo against the depiction, in Athenian visual arts, of anal intercourse between males.[79] It is likely that this exception has been permitted because of the foreigner status of the archer.

If read with the preceding observations in mind, the image on this oinochoe is of the hunter, Eurymedon, firmly grasping his weapon, as he prepares for the inevitable attack on his quarry, and subsequent victory.[80] The sexual metaphor succeeds on perhaps three levels: it reminds the viewer of the submissive position in which Kimon had put Persia in anticipation of the Battle of the Eurymedon;[81] of the immediate outcome of the Battle; and of the consequences of the victory, i.e., that the Athenians then found themselves in a position to rape the Barbarians on the Eastern reaches of the Greek world.[82] The painter of the Eurymedon Vase thus may have intended a political reference on a subtler level than that suggested by Schauenburg and Dover: with proto-personifications and personifications, political references were usually inferential.

Eurymedon still differs from other personifications in the visual arts in that he is distinguished by the artist's inclusion of the verb, εἰμί, which suggests that he is not just a personification—a human figure representing a noun—but actually a character impersonating Eurymedon. In giving Eurymedon the task of introducing himself, rather than merely labelling him, the painter has effected a sort of visual *prosōpopoeia*, rather than personification. Προσωποποιΐα, 'the putting of speeches into the mouths [faces] of characters',[83] is routinely cited as the ancient term nearest in meaning to personification.[84] Προσωποποιΐα derives from τὸ πρόσωπον, face or, in a dramatic context, mask or character. The technique of *prosōpopoeia* is accordingly best suited to literary performance, whether dramatic or oratorical; it is in an oratorical context that the first surviving use of the term occurs: 'The figure of thought called *prosōpopoeia* can be used with forceful effect...; "Consider that it is your forefathers who are reproaching you and saying such things to you, or Greece, or your own City in the form of a woman..."'.[85] According to this explanation, *prosōpopoeia* consists in not merely creating a form, as is the case with personifications in the visual arts, but in giving speech to the resulting personification, an effect that was not generally used by vase painters. The Greek hunter on the Hamburg oinochoe, who boldly proclaims to the audience εὐρυμέδον εἰμί, thus seems to be the exceptional case in which *prosōpopoeia* is effected in the visual arts of Athens.

[78] While the anticipated sexual act suggested in this context (between males) is anal penetration, one must accept Boardman's note (in J. Boardman, rev. of K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978), in *JHS* 100 (1980) 245) that the *a tergo* approach in images that depict female passive partners does not necessarily imply anal copulation. Hölscher (n.51) 18-20 emphasizes that on early Classical (pre-Periklean) monuments, Persians, as foes of the Greeks, are often shown in particularly humiliating circumstances, unprecedented in Greek art, and that this was an important step in building the collective identity of the Greeks.

[79] Kilmer (n.57) 22.

[80] Arafat (n.47) 114 has discussed this 'explicit' use of rape as a metaphor for victory in connection with similar implicit uses of the rape metaphor, as in the rape of Aigina (by Zeus) or Oreithyia (by Boreas).

[81] See especially Plut. *Kim* 12.1.

[82] Eurymedon's distance from the archer, who symbolizes the (peoples of the) East, could also serve as an ironic comment on Kimon's notorious inaction in the aftermath of the battle. See Badian's summary of the events following the battle: Badian (n.4) 4.

[83] *LSJ* s.v. προσωποποιΐα.

[84] The modern Greek equivalent, προσωποποίησις, refers to artistic, as well as literary personifications.

[85] Demetr. *Eloc.* 265. This text is traditionally (but probably wrongly) ascribed to Demetrios of Phaleron, but has been dated as late as the early Roman period. See G.A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton 1994) 88-90.

Eurymedon's introduction of himself, with the words 'I am Eurymedon', may be related to contemporaneous oratorical experiments by authors. The phenomenon *prosōpopoeia*, as described by Demetrios, was not known at this time; the earliest certain example of this trope is the Nomoi (Laws) in Plato's *Crito* 50c (tentatively dated to the 390s). But it is in the early Classical period that writers first began to endow their personifications with speech. In the 460s, Kratos (Might), accompanied by Bia (Strength), speaks the opening lines of Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound*, and serves as counsellor to Hephaistos.[86] The use of speaking personifications is also related to 'fictive speaking', a technique whereby individuals would deliver imaginary addresses on real or fictive occasions. Gorgias could hardly have delivered his *Epitaphios*, which contains a praise of the Athenian character, for example, as he was not a citizen.[87] And Damon may have presented his theories about music and culture in a similarly illusory setting, an address to the Areopagos.[88] In such 'fictive speaking' well-known figures from myth are often made to deliver the speeches, so as to lend authority to the message, even at the expense of historical credibility. Hippias, for example, seems to have couched his review of 'worthwhile careers' in the form of a fictional address of Nestor to Achilles at Troy.[89] Euripides practised a slightly more plausible variant of this phenomenon in which the characters are appropriate to the context, yet the content of the speech is dramatically inappropriate: in *Suppliants* 426-62, for example, Theseus defends the Athenian character in a conversation with a Theban herald who has brought a message concerning another matter.[90] In each of these cases a mask is donned in order to convey a message.

We cannot determine whether the unknown painter of the Eurymedon Vase was intentionally experimenting in the use of personifications when he brought the speech-making aspect of *prosōpopoeia*, or 'fictive speaking', from the literary arts to the visual arts. The technique was not adopted by other painters and artists, for no other visual personification in Classical Athens is made to announce himself. Perhaps this is because simple labels, such as those which identify personifications and other characters on Archaic and Classical vases, would have sufficed: with his mask of Greek manhood, Eurymedon delivers no lengthy address, and his action speaks for itself. I have two suggestions regarding why the artist gave Eurymedon speech. First, in adding the verb εἰμί to the noun εὐρυμέδον, and thus making the Greek hunter announce himself, the artist is clarifying that the addition of εὐρυμέδον is not nonsense, an inside joke, or a passing political slogan, but that 'Eurymedon' is central to the meaning of the scene, however that might be interpreted. As personifications were not generally used in such an allegorical or didactic manner in the Archaic period this was an important point to make in the early Classical period. Second, the artist may have been inspired by a theatrical performance, either alluding to or copying a lost theatrical scene in which the Battle of the Eurymedon was parodied in the form of a Greek hunter.[91]

We may then consider the possible relation of this vase to actual theatrical performances.[92]

[86] Aesch. *PV* 1-88. Kratos and Bia were also paired, as attendants to Zeus in Hes. *Theog*. 383-85. Kratos appears alone in Aesch. *Eum*. 244. For Bia paired with Peitho, see n.22.

[87] 82 B 6 DK. Regarding whether Gorgias' *Epitaphios* could have corresponded to an actual event, see T. Buchheim, *Gorgias von Leontinoi. Reden, Fragmente und Testimonien* (Hamburg 1989) 190 n.2.

[88] 37 B 1-10 DK, esp. B 2.

[89] 86 A 9 DK.

[90] See also the end of the messenger's speech in Eur. *Medea* 1225-30, where the complaint against intellectuals is irrelevant to the play.

[91] Davidson (n.5) 181 suggests that the attribution of the name, Eurymedon, to this figure, might be a literary allusion, as it was the name of several historical and mythological figures.

[92] Rusten (n.75) has also discussed this vase in relation to Old Comedy.

Not only does Eurymedon introduce himself as a stage character might, but the archer responds with an awkward, barely intelligible phrase that has been restored as κυβά[δας] ἕστεκα primarily to make it intelligible to modern scholars. Such barbarized speech was normal for foreign characters in fifth-century plays.[93] It is also possible that the goatee worn by Eurymedon is a costume beard, as it is known in Attic images that illustrate theatrical scenes.[94] Even if the scene on the Eurymedon Vase did not derive from a theatrical scene, the painter may have been inspired by theatrical performances where—in comedy, at least—sexual humour was commonplace.

Despite the unique nature of the Eurymedon Vase, its image—Eurymedon pursuing an Oriental archer—may be placed in the mainstream of Classical vase iconography, because it exemplifies the three major tendencies of vase iconography in this period that ushered in the use of symbolic characters such as personifications to insinuate political meanings. First, the images are restricted to two distinctive figures (one on each side, in this case), who are individually recognizable (one as a Greek hunter, the other as an Oriental archer), but together tell another story. Second, the characters are shown in a non-mythological scene. Third, the humanized figure of Eurymedon, which probably represents the Battle of the Eurymedon itself, primarily indicates a locus for the scene and secondarily intimates the spread of Athenian power, as do Athenian anthropomorphized representations of rivers and other geographical entities (including local personifications). In adapting such techniques in the use of symbolic figures, early Classical artists began to use their art to express ideas through novel compositions as well as adaptations of the traditional myths. In the evolution of the didactic use of personifications, some early Classical painters experimented in giving proto-personifications as well as personifications meaningful clothing, attributes, and gestures. In the case of the Eurymedon Vase, it seems that one of these transitional painters made a unique experiment: he adopted a theatrical technique, giving his figures speech and giving Eurymedon the chance to introduce himself, perhaps to clarify what exactly these figures were meant to represent. Because of this experiment the Eurymedon Vase may also be placed in the mainstream of contemporary literary experiments.[95]

AMY C. SMITH

Tufts University

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[93] E. Hall, 'The archer scene in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*', *Philologus* 133 (1990) 38-54.

[94] E. Simon has specifically discussed the fishermen-scenes as echoes of Aischylos' *Diktyoulkoi*: E. Simon, 'Satyr-plays on vases in the time of Aeschylus', in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (eds.), *The Eye of Greece. Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge 1982) 139.

[95] I. Worthington and E.L. Brown have argued similarly for a theatrical Attic influence on the (Corinthian) painters of the 'Sam Wide Group' vessels that caricature Kleon and Brasidas or Demosthenes—the Athenian politicians of the 420s—in a sexually explicit manner: see I. Worthington, 'Aristophanic caricature and the Sam Wide group cups', *Eranos* 88 (1990) 1-8; E.L. Brown, 'Cleon caricatured on a Corinthian cup', *JHS* 94 (1974) 166-70.

8a A hunter on side A of the Eurymedon Vase (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg)

8b An Oriental archer on side B of the Eurymedon Vase (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg)

8c Anangke (?) on a lekythos in Moscow (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts)

9a Nike and Poseidon on a calyx krater (Yale University Art Gallery)

9b Poseidon and Theseus on the name vase of the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe (Yale University Art Gallery)

9c Eleusis (far left) on the right side of the Makron skyphos (British Museum)

9d Eleusis between a man and Hippothon, on side B of a dinos attr. Syleus Painter (J. Paul Getty Museum)

10a Okeanos and his sons (side A)

10b Herakles and Athena (side B)

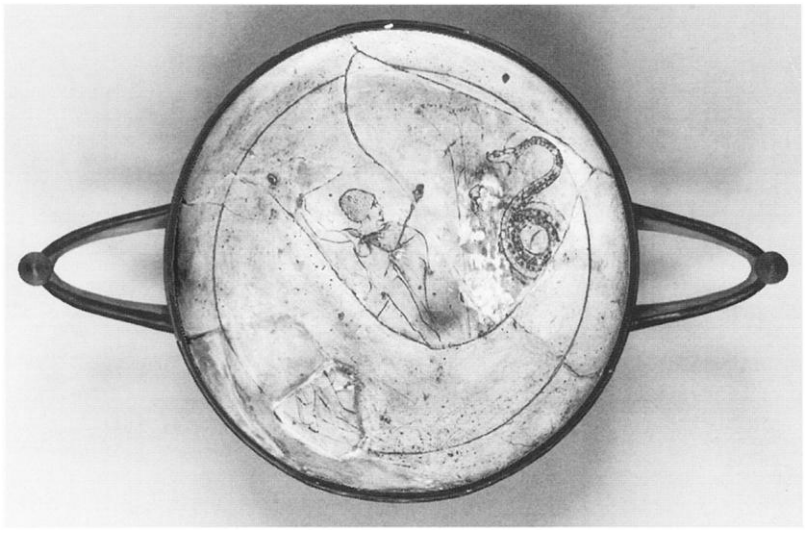
Pointed amphora attributed to Syriskos (German private collection)

10c Salamis and Kore (side A)

Skyphos in the style of the Lewis Painter (Israeli private collection)

10d Thebe and Demeter (side B)

11a Athenian and Persian (side A) 11b Persian (side B)
Calyx krater (Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig)



11c A hunter on the tondo of the Sotades Painter's stemless white-ground kylix (British Museum)

11d Diktys (?) on a fragment of a lekythos (formerly in the Lullies Collection)