



Herakles and Eurytos and a Battle-Scene upon Some Fragments of a Cylix in the National Museum at Palermo

Author(s): P. Hartwig

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 334-349

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/623516>

Accessed: 25-02-2015 22:40 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

HERAKLES AND EURYTOS

AND A

BATTLE-SCENE UPON SOME FRAGMENTS OF A CYLIX IN
THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT PALERMO.

[PLATE XIX.]

THE high degree of interest possessed by the subject-matter of the design upon the two fragments numbered 2351 in the National Museum at Palermo, and here published for the first time, has induced me to bring them to public notice earlier than I intended, and apart from the wider subject with which they are connected by their style. I am indebted to the kindness of M. Salinas of Palermo for the drawing of the fragments which was executed there by Signor Carmelo Giarizzo. They have been noticed already on several occasions by Klein, *Euphronios*, pp. 53-4, by Koepp, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1884, p. 42, note 21, and recently by Hirsch, *De Animarum apud Antiquos Imaginibus*, p. 10, No. 19, and are described in greater detail by Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 113, No. 11. Klein has classed these fragments on which ἐπολήσεν twice repeated is still preserved with the group of red-figured vases signed ἐπολήσεν only. Certainly the master who painted them belongs to the earlier group of painters of red-figured vases, the so-called 'Epiktetic school.' To this point, however, further reference will be made at a later point.

First I will proceed to discuss the design of the fragments. *A*, the larger of the two (Pl. XIX.), represents four male figures hastening to the right, three of whom are looking backward and carry a bow (touched in with red) in the outstretched left hand and an arrow in the right, which is depressed. The foremost of them, on the contrary, seems to be stretching out his unarmed hands towards a figure with drawn bow which faces him from the left.¹ Of the latter figure, the archer, only the right leg, which is advanced, a piece of the quiver-case and the lower part of the bow are preserved. On the other, the left side of the fragment opposite the archer just mentioned, a fully-draped female figure, of which only the lower part is preserved, is

¹ The incorrect description in Klein, p. 113 n. 11, is to be set right by this.

standing quietly. With these six figures the composition was undoubtedly complete.

The method by which we may explain this singular scene is suggested by a black-figured amphora of later style which is figured by Minervini (*Illustrazioni di un vaso Volcente*), and after him by Brunn in his *Vorlegeblätter*, No. 2 (without the inscriptions). The design on the amphora shows on the left side Herakles in the lion-skin, facing right, with drawn bow. This figure, which can be recognized at once, is the only one which is not accompanied by an inscription; the following figures are all provided with them. Two men are rushing towards Herakles with arms upraised, one of whom, Eurytos, wears chiton and himation, while the other, Antiphonos, is in full armour. To the right and left two other men are lying on the ground: the one, Deion, or Deioneus, wears a chiton and carries quiver and bow; the other, Iphitos, is in the close-fitting dress of an Asiatic archer. Opposite Herakles, at the right end of the scene, a female figure, Iole or Ioleia, brings the composition to a close. She is raising both arms, and a target, in which a number of arrows are sticking, is visible behind her head. The elements of a similar scene are found on the fragments of a red-figured cylix of ripe archaic style found in 1882 among the layers of *débris* on the Akropolis and published by Winter in the *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1887, pp. 230-31. These fragments may from their style be assigned with certainty to the hand of Brygos.¹ The female figure, Iole, standing in a passive attitude, is certainly recognizable on fragment 1,² and seems to have closed the composition on the right side, as it does in the black-figured amphora. Her right arm, of which parts are preserved, seems to have been raised as if in astonishment. An archer in short chiton, with bow and arrow in the down-dropped left hand, looks back as he hurries away from her. Above and between these two figures we can recognize the upper part of an arrow whizzing away to the right.

Fragment No. 2 shows Herakles facing right—only the lower half of the figure is preserved, but he is plainly to be recognized by his lion's skin. He stands with his legs crossed—an attitude which at that period was a favourite one for archers. We may assume that here as well Herakles corresponds to Iole, and closes the composition on the left side.

Considerable difficulties present themselves in the interpretation of the other parts of the design preserved to us. In front of Herakles on fragment 2 portions of a palm-tree and the remainder of a quiver still exist. I cannot feel sure whether we should recognize here the upper part of a quiver, or the lower and rounded end as in the quiver Herakles is wearing at his side. In the former case we must assume that the quiver was suspended from the palm-tree as it is on the Eurystheus-cup of Euphronios (Klein,

¹ The proof of this I hope to produce in my *Griech. Meisterschalen*. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 2234, is already disposed to assign the fragments to Brygos rather than to Duris,

as Winter proposed.

² The numbers of the fragments do not correspond with those of note 46, p. 229, which may easily give rise to confusion,

Euphronios, p. 89). The predilection which Brygos had for indicating the locality by a tree, a rock, or a pillar is well known.

The chief difficulty lies, however, in the interpretation of the third fragment. Winter assumes that this belongs to the same side of the cup as fragments 1 and 2, and recognizes upon it the feet of one warrior rushing onwards and of another who has fallen. It is certain that we should rather distinguish here the feet of three figures; there are two left feet of figures moving rapidly to the left, and the left foot of another moving to the right or else possibly lying on the ground.

We should therefore be compelled, if fragment 3 is to be placed on the same side as the shooting-match, to suppose that the design comprised at least six figures: Herakles and Iole on the left and right of the composition, and between them three male figures rushing to the left, and a fourth advancing in an opposite direction or lying on the ground with his face turned towards them.

In the former case—that is, if fragment 3 does not after all *certainly* belong to the design—we may suppose that the gap between Herakles and the advancing archer was filled up, after the fashion of the fragment at Palermo, by three more male figures pressing forward against him. In the opposite case—that is, if the fragment certainly belongs to the same side as 1 and 2—the design, containing a fallen warrior at the feet of Herakles, would stand in a close relation to that upon the black-figured amphora published by Minervini, which has two fallen figures at the feet of four which are standing.¹

And now that we have reached this point, let us turn our attention again to the fragment of the Palermo cup.

The identification of the figures on the fragment is now quite certain. On the right, at one end of the composition, stands Herakles in the attitude of an archer. Eurytos and three of his sons, whatever names we choose to give them, are hurrying towards him, and on the left side of the composition

¹ I believe that I can prepare the way for a more correct explanation of the fragments of the interior design of the Akropolis cylix than that given by Winter in the *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 229. The club still preserved on fragment 6 proves that this as well as the external design is concerned with the representation of one of the adventures of Herakles. The vine-leaves on fragment 8 led Winter to conjecture that it might be that which took place in the vineyard of Syleus. But the posts of a couch with the remains of the pillow on fragment 7 show too plainly that those vine-tendrils are to be considered as hanging from a dining-table, as is often the case in vase-paintings of this period (cf. the cotyle with the ransoming of Hector, also from the hand of Brygos, Conze, *Vorlegebl.* i. 3 after *Mon.* viii. 27, or the Symposion cup of Duris). In all probability, then, Herakles

was represented as advancing upon a man lying upon a couch. We may recognize a resemblance between the Brygos cup from the Akropolis and the interior design of the Louvre cup with white ground (972)—a splendid vase, though almost entirely destroyed—which has been interpreted by Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 2233, as representing the slaying of Iphitos by Herakles at a banquet in his (*i.e.* Herakles') own house, according to *Odyssey* xxi. 27 ff.: a view in which he is undoubtedly correct. This interpretation is especially commended in the present instance by the fact that an incident from the same cycle of myths is also represented on the exterior of the vase; and besides this, the staff lying under the couch speaks strongly in favour of the wandering Iphitos who went in search of the horses he had lost.

stands Iole. The fact that the whole composition is here reversed is of little or no importance. There can be no doubt that the three designs, on the black-figured amphora, on the fragments of a cup in Palermo, and on the Brygos cup from the Akropolis, represent one and the same, or at least closely connected incidents. But of what nature are these?

If any legend appears in confused and conflicting forms in the shape handed down to us by literary tradition through the writers of myths and lexicons and scholia, it is that of Herakles and Eurytos, the archer-king of Oichalia.

Even the scene of the incidents is sometimes placed in Thessaly, sometimes in Messenia, and sometimes in Euboea. Every town of the name put in its claim to be that of the legendary Eurytos. The number of the king's sons varies; sometimes they are only two, sometimes three or four. Their names, too, are uncertain. And finally, the versions preserved to us of the incident itself are various and conflicting. Naturally, we can only avail ourselves of the older versions of the myth that can be traced back to Epic sources in the interpretation of the three vase-paintings we have grouped together, since they all belong to the last decades of the sixth or the early decades of the fifth century.

Creophylos, one of the masters of the later epos, seems to have been the first to condense the legends of Eurytos and Herakles in his epic poem, *Oichalia* or *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*.¹ It is possible that our vase-paintings were inspired by this poem either *directly*—that is, if we assume that they were conceived by the vase-painters themselves independently—or *indirectly*, if we suppose them to be derived from materials already existing in monumental painting. It is impossible, however, to prove this in detail, since the accounts we possess of the contents of the *Oichalia* are extremely slight. Let us consider how far they will aid us in the explanation of our three vase-paintings. Eurytos, famed as a bowman, offered his daughter, Iole, as a prize for the man who should surpass him (and his sons?) in archery. Herakles was victorious in the contest, but the king refused him the prize. He then returned, intent on vengeance, and destroyed Oichalia (Schol. Soph. *Trach.* 265).

So much is clear at once. The archery contest between Herakles and Eurytos was the pith of the story and the point on which it all turns. At first Herakles is kindly received in the house of Eurytos and hospitably entertained. We possess a proof of this in the design on an early Corinthian krater (*Mon.* vi. 33 = Welcker, *A.D.* v. xv.), in which Herakles appears reclining at a banquet with the family of Eurytos. Between the king and Herakles stands Iole. (The correctness of the names given to the figures is warranted by inscriptions.) Then followed the contest. The refusal of the king to deliver the prize gave rise to mortal enmity and to the destruction of the whole house of Eurytos.

There can be no doubt that the designs of our three vase-paintings

¹ Cf. Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i. 214 ff.

have for their subject the most pregnant moment of the legend—the actual shooting for the prize.

On this supposition, no difficulties of importance will present themselves, I think, in the interpretation of the Palermo fragment. Herakles, victorious in the contest, has discharged his last arrow, or is on the point of doing so, and Iole, the prize of victory, should be his own. At this moment, Eurytos and his sons, who gaze with wonder at the mark, throw themselves across the hero's path to hold him back.¹

As far as it is possible to judge from fragments 1 and 2 the incident is represented in just the same way on the Brygos cup from the Akropolis as on the earlier Epiktetan cup in Palermo. In the former, the arrow shot from the bow of Herakles, the last, that which decides the issue, is still whizzing through the air, when already one of the sons of Eurytos, who are taking part in the contest, rushes upon him. In the gap between fragments 1 and 2 we must suppose that the king and his other sons were represented. As to the way in which they were represented, it is clear from what has been said above that no absolute certainty can be attained. The interpretation of the design on the black-figured amphora published by Minervini has still to struggle with unsolved difficulties. Furtwängler (in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 2206) considers that the moment here represented is that in which Eurytos and his sons declare themselves conquered in the archery contest, and that two of the sons are lying on the ground 'completely vanquished.'

Even if unaffected by literary tradition, we nevertheless receive a distinct impression here of *hostile* action on the part of Herakles against the family of Eurytos, two of whom are lying on the ground, while the others are pressing towards the hero as if to beg for mercy, while he is standing over against them with drawn bow.

The supposition that the painter has confused the different elements of the Eurytos myth in a meaningless way has especially little to commend it, since he has given ample evidence of his acquaintance with the story by adding their names to the figures.

Consequently, there remains for us only one way out of the difficulty, that which has already been adopted by Minervini (*loc. cit.*, p. 14) and by Braun (*Bull.*, 1842, p. 186), namely, the hypothesis that the two most important elements of the Eurytos myth—the shooting-match and the destruction of the king and his family—have been combined in one scene. This combination may rest upon a distinct version of the myth which has chanced to disappear. An analogy is offered by the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths at the wedding-feast of Peirithoos. According to some, the fight took place at the wedding itself, while others tell of an expedition undertaken after an interval by the Centaurs to revenge the insult they received when summarily dismissed from the wedding-feast. It is also possible however

¹ It would lead to over-subtlety of interpretation were we to assume that the king's sons have not yet discharged their arrows because

they still hold their bow and arrow in their hand. These should rather be considered as merely attributes.

that the combination of the two motives from the Eurytos myth took its rise in the vase-painter's own mind. The disposition of the scene may have been influenced by artistic types with which the master was acquainted, *e.g.* Herakles contending against an overwhelming force of his enemies. We need only cite as an example the battle of Herakles against Busiris and his followers.

There is one feature in the representation of the contest between Herakles and Eurytos on the *fragments from Palermo* which we have not noticed, and which gives it a distinct and peculiar character; I mean the singular dress worn by Eurytos and his sons. They all three wear a chiton of moderate length with short sleeves, the finer folds of which on the upper part of the body are indicated by lines with diluted colour, while the long, perpendicular folds from the hips downwards are touched in with black colour. A nebris, spotted with different colours (a panther's skin rather than, as Klein suggests, that of a fawn) is girt around the body above the chiton.¹

In addition to this, one of the sons of Eurytos, the foremost, wears his hair gathered up under a cap. Klein characterizes this costume (*loc. cit.*) briefly as 'female dress,' and in fact these figures bear the greatest resemblance to representations of running Gorgons, or to the archaic Nike statues discussed by Petersen (*Athen. Mitth.*, 1887, p. 372).

The supposition that the vase-painter intended by this apparently female dress to characterize the sons of Eurytos as effeminate is quite impossible. There is not the slightest justification for such a view.

I think it more likely that the master's design in adopting this unusual dress was to represent the family of Eurytos as half-barbarian, or at least as dwelling far away from Attica. It is possible that the version which tells of a Thessalian Oichalia and its royal family was floating in his mind (*II. ii. 736*).

As the Thracian dress is represented with more or less completeness on a number of vases of the fifth century,² it is possible that elements of a distinct (Thessalian) costume exist here,³ with which the painter was acquainted from personal observation, or which he borrowed from an original which formed the groundwork of his design. The works of the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries are continually affording more convincing proofs of the lively interest they took in foreign dress, whether Asiatic, Egyptian, or Scythian.⁴ Some parts of these foreign costumes, such as the felt-hat and Thracian horseman's cloak, were directly adopted by the Athenians (cf. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*).

The same cap which is worn by one of the sons of Eurytos upon our fragment is, as is well known, not uncommonly found on men on Attic vases.

¹ Just in the same way as on the fallen Eurytion on the Geryoneus cup of Euphronios: cf. Klein, *Euphr.* p. 54, and on the torso from the Akropolis, *Ephem. Arch.* 1891, 13.

² Cf. especially Furtwängler, 50 *Berl. Winckelmann's Progr.* p. 159 ff.

H.S.—VOL. XII.

³ Strabo, xi. 530b: οἱ δὲ Θερρακοὶ μάλιστὰ βαθυστολοῦντες . . .

⁴ I hope to publish some new vases with representations of barbarians in my *Griech. Meislerschalen*.

Reisch has recently (*Röm. Mitth.* 1890, p. 323) collected a number of examples of this dress when discussing the beautiful kantharos by Nikosthenes from the Bruschi collection in Corneto, on which Dionysos wears a similar cap.

Such caps are worn as a rule by komastae (*Berlin* 2100, *Jahrbuch*, i. *Taf.* 12; *Berlin* 2289, cup by Duris, figured by Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Pl. XIV., &c.), and by those men, not yet satisfactorily explained, who pace along dressed in women's robes with sunshades, and preceded as a rule by female flute-players.¹

Still, I cannot presume to establish any connection between this head-dress and that of the sons of Eurytos on the fragment in Palermo so direct that we might conclude that we had here some portions of a costume,

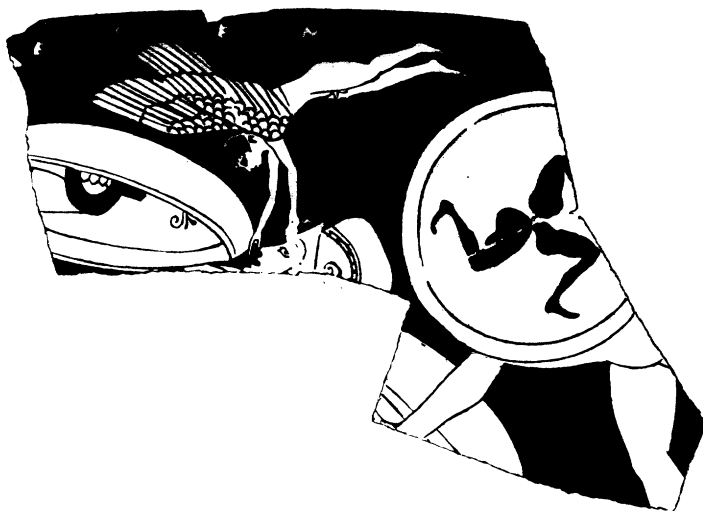


FIG. B.

originally foreign, which afterwards passed into use among the Athenian people in connection with an especial priestly or social and religious guild.

The connection between the smaller fragment, here figured *B*, and the larger fragment *A*, which we have just discussed, is established by their common provenance—the Casuccini collection at Chiusi, by the correspondence in the size of the figures, and by the equal delicacy and care shown in the design and manipulation of both.

Upon it are represented parts of a battle-scene, consisting of a warrior, partly visible, who has fallen backward and is supporting himself upon his shield, and two others contending for his spoils after the customary design. The one advancing from the left certainly wore a helmet; the tip of the plume is preserved. This warrior's shield is drawn obliquely from below in

¹ Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, Pl. 39; *Él.* 166, 1843, p. 90, 1879 p. 1, Hübner, *ant. Céram.* IV. Pl. 90—93; cf. *Bullet.* 1842 p. *Bildwerke in Madrid*, National bibliothek, 392.

three-quarter view, and in the hollow of the shield the joints of the fingers of the left hand which holds the strap are indicated by small semi-circles. The shield of the warrior on the right is in full front view, and bears the 'triskeles'¹ in (black) silhouette as its device.

In the middle, a little naked male figure with wings is hovering over the fallen warrior. The position of the fragment somewhere in the middle of side *B* of the cup seems to me to be quite certain. The remarkable winged figure must have occupied the centre of the composition, and one more advancing warrior must have been represented on either side, so that on this side of the cup a composition consisting of five figures—the fallen warrior naturally took up more space than a standing figure—corresponded to one containing six figures on the other side *A* of the cup.

It might occur to us, considering the representation of the shooting-match between Eurytos and Herakles on side *A* of the cup, that these fragments of a battle-piece might have belonged to some version of the *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*. But no reliable tokens of this are to be found on the fragment. Herakles certainly could not have been wanting in the principal group of a 'capture of Oichalia.' Such a struggle too must for the most part have been fought with the bow, in the use of which Eurytos and his sons were masters. Consequently I can only see in this fragment the remains of a struggle between hoplites, the nature of which cannot be more closely determined.

The little winged figure however in our fragment is of exceptional interest. This being has hovered down upon the fallen man from behind; it is holding its open right hand with pointed fingers over his open mouth, while it is pressing its left—the fingers of which unfortunately, through an injury to the surface, have not been completely preserved—upon his forehead.

Our next attempt must be to gain from the action of this figure a clue to guide us in the search for its name.

It is floating down upon the fallen man; it is not endeavouring to leave him, and therefore it cannot possibly be an *εἰδωλον* which is *forsaking* his body. And, besides this, the *εἰδωλα* of fallen warriors are always, as far as I know, armed.² The winged figure is visibly pressing the fallen hero with one hand to the ground, and prevents him from rising again. It is therefore a hostile being.

The gesture of the right hand, too, can only be interpreted in the sense Klein gives it in his *Euphronios*, 1st ed., pp. 53-4. It is catching in its hand the soul of the hero as it escapes from his body through the mouth, as a hound lies in wait for and seizes its prey as it leaves its lair. It is therefore a being which brings death!

¹ The triskeles is very often used as the device on shields on black-figured vases (cf. Götting, *Jenaer Programm*, 1855: 'de crure albo in clipeis vasorum Graecorum'); more rarely on red-figured (cf. *Ét. Céram.* i. 9, where it is painted black, as here).

² Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* 198 and *Annali*, 1883, Pl. Q. Our fragment is accordingly to be removed from Hirsch's list of the *εἰδωλα*, 'de animarum apud antiquos imaginibus,' p. 10.

A series of Homeric conceptions of Death seem to have combined to produce the representation of the singular action of this being.

According to the Homeric view, the vital principle is an actual substance which leaves the body of the dying man through his mouth or his wounds (*Il.* ix. 409):

ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴν πάλιν ἐλθεῖν οὔτε λείσθη
οὔθ' ἐλετή, ἐπεὶ ἄρ' κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων.

Life escapes through the wounds (*Il.* xiv. 518, xvi. 503). Again, at the bottom of the expressions *φρένας, θυμὸν ἐξελέσθαι* (*Il.* vi. 234, xix. 137, xv. 460, xvii. 678) there lies probably the same material conception of 'taking the life out of the body' which, in the vase-painting, finds pictorial expression in the hand of the winged being held over the open mouth of the fallen man. Finally, the epithet *τανηλεγής*, so often attributed to death by Homer, seems to be reflected in the pressure exerted on the fallen hero by the left hand of the winged being as it stretches him upon the ground. But now the question arises, whether we are justified in looking upon the little winged figure of our fragment as a representation of Thanatos itself.

A series of well-accredited representations of Thanatos are preserved to us in Greek vase-paintings,¹ which we must briefly bring forward here for comparison. The representation of Thanatos and Hypnos on a cup in the British Museum, No. 837 (published in Klein's *Euphronios*, p. 272), which was made by Pamphaios and painted on the exterior by Euphronios,² stands nearest to our fragment in point of time. In this, just as on a black-figured amphora in the Louvre (once in the possession of Piot), discussed by Helbig, *Bullet.* 1865, p. 175, and by Robert, *Thanatos*, pp. 8-9, Thanatos appears with Hypnos as a fully-grown youth in complete armour. On a red-figured krater of severe style he appears, again with Hypnos, as unarmed, naked, and winged (*Mon.* vi. vii. Pl. 22, and after this in Robert's *Thanatos*, p. 4, and Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, i. p. 727). Unfortunately, the upper part of the figure of Thanatos has been restored, so that it is uncertain whether he is represented here also as a fully-grown youth or as a bearded man—a form in which he appears on a number of lekythi which Robert has discussed, *loc. cit.* p. 19 ff., and on the (Epigenes) kantharos of the Berlin Museum (Raoul Rochette, *Mon. inéd.* Pl. 40; Panofka, *Cab. Pourtalis*, Pl. 7; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 189). On none of the vases I have mentioned has the action, in which we find Thanatos engaged, any resemblance to that of the winged figure on the fragment from Palermo. In three of the older representations we see him laying the body of Sarpedon in the tomb; in one, the

¹ Cf. in especial Robert, *Thanatos*; 39 *Berliner Winckelmann's Programm*.

² Six (in the *Gazette archéol.* 1888, p. 21) and Reisch (*Röm. Mitth.* 1890, p. 331) have recently denied, without further proof, that Euphronios painted this cup. I hope in my *Griech. Meister-schalen* to establish his claim more conclusively

than it was possible for Klein to do with the material at his command. The figures putting on their armour on the exterior *B* are *certainly* Amazons, a point which Robert denies (*Thanatos*, p. 10). The female breast can be plainly recognized in the one which carries a snake as the device on her shield.

kantharos in London, he is present at the destruction of Laoköon and takes the dying son in his arms. The lekythi transfer the scheme of the Sarpedon designs, the laying of the corpse in the grave, to any dead person at will. Nor can the appearance of Thanatos on the vases we have named encourage us, as will be seen from the above remarks, to give that name with any certainty to the winged figure on the fragment from Palermo.

The *diminutive size* of the figure on the fragment at Palermo is especially remarkable. We could certainly find an external reason for it in the relatively small space the painter had at his disposal above the fallen warrior in which to represent the god of death. For a similar reason, Nike, when she hovers over a sacrificial altar, is represented as a small winged creature (Gerhard, *A. V.* 155).

But we are driven too forcibly to the analogy offered by whole groups of little winged figures of similar shape which are found on vase-paintings. The earliest examples are those which appear repeatedly on Cyrenaic vases. They are both male and female, and Studniczka (*Kyrene*, p. 24) takes them, no doubt with reason, as good and probably also evil daemons, in the widest possible sense.

A second group is formed by the little 'daemonian' creatures which appear, sometimes in the shape of human beings and sometimes in that of birds,¹ in representations of Alkyoneus, and which have recently been fully discussed by Koepf (*Arch. Ztg.* 1884, p. 31 ff.). He decides in favour of naming these little creatures 'Hypnos,' while earlier authorities decided sometimes in favour of Thanatos and sometimes of κῆρες.

A third group is composed of the εἰδωλα which sometimes appear fully armed, sometimes as birds and sometimes as little naked winged creatures who flutter around the tomb where the dead are lying (cf. *Mon.* viii. 5, 1). They have been treated, as we mentioned above, by Hirsch, *de animarum apud antiquos imaginibus*.

And, finally, we should mention here the little creatures which frequently fly above the horses of a chariot. Sometimes they have the body of a bird with a human head; that is, they are like harpies in form (as in the amphora of Exekias, *Vorlegebl.* 1888, Pl. v.), or they are shaped exactly like the creature on the fragment from Palermo, and are naked and winged (as on the cup by Pamphaios at Corneto, *Mon.* xi. 24). The designation of these little figures, if not placed beyond the reach of doubt by an accompanying inscription, or by action or by surroundings, must often remain uncertain in any particular instance.

In general, however, we may feel sure that we are brought into contact here with a class of daemonic beings which the popular belief of the Greeks pictured to itself as friendly or hostile powers flying between heaven and earth as the ministers and agents of the divine will. It is thus that they are described in Plato's *Symposium* (xxiii. 203): οὗτοι δὲ οἱ δαίμονες πολλοὶ καὶ

¹ In the vase published in the *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, Pl. 3, the winged figure sitting on Alkyoneus is in the shape of a bird, not of a man, and should be compared to *Annali*, 1883, Pl. Q.

παντοδαποί εἰσιν. Hermes and Eros are their closest connections among the gods.

Let us consider for a moment the winged beings on the cup of Pamphaios, quoted above (*Mon.* xi. 24), and the way in which they are characterized. The subject is the fight between Herakles and Kyknos, which is taking place in the middle, while the horses of the heroes with their charioteers are standing on either side. A little naked winged figure is flying towards each of the charioteers. Heydemann suggests Hypnos and Thanatos (*Annali*, 1880, p. 97), while Koepp (*Arch. Ztg.* 1888, p. 43, note 22) thinks we should recognize in the figures Erotes, of whom at that time several were generally represented together.

But it must be allowed that this does not afford a satisfactory explanation. Eros, on the side of the victorious Herakles, might certainly be considered as the 'bringer of victory,' but what meaning would he have hovering over the chariot of the defeated Kyknos? It would rather seem that two of those daemons are here represented by whose agency the heroes receive the good or evil destiny assigned them by the will of a higher power. The details harmonize with this explanation, for the daemon over the horses of Herakles wears a wreath and is holding flowers in his outstretched hand, while the other, over the horses of Kyknos, seems to make a hostile gesture with his hands, and is certainly without either wreath or flowers.

The executive power of death, and especially of death in battle, is, in Homer and the poets of the Epic Cycle, the κῆρ or κῆρες θανατοῖο. In the *Iliad*, Σ 535, in the description of the shield of Achilles, and in the *Shield of Herakles* (249) she is represented as an individual of the female sex. She roves over the field of battle with Eris and Kydoimos on the watch for prey and thirsting for the blood of heroes. On the chest of Kypselos she was represented in a similar way as a creature something like a Gorgon. But by the side of this conception of the κῆρ as an individual there appears in Homer already a generalization of this being and a division into κῆρες with a personal existence, who attack men by land and sea and bring to each the death allotted him by the will and counsel of the gods.

The action of the little winged figure on the fragment from Palermo will harmonize exceedingly well with the character of a being of this nature. Its gestures express with the utmost distinctness its malice, its habit of lying in wait, its tendency to destroy.

But this interpretation seems to be excluded by the sex of the daemon, which is clearly male, for we must, to proceed strictly, assume that the κῆρες, as well as the κῆρ θανατοῖο, were fashioned as women. Otto Crusius has however, I believe, indicated a way of escape from this difficulty in his article 'Keren' in Ersch and Gruber, which, as he is now in possession of ampler materials, he hopes shortly to work out more fully in Roscher's *Lexicon*. For the Athenians κῆρ is equivalent to ψυχή (that is, the ψυχή of the departed), cf. Hesychius and Suidas; and consequently the ancients could give the κῆρ the shape of a man and yet say ἡ κῆρ. The εἰδωλα and ψυχαι, which flutter away from the dying, were represented as of either sex.

I believe, therefore, that the designation *κῆρ θανατοῖο* is a possible one for the little winged figure on the fragment at Palermo, and is preferable to that of Thanatos. Robert too has been led by his investigations to the conclusion that Thanatos—in contrast to the extremely animated conception of the spirits of death and their activity in the popular superstition of Attica—is not a popular but a purely poetical figure, and that a representation of Thanatos does not occur before the end of the fourth century, except in connection with poetry and myth.

For popular conceptions, however, the Attic vase-paintings of the fifth century have an excellent claim to rank as authorities of the first order.

I should like to extend the designation *κῆρ θανατοῖο* to at least one more representation of a little naked winged figure—that which appears on a black-figured lekythos (late in style) from Gela, which is published by Benndorf, *Griech. und Sicil. Vasenbilder*, Pl. 42, 2. Two Ethiopians are laying the corpse of Memnon on the ground. Above it, in just the same way as on the fragment at Palermo, there hovers a little naked creature with wings, which grasps the corpse by the shoulder and presses it down with both arms. The sex of the figure is not quite clear. Heydemann (3 *Hall. Winckelmpgrg.* p. 80) and Koepp (*Arch. Ztg.* 1884, p. 42, 2) assert that it is male. The former calls it Thanatos, the latter an *εἰδωλον*. Robert, on the contrary (*Thanatos*, p. 17), considers it a female figure, and declares it to be a *κῆρ*. The resemblance to the fragment at Palermo favours the belief that this figure too is male.¹ The possibility of its being an *εἰδωλον* is at once excluded by its action in pressing down the body with a hostile intent; so I consider this too to be the *κῆρ θανατοῖο* of the fallen hero engaged in its specific activity.

A representation entirely parallel in shape and action to the last-named figure on the lekythos from Gela is found upon a black-figured amphora which has frequently been figured and discussed, on which Herakles, supported by Athena, is fighting against Alkyoneus, who lies upon the ground.² The creature, advancing with long strides, takes the hero by the head with both hands and presses him down. Its sex, in consequence of its dress, a short chiton, cannot be certainly determined. Koepp (*Arch. Ztg.* 1884, p. 42) considers it male on account of its black colour, and names it Hypnos, as he does all the other winged creatures of the same kind, though not engaged in a similar action which are to be found in representations of Alkyoneus. We cannot expect to find any pronounced difference between the outward characteristics of the genius of sleep on the one hand and that of death on the other; yet the characteristic action of this creature and its impetuous onward motion, which has not escaped Koepp's notice, might be urged in favour of

¹ I consider it in general a doubtful point whether small *naked* winged figures of this kind are ever represented in ancient art with the character of the female sex. They are either draped and hence to a certain extent sex-

less, like our pictures of angels, or if they are naked, they bear the character of the male sex.

² Tischbein ii. 20; Millin cxx. 459; *Annali* 1833, Pl. D. 1; Müller-Wieseler ii. 70, 881; Jahn, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1853, Pl. VII. 2.

the explanation which we have given to both the winged figures—that on the lekythos from Gela, and that on the fragments of a cylix from Palermo.¹

I remarked, when entering upon the discussion of the two fragments from Palermo, that Klein (*Meistersignaturen*, p. 113) has classed them with the group of vases signed ἐποίησεν. In presence of the fragments however on which ἐποίησεν is still preserved, twice repeated, it is impossible to say with certainty whether an artist's name may not have existed on the parts which are lost. The one fact which may be urged in favour of Klein's view is the comparatively large amount of empty space on the left side of the larger fragment A, where we should expect to find the artist's name or at least its final letters. But if we compare the very small space occupied by the artist's name +Α+ΠΥΛΙΩΝ on the cup by this master in London (Klein, *Meistersign.* No. 8, *Vorlegeblätter*, D. 7), we shall see that between the two figures which occupy the extreme left of the fragment there is still space enough for an artist's name. (This name could only, from the style of the fragment, be that of a master belonging to the earlier group of painters of red-figured vases.) The cups which bear only the word ἐποίησεν have been assigned by Klein to the Epiktetan group of artists. The external evidence in favour of connecting these cups with those of the associates of Epiktetos consists in the fact that one of them (Klein, *Meistersign.* p. 111., 1 = p. 109, 7, British Museum, E 8, published by Gerhard, *A.V.* 195, 96) bears the love-name ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ together with the word ἐποίησεν only. The question then arises whether they correspond in style to the manner of the so-called 'Epiktetan' group. This is not the case with the cylix, No. 115, of the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen, No. 6 of Klein's list, of which I have had a new drawing made. (There is an older one in Gerhard's *Apparat des Berliner Museums*, xxi. 83.) But I also found that the inscription on a vase, which had been read as ἐποίησεν, was nothing but an unmeaning collection of letters. All the cups, which are *certainly* signed ἐποίησεν only, bear this abbreviated signature on the *inside*; where designs exist on the outside as well, ἐποίησεν is repeated there too.

The Copenhagen cup, therefore, which shows traces already of the influence of Euphronios, is to be removed from Klein's list of those signed ἐποίησεν only.

In the case of No. 10 in Klein, which was once in the possession of Durand, we are compelled to rely on the description which gives ἐποίησεν only in the interior design. Since this consisted of a single figure, we may conclude with considerable probability, if not with absolute certainty, that the cup was in the style of Epiktetos.

The remaining vases signed ἐποίησεν only, some of which I know from

¹ Genelli, in his *Illustrations of Homer (Iliad*, xxii. 361–66), has introduced an exactly similar little winged figure in the 'Death of Hector' which, with one hand, presses the head of the

fallen man to the ground. It would be interesting to know whether Genelli originated this motive or borrowed it from some ancient model.

personal inspection, and some from drawings which I have, are certainly from the hand of masters of the Epiktetan school.¹

The same holds good of two cups which should be added to the list of those signed ἐποίησεν.

The first is a cup in the Louvre,² mentioned by Klein, under the head of vases with fragmentary inscriptions (*Meistersign.* p. 220). This cup, the diameter of which was considerable, is very much broken. Of the exterior design only three feet are preserved: the interior design, on the contrary, is complete; an ephebos facing left is reclining on a couch with a drinking-horn



FIG. C.

in the right hand, and a cup, just touched in, in the left. To the left of this figure, as in all the other cups with this signature, stands the word ἐποίησεν. The space to the right is intact, and shows no trace of any other letters.

¹ I should like to call attention to the fact that the interior design of No. 8 in Klein, *Brit. Mus.* 842 (E 52), represents a warrior taking aim with his arrow—a motive which will be fully discussed in my *Griech. Meisterschalen* in connection with the cup in the Bourguignon

collection (Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 49, 2) with the love-name ΑΘΕΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΚΑΥΟΣ.

² No. 603, *Camp.* 577.

The drawing of the cup is extremely poor and slight. In all probability we may trace in it the hand of Pamphaios.

The second is the cup possessing an interior design only, which I noticed briefly in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1887, p. 169, No. 10. It comes from Chiusi, was purchased in Rome from a dealer in antiquities, and is now in the Archaeological Museum in Baltimore. The surface of the cup is much injured by damp, but it is quite certain that there was no further inscription than ἐποίησεν beside the figure in the interior. The accompanying drawing (C) reproduces the motive of the figure, as far as it was preserved, one-half the size of the original. The simple design gains especial interest from the fact that it corresponds almost exactly with one on a cup of Euergides found in



FIG. D.

Corinth and published by Tsountas in the *Ephem. Archeol.* 1885, Pl. III. 2. The latter is reproduced here (D) by the kind permission of Professor Kumanudes of Athens, from a tracing taken from the copy in the *Ephemeris*. It is a singular fact that the inscription on the little cup of Euergides is also abbreviated. The words ΕΥΕΡΛΙΔΕΞΕ can only be completed by the ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ found on the other cup.

The task of assigning the cups signed ἐποίησεν only to individual masters (with some degree of certainty) will only become possible, perhaps, when we have complete series of copies of the works of those early artists. We do not possess a copy of a single cup of Epiktetos even, the chief master of this group, which gives an exact and faithful reproduction of his style.

At present, Chachrylion and Pamphaios, Epiktetos and Chelis, Hermokrates and Euergides, seem to have an equal claim to this one or that one among these vases.

Attributions made by one archaeologist to-day on the ground of his private opinion, and rejected by another to-morrow who takes a different view, will not help us. This unhappy instability will never be put an end to by the publication of works which, like catalogues, group the vases together on the ground of certain external marks, but only by the multiplication of *copies* which faithfully reproduce the style of the originals. Trustworthy scientific results will then follow of themselves.

P. HARTWIG.

