

ATHENS UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ
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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
NATIONAL AND KAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS





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The Athens University Review of Archaeology (AURA) is an international, peer-reviewed archaeological journal published by the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It is dedicated to the publication of original research articles and reports focusing on, or related to the archaeology, art and material culture in the broader Greek world, from the earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era. We welcome contributions in Greek or English about (1) the Stone and Bronze Age in Greece and related adjacent areas, (2) the Geometric to Classical periods in Greece and the Greek colonies in the Mediterranean, (3) the broader Hellenistic world, (4) Roman Greece, (5) the Byzantine Empire, (6) the period of Latin and Ottoman rule in Greece, (7) Modern Greek art, (8) the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, (9) Environmental Archaeology and Archaeometry, (10) Museology and (11) Computer Applications in Archaeology. The range of studies varies, including synthetic works, reports on excavations and field surveys, studies of archaeological material or works of art, various case studies, as well as preliminary publications of on-going research projects dealing with the scientific areas described above.

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Το πρώτο τεύχος του AURA εκδόθηκε με ευγενική χορηγία
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Άρθρα

Articles



Herakles or Dionysos?

Some thoughts on the iconography of the krater of the
Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 14902*

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ἀλλ' ὥνπερ ἔνεκα τήνδε τὴν σκευὴν ἔχων
ἦλθον κατὰ σὴν μίμησιν
well, this is the reason I have come
wearing this outfit in imitation of you**

ABSTRACT

This article reexamines an Attic red-figure calyx krater in Athens (Athens National Archaeological Museum 14902): a reclining figure in a four-column structure has been identified by previous scholarship as Herakles. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the uniqueness of this vase among its apparent parallels, by analyzing the skin and wreath the figure wears and its pose. Another figure that had escaped the attention of researchers is considered. The imagery of the vase is analyzed in the context of the end of the 5th century BC, and compared with the Dionysos figure on Parthenon's pediment and with textual data. This leads to the conclusion that the reclining figure should be identified as Dionysos, posing as Herakles.

A major category of the iconography of the cult of Herakles is the depiction of the hero at a columnar shrine. New surveys¹ have revealed a series of representations of Herakles in an unusual architectural setting, namely a four-columned, open-air structure, a theme described and studied since the beginning of the 20th century. These representations occur in both red-figure pottery and votive reliefs;² they date to the late 5th and the first half of the 4th centuries BC.³

* I am indebted to Prof. em. L. Palaiokrassa, Assist. Prof. E. Kefalidou for reading drafts of this paper and generously offering their fruitful comments. Possible mistakes remain only mine. My sincerest thanks go to the National Archaeological Museum at Athens for permission to reproduce photographs of two vases (cat. no. 1, 2) and Dr. Chr. Avronidaki, Dr. G. Kavvadias and N. Palaiokrassa for helping me access the vases under study. All photographs of the Athenian red-figure calyx kraters 14902 and 12682 in Athens are courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Finally, acknowledgments are due to the anonymous readers and the editors of *AURA* for their incisive comments and suggestions.

** Aristophanes, *Frogs* 108–109 (J. Henderson 2002, Loeb Classical Library).

¹ Frickenhaus 1911; Walter 1937; Boardman *et al.* 1988, 801; Tagalidou 1993; Froning 1996; Carabatea 1997; Himmelmänn 2009, 127–135; Verbanck-Piérard 2013. The construction is in all cases described as four-columned, even if the number of columns depicted varies from two to four. It is unsafe to draw inferences from the vases as to details of the architectural forms portrayed (Tarbell 1910, 433).

² On the reliefs see Klöckner 2016, 49–60.

³ The study will focus on the Attic vase paintings; votive reliefs and vase paintings, although they do have certain elements in common, are iconographically distinct categories (see Van Straten 1995, 6). In contrast with the pottery, which is Attic, the reliefs come also from other areas of the Greek world, such as Andros (Naples,

One of the vases in the series is a calyx-krater in the Athens National Archaeological Museum (cat no. 1), (Fig. 1) dating from the beginning of the 4th century BC, which presents some differences from the other vases of the series, making it unique (as we will see below). In previous publications, the central figure of the vase has been regularly identified as Herakles and the scene has been interpreted as Herakles being worshiped in a four-column sanctuary. In this article a reexamination will be made, placing the vase within its historical context and taking into account, alongside the iconographical data, the evidence from texts, sculpture, myth and cultic practices, all the sources that afford a valuable insight into the matter. As a result, an alternative reading of the scene will be suggested, challenging the identification of the central figure as Herakles; instead I suggest that the central figure is Dionysos, imitating Herakles.

The group of Attic red-figure vases depicting a four-column structure associated with Herakles comprises some score or so, dating roughly from 420 to 350 BC: they share some common features. The analysis of these is preceded by a very brief list of the 18 already studied vases, those that comprise the core of the group:

1. Athens, National Museum 14902: *BAPD* no. 5556; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1372 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
2. Athens, NM 12682: *BAPD* no. 260003; *ARV²* 1418, 4; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1369 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
3. Boston MFA 21.272: *BAPD* no. 12952.
4. Caltanissetta, Museo Civico 46: *BAPD* no. 28005; *LIMC Suppl.* I, s.v. Dionysos add. 21 [C. Gaspari].
5. Christie's New York, 8.06.2007, no. 104: *LIMC Suppl.* I, s.v. Herakles no. add. 2 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
6. London, BM E251.1: *BAPD* no. 15551.
7. Paris, Musée Rodin 217: *BAPD* no. 218050; *ARV²* 1436, 2.
8. Paris, Louvre, G508: *BAPD* no. 218049; *ARV²* 1436, 1; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1373 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
9. Paris, Louvre G 509: *BAPD* no. 10879; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1374 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
10. Rome, Villa Giulia 3619: *BAPD* no. 260023; *ARV²* 1420.7; *LIMC* V, s.v. Heracles no. 123 [S. J. Schwarz].
11. Samos, Vathy Archaeological Museum: *BAPD* no. 28188; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Hades no. 69 [R. Lindner *et al.*]; *CVA* Bucharest 1 Pl. 32, 1.
12. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 143544: *BAPD* no. 41697; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1368 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
13. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 190: *BAPD* no. 44252; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1370 [J. Boardman *et al.*].
14. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L645: *BAPD* no. 260099; *ARV²* 1427.39.
15. Rome, Villa Giulia 63673: *BAPD* no. 16210.
16. Tell Akko: *BAPD* no. 7539.
17. Thessaloniki 01.34.278; *ARV²* 1421.
18. Vatican: *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1371 [J. Boardman *et al.*].

In the center of the scene Herakles, young and beardless,⁴ is seated naked on his mantle, in front of or next to a four-column structure, and leaning on his club; he is surrounded by several figures: gods, mortals or satyrs. The depiction of the structure varies a lot: it may be either in

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, *LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles no. 1376 [J. Boardman *et al.*]) and from Ithome (Athens, National Museum 1404; Tagalidou 1993, 208, no. 18).

⁴ With the exception cat. no. 10, in which he appears bearded.



Fig. 1. Attic red-figured calyx krater 14902 in Athens.

the Doric or the Ionic order,⁵ with two or four columns, sometimes surmounted by a vase,⁶ with a rope connecting the columns or with branches on the top of the architrave, while its base may consist of two or three steps. Sometimes an altar is depicted in front of the structure, the form of which also varies. Twice it is of simple form – a relatively large, low, and rough block,⁷ thrice it is made up of cut blocks⁸ and in one case it consists of a pile of stones.⁹ Although the structure is not always depicted in the same way, they have been collectively interpreted as a shrine for the cult of Herakles, which used to have the shape of a baldachin. It must be noted that this kind of monopteros in Greek art and architecture was used for the cult of Herakles, but was also used for other deities and heroes.¹⁰ August Frickenhaus, the first scholar to study the representations of Herakles in a shrine, believed that they depicted the heroon excavated on the southwest slope of the Areiopagos, known as the sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos in Melite.¹¹ Another reading of the scene considers these structures as the representations of theater settings, because of the presence of satyrs and the variations observed in the vase depictions.¹² The possibility of the vase being influenced by matters theatrical will be examined below.

Apart from the building, the characteristics that are constant for the central figure in almost all the representations are the following: Herakles is seated naked on his mantle and he is crowned with an olive or laurel wreath.

⁵ The Doric order is the most usual, but it appears as Ionic at least twice, on the cat. no. 4 and 14. It is also of Ionic order on the cat. no 1.

⁶ Cat. no. 1, 12.

⁷ Cat. no. 7, 8.

⁸ Cat. no. 1, 2, 3.

⁹ Cat. no. 13. For altars on vases, see Rupp 1991, 57–9; Aktseli 1996, 8–20; Ekroth 2001, 122.

¹⁰ Verbanck-Piérard 2013, 25. For baldachins, see Rupp 1974, 360–75.

¹¹ Frickenhaus 1911, 121–30.

¹² Vollkommer 1988, 70.



Fig. 2. Attic red-figured calyx krater 14902 in Athens.

On a closer observation, it is clear that the figure of the Athens National Museum krater is unique in many aspects, presenting some features that cannot be found in any of the other vases in the series. For a start the male figure interpreted as Herakles is differentiated in three respects; he is reclining instead of being seated, and not on a mantle but on an animal-skin, and moreover his wreath is made not of olive or laurel branches, but of ivy. Further his face is depicted frontally, while in the rest of the representations the faces are depicted in profile. These differences alone make the scene worthy of further examination and discussion.

In the center of the scene, depicted in added white is an Ionic four-column structure, with a two-step base and an oblong altar in front of it, as it is indicated by the red bloodstains on it. This complex is flanked by two bearded, wreathed figures, identified as satyrs, while to the right, on a different level, there is a third satyr.¹³ The one to the left is naked: he is bringing a kantharos and a hydria to the figure inside the structure, while the one to the right, with a *pardalis* on his shoulders is holding a *kanoun*.¹⁴ The third figure holds an oinochoe and a phiale: depicted on a higher level, he is approaching a lebes above the handle to the right of this scene (Fig. 2). The presence of satyrs along with Herakles is not unusual, even among the scenes with the four-column structure. Satyrs appear on five vases of the series, albeit most of these seem to depict scenes from

¹³ For the form of satyrs, see Lissarague 2013, 53–70.

¹⁴ And not a plate with cakes as described by Van Straten (1979) and by Carabatea (1997, 133). The kanoun is covered by some type of cloth, as the white color indicates, and the two triangles can be identified as handles. The offering of food is typical for Herakles, and its omission here weakens the case for association with him.



Fig. 3. Attic red-figured calyx krater 12682 in Athens, side A.

satyr-dramas.¹⁵ On the red-figure krater by the Telos Painter,¹⁶ dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, the former identification is safe, as the satyrs are clearly actually actors wearing clothes and the two-dimensional depiction of the construction, which is interpreted as a tetra-style due to the depiction of the *skene* of a theater.¹⁷ In three more depictions only the half of the four-column structure is depicted, as it is set further in the background, possibly painted on the *skene* of a theater (Fig. 3).¹⁸ Since the satyrs' presence on the Athens National Museum (hence: ANM) krater cannot be interpreted in any terms of known cultic or mythical context, and given that their parallels are connected with theater, the possibility that here too they indicate some influence from the theater should be seriously considered, even if there is no direct indication connecting the satyrs to theater on the ANM krater. Another fact that should be kept in mind is that satyrs are creatures from the world of Dionysos, his loyal companions who are always associated with him, and are the most popular among the Dionysiac figures.¹⁹ The theme of satyrs bringing offerings to Dionysos is not at all unusual.²⁰

The figure to the left of the building holds a hydria and a kantharos, as stated before. The big kantharos which is brought to the central lolling figure has been interpreted by some scholars as the *οἰνιστηρία*,²¹ the vase full of wine offered to Herakles during the festival of the Apatouria,

¹⁵ Cat. no. 2, 3, 13, 14, 16. For satyrs and satyric dramas, see Shaw 2014.

¹⁶ Cat. no. 14; Vollkommer 1988, 66 no. 482, fig. 91.

¹⁷ Vollkommer 1988, 66, no. 490, 70.

¹⁸ Cat. no. 2, 3, 16.

¹⁹ Isler-Kerényi 2015, 38.

²⁰ Simon 1982, 123.

²¹ Otto Walter had identified as the *οἰνιστηρία* the *lebes* depicted in the series. *Οἰνιστηρία* is referred to in the

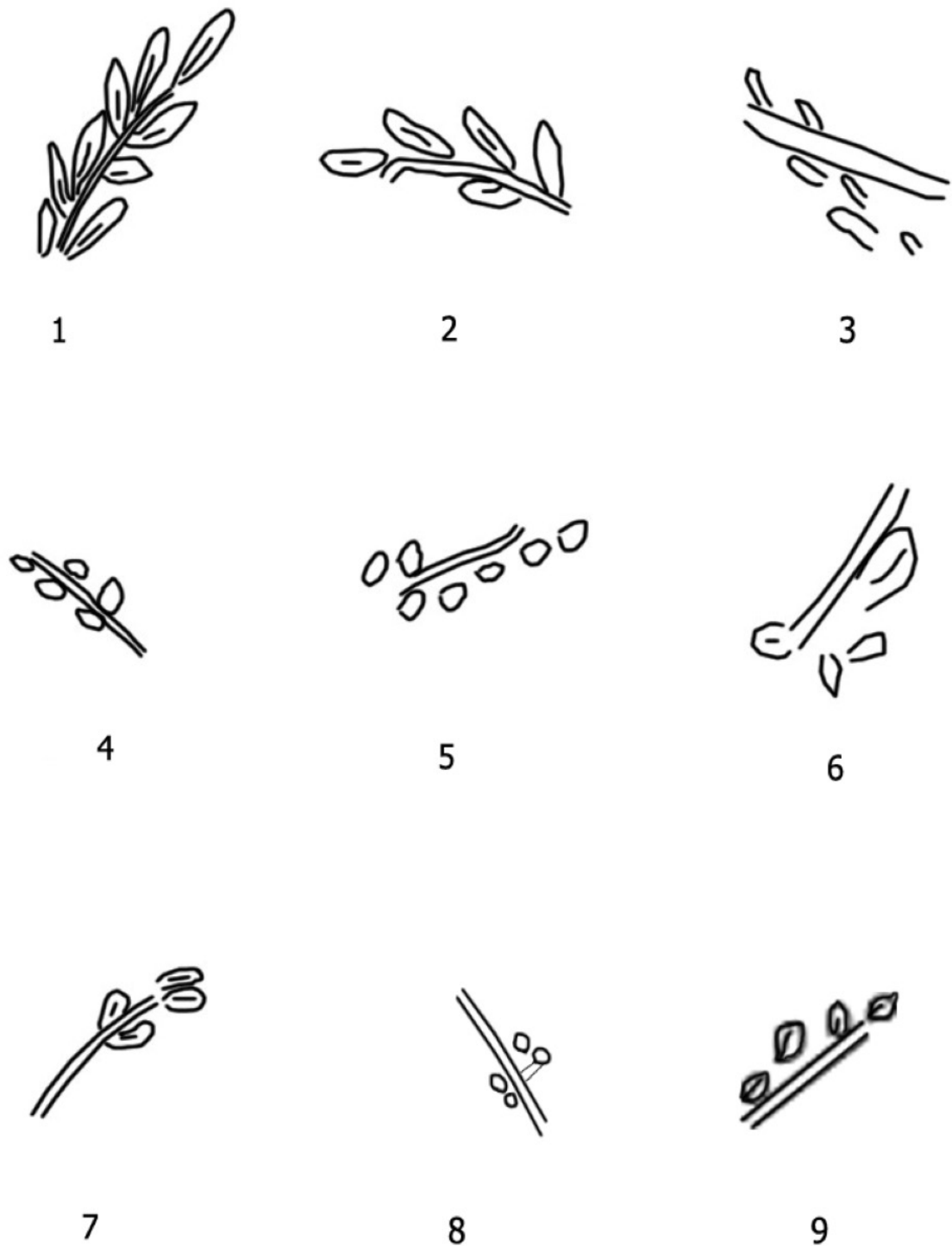


Fig. 4. Drawing of Herakles wreaths in the "Herakles tetrastyle" series. (1: Taranto, Mus. Arc. Naz. 143544; 2: Athens, NM 12682, 3: Caltanissetta, Mus. Civ. 46.4; Würzburg, Martin von Vagner Museum L645. 5: Thebes, Archaeological Museum 190.6: Paris, Musée Rodin 217.7: Rome, Villa Giulia 3619.8: Paris, Louvre G 509.9: Boston MFA 21.272).

but a kantharos, primarily a vase with religious connotations, is one of the most common attributes of Dionysos, the god of wine.²² The same is true for the ivy wreath worn by the figure, which has no connections with Herakles. This item does not appear among the other vases of the tetrastyle-structure series: all the others are olive- or laurel-wreaths (Fig. 4).²³ There is no reason to suppose that the choice here of that type of wreath is some random matter, but rather that it clearly points to the god of wine and theater, the κισσοκόμης (ivy crowned or haired), as he is referred to one of the three Homeric Hymns honoring Dionysos.²⁴

The presence of the lion-skin, the most characteristic of Herakles' attributes, on the vase is potentially more than problematic, as it does not exist in any other vase of the series. But is it really a lion-skin? In order to answer this, it is necessary to study other known representations of such.²⁵ A short investigation of this matter in red-figure pottery shows that artists picture the lion-skin in a number of ways, varying in their internal embellishment as shown in Figure 5. The one decorated with little dots appears to be the most usual. It can be found in four variations, with dense and more or less aligned dots (Fig. 5.1a),²⁶ with sparse, unaligned dots (Fig. 5.1b),²⁷

sources as the act of libation to Herakles, and not to the vase itself (Ath. 11.494). For the connection of *οἰνιστηρία* with the columnar construction series with recent bibliography, see Salowey 2014, 379–80.

²² Kantharoi do occur in some of the vases of the series, Cat. no. 2, 9, 18. Their connection with the Herakles cult, is not looked into here. For the kantharos as a symbol of Dionysos, see Isler-Kerényi 2015, 32.

²³ See also the Moirakles relief (Van Straten 1979): Moirakles was honored with an olive wreath for contributing to the Herakleia, a festival for Herakles. On an important inscription discovered in Eleusis (332/331 BC), a vase is carved in the centre of a large wreath of olive-leaves, and is related to two texts mentioning a *thysia* for *theos* Herakles (Koumanoudes and Gofas 1978, 200–91). For the ivy wreaths, see Isler-Kerényi 2007, 141, 151. The only depiction to my knowledge in which Herakles wears an ivy wreath and sits in a tetrastyle structure is found on Cat. no. 2. This does not influence our inquiry, happily, as the vase is a Lucanian bell krater and the rules for South-Italian pottery are different.

²⁴ *Hom. Hymn* 26.1: Κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον ἄρχομ' αἰδεῖν.

²⁵ Widdows 2006 (I thank the author for sending me the manuscript. Although this exhaustive research does much to remedy the lack of study into the animal skins worn by figures in iconography, it centers on the Archaic period. It was needful still to develop a simple appreciation for the typology of the Heraklean lion-skins in red-figure. This gap is not filled either by Cohen's (1998) short article, which mainly focuses on the different instances of Herakles not wearing his lion-skin, rather than the form of it. The lion-skins worn by Herakles in approximately 100 Attic red-figured vases (depictions in *LIMC* were taken as a sample) are categorized here to ascertain the types of its decoration, to compare them with the Athens Museum calyx krater. This catalog does not claim to be exhaustive, a comprehensive study is still needed.

²⁶ Vatican 502: *BAPD* no. 200564; *ARV*² 66; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 60 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Boston MFA 99.538: *BAPD* no. 200012; *ARV*² 4,12; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1332 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, Agora P7899: *BAPD* no. 212663; *ARV*² 455,12; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2008 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, NM Acr 2.325: *BAPD* no. 204701; *ARV*² 460,20; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2037 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Munich, Antikenslg 8704: *BAPD* no. 200080; *ARV*² 16.17,1619; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2501 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Paris, Louvre F204: *BAPD* no. 200011; *ARV*² 4,11; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2554 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. London, BM E262: *BAPD* no. 206701; *ARV*² 580,3; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2874 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Arezzo, Museo Civico 1464: *BAPD* no. 200068; *ARV*² 1634,30bis; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 64 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 699: *BAPD* no. 201751; *ARV*² 191.103; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 84 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras. Basel BS 453: *BAPD* no. 275091; *ARV*² 1634.30bis; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 86 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras]. St. Petersburg, Ermitage 807: *BAPD* no. 206866; *ARV*² 593.42; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 89 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras. Munich, Antikenslg 8762: *BAPD* no. 275132; *ARV*² 1638 2bis; *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereides no. 267 [A.V. Szabados]; London, BM E162: *BAPD* no. 202006; *ARV*² 209.165,1633; *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereus no. 42 [M. Pipili]. New York, Sh. White and Levy Collection: *BAPD* no. 7501; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 179 [S. Paspalas]. Paris, Louvre G180: *BAPD* no. 2-2629; *ARV*² 289,2; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2996 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Basel. BS 456: *BAPD* no. 275090; *ARV*² 1634,1bis; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3165 [J. Boardman *et al.*].

²⁷ Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 1925.30.34: *BAPD* no. 202582; *ARV*² 285,7; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1324 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Hanover, Kestner Mus. KS.761 (now lost): *BAPD* no. 212120; *ARV*² 83230; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1562 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Orvieto, Faina Museo. 27: *BAPD* no. 203070; *ARV*² 296,3; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3167 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R. 235: *BAPD* no. 214829; *ARV*² 112111; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3206 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Munich 2617: *BAPD* no. 205025; *ARV*² 480,1; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkyoneus no. 13 [L. J. Balmaseda]. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 3031: *BAPD* no. 207095; *ARV*² 612; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 27 [A. F. Laurens].

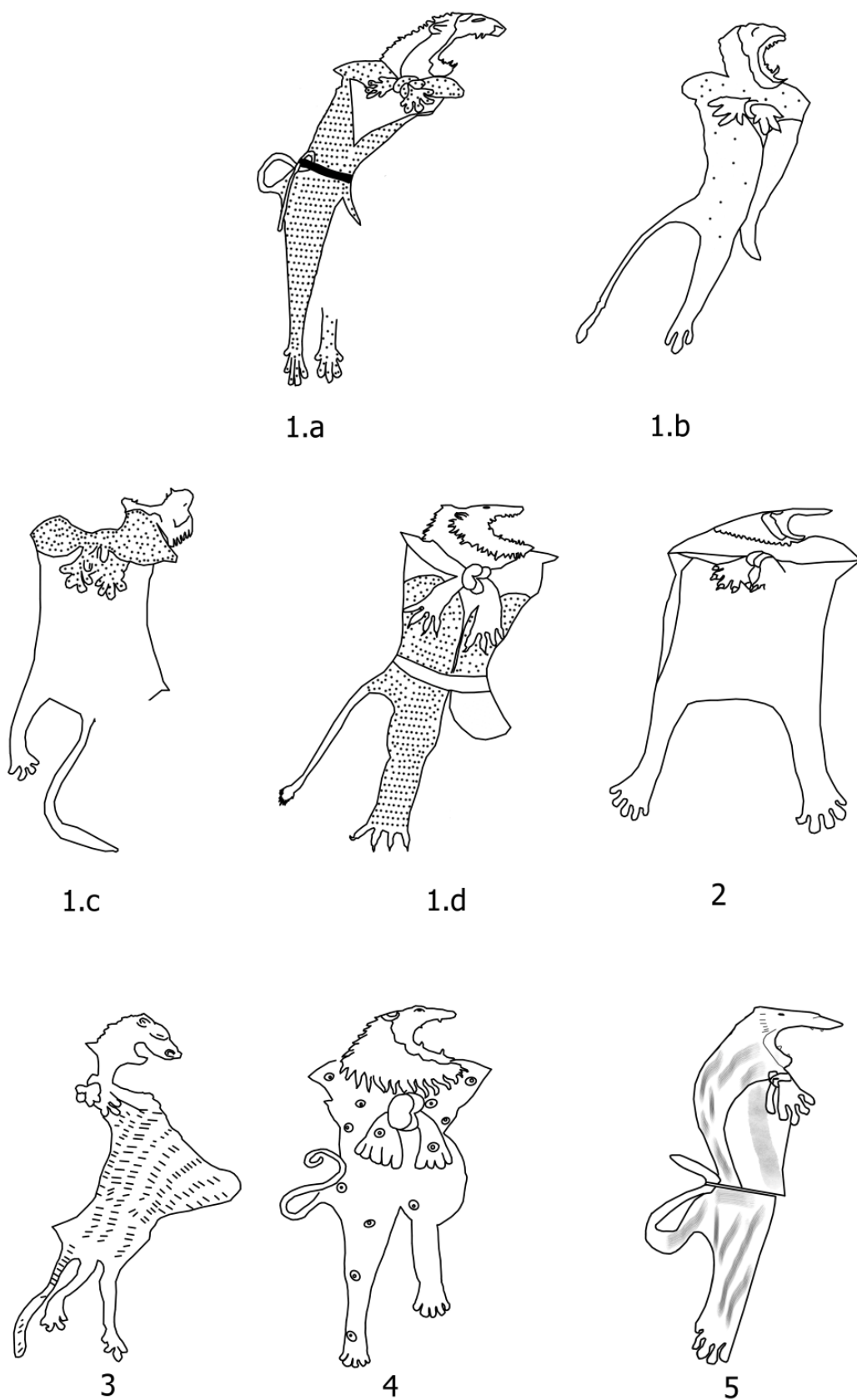


Fig. 5. Drawing of Herakles lion-skins on Attic red-figure vases. (1.a: Boston MFA 99.538; 1.b: Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 1925.30.34; 1.c: Berlin, Antikensammlung F4027; 1.d: Dresden, Staatl. Kunstsammlungen 288; 2: New York MMA 13.233; 3: Adolphseck Schloss Fasanerie 77; 4: Brussels Musees Royaux R296; 5: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4227).

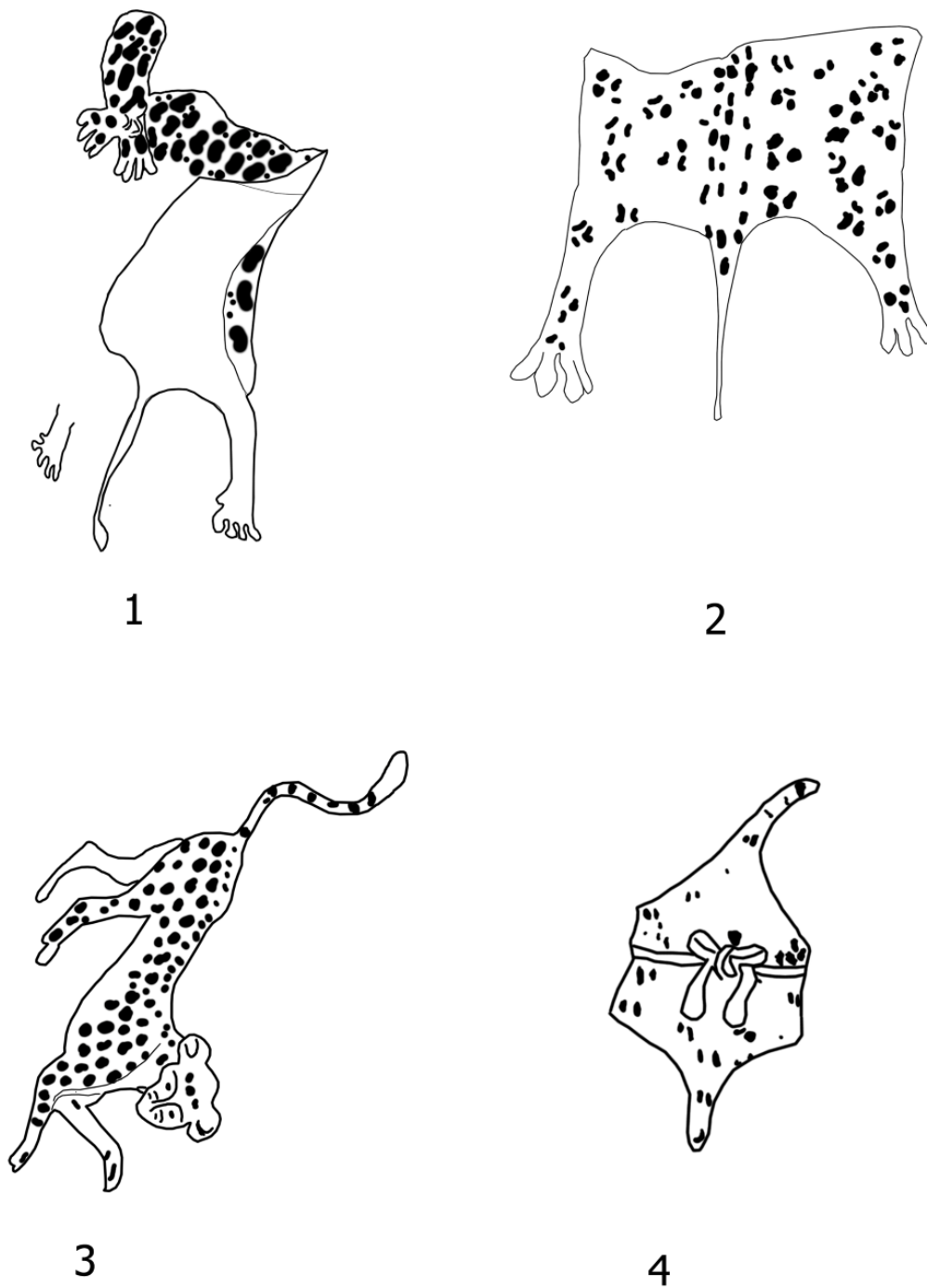


Fig. 6. Drawing of Dionysos panther and deer-skins on Attic red-figured vases. (1: London, BM E443; 2: Rome, Villa Giulia 50388; 3: Paris, Louvre G250; 4: Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls Universität S101382).

with dense dots only in the area of the knot (Fig. 5.1c)²⁸ and with dots everywhere, except in the area of the knot - or only a few scattered dots in that area (Fig. 5.1d).²⁹ The second type is that of the undecorated lion-skin, reserved, i.e. left in the color of background clay: this frequently occurs (Fig. 5.2).³⁰ The third type of lion-skin is decorated with vertical short lines (Fig. 5.3).³¹ Another type of lion-skin decoration, rarer than the previous ones, has a decoration with circles (Fig. 5.4)³² and another type is fashioned with long lines of diluted glaze (Fig. 5.5).³³ All these

²⁸ Berlin Antikensammlung F4027: *BAPD* no. 206280; *ARV*² 551,5; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1325 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. London, BM E176: *BAPD* no. 205575; *ARV*² 49710; Add. 2250; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Nessos no. 61. Newark (N.J.) Mus. 68.11: *BAPD* no. 11550; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 127 [S. Paspalas]. Toledo (Ohio) Art Mus. 1961.25: *BAPD* no. 200731; *ARV*² 90.36, 1625; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 135 [S. Paspalas]. London, Art Market Sotheby's 14/12/1987 (lost): *BAPD* no. 44054; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Syleus no. 6 [J. H. Oakley].

²⁹ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. 288: *BAPD* no. 200096; *ARV*² 19; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 17 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Copenhagen NM 3293: *BAPD* no. 202489; *ARV*² 251.36; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Syleus no. 2 [J. H. Oakley].

³⁰ New York, MMA 12.231.2: *BAPD* no. 203221; *ARV*² 3196; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1559 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Toulouse, Mus. St. Raymond 26.307: *BAPD* no. 231138; *ARV*² 1524,7; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1566 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Paris, Louvre G263: *BAPD* no. 212347; *ARV*² 341,89; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2189 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Bologna, Museo Civico 228: *BAPD* no. 205736; *ARV*² 511,3; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2869 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. New York MMA 13.233: *BAPD* no. 201666; *ARV*² 183,13; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2958 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Vatican 573: *BAPD* no. 200211; *ARV*² 36; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2994 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Rome, Villa Giulia 27250: *BAPD* no. 201036; *ARV*² 1248; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3027 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Munich, Antikensammlungen 7517: *BAPD* no. 201726; *ARV*² 189,78; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3044 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Bochum, Un. S1085: *BAPD* no. 46410; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3084 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, NM 12542: *BAPD* no. 218276; *ARV*² 1456,4; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3137 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Berlin, Staatliche Museum. F.2164: *BAPD* no. 201663; *ARV*² 183,10; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3370 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. London, BM E290: *BAPD* no. 207611; *ARV*² 1571; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Geras no. 1 [H.A. Shapiro]. Private Collection: *BAPD* no. 401; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkyoneus no. 12 [L. J. Balmaseda]. Berlin Antikensammlung 2263: *BAPD* no. 200521; *ARV*² 1599.19; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 62 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras]. London, BM E45: *BAPD* no. 203248; *ARV*² 316.8,1645; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 67 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras]. Ferrara Mus. Naz. 609 (T499): *BAPD* no. 204521; *ARV*² 415.2,1652; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 16 [A.F. Laurens]. Athens, NM 19568: *BAPD* no. 205795; *ARV*² 517,7;1657; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 19 [A.F. Laurens]. New York MMA 15.27: *BAPD* no. 206613; *ARV*² 574,9; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 23 [A.F. Laurens]. Bari Museo Civico 1397: *BAPD* no. 213674; *ARV*² 1053,44; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 28 [A.F. Laurens]. Paris, Louvre G50: *BAPD* no. 201718; *ARV*² 188,70;1632; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 32 [A.F. Laurens]. Bologne, Museo Civico 196: *BAPD* no. 206074; *ARV*² 537,8; *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereus no. 46 [M. Pipili]. Copenhagen NM 3877: *BAPD* no. 200523; *ARV*² 1573; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 20 [S. Paspalas]. London, BM E8: *BAPD* no. 200524; *ARV*² 63.88; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 107 [S. Paspalas]. London, BM E73: *BAPD* no. 201754; *ARV*² 192.106; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 108 [S. Paspalas]. Rome, Villa Giulia: *BAPD* no. 201940; *ARV*² 206,131; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos no. 118 [S. Paspalas]. Altenburg 233: *BAPD* no. 201142; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Persephone no. 268 (A) [G. Güntner]. Palermo Mus. Reg. N.I. 26992: *BAPD* no. 43574; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkyoneus no. ad 5 [L. J. Balmaseda]. Malibu. Getty Mus. 84.AE.974: *BAPD* no. 16201; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkyoneus no. add. 6 [L. J. Balmaseda].

³¹ Newark Mus. 28.203: *BAPD* no. 41696; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 62 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. London, BM E244: *BAPD* no. 202491; *ARV*² 1481; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1528 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 397: *BAPD* no. 202583; *ARV*² 285,8; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1561 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Adolphseck Schloss Fasanerie 77: *BAPD* no. 217589; *ARV*² 1346,1; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2310 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. London, BM E321: *BAPD* no. 207856; *ARV*² 670,10; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3094 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Kerameikos 3737: *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3188 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Bremen, Private Collection: *BAPD* no. 214642; *ARV*² 1107,4; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3125 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Angers, Mus. Princé 285-19(29): *BAPD* no. 15588; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 1508 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Vatican 16509: *BAPD* no. 207224; *ARV*² 623,72; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3234 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, NM 2192: *BAPD* no. 211360; *ARV*² 863,32; *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereus no. 48 [M. Pipili]. London, BM E370: *BAPD* no. 215017; *ARV*² 1134,7; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Omphale no. 2 [J. Boardman]. New York MMA 08.258.21: *BAPD* no. 214585; *ARV*² 1086,61; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Peirithoos no. 73.

³² Brussels Musees Royaux R296: *BAPD* no. 202141; *ARV*² 1619; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 40 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Berlin, Antikensammlungen F2271; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 61 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2083 (V786): *BAPD* no. 205729; *ARV*² 511.1,1657; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 213 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Altenburg 233: *BAPD* no. 201142; *ARV*² 137,1; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2811 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Melbourne, Victoria 1730/4: *BAPD* no. 201048; *ARV*² 125.20,128; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkyoneus no. 11 [L. J. Balmaseda]. Tarquinia Mus. Naz. RC 2066: *BAPD* no. 201051; *ARV*² 126,23; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Phobos no. 3.

³³ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4227: *BAPD* no. 213392; *ARV*² 1028,11; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1477 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Berlin Staatliche Museum VI 3154: *BAPD* no. 202454; *ARV*² 245,4; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no.

motifs are intended to show the coat of the lion-skin, but none of them match the thick dots of the skin depicted in the Athens National Museum krater.³⁴

However, this thick-dotted decoration definitely does seem to match up better with the *pardalis*, the panther-skin, as worn by Dionysos. Dionysos appears wearing a *pardalis* in Attic iconography after ca. 560 BC, in Gigantomachy scenes.³⁵ Furthermore he is depicted reclining on panther-skins on Attic red-figure vases of the same period.³⁶ The written sources further confirm all this.³⁷ Two main distinct types of *pardalides* can be observed in the red-figure iconography, connected to the depictions of Dionysos, one with thick dots (Fig. 6.1),³⁸ and a second one with thick lines (Fig. 6.2),³⁹ while there are rarer types too, such as a decoration with splashes, like ivy leaves, or circles.⁴⁰ The same motifs can be found on depictions of live panthers themselves (Fig. 6.3).⁴¹ Dionysos is also depicted in deer-skin whose shapes are often like the panther skin, but it is even harder to identify them without the paws or head (Fig. 6.4).⁴² From this sample it can be observed that the main difference between a lion-skin and a *pardalis* (or even a *nebris*), as depicted in Attic red-figure iconography, is that the decoration of the first is made up by thin motifs (lines, dots, circles) and the second by considerably thicker motifs. These reflect the real animal's fur, and more specifically the dots that cover the skin of the panthers. Even if the Greek vase-painters had never seen a live lion or a panther, they might

1560 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Boston MFA 01.8076: *BAPD* no. 209664; *ARV*² 785,1; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1563 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Oxford, Ashmolean 1890.26 (V322): *BAPD* no. 207278; *ARV*² ; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1678 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Berlin Staatliche Museum 3232: *BAPD* no. 200980; *ARV*² 117.2, 1627, 1577; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2586 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Trieste, Museo Civico S.424: *BAPD* no. 202325; *ARV*² 217,2; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 2873 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Vatican 16573: *BAPD* no. 201656; *ARV*² 182,3; *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3186 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, NM Acr. 288: *LIMC* IV, s.v. Eurytos I no. 5. Brussels, Mus. Roy: *BAPD* no. 205305; *ARV*² 445,256; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no. 83 [P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras]. Rome, Villa Giulia: *BAPD* no. 200468; *ARV*² 72,24; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 12 [A.F. Laurens]. Basel, Private Collection: *BAPD* no. 11081; *LIMC* III, s.v. Bousiris no. 25 [A.F. Laurens]. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 1087: *BAPD* no. 203008; *ARV*² 292,34;1642; *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereus no. 44 [M. Pipili]. Paris, Louvre Cp. 10777: *BAPD* no. 202183; *ARV*² 234,8; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos I no. 4 [S. Paspalas]. New York, MMA 91.1.462: *BAPD* no. 202330; *ARV*² 234,1; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Kyknos I no. 5 [S. Paspalas]. Holy de Bameville (lost): *BAPD* no. 205069; *ARV*² 429,25,1568; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Syleus no. 1 [J. H. Oakley]. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2306 (3406): *BAPD* no. 202086; *ARV*² 225,1; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Persephone no. 279 [G. Güntner].

³⁴ Depictions of lion-skins, within the *LIMC* sample used, which resemble to on Cat. no. 1 can be found on South Italian vases and not Attic: London, BM F131: *RVApI* 86,153²; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 911 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. St. Petersburg, Hermitage B299 (St. 1775): *LIMC* V, s.v. Herakles no. 3373 [J. Boardman *et al.*].

³⁵ Carpenter 1986, 55.

³⁶ Benevento T121: *BAPD* no. 28061. Torino 41119: *BAPD* no. 8031.

³⁷ The skins worn by maenads and satyrs were not taken into account, because it is not sure if they are panther-skins in each and every instance. Again *LIMC* depictions were taken as a sample, and categorized here to ascertain the types of its decoration, to compare them with the Athens Museum calyx krater. This catalog does not claim to be comprehensive.

³⁸ Madrid, Museo Nacional 32656: *BAPD* no. 205606; *ARV*² 499,20 *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 312 [C. Gaspari]. Berlin, Antikensammlung F2278: *BAPD* no. 200108; *ARV*² 21,1; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 499 [C. Gaspari]. Bologna, Museo Civico 338: *BAPD* no. 206890; *ARV*² 595,65; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 611 [C. Gaspari]. London, BM E443: *BAPD* no. 203003; *ARV*² 292,29; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 628 [C. Gaspari].

³⁹ London British Museum E8: *BAPD* no. 200524; *ARV*² 63,88; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Gigantes no. 365 [F. Vian]. Tübingen Univ. S101382: *BAPD* no. 5698; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 80 [C. Gaspari]. London British Museum E439: *BAPD* no. 203092; *ARV*² 298,1643; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 151 [C. Gaspari]. Munich Antikensammlung 8732 (2344): *BAPD* no. 201659; *ARV*² 182,6; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 311 [C. Gaspari]. Rome, Villa Giulia 50388: *BAPD* no. 200550; *ARV*² 65,114; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 615 [C. Gaspari].

⁴⁰ St. Petersburg, State Ermitage Museum 1149 (St 1274): *BAPD* vase; 206924 *ARV*² 598,2; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 621 [C. Gaspari].

⁴¹ On the contrary, lions do not have their fur decorated and drawn in paint, but they are reserved (and so in the orange color of the clay). For panthers themselves represented, see Paris, Louvre G250: *BAPD* no. 203850; *ARV*² 365,58 *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 297 [C. Gaspari] (panther with thick dots). Berlin Staatliche Museum F2321: *BAPD* no. 203429; *ARV*² 333,3 *LIMC* IV, s.v. Gigantes no. 369 [F. Vian] (panther with ivy-like splashes).

⁴² Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls Universität S101382: *BAPD* no. 5698; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 80 [C. Gaspari].



Fig. 7. Reclining male Figure D from the sculpture of the Parthenon, Athens. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

have seen their skins.⁴³ Therefore the skin on which the central figure is reclining finds closer parallels to panther-skins, rather than lion-skins.⁴⁴ Here it must be noted that an animal skin in Greek imagery was not merely decorative, but it carried a meaning.⁴⁵ In this case the meaning should be: the vase-painter aims to portray a feature, suitable for Dionysos.

I return now to the first difference observed, the posture of the figure's body. In contrast with the male figures in the other vases of the series, which are clearly depicted as seated, the male figure here lies in a relaxed half-reclining position on an animal's skin, which is placed a little higher than the top step of the structure: in fact it would appear that skin and figure are floating above the ground, or are supported somehow by the club on which the figure's left elbow rests or is propped up.⁴⁶ Parallels with other images of Herakles reclining on a lion-skin do exist, but they are few.⁴⁷ When he does recline, Herakles rarely does it on a lion-skin; if the skin is present, it is usually depicted as hanging on the wall or is in the background. Further, if we consider Herakles as a god and not as a hero on the krater, as Annie Verbanck-Piérard has proposed, he does not need his lion-skin in an apotheosis scene.⁴⁸ And finally the lion-skin is

⁴³ It is unlikely that there were any lions in central Greece or the Peloponnese at this period, or that many Athenians had ever seen a live one (Widdows 2006, 20).

⁴⁴ It can be said that the decoration of that skin is in the painter's personal manner (and so not open to categorization), but the painting of it (with thick dots) seems intentional, especially if compared with the satyr on his right, whose skin also has thick dots.

⁴⁵ Widdows 2006, 16–7.

⁴⁶ Exceptional is the earliest vase of the series (Cat. no. 5), dating in the middle of the 5th century BC, where Herakles is depicted seated in a four-column construction, wearing his lion-skin and holding his club. Note that the lion-skin is worn with its head clearly depicted on Herakles' head, serving as the hero's helmet.

⁴⁷ In Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16509: *BADP* Vase 207224; *ARV*² 623,72; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 3234 [J. Boardman *et al.*] and in New York Private Collection (Cohen 1998, pl. 17 fig. 11). Herakles reclines on his lion-skin, whose head is clearly depicted in both cases. See Cohen 1998.

⁴⁸ Verbanck-Piérard 2013, 29. There could be exceptions, as Herakles' nature is not always clear.

depicted with its head.⁴⁹ Indeed, the head of the lion is a most important feature for Herakles, as it symbolizes the power, the brute strength of the hero; it is depicted, even when Herakles is just holding his *dora*. When Dionysos is found reclining on animal skins, he does not need the head to be visible at all, quite contrary to his half-brother. The absent head on the krater represents a deliberate choice on the artist's part: in so doing, he removes any reference to Herakles and the skin of the invulnerable Nemean lion. The reclining figure on an animal's skin, then, must find better parallels in Dionysos rather than in Herakles (the presence of the club, loosely held, will be explained below).

More positively, one should note the Dionysos figure from the west pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 7), dated to ca. 432 BC. It provides a close iconographical parallel to the Athens National Museum krater: the posture of the body is the same, the hair is short and a foot indicates the existence of a *pardalis*, but no head of the animal is carved. The Dionysos on the Acropolis was in prominent and plain view from at least 432 BC: the vase-painter must have been aware of it for much of his life. This particular statue was probably one of the most (if not *the* most) accessible images of the god, both for artisans and the potential vase-buyers. Moreover, it was on the Parthenon that Dionysos was first represented as a young god, a new form that thereafter set the standard in vase painting, exerting a profound influence, both stylistically and iconographically.⁵⁰

Here too another significant feature must be noted: the face of the figure on the vase, which is in frontal view. His gaze though is directed neither towards the other figures in the images nor to the viewer of the vase, but has an introspective posture. Frontal faces occur rarely in Attic vase painting. Although neither Herakles nor Dionysos are regularly represented frontally, the frontal face is better suited to Dionysos,⁵¹ as he is associated with masks and satyrs, which are represented with frontal faces more often than other figures, rather than to Herakles.⁵² The frontal face may be another and further indication that the Parthenon's Dionysos provided the iconographic model for our vase painter. All in all, the sum of the above individual clues would rule the identification with Herakles out; the central figure is again better seen as Dionysos.

The above thoughts are supported by a damaged, but interesting figure depicted on the vase, neglected by previous scholarship, perhaps due to its condition and position.⁵³ To the

⁴⁹ In some votive reliefs, paralleled to the vase series with the tetrastyle structure, Herakles has his lion-skin with the lion-head indicated (Boston MFA 96.696, *LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles no. 1378 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Rome Mus. Barraco, *LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles no. 1380 [J. Boardman *et al.*]. Athens, NM 1404, *LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles no. 1377 [J. Boardman *et al.*]). The reliefs comprise a distinct category with many differences from the vases. In vase-painting, when the lion-skin is not worn by the hero, it is usually hanging to the side and the head is normally represented frontally, for example: Paris, Louvre G103: *BAPD* no. 200064; *ARV*² 14,2. London, BM E44: *BAPD* no. 203219; *ARV*² 318–9,2.

⁵⁰ During the last decades of the 5th century BC, the final visual transformation of the god has occurred; since by then he is depicted as a beardless, naked or semi-naked youth; the first examples on pottery can be found on vases by the Dinos painter. This change in the imagery of Dionysos has been attributed to Pheidias and the Dionysos statue from the Parthenon's pediment, which established a new iconographical type. Most specialists agree that this figure is Dionysos, although some suggest that he is in fact Herakles. See Palagia 1993, 19–20, 60; Carpenter 1993, 206; Carpenter 1997, 85–103, 122; Traficante 2007, 77; Kefalidou 2011, 126; Moraw 2011, 233–52; Isler-Kerényi 2015, 8–9, 88, 150, 162, 166–210. For a new reading identifying this figure as Ares see Stewart 2016, 590.

⁵¹ Dionysos' frontal face is attested on two black-figure vases: On the François vase (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209: *BAPD* no. 300000 and on Boulogne, Mus. Communal 559: *BAPD* no. 4508.

⁵² Mackay 2001, 24. For images of Dionysos on red-figure vases with cult scenes, see Durand and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982. For Archaic frontal faces: Korshak 1987, with bibliography of previous scholarship.

⁵³ It is only mentioned in Carabatea 1997, 135, where it is referred to as another satyr. But a satyr would not hold a club and would not be that large.



Fig. 8. Attic red-figured calyx krater 14902 in Athens.

left of the naked satyr, half covered by the vase's handle and only preserved from below the waist stands a male figure in an animal skin (Fig. 8). He holds a club with his left hand and has the other hand on his waist, which makes him the only figure in the scene without an offering. Remarkable is the height of the figure; although poorly preserved it is clear that he was taller than any other: his waist is a bit higher than the left satyr's chest, although their feet are placed on the same level.⁵⁴ A figure in this manner by far taller than the others indicates that it belongs to the sphere of gods and heroes. Such a figure holding a club and wearing a skin should be identified as Herakles.⁵⁵ There could not co-exist two Herakles figures in the same scene. Which in turn corroborates the determination that the reclining figure is not Herakles. Did the artist deliberately choose to swap the accustomed roles of Dionysos and Herakles? the first does appear in a vase in this series as one of the attendants of Herakles, looking towards the baldachin.⁵⁶

This figure's head would have reached the level of the horizontal object set well above the left satyr's head: the item was interpreted by Folkert van Straten as a *bakchos*, in an allusion to

⁵⁴ The figure is relaxed, with the left foot back of the right foot. The left foot is not entirely painted because it was at the back of the handle and the artist could not or did not care to paint it. It looks rather like a statue but it is not, as it would be colored in white and in a different pose. For Herakles present both as a statue and as the hero himself on an Apulian column krater (New York, MMA 50.11.4), see Marconi 2011. Observe too that the satyr to the right of the building has his left foot unfinished, again because of the handle, which helps to confirm the above reading.

⁵⁵ Unfortunately only the interior side of the skin is preserved, with no decoration on it, which does not help into identifying it as lion-skin, as interiors of skins are normally not painted.

⁵⁶ Cat. no. 13.

Herakles' initiation in Eleusis.⁵⁷ Earlier studies had interpreted it as a club, which seems much more probable, as it is painted in exactly the same way as the two other definite clubs on the vase, in the hands of the reclining and the tall figures. Van Straten's argument was that the position is not suitable for a club, but neither it is for a *bakchos*. Even if the artist intended to depict a *bakchos*, he would not have painted it in a manner indistinguishable to that of the other clubs – a *bakchos* on a vase such as this would be more likely to be rendered in added white.⁵⁸ So with this object also being recognized as a club, there are now three clubs in the same scene: one used as a prop for the body of the reclined central figure, identified as Dionysos, one held by the real Herakles to the left, and one hovering somewhere around Herakles' head level. This apparent oddity raises more questions about the meaning of the scene and role-exchange argument. To investigate further, a brief review of the connections existing between Dionysos and Herakles is needed.

Dionysos and Herakles have a lot of characteristics in common, which does sound somewhat unlikely at first utterance. Parallels between Dionysos and Herakles exist in myth, cult and iconography. Both were offspring of Zeus and a mortal woman, both were hated by Hera, both had gone to the Realm of Hades and returned, both were initiates in the Eleusinian Mysteries and both of them had been connected with major Attic festivals, established or re-established during the first half of the 5th century BC. In iconography they are attested together under certain circumstances. It may be significant that when the two half-brothers occur together, they usually are both shown reclining, in a sympotic context.⁵⁹ On a red-figure cup, today in Würzburg,⁶⁰ and dating ca. 390–380 BC, not only are they depicted walking together, after a *symposion*, but they look like each other, only recognizable apart by their attributes, Herakles by the club and Dionysos by the thyrsus. Facially, they are similar to the central figure of the Athens National Museum krater, namely beardless and short-haired. It is possible that the parallel imagery employed in some depictions of Dionysos and Herakles may reflect a popular understanding of connections between them.⁶¹

Bearing the above in mind, it becomes quite plausible that when the vase painter was decorating the krater, he had in mind the similarities of the cult, mythology and iconography of Herakles and Dionysos, and attempted to play with them. Dionysos occurs in a variety of environments with references to theater, ritual and wine-drinking. The artist could have been taking advantage of the parallels in their iconography: Herakles is depicted on other vases in the series and in the presence of satyrs or kantharoi. Dionysos is also present in some of the series where Herakles is in a tetrasyle structure.⁶² Because these features generally accompany Dionysos, perhaps the vase painter found it easier and more appropriate to depict Dionysos in a setting used for Herakles. But would this have been understood and acceptable to the Athenians at the dawn of the 4th century BC? The creators of the imagery in all media were guided by the values and the interests of their cultural milieu. These images must have appealed to and answered the expectations and the needs of the Athenian consumers for whom it was pro-

⁵⁷ Van Straten 1979, 190–1.

⁵⁸ See London BM F68: *BAPD* no. 218148; *ARV*² 1446.1, 1693; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Hephaistos no. 111(B) [A. Hermans and A. Jacquemin], in which there is a clear difference between Herakles' club and *bakchos* (Lapatin 2006, 320–1).

⁵⁹ For Dionysos and Herakles similarities, see Carpenter 1986, 98–123. For their iconography, see Vollkommer 1988, 51–2.

⁶⁰ Würzburg H 5011: *BAPD* no. 340164; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 584 [C. Gaspari], Vollkommer 1988, 51, no. 386, fig. 68.

⁶¹ Carpenter 1986, 99. Although Dionysos and Herakles are two of the most popular subjects on Attic iconography, it is unlikely for the iconographical parallels to be accidental.

⁶² As attendant: Cat. no. 13. On the reverse side of the vase: Cat. no. 4, 14.



Fig. 9. Attic red-figured calyx krater 14902 in Athens.

duced. To attempt an answer, one must look deeper into the cultic relationships of Dionysos and Herakles in that specific context, the four-columned structure.

It has been suggested that there is a link between these representations and the *Oinisteria*, which is part of the Apatouria festival. Verbanck-Piérard proposed that the Apatouria was devoted, in addition to the gods of phratries, Zeus Phratrios, Athena Phratia and Apollon Patroos, to Herakles as well, based on this vase-painting series.⁶³ Dionysos had succeeded in winning a footing in the festival, as he exists in the very founding myth of the festival. This says that the Athenians and the Boeotians were at war over Attica's northern district; the Athenian general Melanthos challenged the Boeotian king Xanthos to single combat. During the fight Dionysos, dressed in a black goatskin, appeared behind Xanthos. Melanthos called out to his opponent that two against one was not fair; as Xanthos dropped his guard and looked round to identify his unknown ally, Melanthos seized the opportunity and killed him. The Apatouria festival was instituted because of the deception which had won the victory over Xanthos.⁶⁴ The explanation given by Parke is that Dionysos had succeeded in securing acceptance in the devotion of at least some of the *phratries*, sometime in the mid-sixth century BC, when he was worshiped on the North Attic border. The celebrations and toasts which made up no small part of the activities of the Apatouria would readily suggest libations in honor of the wine god.⁶⁵ So if the tetrastyle structure is really connected with the Apatouria festival and the *phratries*, Dionysos would have the same claim to be involved as Herakles would.

⁶³ Verbanck-Piérard 2013, 27–8.

⁶⁴ *Apate* is the Greek word for deception.

⁶⁵ Parke 1972, 90. For the Apatouria, see Parker 2005, 458–61.

From this cultic point of view both Dionysos and Herakles could both have been worshiped by *phratries*, but where does that leave the tetrastyle structure, the major problem of the series? Annie Verbanck-Piérard has shown convincingly that this kind of monopteros in Greek art and architecture was used for the cult of Herakles, but was not restricted to it, as structures like that appear in vase-paintings with Apollo and Artemis.⁶⁶ But Dionysos is also depicted in front of a four-column structure on a fragment of calyx-krater by the Meidias Painter in Jena, of the same date as the calyx-krater of the Athens National Museum.⁶⁷ The tetrastyle is of the same type there as in the series here, namely consisting of four columns placed at the corners of a square foundation and supporting an epistyle; the figure is unmistakably identified as Dionysos by the thyrsos he is holding.⁶⁸ Moreover on a red-figure chous of the second half of the 5th century BC, a statue of a seated Dionysos holding a thyrsos and a kantharos is depicted inside a portable baldachin.⁶⁹ So the image of Dionysos in a tetrastyle is not something without parallels. The best-known image of Dionysos in a tetrastyle is in fact his cult statue from Ikaria, in the Athens National Museum. This represents the god seated under a four-column baldachin, as shown by Georgos Despinis, who makes it clear that four-column structures are also connected to Dionysos.⁷⁰ Despinis was the first to mention the similarities between the Dionysos baldachin from Ikaria and the depiction of baldachins in the series of the vases of Herakles in four-columned structures, on votive reliefs to Herakles and in vase paintings.⁷¹ In all likelihood Dionysos' cult statue from Ikaria, the statue from the Parthenon's pediment and some basic cultic similarities between the two sons of Zeus were all well-known both to the artist and his customers.

The reverse side of the vase shows two youths, flanking a Nike (Fig. 9). Nike holds a torch, the youth to the right is naked, wearing a white tainia on his head and seated on a hydria, and the youth to the left in a short himation approaches them. The first youth is interpreted as a winner of a torch race.⁷² When the central figure of the main side was interpreted as Herakles, the imagery mentioned above was connected with games in honor of him.⁷³ However this composition on the reverse side of the vase does not affect the new interpretation of the central figure as Dionysos. The imagery of the one side of a vessel is not always connected to that of the other. Furthermore, scenes with athletes on the reverse side are also found on other vases with Dionysian imagery on the main.⁷⁴

Based on the observations in the iconography of the vase noted above – the *pardalis*, the wreath, the posture of the figure, and the parallels existing in painting and sculpture, it is argued that the central figure is Dionysos adopting a Heraklean pose. To detect possible written testimonia to support the above and so render this study complete, the vase itself must be put aside for the moment, and the scope of inquiry broadened, to take in its historical context, and especially the theater. At the Lenaia of 505 BC, Aristophanes presented the *Frogs*, one of the most studied of plays, which bears some obvious resemblances with the vase under investi-

⁶⁶ Verbanck-Piérard 2013, 31.

⁶⁷ Jena 382: *BAPD* no. 16452. This four-column construction appears to have a roof. See Kathariou 2002, 32.

⁶⁸ For the thyrsus, see von Papen 1905, 31, 35–6.

⁶⁹ New York, MMA 24.97.34: *BAPD* no. 4091; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no. 825 [C. Gaspari]. For recent bibliography on this vase, see Tiverios 2016, 613–4.

⁷⁰ Despinis 2007, 114–26. In light of this new data the old thoughts of Dörpfeld (1921) about the identification of Dionysion in Limnai are reconsidered.

⁷¹ Despinis 2007, 131–4.

⁷² Kefalidou 1996, 223.

⁷³ Carabatea 1997, 139.

⁷⁴ Ferrara 2738: *BAPD* no. 206865; *ARV*² 264 (593.41); London E492: *BAPD* no. 207166; *ARV*² 270 (619.16); Munich 8732 (2344): *BAPD* no. 201659; *ARV*² 186 (182.6).

gation, as at the play's very beginning a figure steps on to the stage with a lion-skin upon his shoulders, holding a club and wearing a female saffron robe and buskins.⁷⁵

The lion-skin and the club are the almost unmistakable insignia of Herakles,⁷⁶ but the saffron robe and the buskins qualify as Dionysian attributes. The complexities of the relationship between Dionysos and Herakles in the comedy's prologue have been extensively discussed by Ismene Lada-Richards, who revealed the paradox that "Dionysian" and "Heraklean" polarities are not only sharply differentiated, but also inextricably interwoven. Dionysos' "Heraklean" role-playing functions in such a way as to invite the spectator to conceive of the god in the position and the role of an actor.⁷⁷ Dionysos interweaves in his persona the two antithetical viewpoints from which the phenomenon of "playing the other" is conceivable, the ritual and the theatrical, both of which are markedly Dionysian. The primary dimension of Dionysos' *dramatis persona* in the *Frogs* is theatricality. From the beginning of the play he steps onto the stage dressed up as Herakles, that is, like a true actor, who sets out to incarnate someone other than himself. In the perspective of an ancient Greek audience, a deep affinity exists between Dionysos and acting. Dionysos is the divine prototype for the Greek actor's stage metamorphoses.⁷⁸ Despite the many examples of vases decorated under the influence of the theater and the popularity of the *Frogs*, no Attic vase known depicts a scene influenced by the play.⁷⁹ What is important for our survey is that at this comedy, set only few years before the production of the vase, Dionysos appears dressed as Herakles.

Returning to the Athens National Museum krater and reviewing it within the particular time-span of the late 5th century BC, after Aristophanes' *Frogs* had been put on, can any influence on the vase from the play be observed? It has been established that, based on the iconographical, archaeological and textual data analyzed, the central figure is Dionysos transfigured into Herakles. The feeble, unwarlike central figure of the vase is unable to carry off his posturing as Herakles with success, just as the comic Dionysos of the *Frogs* is unable to do with his borrowed identity. But the vase-painting cannot be classed as one of theatrical character, as it does not present any of the criteria by which one may be recognized.⁸⁰ The figure from the Athens National Museum krater may only be broadly associated with the idea set forth by Aristophanes, of Dionysos in disguise, it does not depict any particular scene from the play.⁸¹ The *Frogs* was a comedy and not a satyr drama – there are no satyrs in it, but the presence of satyrs on the

⁷⁵ *Frogs* 46–7: (Ἡρακλῆς) ὀρῶν λεοντῆν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην. τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ρόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην. *Frogs* 108–10: (Διώνυσος) ἀλλ' ὥνπερ ἔνεκα τήνδε τὴν σκευὴν ἔχων ἦλθον κατὰ σὴν μίμησιν. *Frogs* 494–7: (Διώνυσος) ἴθι νυν ἐπειδὴ ληματίας κἀνδρείος εἶ, σὺ μὲν γενοῦ γῶ τὸ ρόπαλον τοῦτι λαβὼν καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν, εἴπερ ἀφοβόσπλαγχνος εἶ· ἐγὼ δ' ἔσομαι σοι σκευοφόρος ἐν τῷ μέρει. I am indebted to my colleague A. Bantziou for the useful conversations about Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

⁷⁶ Bérard 1983, 115.

⁷⁷ Lada-Richards 1999, 9.

⁷⁸ Lada-Richards 1999, 159, 163–4.

⁷⁹ The only possible scene from the *Frogs* known to me is depicted on an Apulian bell-krater, dated from 375 to 350 BC (formerly in Berlin, Staatliche Museum F3046, and bought in Naples at 1847), as was persuasively argued by Oliver Taplin (1993, 45–7), and generally approved (Walsh 2009, 234).

⁸⁰ For the criteria in order to characterize a vase-painting as of theatrical character, see Kefalidou 2008, 649–70.

⁸¹ Dionysos in the *Frogs* also wears a saffron robe and buskins, qualified as Dionysian attributes which are not present in the calyx-krater. But this is not a problem, as it is not needful for the vase-painting to correspond in every point with the play, in order to claim that they are related. This is shown by the only known vase representation, as shown by Oliver Taplin, in which Dionysos has the club and the skin, as in the play, but he also carries a bow. Also the Herakles-figure on the vase has neither *krokotos* nor *kothornoi*, on the contrary he appears to be naked, as in cat. no. 1 (Taplin 1993, 45–7). We must remember that the vase painters who lived and worked in Athens of the Classical period, had the opportunity to view but once a play, if at all; they are perhaps more likely to have been told about it.

vase can introduce a connection with the theater and should also be considered. It must not be forgotten that the art of transformation is intrinsically Dionysian, as a lack of stable identity and fluidity of shape lie at the very core of the experience that Dionysos creates for his votaries. And, of course, this very vase would be used in a sympotic context.⁸² In such, the most suitable god is Dionysos, the god of wine. If the influence from theater on the vase is accepted, then the question about the three clubs in the scene is easily answered, as is also the unusual position of the third club. Herakles holds his own, Dionysos the one that he used in his dressing up, and the third club was placed above Herakles' head as a symbol, to indicate who the true Herakles is. The number of the clubs, which is unparalleled, may not be accidental: in the *Frogs*, there are three "Heraklean" figures – the real Herakles, Dionysos and his slave Xanthias dressed as Herakles.

As only a small amount of the ancient written sources has survived and is accessible to us, there is space for alternative interpretations about the influences working on the vase painter. The *Frogs* is the closest known parallel, but what if the initial source is lost? We cannot exclude entirely the possibility of a lost myth about changing roles and transfigurations that applied to Herakles, which had separately influenced both Aristophanes and the vase painter. It seems unlikely that the vase painter could create the scene *ex nihilo*, but it might have been based on a rich array of mythical traditions.

Each one of the clues mentioned and analyzed above does not lead inexorably and by itself to the identification here presented. Herakles could wear an ivy wreath, could be with satyrs, he could recline wearing a lion-skin, his lion-skin could even be depicted with thicker dots by a not-so-talented artist and a kantharos can be present. The ivy wreath and the unusual skin, resembling more a *pardalis*, could also be explained by the chronology of the vase at the beginnings of the 4th century BC. Rather it is the accumulation of the mass of observations – all capable of tending in the same direction – that is significant. The coexistence of all these aspects together on a single scene is probably not coincidental. The identification of the reclined figure as Dionysos is much more probable. Moreover, it is only under this perspective that the tall standing figure, which can be none other than Herakles, can be understood. If our interpretation of the ANM krater is correct, then the imagery of this vase constitutes a particular artistic expression drawn from the multiverse of Dionysos, something which has been among his characteristics at least ever since the end of the 5th century BC.

PROVENANCE OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Source: author.

Fig. 2. Source: author.

Fig. 3. Source: G. Kavvadias.

Fig. 4. Source: author.

Fig. 5. Source: author.

Fig. 6. Source: author.

Fig. 7. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 8. Source: author.

Fig. 9. Source: author.

⁸² Lada-Richards 1999, 14.

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