OF MEN AND GODS: A STUDY OF MASCULINITIES REPRESENTED BY SELECT CHARACTERS IN ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE CERAMICS

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Faculty of Humanities

School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics

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2014

DECLARATION

I, Dylan Lindsay, declare that:

(i)   The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

(ii)   This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii)   This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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DYLAN LINDSAY (206518212)

As Supervisor, I hereby approve this dissertation for submission to be examined.

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Dr A. RYAN

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Tangible objects from the past have brought the study of history alive for me from a young age. They changed the study of facts, seemingly dislocated from reality, into something that was tangible, to something to which I could relate. The study of these beautiful ceramics and the ideas which they convey has been both an indulgence and a completely enriching experience. It is, however, an experience which has only been made possible by a very dedicated group of individuals whom I wish to thank here.

ABSTRACT

'What did it mean to be a man in the ancient world?'

Is a question that has troubled scholars working in the Classics since the formalisation of masculinity as a field of study, this question has a central place in the current study. What troubles scholars is that the very nature of our understanding of masculinity is subjective, premised upon the way in which it operates in the modern societies. It is an understanding that is typically explored through the written word, with a stronger emphasis on social and cultural determinates. The problem then arises as to how we interpret sources from the ancient world, without subjecting them to modern bias, and in the case of the topic of this dissertation, how we treat a period where there is a paucity of literature.

This dissertation argues for an alternate theory for the conceptualisation of masculinities for Late Archaic Athens, centring its focus on the rich corpus of Athenian Black-figure ceramics, by testing this theory with two of its popular characters, namely Herakles and Dionysos. At the core of this theory is a reorientation of sources, by focusing on the images rendered on the ceramics as a central resource. To forward this argument, I first suggest a model for the interpretation of general meaning, based on theories borrowed from the study of modern media, and secondly suggest a practical model for the interpretation of masculine meaning reflected in these ceramics by examining masculine markers and ranges of masculinity depicted on them. Both models seek to create a more inclusive understanding of masculinity, supported by investigation and comparison of other visual media of the period, as well as influential literature on the subject.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Why, Patroclus, art thou bathed in tears like a girl, a mere babe, that runneth by her mother's side and biddeth her up, and clutcheth at her gown, and hinder her in her going, and tearfully looketh up at her, till thy mother take her up?"

Achilles' speech to Patroclus

(Hom. *Il.* 16.1)

Patroclus was, by all accounts, a heroic character in the *Iliad.* He is described by Homer to be a great warrior, killing many Trojan heroes. His charge against the Trojans wearing Achilles' armour can be seen, in many ways, to be a self-sacrificing act, which changed the course of the entire battle. He is then, to a modern, Westernised audience, a character emblematic of 'what it is to be a man', where our conceptualisation of manhood is tied up with two aspects which his character displays, namely bravery and sacrifice. His character in the *Iliad* is, however, more complex than the sum of these two elements, as he weeps openly, which for modern audiences, might be considered to be completely foreign to the conceptualisation of 'manliness'. While Achilles' speech *supra* suggests that crying was viewed as anomalous to a Homeric audience, the context of the speech suggests that it is not. There are many instances throughout the *Iliad* where warriors including Achilles, weep; in his case, after the death of Patroclus, Achilles reacts in a manner that a modern Western audience may not directly associate with manliness. How then do we account for these juxtaposed positions, for characters that appear to have paradoxical masculine characteristics?

The answer lies in the way in which the modern Western conceptualisation of masculinity is itself constructed. This understanding has been largely discussed by the field of modern Masculinity Studies[1]. The broader field suggests that the concept of manliness and masculinity is the result of both biological and social determinates resulting in the creation of a paradigm limited to a specific culture, social group, and time period. The masculinity inferred today is a fully modern concept, designed to deal with modern instances of masculinity, and as such does not adequately provide framework for the understanding of masculinity in other periods or cultures. Thus, the conceptualisation of the masculinity of ancient characters provided today is largely biased, presupposing a modern hermeneutics. This creates a

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[1] Such as Connell 2005

historically subjective view of a given character's masculinity, which, as I put forward in this study, creates conditions that result in loss or addition of meaning, as a result of the fact that certain embedded masculinities prove difficult to translate or interpret.

This dissertation addresses the construction of masculinity for one specific period and in one specific medium. The manner in which this is achieved is through both a discursive framework and a practical model, which explores examples that aim to create a richer reading of the masculine constructs depicted in Attic Black-figure ceramics.

The rest of this chapter follows in three main sections. In the first, the background of this topic is introduced in the broadest terms, with some discussion of the most salient issues. The second progresses to a description of the Black-figure medium and masculinity studies, the two main areas of inquiry that inform this project, and concludes with a more precise definition of the aims and scope of the dissertation. Finally, the literature review will locate this study within the context of current academic trends and ideas.

Background

6th century BCE Athens was a civilization marked by great transformation. This was a reform that was not premised on a singular action, but was rather the result of a series of complex social, political, religious and economic changes that would position Athens as one of the foremost Greek states. This complex change is not one easily observable through evidence from the period itself. This century falls into what has come to be known as the 'Greek Archaic', a period of approximately 400 years, often remarked to have very little surviving literary evidence. The gap between the writings of Homer circa the 9th century and the dramatists of the 5th century is filled largely by fragments, some lyrical poetry and the writings of Hesiod. Transformation during this period is often observed through two prisms, namely archaeological evidence, and the comparison between literary evidence from the surrounding periods.

The lyric poets may at first seem to be the best sources to illuminate a study such as this. From the 6th century onwards, these include Alcaeus, Anacreon, Ibycus, Alcman, Stesichorus and Sappho. While these poets provide insight in their construction of ancient gender and sexuality, their deployment in this discussion is not straightforward. As this study focuses on two characters depicted on Black-figure ceramics, where the study explores masculinity for select scenes in which they appear, the content of the poems often do not relate to one another.[2] Further to this, none of these poets are Athenian, and as such, attempting to link their work with these ceramics may prove problematic. Finally, the work that has been

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[2] Of these poets, only Anacreon mentions Dionysos in several of his fragments. However, none of these instances coincide with the scene-types considered for this dissertation.

done using these sources has largely concerned the construction of sexuality. This element of masculinity is one that is considered to be an ancillary element of the character's construction.

The archaeological remains are, however, rich for this period, when compared to the literary evidence. This is composed of a multitude of diverse physical remains, from statues and sculptures to buildings and ceramics. Such archaeological remains are becoming increasingly important for scholars working on this period, as, with the aid of modern academic techniques and interdisciplinary theory, scholars are able to piece together a far greater understanding of both social and cultural aspects pertaining to this period. This study concerns itself with one of these fields of material remains, that of the decorated ceramics known as Black-figure. It poses the question as to whether it is possible to arrive at a more accurate understanding of masculinity through the images created during that period.

Black-figure ceramics, named on account of characters rendered in black glaze on a reserved terracotta background, are both a form of art and the visual representation of Athenian culture. Their decorations include characters from both reality and myth, organised into scenes, which far exceed earlier decorative styles in terms of ingenuity and detail. The advent, popularity and decline of Black-figure ceramics roughly coincides with the 6th century, and through the few remaining examples, it can be seen as one of the most popular forms of decoration from the ancient world. As a style, it was however limited by multiple factors, which include socio-political demands, demands arising from artistic tradition, and the limitation in decoration. These limitations resulted in a style which was relatively standardised, depicting characters and compositional templates in a very similar manner throughout this period. It is these factors, amongst others, which perhaps generated a particular representation of Athenian males and deities, and thus, it is argued to be an important medium on which to focus when considering the concept of masculinity as it was understood in Archaic Athens.

Masculinity, as a concept and as a field of academic research, is relatively new to the Humanities, and newer still in the field of Classical Studies. As a sub-discipline of Gender Studies, it has largely arisen from developments made in Feminist Studies in the late 20th century. Masculinity Studies in its most general sense attempts to define the social operations and manifestations of the male gender, both within the context of society and culture, as well as within sets of biological determinates, resulting in a variety of conceptualisations of the central operational concept of masculinity. These are structured in terms of gender roles and power relationships. It is predominantly a field derived from literary criticism, borrowing various methods of inquiry from fields such as Psychology, Feminist Studies and Media Studies, to arrive at its conclusions about the condition of masculinity. While the study of masculinity is an established field in Classics, it is viewed with some suspicion by those working in this field. This is the

result of a number of different influencing factors, the most prominent being the terminology and manner of inquiry that these studies employ, which are modern, designed for a modern world, and based on modern assumptions employing modern evidence. Combined with a lack of rigid theoretical framework for investigation, this has resulted in a relatively small body of work for the classical world, and smaller still for the period concerned, given the lack of literary evidence. It is the lack of literary evidence from the Archaic Period, which has caused academics writing on ancient masculinities to steer away from the period, either conflating it with later periods with a broader written corpus, or avoiding it altogether.

While the conceptualisation of masculinity as a term may be a modern invention, it is impossible to deny that some concept of masculinity did exist in the ancient world, as examples of this are numerous both in the literary and visual records. While these two forms may not be equal in structure or understanding, they are, however, intrinsically linked. The term masculinity in this dissertation will be employed with the above observation in mind. Masculinity then, exists within a specific society, for a specific period and is dependent on both power relationships as well as other socio-cultural factors. It is typically believed that any change to these factors results in the alteration of the concept of masculinity for a given culture. If this is the case, then it is possible to suggest that the same holds true for the period in question. Indeed, it is possible to observe reform to Attic masculine values and ideals through the literary evidence of the periods both before and after, and through the visual evidence of the period concerned. Hence the Black-figure period, roughly coinciding with the 6th century, is important for understanding evolutions in masculinity for the Archaic Period.

Attic Black-figure Ceramics

Ceramic vessels are the most numerous archaeological finds from the ancient world and constitute much of what is known about various cultures of the period. While the production of ceramic vessels may have initially been purely for functional reasons,[3] decoration soon became a commonly added feature.[4] In the Aegean region, the evolution of decorated ceramics originated in the early Bronze Age, with the conformities of style becoming apparent in this period. Style in ceramic decoration is defined both by the manner in which multiple ceramic vessels cohere to a specific decorative scheme, as well as by their cohesion to specific shapes and materials.

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[3] Used in cooking, for storage, as dining surfaces, and as drinking vessels.
[4] Evidence of decorated ceramic ware exists from the early cultures of Hassuna-Samarra and Halaf, which are dated to the 7th millennium BCE.

It is possible to argue that the evolution of Attic Black-figure originated with the style known as Proto-Geometric, and tracking through the Geometric and Orientalizing periods, the latter is found to exert the greatest influence on the style considered here. The Proto-Geometric and the Geometric periods are defined by their depiction of various shapes, lines, and breaks, with the latter exhibiting crude renderings of animal and humanoid forms. The Orientalising period is defined by its marked experimentation with characters, both human and animal, rather than by decoration in the form of ornamentation. By contrast, the Orientalising period c. 725-625 BCE was named on account of the Eastern influence on its ornamentation,[5] saw ceramics being produced largely in Corinth, and exported throughout mainland Greece.[6] In this style, characters were allowed a larger proportion of the overall decorated area of the ceramic, which was typically organised into bands of decoration, or was in some cases, dependent on the physical confines of the ceramic, allocated as its depictions were into frames.

The Corinthian experimentation towards the end of the period sees the appearance of figures that can be reliably associated with known mythological narratives, a practice that would continue and then thrive in the Black-figure period in Athens that was to follow. Indeed, the Proto-Attic or early black-figure period, c. 635-560 BCE has been regarded as a direct product of the Corinthian development, remodelled and developed further to suit the needs of the local Athenian market. The development in early Black-figure saw a gradual movement away from the Corinthian style, resulting in the mature Black-figure phase c. 560-535 BCE. This period is marked by changes in the shapes of the ceramics,[7] the use of decorative space,[8] and in particular, a shift in emphasis from animal to humanoid figures. One development of particular interest to academics is the impact that decoration had on the function of these vessels. That is, where before they may have only been decorated to enhance the aesthetic properties of the vessel, in Black-figure there was a distinct shift to include narrative in its decoration, thus suggesting that their use may have been more than just functional or decorative, but also a manner for conveying mythology. Indeed, scenes in this style, more regularly than with others before, were often elements, typically snapshots, of larger narratives. No longer were scenes that depicted animals or simple human characters the main subject material, but rather, the desired decoration was of characters from mythology, or of episodes from ancient life.

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[5] This Eastern influence it is commonly believed to have arisen from a renewed trade with Asia-Minor.
[6] Sparkes (2010), pp. 4-10.
[7] Early Black-figure ceramics are typically larger vessels, which then developed into more regular and smaller shapes towards the mid-century.
[8] In the early period this is defined by similar composition to the Corinthian ceramics; that is, that decoration was in the form of bands. However, with the rendering of characters becoming more detailed and occupying a larger proportion of the ceramic, this gradually changed.

Of some importance to the understanding of the scenes decorating Black-figure vessels is they are not simply chosen by the artists *ad hoc*. Instead, they are the result of a formalised style, which is governed by constraints of shape, stylistic traditions and popular trends. Thus, the selection of characters and the manner in which they appear on the ceramics are not only chosen by the artists, but these choices are strongly conditioned by a tradition that may be understood as rigid by modern standards. This process resulted in the repetition of specific episodes, manifest through the depiction of characters, stance of characters and gestures. This in turn means that across the corpus of Black-figure ceramics, there are certain compositional templates repeated consistently, where the same scene is rendered many times over. These similar episodes that appear in the corpus of Black-figure, and are to some degree are independent of artist, occurring in a range of different artists' works, and irrespective of date of production. This has given rise to the conceptualisation of a compositional template[9] at work in Black-figure ceramics, which governed the depiction of these scenes.

To further understand the scene, we need to understand the space that it occupies on a given ceramic. In Black-figure, an evolution occurred from the early to late periods within the style. Whereas in early Black-figure, scenes (characters and narratives) largely occurred within narrow bands, an example of which is the famous François Vase (Figure 1); during the mature phase of Black-figure this evolved into one or two large areas of the vase being reserved for particular scenes. This progression meant that by the mature phase, artists afforded greater freedom to the depiction of larger and more detailed characters.

Figure 1
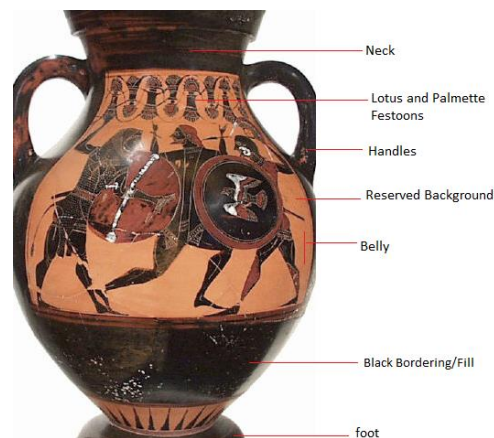
Figure 2

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[9] Discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

The shape of the ceramic also has a bearing on the choice of scene, in that the physical shape constrained what could be decorated on it.[10] Here I offer one of the more popular shapes to explain this concept. Figure 2 shows a typical Type-B Amphora, a shape that has over 1000 extant examples in existence today. Here, the reserved area on which the scene is placed, occupies an area from the neck to the bottom of the belly of the ceramic, marked by a black-fill or border. Often, as is the case in this example, the shape of the reserved area is a metope or panel, and the size of the characters is large in relation to the overall size of the ceramic. There are two main consequences of relevance to this discussion, namely: that fewer characters can be depicted in the scene; and that these characters enjoy a less restricted range of action than in smaller frames. In the above example, the artist has chosen to render three characters, with one central figure flanked by two characters. The depiction of roughly two to six characters is typical for this type of Amphora. The typical composition of the scene would see two central characters engaged in an activity with either one or two sets of auxiliary characters flanking, observing or supporting them.

The depiction of characters in Black-figure, whether from myth or reality, utilise a semiotics to which a contemporary audience will have been accustomed. These visual signs are referred to as iconography in the study of art. Iconography is the use of recognisable visual markers, which allow for the audience to identify characters rendered on the ceramics. Herakles, for example, is typically identified by his armour, which is made from the pelt of the Nemean Lion, and by his knotted club (illustrated in Figure 3). Iconography is not, however, an immutable and prescribed rule for the painter of the image. There are examples where Herakles is rendered without these accoutrements, and as such, may only be identified through his actions in a given scene. While iconography allows for the identification of characters in Black-figure ceramics, it is insufficient as a framework for the interpretation of these signs. For this I have constructed an interpretive framework that draws on the mechanisms of several others, which will be presented in detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

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[10] Figures derived from the Beazley archive suggest that the most popular shapes in order of preference are cups, as well as Oinochoe, Skyphos, and Amphora.
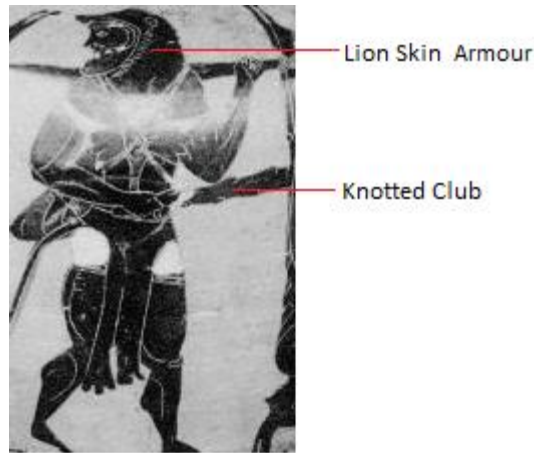
Figure 3

The presence of auxiliary characters may be seen as having two roles. The first role is that they add meaning to the scene, through interaction with the main characters, or by being part of the narrative of the myth. The second role concerns stylistic tradition and composition. Here, the auxiliary characters are added as an attempt by the artist to fill the space in the scene, which would typically be left devoid of decoration. In terms of composition, the auxiliary characters provide focus for the scene, allowing for the artist to draw attention to the central characters through their stance, detailing or positioning. While both of these outcomes can exist within one scene, there are cases where only the second outcome applies. In this case, the auxiliary characters chosen are not part of a given myth, and thus can only be considered to have been included for purely stylistic reasons.

The study of Black-figure has, until recently, been dominated by connoisseurship, an approach to art that emphasises style and attribution. Connoisseurship, which has its roots in the study of Italian paintings, was adapted to suit Black-figure largely through the pioneering work of Beazley,[11] a scholar who tailored the 'science' such that ceramics, and even their fragments, could be attributed to specific artists.[12] His method was informed largely by the work of art historian and physician, Morelli,[13] who constructed a method of identifying painters through the manner in which they depicted features that were rendered by the artist presumably unconsciously, such as drapery and minor anatomical details. Beazley's life project was an attempt to catalogue Black-figure ceramics and fragments using these categories, which were published in a number of articles and bibliographical books discussed in more detail in the literature review of this study. In addition, he left a huge collection of notes and photographs, which is today held

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[11] John Beazley (1885-1970) is considered to be one of the fathers of the modern study of Athenian Black-figure.
[12] A number which now stands at some roughly 40 recognisable artists.
[13] 1816-1891.

by the Classical Art Research Centre in Oxford. This collection has been digitised and compiled, and now forms the online Beazley Archive.[14] This easily searchable repository comprises nearly 40 000 ceramics and informs all studies of the style.

While connoisseurship as an approach has facilitated the task of categorising a large and disorganised mass of ceramics into a formal organisational scheme, it is not without its hermeneutic limitations. One of the chief criticisms levelled against this approach is, *inter alia,* that it lacks awareness of the needs of modern socio-cultural and archaeological approaches, existing as an end in itself. Among the most vocal critics of this approach are Vickers and Gill, who in their book, *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery,*[15] blamed connoisseurship for the overvaluation of ancient ceramics in modern society.[16] It is their belief that connoisseurship positioned Greek ceramics, particularly those of the Black- and Red-figure styles, not as archaeological data, but rather as art. As art, great value was placed on the technical mastery of individual painters, rather than the archaeological data or historical context of the paintings.[17] While Vickers and Gill's critique might indeed be founded when it comes to the influence of connoisseurship on modern senses of value, without the technical sophistication it (connoisseurship) brought to the study of Black-figure, many recent socio-cultural studies on ceramics would not have been possible.

In introducing the study of Black-figure, there are two other formative issues which must be considered. The first concerns the archaeological context[18] of these ceramics; here it is important to note that very little of this context still remains due to the fact that a large percentage of vases in modern collections have been excavated prior to the advent of modern archaeological techniques. This leaves a series of questions that are difficult to answer, as to the audience or viewer of the style, as well as to where and what these ceramics were used.

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[14] See http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk
[15] Vickers & Gill (1996).
[16] Vickers & Gill (1996), pp. 52-54.
[17] Vickers & Gill (1996), pp. 161-162.
[18] Archaeological context is a term that refers largely to sets of data linked to the excavation of specific artefacts. Information, which had until recently, been overlooked when interpreting individual pieces. These range from geographical distribution, information on stratigraphy, relational positioning (to other artefacts and to the location of the site itself) and manner of usage of artefacts. This information can then, subsequently be processed by those seeking to interpret the ceramics in terms of their social context.

Masculinity Studies

Masculinity is a large and difficult field to define. We speak of a person's masculinity as being something which is based on a cultural perception, yet the masculinity of that person does not necessarily have to correspond with the masculinity of another character within that society. To present a modern example, the masculinity of any of the characters played by, say, Arnold Schwarzenegger, is different from the masculinity of Pierce Brosnan in the James Bond sagas. But to a viewer, these two characters may appear quintessentially masculine, and even exhibit characteristics which can be found to be appealing, or that somehow typify masculinity. It is an assessment that is made based on a number of subconscious judgments about what masculinity might mean. Likewise, a series of rationalisations would have informed an ancient audience about what masculinity meant to them; however, it is illogical to consider that these two rationalisations are the same or equitable. This study attempts to create a framework in order to view these judgments, which inform the masculinity of two very different characters, namely Herakles and Dionysos.

One of the fundamental tasks, when attempting to deconstruct masculinity, is to define the term and its limitations, and it is equally important to have an understanding of what masculinity may not be. Connell sees masculinity as a wholly modern construct, arguing that "all societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept 'masculinity'",[19] and this conceptualisation is the result of "a belief in the individual difference and personal agency".[20] The author further suggests that this belief in the individual and personal agency can be tracked to "early-modern Europe with the growth of colonial empires and capitalist economic relations". [21] Indeed, Foucault in his *History of Sexuality*, *Vol. 2*[22] asserts that modern sexuality and the manner in which gender is constructed and presented within Western, Christian societies is largely based on social developments of the past several hundred years. In this context, its morals, gender roles and uses of pleasure are, as Foucault suggests, constructs of a Western religious tradition. While an attempt is made not to conflate the terms masculinity, sexuality and gender, a thought processes is apparent; these terms are the result of different conceptual traditions to that of the society that this dissertation considers.

The core aim of this dissertation is to construct a paradigm by means of which to interpret masculine imagery as expressed through the depiction of Herakles and Dionysos in Athenian black-figure vase

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[19] Connell (2005) p. 68.
[20] ibid.
[21] ibid.
[22] Foucault (1978) pp.3-6.

paintings, and to use this paradigm to reconstruct concepts native to Archaic masculinity. In order to do so the concept of 'masculinity' has been confined in this study to aspects which prove to be most relevant to the scenes in which they appear. Thus, the study of masculinity in this dissertation must be a restricted one. In particular, this approach does not include a discussion of psychological and sexuality related theories of gender, nor does it investigate homosexuality. Although these issues form a large part of our modern understanding of masculinity, given the selection of characters, the limitation of sources, these issues fall outside of the scope of this study. The field of modern Masculinity Studies has also been seen as largely dependent on the study of femininity. Connell asserts that 'masculinity' cannot be seen to exist except in contrast with 'femininity'.[23] He suggests that while the study of masculinity goes beyond the simple polarisation between men and woman, it is fundamentally to it, and that a society without such conceptualisation ultimately does not possess "masculinity in the sense of modern European/American culture".[24] Its techniques, terms and approaches often mirror those, which have been developed to suit the needs of the study of femininity.

While this dissertation seeks to prove the relevance of concepts of masculinity to the study of black-figure ceramics, it takes this relation to the study of femininity into consideration. Moreover, this study takes into consideration both biological and social determinism and the tension between these two fields. It is not the aim here to adopt a final position in this regard, but instead, to integrate elements from both arguments into the theoretical framework. While modern masculinity theory would state that 'masculinity' can only exist within societies that are made meta-lingually aware of it, there is perhaps an aspect to the operation of gender in the ancient world that goes beyond the difference in gender roles. In the historical context under investigation, there was a conceptualisation of what it was to be a man. Van Wees, for example, demonstrates that there was an awareness of the operation of gender implicit in the ancient world.[25] He asserts that, in the early Archaic Period, represented in the *Iliad*, weeping was not considered to be an unmanly act. This position is then juxtaposed with a section he entitles the discovery of male self-control, constructed from a classical source in Plato's *Phaedo*. In this example he suggests that the scene where Sokrates demands that his audience stop behaving in the manner of women by weeping,[26] provides a contrast to the Classical period, where tears became demonstrably associated with unmanly behaviour. This evolution illustrates that men were indeed conscious of their own gender

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[23] ibid.
[24] ibid.
[25] van Wees (1998). pp. 62-65.
[26] Pl. Phd.. p. 117.

position, and that masculinity is a meaningful term when applied to the ancient world, albeit a set of masculinities that are constructed differently from those of the modern Western world.

A working definition of masculinity is thus important for this study. One of the key rationales for this is that no one modern masculinity theory is sufficient for decoding masculinity through the visual source of Black-figure, nor should we expect it to be able to do so. Thus, these ceramics are approached not as art, but rather as visual media[27], and as such, are explored in comparison to the operation of modern media and modern media theory. This is done in order to better situate the ceramics within the society that received them, and thereby to create a platform for the interpretation of imagery depicted on them.

Project Objectives and Outline

My primary aim in this dissertation is to decode the images of Herakles and Dionysos with regards to the construction of masculinity in Archaic Athens. In order to do so, there are two major challenges. The first concerns the general question of interpretation of meaning of any image rendered in the Black-figure style, while the second concerns the way in which that meaning is related to masculinity, and how it is manifest and quantified. In order to address these questions, I have created both a theoretical and practical model of interpretation. This framework comprises a series of models founded on both theories and hypotheses developed for the study of Black-figure, and those that have previously been considered in other fields of the Humanities. This is done in an attempt to create a new position in which masculinity can be presented through the style of Black-figure.

To expand briefly on this, images, as observable from Westernised modern societies, are frequently multivalent. These meanings are constructed from our social and cultural experiences. In an attempt to bridge the hermeneutic gap between this period and our own, I shall draw on aspects of contemporary media theory, specifically media theory pertaining to visual media and the manner in which meaning is decoded through it.

The second part of this study, mostly contained in the third chapter on methodology, focuses on the creation of a practical model by means of which to observe masculinity through these ceramics. In order to deploy this method, a formal system is used whereby scenes and scene-types[28] are analysed according to a fixed set of categories. This will be devised through the establishment of various masculine traits. These traits are a set of manifestations which, while not identical, are common to the manifestation of

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[27] As arts outcome commonly perceived value individual expression over conveyed messages.
[28] This term shall be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

masculinity in all cultures. The third part of this study will then see the application of these masculine traits to the characters of Dionysos and Herakles.

In conclusion, this study will compare the differences and similarities of the masculine traits between characters and the scenes in which they are found to be depicted. This is done in an attempt to create both a reading of normativity for a specific character, and a more general reading of what may have been normative for the viewers of these Black-figure scenes.

Literature Review

Given the multidisciplinary nature of this dissertation, a wide body of literature has been considered. This literature review is separated into brief sections, each describing the state of each field, and explaining the position of this study within it. There are three major headings: Black-figure, media, and masculinity. In the case of Black-figure the leading approaches to the field is presented. Each of these headings is further divided according to the major sub-disciplines of the field that are directly relevant to this dissertation.

1. Black-figure

Introduction

The history of the study of Black-figure can best be considered to fall under two broad categories, namely studies on style, on the one hand, and hermeneutics on the other. This section shall provide a brief description of the manner in which Black-figure has been investigated by academics previously under these two headings.

1.1. Style

The first major study to develop in Black-figure was the study of style. Beazley's account dominates this field, contributing to creating a formalised approach to sorting and cataloguing ceramics. This was done through the development of a system of observation of style between specific artists. His books *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters,*[29] *Paralipomena: additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters,*[30] and *Beazley Addenda, Additional References to ABV, ARV & Paralipomena,*[31] created a bibliography for both Black and Red-figure ceramics. This bibliography presented, in list form, all publications in which a given

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[29] Beazley (1957).
[30] Beazley (1971).
[31] Carpenter (1989).

ceramic was displayed. These bibliographies, it may be argued, influenced all later studies in the field, as they created a means of referencing ceramics and of researching them.

Another example of an academic who worked on style in Black-figure is von Bothmer, who in his book on a Black-figure painter named Amasis,[32] investigated a range of different stylistic markers characteristic of this individual painter.

1.2. Interpretation

The interpretation of Black-figure scenes conforms to three categories, the first and earliest is iconographical studies, while the second concerns the application study of Black-figure to specific occurrences in the ancient world, largely through common sense, and the third concerns the application of modern theory to these sources.

1.2.1 Iconography

Much of the early work in iconography involved establishing taxonomies and categories of iconographical features, and categorising works accordingly. Perhaps the most notable examples of this approach to the study of iconography are Brommer's *Vasenlisten,*[33] and van Bothmer's work on Amazons.[34] Here Brommer's work went further than Beazley's stylistic list of ceramics, to examine vases by characters, and to creating a list of ceramics that bore the characters in his study. This list permitted, a more precise method of investigating ceramics, and at large opened the field for comparative and interpretive investigation. von Bothmer's PhD and book on Amazons analysed specific iconography, which differentiated these warrior women from other warriors depicted in the style.

Two other examples of this approach, used in this dissertation, are Shapiro's paper on *Herakles and Kyknos*[35] and Cohen's *From Bowman to Clubman: Herakles and Olympia.*[36] In the first example, a type-scene investigation, the iconography of the characters is considered on a case-by-case basis, with differences being noted together with the surviving literature. In the second example, Cohen considers the iconography of Herakles, noting differences in occurrences of specific iconography, namely his bow and club, throughout both Black and Red-figure.

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[32] von Bothmer (1985).
[33] Brommer (1973).
[34] von Bothmer (1957).
[35] Shapiro (1984).
[36] Cohen (1994).

1.2.2 Common Sense

This approach to the study of Black-figure, in general terms, attempts to situate the ceramic within its social context. It explores the relationship the images depicted had with ancient historical events. Examples of this approach can be found in von Bothmer *A Panathenaic Amphora*[37] and Boardman *Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons.*[38] In the first example, von Bothmer explores an Amphora belonging to the Panathenaic group, a group typically associated with the Panathenaic Games. His investigation explores the depiction of the festival more broadly, as well as on the ceramic. In the second example Boardman's examines the relationship that the depiction of Herakles on Black-figure had with politics of the period, building a hypothesis that there was some appropriation of the imagery of the character by the tyrant Peisistratos.

1.2.3 Modern Theory

The investment of interdisciplinary studies over the last twenty years into the analysis of these ceramics has provided new interpretive paradigms. These paradigms attempt primarily to develop ways of understanding issues relevant to socio-cultural identity represented on the ceramics as related to the consumers of the ceramics. Examples of this are Stansbury-o'Donnell's *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens,*[39] and Mitchell's *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour.*[40] In the first example, Stansbury-o'Donnell's *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens*[41] presents an innovative manner by means of which to view auxiliary characters displayed on the ceramics, creating for the first time a theoretical framework in which to perceive various aspects of social identity. For Stansbury-o'Donnell, social identity is reflected through the gestures and body language displayed by these auxiliary characters in various scenes. While this study includes the same characters to which he devotes attention, it does share some of the theoretical methods specifically in the area of visual semiotics, and thus will be referred to in the theory chapter. In the second example, Mitchell's *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*[42] has resulted in a framework in which images can be viewed as comical. The conclusions at which he arrives regarding the characters studied, which includes Dionysos and Herakles, provides insight into the extent to which these characters can be seen as typical representations of masculine characters. Mitchell's work employs a paradigm, which,

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[37] von Bothmer (1959).
[38] Boardman (1972).
[39] Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006).
[40] Mitchell (2009).
[41] Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006).
[42] Mitchell (2009).

while considering both Black-figure and other styles of decorated ceramics, allows for an understanding of what may have been deemed normative and comical in figures depicted in the style.

2. Media Theory

Media theory plays an important role in the establishment of meaning in this dissertation, and as such, several different sub-fields are consulted within it. Semiotics, encoding and decoding, and mass media each play a role in constructing meaning. Each of these is discussed in turn.

2.1 Semiotics

Semiotics as a field of study was first proposed through the work of Saussure,[43] and subsequently refined by Eco.[44] These philosophers sought to create a method to observe the phenomenon of meaning as interpreted by the producer and receiver of a specific 'text'. The concept of the 'text' for modern semioticians has come to represent a range of different systems of meaning and not just literary inquiry – in particular, it studies images. One of the challenges which face those attempting to investigate visual media through semiotics is that unlike literature, there is no set framework of analysis which governs it. The semiotic interpretation of visual images is dependent largely on the individual case in which it is applied, as visual signs are based on a number of interconnected icons, indexes and symbols, generated from social understandings built up over time. For this reason this dissertation will make use of some of the language and theory presented by the study of semiotics as it is applied to written texts, but will suggest methods by which to supplement it in order to understand the visual signs. This is achieved through both the contextual data presented on the ceramics, as well as the other aspects of media theory, as presented below.

2.2 Encoding and Decoding

Semiotic analysis is the interpretation of signs. It attempts to deconstruct the process by which signs become loaded with meaning and is often referred to as code. In order to interpret code, a theory is needed. The theory selected for this dissertation is Hall's theory of Encoding and Decoding,[45] and while it is designed for a very different source of media, television studies, it provides a theory which can be deployed in a more effective manner than other more general semiotic theories on account of its relationship to visual media. Briefly, the theory considers different social and practical aspects governing

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[43] Presented in English through the work of Jonathan Culler (1986).
[44] Umberto Eco (1979).
[45] Stuart Hall et al. (1980).

the production of the code, and how they facilitate the process of encoding by the producer and of decoding by the recipient, respectively.

2.3 Mass Media Theory

The first step in the process of encoding and decoding a meaning from the visual is to develop a sense of how a given visual medium functions in society. Noting the large quantity of black-figure ceramics produced in a relatively small period of time, a comparison is possible between it and modern theories of mass media. Thompson, who defines the operation of mass media and mass communication in a series of points in his work, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media.*[46] Here I shall explore his work to analyse the data known and presented surrounding black-figure in order to permit a greater understanding of meaning of these masculine images.

3. Masculinity Theory

This field will be explored under two headings here: the first considers the application of Masculinity Studies to the modern world, while the second is concerned with the ancient world. While these two are indeed related, masculinity theory is largely informed by the techniques that occur in writing on modern masculinity, such that they are different enough to warrant separate discussion. However, while an aim of this study is to develop a construct of masculinity, it directly refers to few sources in the field of modern and ancient masculinity, insofar as they offer insight relevant to the ancient world.

3.1 Modern Masculinity Theory

In the modern field of Masculinity Studies, authors such as Connell and Foucault are of particular importance. Connell's *Masculinities,*[47] which presents a series of different aspects in which masculinity is defined, is one of the seminal works in the field. These include power relationships and gender roles, and she attempts to create methods by which to investigate these aspects. Foucault, while his work is foundational to the study of modern masculinity in a *History of Sexuality,*[48] is cited less in this study, on account of his focus on sexuality and the conceptualisation of that sexuality through literature.

Sussman's book *Masculine Identities*[49] is arguably the most instructive. In his chapter concerning *Man as Warrior,*[50] he explores what it means to identify oneself as a warrior in different societies. He provides a

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[46] Thompson (1995).
[47] Connell (2005).
[48] Foucault (1978).
[49] Sussman (2012).

detailed perspective of warrior culture and the range to which it permeated different societies, from ancient Greek to modern periods. Of particular interest are the "elements of warrior identity: where he outlines some archetypal characteristics of warrior culture.[51] This list includes aspects such as physical courage, martial prowess, unwavering loyalty to a master, subordination and even repudiation of heterosexual bonds. While this study does not specifically concern warriors or warrior culture, they are a central part of one character's corpus, and for this reason these characteristics will inform my own selection of masculine markers.[52]

3.2 Classics and Masculinity

The study of gender and sexuality in the Classical world is not new, and there are a number of works that investigate their respective construction. The Archaic Period in particular has a smaller number of published works, despite a lack of extant ephemera from the period. In this section I shall provide a survey of these works, paying particular attention to the gaps in the literature, in order to situate this study.

Skinner's recent work *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*[53] is an example of the analysis of ceramics used to reconstruct sexuality and its relation to social identity in the ancient world. Her chapter *Late Archaic Athens: More than meets the eye* integrates both literary sources and examples of ceramics in an account of ancient sexuality. While at first glance, this would seem to suit both the theory and methodology of this study, there are three key differences between her study and this one. Firstly, Skinner does not provide separation between Red-figure and Black-figure ceramics, a critical point for this dissertation. Secondly, her work is primarily a study in sexuality, which, while this study engages masculinity more broadly. Skinner also considers a number of different 'real-life' characters and social groups depicted on the ceramics, whereas this dissertation considers only two mythological characters.

Barringer's *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*[54] is another example of work done in the field of Archaic ceramics and masculinity. Her work investigates this theme through a series of iconographical and thematic views. While her work is similar to the work undertaken in this dissertation, in that it examines aspects of masculinity through iconography, there is little overlap in terms of the subject material

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[50] Sussman (2012), pp. 11-36.
[51] Sussman (2012), p. 16.
[52] Further explained in Chapter 3.
[53] Skinner (2005).
[54] Barringer (2002).

considered. While she does examine the hunt scenes which involve Herakles, she investigates different type-scenes to the ones that have been selected for this study.

Van Wees's chapter entitled *A brief history of tears: gender differentiation in archaic Greece,*[55] is one of the few studies that considers archaeological evidence in its interpretation of issues relating to masculinity. For this reason, his assertion that men can be seen to cry in these ancient sources provided a point of departure for this investigation.

In *Herakles: The Super-male and the Feminine,*[56] Loraux explores the character in terms of his appearance in various forms of literature, from the Homeric to Hellenistic period, presenting the character both as overtly masculine as well as feminine. Where possible, the information presented by Loraux to evaluate the literary sources will be used.

Conclusion

This introduction notes a gap exists in the understanding of masculinity for this period, which can be largely attributed to the dearth of surviving sources. It was also shown that gender and masculinity studies, while being difficult to apply when referring to classical sources – and this period in particular – are however present, and that the manner in which they have been explored in the past has largely been through the study of literature. It is proposed that a study of the most numerous surviving resource from the period, that of Black-figure, be re-orientated into the main source material for the establishment of a reading of masculinity. The manner in which this will be argued is firstly by understanding ceramics as a form of popular media, and then by noting the manner in which such media are likely to have been understood in the ancient world. A theoretical discussion considers the semiotic mechanisms at work. In the methodology section, I present a practical model of how these theories can be observed through the characters of Herakles and Dionysos.

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[55] van Wees (1998).
[56] Loraux (1990).

CHAPTER 2: THEORY

Introduction

In the first chapter I propose that the study of masculinity in the Archaic Period should not be conflated with either the previous or subsequent periods. Instead, it is possible to view it through reference to the visual media of the day. This approach faces two conceptual queries. Firstly, how do we as a modern audience interpret the meaning of images from over two millennia ago, and secondly how do we apply masculinity theory, a theory which is chiefly designed for literature, to this visual medium? While these two problems are dependent on one another, since we cannot begin to decode masculinity in antiquity without some understanding of the medium we use as evidence for this masculinity, this theory chapter will discuss these separately. First to be dealt with is the issue of how meaning is generated and then secondly, how a theory of masculinity can be applied to this study.

The first part of the chapter attempts to introduce the processes by which any form of media is given meaning, transfers meaning, and finally how that meaning is interpreted. This has been the subject of inquiry in the fields of both of media studies and communication studies, amongst others. In order to employ their respective methodologies, comparisons between the modern theory and ancient media need to be considered.

This section begins with a comparison that frames the investigation, between the operation of mass media in modern societies and the operation of Black-figure in antiquity. The comparison will be made on the basis of several points underpinning the modern theory, which I hope to show, which have some relationship to the Archaic medium. Next, three different modes of communication are explored, found at work within modern mass media, namely code, encoding and decoding, and semiotics.

The second part of this chapter deals with the study of masculinity and how media theory can be combined with it to enhance our understanding of masculinity. In the first section, I discuss current approaches towards the exploration of masculinity in modern contexts. The second, on the other hand, presents a novel theory specifically designed for the analysis of Black-figure.

Black-figure and mass media

The term media is often used as an umbrella term that comprises a wide range of different media in the modern world in which communication takes place. These include film, newspapers, magazines, and posters, to name but a few. The term mass media in its most general sense describes media which permit the spread of a message to a large audience. This encompasses many forms of media in today's world, and all of the above examples. This basic definition would also appear to describe the operation of black-figure, as by its sheer volume of production, is likely to have conveyed messages to a large audience. The operation of mass media and communication however, is far more complex than this simple understanding. Before explaining why it is valid to consider Black-figure an ancient equivalent to modern mass media, I will first introduce mass media in the modern world and the approaches taken to understand it, and then identify specific points of comparison with Black-figure.

In the West, the origins of modern mass media are commonly thought to be linked to the invention of the printing press in the 15th century. Its creation allowed for a message to become standardised, a critical point, and allowed for that message to become disseminated amongst a far larger audience than had previously been allowed. Standardisation created a singular message, which then could be communicated and interpreted. Thompson in *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media,*[57] outlines the major methods by which messages in mass media are communicated. While mass communication and mass media theories are not completely synonymous, with mass media referring to the specific medium in which communication occurs and mass communication the manner in which a message is transmitted, they are treated by theorists as being largely related. Thus, I have presented the following in an attempt to formalise the grounds of comparison to Black-figure.

The arguments Thompson presents can be summarised as follows:

1. Mass communication "involves certain technical and institutional means of production and diffusion […] based on a series of technical innovations which were capable of being exploited commercially".[58]
2. It is able to create "commodification of symbolic forms"[59] achieved via 'symbolic value' and 'economic valorisation'.

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[57] Thompson (1995) pp. 24-31
[58] ibid. p. 27.
[59] ibid. p. 27.

3. Mass communication illustrates a "structured break between the production of the symbolic forms and their reception. In all types of mass communication, the context of production is generally separate from the context or set of contexts […] and transmitted to recipients located in contexts which are different and diverse."[60]

4. Mass communication "involves the public circulation of symbolic forms" [61] That it, the message, is produced in "multiple copies or transmitted to a multiplicity of receivers in such a way that they are available in principle to anyone who has the technical means, abilities and resources to receive them."[62]

5. Mass communication "extends the availability of symbolic forms in space and time…it follows that mediated messages are available in contexts that are remote from the contexts in which they were originally produced."[63]

6. Mass communication "is not that a given number of individuals (or a specifiable proportion of the population) receives the products, but rather that the products are available to a plurality of recipients."[64]

7. The transferal of meaning in communication is mostly one way, "messages are produced by one set of individuals and transmitted to others who are typically situated in settings which are spatially and temporally remote from the original context of production."[65]

8. Those who receive media are not passive onlookers, but rather people who actively absorb media products, interpret them and incorporate them into their lives in some aspect.

9. "The recipients of media messages are not so much partners in a reciprocal process of communicative exchange but rather participants in a structured process of symbolic transmission". [66]

10. That the producer of a media from in mass media is "generally deprived of the direct and continuous forms of feedback characteristic of face-to-face interaction."[67]

A few critical distinctions apply. Firstly, mass media theory is a modern approach, created for modern media, of which a great deal is known about how it was both produced and consumed. On the other hand, there are large gaps in what is known about the medium of Black-figure and its production. Secondly

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[60]Thompson (1995) p. 29.
[61]ibid. p. 30.
[62]ibid.
[63]ibid.
[64]ibid. p. 24.
[65]ibid. p. 25.
[66]ibid. p. 25.
[67]ibid. p. 29.

Black-figure images were duplicated and produced in a very different way from modern mass media. In particular, in this style, the image was rendered by a single craftsman who was painting largely freehand, and thus characters and images depicting the same scene will not be identical across the work of different painters. This is in contrast to modern mass media, where the image is standardised by a technology that makes exact duplication possible, which in turn, permits for a message to be copied exactly, presented and transferred to a large audience.

Despite these differences, Black-figure is a medium that was indeed created *en masse*. Black-figure is not a direct analogue of modern mass media. However, in view of the differences, Thompson's twelve points are discussed in relation to Black-figure so as to assess what may be used as the basis of a theory of meaning.

1. Technical Means of Production

We are aware, through the number of surviving archaeological remains, Black-figure was one of the most prolific visual medium of the period in Athens. There are a number of factors which influenced its production, distribution and consumption, resulting in its great popularity. Below I have created specific headings by means of which to explore some of these factors. These are presented to explore how the 'technical innovations' of this style led to its commercial exploitation.

1.1 Refinement of detail

I propose that through technical innovation, meaning could be encoded more easily in this style than previously possible. Specifically, in Black-figure, images became far more detailed[68] than in earlier styles, and it is this detail that permitted the scenes, narratives, and characters to be more easily represented and identified; typically through their individual iconography. For example, where the Corinthian style possessed identifiable characters from myth, it was surpassed both in detail and quantity by Athenian Black-figure. The number of surviving Corinthian ceramic remains taken together with their provenance, suggests that Black-figure was a more commercially viable product throughout the Mediterranean, and that there was a greater demand for it.

1.2 Standardisations of Shape

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[68] There are differing levels of detail across examples produced in the style. There are examples of ceramics from this style which show great technical achievement, and those whose detail can only be described as poor, lacking precise detail.

The physical shape of the ceramic has a direct bearing on the decoration of black-figure. In Black-figure, as in other styles, shapes came to be largely standardised, and with this came a concomitant formalisation of the decoration. Linked to this, certain classes of ceramics became more popular vehicles for the medium, while the popularity of others declined. Judging by the numbers of surviving ceramics, one may infer that Lekythoi, Amhoprae, Syphoi, Oinochoe and Aryballoi saw the most production. This shape, on which a Black-figure narrative was rendered, limited the manner in which characters could be depicted. In this way, the regularity of the shapes allowed the painter to embed narrative more easily, and in particular allowed him to copy scenes from one ceramic over to another without much alteration of either composition or the composure of the characters. Thus, one may even argue that the standardisation of shape may have influenced the popularity of the style, if this popularity was at all related to its expressiveness.

To examine the role of the shape of the ceramic on the composition of the scene, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the potter and the painter in Black-figure. A commonly held belief is that the painter and potter were two separate individuals, in that the potter created ceramics which the painter acquired, rendered, and subsequently sold. Archaeological evidence suggests that both potter and painter operated in a limited geographical area in Athens,[69] often in larger workshops,[70] and that the vase painters operated in a master-apprentice structure, typically operating in groups.[71] While we can only speculate on the relationship between the relation between producers of this type of pottery now, and specifically the role the painter would have on the determination of shape of the ceramic, the geographical limitation of space in which the Black-figure ceramics were produced and decorated suggests that there would have been some interaction between the two. Added to this are the logistical factors involved in the production of the ceramics. The production of Black-figure needed to match the demand, and given the quantity of extant ceramics, and the fact that fuelling a kiln was expensive, it is likely that the shapes needed to be standardised and batched. This as opposed to 'one-off' shapes, which would take the potter a greater amount of time[72] and skill to produce, and might not appeal to the market that demands specific shapes.

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[69] Known as the potter's quarter in Boardman (1979) p. 34.
[70] Sparkes (2010) p. 96.
[71] Hasaki (2012) pp. 193-195.

1.3 Functionality

The Black-figure style is generally used to decorate shapes which are presented without decoration elsewhere. This poses a problem to scholars, as it suggests that the pottery it adorns must have some functional value. This functionality then, whether for storage or consumption, suggests that the medium was not only art, and this then poses a number of questions about the role of the imagery on the ceramics. To expand on this, it is logical to suggest that wine drinking vessels, for example, are depicted with Dionysos or satyrs, on account of their relationship to wine and wine production. For this reason, readings of masculinity can be seen as being influenced by both function and shape.

2. Commodification of symbolic forms

A noticeable feature of Black-figure ceramics is that a disproportionate number of ceramics are rendered with scenes depicting either Dionysos or Herakles. As black-figure was primarily a commodity, the appearance of the painted narratives suggests that as 'symbolic forms',[73] they had held economic value and added to the value of the ceramic. Otherwise, their rendering would have represented wasted effort, and critically been unviable as an opportunity cost.[74] This point I believe is critical to the understanding of masculinity, and is one which I will expand upon in section 2.1. The other interpretation of the term 'value' used by Thompson in point 2, is that the symbol held meaning for the audience. This is indeed true for the characters in Black-figure as, mostly, they either played a part of a pre-existing mythological narrative, or were representations of operations of everyday life. In order to understand the extent to which Black-figure was a commodity, it is worth expanding on the perceived value of these ceramics.

2.1 Economic Value

The economic value of Black-figure ceramics in Archaic Athens has been a subject of debate amongst scholars. A popular estimate is that a pot would cost between one and three drachmae, depending on the quality of decoration and size of the vessel.[75] Indeed we are aware of some inscriptions on vases, which detail the cost of the specific vases or batches of vases.[76] Attempts have been made to translate this value

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[73] Symbolic forms represent a concept or idea and are used to convey meaning, in this case I use the term to refer to characters, the term, however, may equally be applied to the particular depiction of a character as a whole or a part of the character's iconography.

[74] Opportunity cost refers to any choice made is equated to the potential of gain from the alternative.

[75] Boardman (1974), p. 124.

[76] For arguments surrounding cost and interpretations of inscribed graffiti, see Amyx, Kendrick & Pritchett (1958) pp. 255-310.

into a modern monetary value;[77] however no consensus has been reached due largely to the difference in how the economy worked. Boardman wryly suggests that "a drachma was the average daily wage, something readily intelligible as a value in any period".[78] Boardman's point leads us to the conclusion that while not at all cheap, these ceramics were affordable to the average Athenian. While it is unclear who purchased Black-figure ceramics, due in part to the difficulties in determining provenance, the fact that the ceramics were relatively cheap suggests that they were available to a plurality of different recipients from different socio-economic groups.

A second issue is that there is a disproportionate number of ceramics from the 'late' Black-figure period, which themselves are decorated with less detail and decoration than their counterparts in the 'mature' phase.[79] This could be explained in two different ways: either that painters dropped the value of ceramics, investing less time in their decoration, or alternatively that the demand for the pottery resulted in an increase in the production. In either case this occurrence is one which suggests that as a style, Back-figure appealed to a larger client base in the later period.

3. Diverse Sources of Production and Consumption

As suggested earlier, one of the concerns regarding the consumption of Black-figure is that we are unsure of its target market. Not only do we not know what social group the recipients of this media belonged to, but we are also uncertain as to what extent the medium was indeed consumed by the Athenians themselves (as opposed to the export market). Owing to a scarcity of literary evidence and a poor archaeological records, scholars have had to piece together fragments of information from these two fields.

3.1 Archaeological Evidence

As stated previously, the majority of ceramics in modern collections lack archaeological context. Of those ceramics with archaeological context, the majority are considered to be 'grave goods', and of these the greatest proportions have been found in Etruscan tombs in Italy. Osborne suggests in his work *Why did Athenian Pots Appeal to the Etruscans?,*[80] that this figure is upwards of 30,000; a figure which comprises a third of the total ceramics in collections today. This figure skews our understanding of who the audience was and what this style of ceramic meant to them. Most notably, if we were to take into account only the

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[77] Most notably in Vickers & Gill (1996).
[78] Boardman (1974) p. 124.
[79] The Beazley Archive provides the following figures, that 13121 Black-figure ceramics are dated to the 525-475 BCE period, while only 4821 are dated to the 575-525 BCE period.
[80] Osborne (2001).

archaeological information taken from Etruscan tombs, we would conclude that these wares were indeed ornamental and highly prized possessions.[81] It is however obviously potentially erroneous to infer Athenian tastes from Etruscan practices, particularly given our uncertainty as to whether the Etruscans represented a primary or a secondary market. Two other perceptions derive from the abundance of ceramics found in foreign tombs: firstly, that the trade in Athenian Black-figure was based on export, and as suggested by Osborne, that there was a demand for specific imagery.[82]

Of the ceramics with context, Venit's[83] and Boardman[84] both illustrate that there was a spread of Black-figure throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean, respectively. Neither scholar is particularly concerned with cataloguing the structures in which the ceramics were found. Excavation reports are valuable here, but very little work has been done to apply these findings to the field of Black-figure. Stefanakis et al.[85] shed some light on how these ceramics were used in ancient society. Here fragments of a *lekythos* and multiple *skyphoi* were found in a dwelling near the possible site of the agora. These shapes were notably found in two separate kitchen rooms, near other ceramics the function, of which the authors describe as being for "storage, food preparation, cooking and dining".[86] This supports the idea that Black-figure ceramics where functional as well as decorative objects.

3.2 The Painter in Context

It is unclear from the archaeological record who the purchasers of Black-figure were, and what might have been their role in the creation of their understood meaning. We do know that a large number of ceramics travelled to other countries, as is evident from the contexts where the ceramics have been found. Thompson's point 3 would therefore appear to hold true for the Black-figure as well as modern media. There are, however, other considerations that can be taken into account when taking into account the diversity of context.[87]

As is the case with much in the study of Black-figure, very little is known about the painters. There is no evidence as to which marks their life, bar that which may be inferred from their art. However, there have

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[81] According to Osborne (2001) Etruscan burial practices are renowned for their rich yield of material possessions, and vary in composition from metal artefacts to local and foreign ceramics p. 277.

[82] Osborne postulates his argument on the Tyrrhenian-Amphora, stating that "some 87 percent have been found at Etruscan sites; they are distinct not just in shape but in imagery, being given to scenes of explicit sex and violence" (2001) p. 278.

[83] Venit (1984).

[84] Boardman (1979).

[85] Stefanakis et al. (2007).

[86] ibid. p. 250.

[87] Context in this case is differs from archaeological context, in this case it refers to social conditions.

been attempts to postulate where they were from, and to which social group they belonged. It is commonly thought that these artisans were mostly from the lower social classes. For example, Sparkes argues that both potter and painter worked in conditions that were less than optimal.[88] He suggests that these two groups of people were subjected to 'hard work', in the "heat, dust and smoke"[89], and he thus postulates that "it is difficult to believe that a man would choose such an occupation if the option were available to him [not to]".[90]

The second consideration is that Black-figure ceramics display a wide range of skill levels between the works of various artists. While this does not directly speak to social class, there are two implications which do. These implications reside in the areas of value and literacy. Concerning value of the rendered piece, it is logical to assume that the finer the rendering the greater the value, the greater the value, the greater the income for the individual painter. While, as I will show below, we are unable to accurately price individual ceramic items, and thus cannot confirm this. It is logical that the time invested in finely rendered wares, both in terms of training and the actual rendering of the artefact, would put upward pressure on the price of the respective pieces.

The level of literacy among the painters and potters, is another factor relevant to determining their social standing. The scarcity of surviving literary evidence from the 6th century makes it difficult to interpret the evidence provided by the inscriptions on vases. Inscriptions in Black-figure are fairly basic and fairly rare; comprising of descriptive terms, such as names of characters, makers marks. Taken at face value, they suggest that either the painters themselves, or rather those individuals who produced these inscriptions, are of a social class to which reading and writing are available. This in turn would suggest that they belonged to a social class which had a greater socio-economic position than Sparkes suggests. However, the situation is more complex, and the extent to which painters were literate is a matter of some debate.[91] An important issue in the debate is the occurrence of inscriptions on ceramics, which appear to make no sense.[92] These nonsense inscriptions are often seen as being part of a stylistic convention, were illiterate artists mirror the work of those that are literate. Given that there are numerous examples of both in the corpus of remaining vases, it could be argued that while the social position of the painters was low, there was a degree of social mobility for these artists and artisans.

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[88] Sparkes (2010) p. 96.
[89] ibid.
[90] ibid.
[91] For an interesting and informative discussion of the major issues in the debate see Cohen (1994).
[92] These inscriptions either present Greek letters, which do not constitute words, or alternatively are painted to resemble letters.

4. Public Circulation of Symbolic Forms

One aspect which distinguishes Black-figure from previous styles is, as mentioned in the introduction, the repetition of characters across a wide range of different scenes. The fact that characters are so regularly depicted in a similar manner, with similar iconography, suggests that these figures themselves have meaning to a wide audience in the format that they appear in Black-figure. The practice was mirrored by, or even possibly influenced by, some monumental work, such as relief sculptures in architectural metopes and friezes, undertaken by the state. This suggests that these symbolic forms were a part of a larger visual culture which existed during this period.

Concerning the availability of the mass media form, as argued in section 2.1, Black-figure was a somewhat affordable commodity to the average household in Archaic Athens. If we accept that the level of technical skill with which a piece is rendered has a bearing on the price, as argued earlier, then the fact that the majority of scenes are repeated across a range of vessels and rendered with differing levels of technical expertise, one could assume that the vessels are at least, in principle, available to a plurality of different economic audiences. A similar argument can be applied to the size of the ceramics, as it stands to reason that larger shapes would have been more expensive than smaller ones, due simply to the amount of material used in their construction. Similarly, scenes are repeated across vases of different sizes, suggest a range of socio-economic positions of the recipients of that scene. Furthermore, the quantity of ceramics produced suggests that the vessels, and consequently the scenes rendered on them, were available to a larger audience.

One area in which we known that there was a large public audience is that of Panathenaic Amphorae. This class of vase, although not rare, is otherwise atypical of the style in a number of ways, including the iconography, inscriptions, shape, and even chronology. In addition, they are atypical in one other relevant way, namely that we are aware of their function and purpose. They were, according to Onians,[93] prizes (containing olive oil) for the victors of the different events in the Panathenaic Games, and they continued to be produced long after Black-figure faded from popularity. We are aware too that the olive oil contained in the ceramics was valuable; however, the degree to which the value of the prize was enhanced by the ceramic itself is subject for speculation. Boardman points out that they "are shown on wall paintings and mosaics, on Delos of the first and second century BC".[94] This display suggests that there

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[93]Onians (1991) p. 67.
[94]Boardman (1974) p. 169.

may be worth that goes beyond their intrinsic value to a society, much in the manner that medals in a modern society may hold value beyond their intrinsic worth. While this argument holds for Panathanaic Amphorae, it is not necessarily true for all of Black-figure.

The final issue concerning the public circulation of symbolic forms is the religious and political significance of these vessels. The Black-figure ceramics have seen iconographic investigation. In this regard, perhaps the trend to which theorists have given the most attention is the growth in popularity of Herakles in the middle of the 6th century, and the decline of this in Red-figure, the style which follows Black-figure in the 5th century. While Herakles is properly the concern of Chapter 4, a brief discussion of this character is relevant to the present subject. The popularity of Herakles, Boardman[95] suggests, was the result of a political imagery campaign constructed by the tyrant Peisistratos, who was either in power or a major political player throughout much of the period during which Black-figure flourished. His argument follows that Herakles' popularity was in some way influenced by the associations that Peisistratos drew between himself and the demi-god, most notably when he rode into Athens dressed as Herakles.[96] It is apparent, through analysis of the lists of various characters in the Beazley archive, that some characters massively outweighed others in the corpus in terms of appearance.[97] Thus trends, while not exact, do provide a reasonable set of assumptions.

5. Remote contexts

The longevity[98] of Black-figure and range of locations in which Black-figure has been found,[99] suggests that it could transfer a message from one context to another context, differing through space and time. This conforms to the criterion Thompson prescribes (in point 5), namely that mass communication extends the availability of communicated forms through time and space. In a macro-sense, however, there are some subtle details were Black-figure are unique. Firstly, while Black-figure did serve to convey a message, the vessels had other primary purposes, both functional and decorative, as one would expect of ceramic wares. As such, the message that it carried did not necessarily need to be understood in order for the vessel to serve its purpose. The myth involving Herakles and the Nemean Lion, for example, may not have been heard by the audience of Black-figure in Italy. Thus the meaning or the underlying myth may

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[95] Boardman (1972).
[96] Boardman (1975).
[97] Dionysos and Herakles are the most popular, with Dionysos featuring 4369 times and Herakles featuring 3441 times, compared to characters such as Zeus, who features only 280 times.
[98] As mentioned in the introduction, Black-figure as a style is typically though to have been popular for a period of approximately 100 years, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/tools/pottery/techniques/decoration.htm
[99] See the arguments made in the previous section.

be submerged, resulting in a meaning which is given a new mediated message,[100] where the image is interpreted simply as a man wrestling a lion. This hermeneutic circumstance is further explored in the section concerning encoding and decoding later in this chapter.

6. Plurality of Recipients

It is possible that Black-figure may have been purchased by a plurality of different socio-economic groups both in local and foreign markets. While access to a larger and more expensive piece may have been economically prohibitive for a person of lower income, smaller pieces would still have been available to them. The position of the Panathenaic Amphorae offers us a different example, where the recipients are winners of specific events and value is accorded to the object, regardless of whether the contents of the vessel or the vessel itself were more highly valued.

7. One-way Transferral of Meaning

There is little evidence on which to base definitive hermeneutic arguments, as we have very little proof that there was direct influence by the audience of Black-figure on the individual message that was being embedded in the ceramics. One consideration that supports the case for direct involvement of the audience of Black-figure is the appearance of *kalos* inscriptions[101] on some ceramics. One school of thought sees these inscriptions, typically used in conjunction with images of youths gesturing,[102] as gifts in pederastic relationships. If this is indeed the case, then it would suggest that at least part of the audience, here the client, who commissioned the work, instructed the painter to render the name and potentially the image itself. That there was some patronage, and thus audience involvement in the production of image, is also indicated by the commissioning of Panathenaic vessels by the state. Clearly there was some patronage, and one may speculate as to whether the practice may have been more widespread than simply *kalos* inscriptions and Panathenaic vases. However, the exact economic power of the receiver in the determination of image production can only be speculated.

Another consideration is the market where these ceramics were sold. As there is much speculation as to the extents to which Black-figure was created for a local market, we are unaware of the extents to which the receiver would be able to mediate the message. However, one area which could be argued, where the

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[100] A mediated message, in terms of its modern usage, relates to the production and interpretation of meaning by the producer and the receiver.
[101] *Καλός,* (translated as beautiful, beauteous, fair) appears occasionally on black-figure ceramics, and is commonly interpreted as a praise/exaltation inscription. Their typical configuration displays either the name of an individual/deity followed by *Kalos/Kale.*
[102] Boardman (1974) p. 201.

recipient did have a role in the determination of the image, is in terms of their economic power of consumption. Here, the recipient is more likely to pay for more popular images, which results in the producers making more of them. This line of reasoning could indeed be applied to either local or foreign markets.

8-10. Recipient, interaction and feedback

To explore Thompson's point 8, namely the extent to which the audience actively interprets and incorporates Black-figure into their lives, I have already argued that it is plausible that the objects were afforded a higher place of honour than was undecorated ware, and thus, were designed to be visible. This raises a critical point, which I will explore later in this section, namely that it was necessary for the imagery rendered on the ceramics to appeal to the purchaser. This is on the account of the ceramic being a commodity, one which is subject to selection by the purchaser. This point will become more apparent when I discuss the relationship between this selection and the interpretation of masculinity.

Thompson's points 9 and 10 as mentioned above both stress the manner in which the message is transferred, and what power the recipient has to mould that message. Here Thompson's model suggests that modern mass communication/media is almost exclusively a one way structure; where the message is created by one group and transmitted to another. It is arguable whether Thompson is correct in this assessment regarding of modern mass media, but one may argue this is not entirely true of the ancient. In Black-figure this is not necessarily the case, as I illustrated two different ways by which the recipient could shape the message: patronage and demand.

Encoding and Decoding

I have, in the above section, outlined several different comparisons that would suggest that Attic Black-figure ceramics can be seen as an ancient form of mass media. I believe that the number of similarities between Black-figure and mass media justifies the deployment of this theory focused on modern phenomena to this ancient context. The next theory that I move to is one which is predicated on an understanding of the operation of mass media, and is one which qualifies the way in which meaning is ascribed and transferred between the producer and the consumer. This is the theory of code in the creation and interpreting of meaning.

Stuart Hall's theory of codification[103] of visual sources through the medium of film is a leading theory on the ascription of meaning. His theory is situated on two specific terms: 'encoding' and 'decoding'. Code, for Hall, is a framework which holds a message, only decipherable through the process of 'encoding' by the producer and 'decoding' by the receiver. I propose that Hall's method be employed as a way of examining the operation of masculine meaning. As will be addressed later in this chapter, the information discerned from contextual data allows for us to partially reconstruct this code, and this reconstruction will form the basis of analysis in the chapters that follow.

The processes by which a message becomes encoded by the producer and decoded by the receiver, are, according to Hall, the result of the interaction between three different fields of understanding related to each group, namely: frameworks of knowledge, relations of production, and technical infrastructure which governed that production. This may be visualised as in Figure 4.
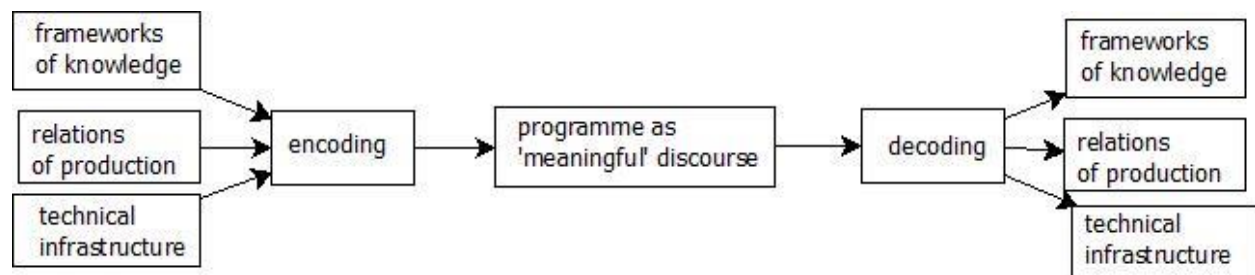

Figure 4

In the section dedicated to mass media, I proposed various conventions and addressed various issues surrounding black-figure, each of which I believe inform this model. Rather than restating all of these

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[103] Hall et al. (1980).

theories, I shall rather defer discussion on the relationship of black-figure and this model to the methodology section.

One of the rationales for Hall's model is that it allows for meaning to be lost. This loss of meaning is a very real problem for modern scholars working with Black-figure, as they are so dislocated from the context in which the ceramics were made, that that they have only a partial understanding of the narrative or paradigm that imbued the images in the style with their meaning to their intended audiences. The loss of meaning, however, is a relevant consideration for our understanding of the ancient audience, as we cannot assume that every image was able to be decoded by every member of the audience. Part of the aim of this dissertation is to understand how these images may have been decoded by their ancient audience. Of particular importance are questions of whether the audience viewed the actions of the characters in a scene as representing something that was desirable in adult males, whether it was aberrant, or whether it was either so over the top or insufficient as to be a counter example of proper behaviour. In this dissertation, three key terms will be used to classify actions, namely normative, aberrant and comic. These terms will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Hall's model suggests that for an image to have transferred meaning, it requires 'symmetry' in the coding/decoding process. Hall states that "'distortions' or 'misunderstandings' in this exchange exist in the "*lack of equivalence* between these two sides in the communicative display".[104] That is, if the frameworks of knowledge do not equate on either side of the communicative exchange, that 'distortions' or 'misunderstandings' occur. Here there are several factors which need to be explored in relation to Black-figure, the first of which concerns the producer or painter. It is the painter who is ultimately responsible for the image production and, if he is not able to accurately transmit the message in the form of narrative composition, due to lack of skill, or if he does not fully understand the iconography associated with specific characters involved in the scene, then the meaning of the individual piece is not transmitted through the decoding process, and is thus lost or corrupted. The extent to which this occurs directly affects the extent of decoding allowed to the recipient, as there is a threshold of corruption above which meaning is lost to the recipient. This asymmetric levelling, in production and consumption of meaning, may then result either in a lack of understanding, or in a reinterpretation of the message, allowing for intended or hegemonic masculine reading[105] constructed by the producer to be able to be very different from the message received by the recipient. I have, in the image below, attempted to illustrate factors influencing the interpretation by the recipient of Black-figure imagery. This is of great

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[104] Hall et al. (1980) p. 131.
[105] Explained in Chapter 3.

importance for this dissertation, as it allows for the intended message about masculinity to be misunderstood, or to become distorted (see Figure 5 for these factors involved in the process for black-figure).
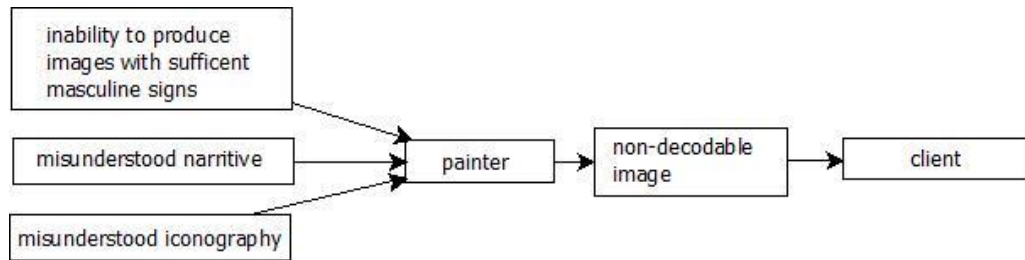
Figure 5

Naturalised, Hegemonic, and Negotiated Code

Hall, in his chapter on *Encoding and Decoding*[106] makes another important assertion: that within the process of image production and consumption, there is a certain extent to which the code becomes naturalised. Naturalisation of code, he states, is a function whereby the decoder of the message assumes the "status of naturalised perceptions".[107] These 'naturalised perceptions' lead the decoder (using the example given by Hall) "to think that the visual sign for 'cow' actually *is* (rather than *represents*) the animal cow".[108] Hall suggests that this naturalisation allows for the decoder to associate 'arbitrary' signs[109] to a range of different representations of an image.[110] allowing interpretation for those which fit the naturalised code. The manner in which 'a cow' is seen to be a cow, according to Hall is through "a fundamental alignment and reciprocity – and achieved equivalence – between the encoding and decoding sides of an exchange of meanings".[111] That is, the extent to which this alignment occurs determines the natural acceptance of an image as a representation of an object to a given society. To further qualify this, the 'naturalisation of code' as a theoretical principle operates on a set of two assumptions, where firstly, it

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[106] Hall et al. (1980)

[107] ibid. p. 132.

[108] ibid. p. 132.

[109] I will deal with the nature of arbitrary signs in the following section. The 'arbitrary' nature of signs refers here, to the lack of resemblance of a sign to the object or thing that it is supposed to represent.

[110] Hall suggests, using the cow example, that a cow in literature is a completely different from to image of a cow in an animal husbandry book both are however interpreted as holding place (conceptually) for a cow by the decoder, as noted in Hall et al. (1980) p. 132.

[111] Hall et al. (1980) p. 132.

has the ability to vary between individuals who decode a message, and secondly that it is either constructed from a dominant hegemonic code, or a negotiated code.

Dominant Hegemonic Code

This code is one which operates on "a pattern of 'preferred readings'…[which] have themselves become institutionalised".[112] Hall states that these patterns of 'preferred readings' are themselves subject to 'preferred meanings', which have: "the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs: the everyday knowledge of social structures, of 'how things work for all practical purposes in this culture', the rank order of power and interest and the structure of legitimations, limits and sanctions." [113] Hall further states that the hegemonic viewpoint is defined through "(a) […] mental horizon, the universe, of possible meanings, of a whole sector of relations in a society of culture; and (b) that it carries with it the stamp of legitimacy – it appears coterminous with what is 'natural', 'inevitable', 'taken for granted' about social order".[114]

1. Negotiated Code

Negotiated Code, by contrast, is not one which "carries with it the stamp of legitimacy",[115] but rather one which accounts for the degree of variation in the ways the decoder may interpret a given message. This could be for a range of different reasons, from social to political. This negotiated code, according to Hall, "contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements: it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules - it operates with exceptions to the rule".[116] Negotiated code then permits the audience the ability to interpret a code in an individual manner; albeit in a manner which acknowledges the hegemonic position.

The extent to which it is possible to see these elements operating within Black-figure for the Archaic Athenian audience is one which is of great importance to this dissertation, and which will be explored in greater depth in the individual chapters. This is achieved largely through looking at other visual media of the period, and the way in which it relates to Black-figure.

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[112] ibid. p. 134.
[113] ibid.
[114] ibid. p. 137.
[115] ibid.
[116] ibid.

Signs, Semiotics, and Limitations

A code, regardless of its naturalised, hegemonic or negotiated status, is constructed from an array of various signs. These signs may be constructed from a range of different actions; whether written word, gestures, or sound, etc. In this study, the signs considered are visual images on the ceramics. Encoding/decoding then, is concerned with the transferral of meaning from one group to another, via signs. Semiology as a discourse was largely pioneered by Ferdinand de Saussure[117] and Umberto Eco.[118] The discourse concerns itself with the "signs and signals, sign systems, and sign processes",[119] employed in the production of meaning. To arrive at an overall meaning from signs, two levels of structure are typically considered: connotative and denotative. At these levels, signifiers and signified meanings are created. Hall asserts that a sign very rarely signifies only its 'literal' (that is, conventional) meaning. In actual discourse most signs will combine both the denotative and connotative *aspects*".[120]

Here, a brief description of each of these levels of structure is needed. Firstly, denotative meanings are typically understood as those that are literal, or common sense. To use the example given by Hall, a picture of a cow denotes a cow. In this example the image of the cow is the signifier, while the signified is the interpretation and association of the image with a physical cow. The connotative meaning on the other hand is the meaning which goes beyond the literal articulation of the sign; it is one which is considered to be driven by semiotic convention. Using Halls example here again, the cow as a signifier is still a picture of a cow, however the signified now has a range of possible signified meanings, such as the meat, milk or money. These definitions are largely created by the society to which they belong. Figure 6 illustrate the how signs gain meaning through the connotative and denotative structures.

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[117] Presented in English through the work of Culler (1986).
[118] Eco (1979).
[119] Moriarty (2002) p. 20.
[120] Hall et al. (1980) p. 133.
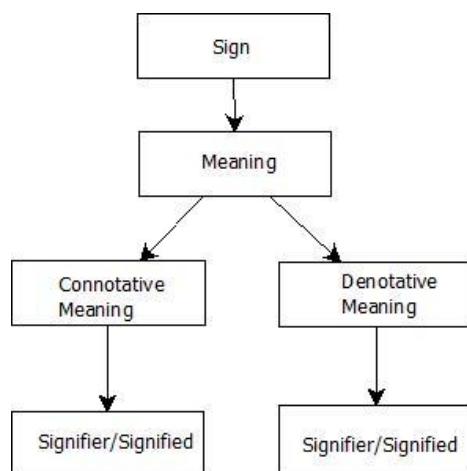
Figure 6

The study of signs and semiotics are, however, not without their limitations, especially when it comes to the interpretation of an ancient medium such as Black-figure. While it provides terminology and a conceptualization of how signs gain meaning, it does not provide a model by which to access societies which are dissimilar to the modern world for which the theory was designed. To elaborate on this briefly, according to Hall's definition, a sign is constructed very rarely on just its denotative or literal meaning, since connotative meanings must also be considered to exist in a given sign. It can however be argued that a sign is not as arbitrary in visual media as it is in text, this is on account of our hegemonic position to consider a picture of a cow to denote anything other than a cow. Access, then, to the connotative in a society, such as the one considered in this dissertation, is limited. Such limitations of what is known about societal connotations of the signs considered in this dissertation, are vast. Used alone as a theory it, connotation, is fraught with problems when applied to a context where so little is known about the connotative landscape. However when brought to use alongside mass media theory (presented above) and masculinity theory (discussed below), I believe a better understanding and more complete conceptualisation should become apparent.

That is, that neither the characters nor the iconography fully conveys meaning for the scene. Meaning in both its connotative and denotative conceptualisation is affected by the entirety of the scene, a point on which I elaborate on the next page.

1. Elements of Composition

The image in Black-figure is comprised of several different elements, including subsidiary decorations, auxiliary characters, and main characters and narratives. These individual elements of decoration are repeated fairly consistently[121] throughout the medium, and are determined by the shape of the vessel. The specific combinations of these individual elements are often referred to as a compositional template. While a multitude of compositional templates exist, a relationship exists between choice in image production and these templates. This relationship, together with conventions of iconography, creates a legible stylistic convention. The role of the compositional template and iconography are both factors that ought to be considered throughout the dissertation, in order to establish the influence over the image, and subsequently the manner in which meaning and masculinity is displayed. In fact, the primary subjects of analysis in this dissertation are not the individual scenes on specific vases, but rather the recurring compositional templates associated with specific narratives or events, and their variations. Together these make up what, in this dissertation are called type-scenes, a concept explained in greater detail in the methodology section.

1.1 The role of subsidiary decoration in image production

Subsidiary decoration is a term used to describe any decoration that does not involve the main characters within the scene. It can comprise of purely decorative renderings which border the scene,[122] or secondary scenes comprised of a set of mythological or 'real' characters.[123] The impact of the first type, decorative renderings, is often to fill unoccupied space and to enhance the aesthetics of the scene. This type of decoration has the effect of creating a formalised space in which the main and auxiliary characters are rendered, focusing the eye of the viewer onto the main action of scene. Secondary scenes, on the other hand, appear typically on larger vessels (such as hydria), and comprise their own separate composition and underlying narrative. They are typically unrelated conceptually to the narrative of the main scene from which they may differ in a number of ways. Firstly, the secondary scene is more restricted in terms of physical space, a restriction which limits what types of scenes can be rendered.[124] Secondly, the limitation of space in turn often sees a reduction in detail, often resulting in the characters' iconography not being as distinct as those in the main scene. Thirdly, both the size and positioning of the secondary scene suggest that the message or narrative contained in the scene is of secondary importance to the main

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[121] There are artists such as Exekias who break this convention, to be dealt with throughout the study where applicable.
[122] Such as lotus and palmette festoons.
[123] This secondary scene may or may not have a relationship to the main scene.
[124] Typically combat – either on chariot or foot, or processional scenes are favoured.

scene. I will be examining this last point in the dissertation, to determine if there is a conceptual relationship between the narratives in the main and subsidiary scenes, and whether these counter-examples are of particular interest to the dissertation.

1.2 The role of the auxiliary characters in meaning production

The inclusion of auxiliary characters in any given scene has an impact on several different aspects of the overall construction of the image, such as decoration, scene composure, narrative, or iconography. Each of these, as will be shown, has a bearing on the way we read masculinity in the scenes. Decoratively, auxiliary characters give form to the scene by filling space surrounding the main character or characters (Figure 7). The use of space is important to understanding the scene and links with scene composition. Auxiliary characters provide visual structure to the scene. The manner in which they are composed by the artist allows for him to achieve visual focus, drawing the attention of the viewer to the main character or characters. This is achieved through a number of devices, from the relationship between size of the characters, the characters' stances, or their gaze. This focus can sometimes show the subordination of specific characters to other characters within a scene, which in turn may have a bearing on the message. However, while these characters are subordinated to the main character/s of the scene, auxiliary characters are a still part of the scene. They afford us a greater understanding of what the scene portrays, and add meaning to the scene. Often we are only able to identify what narrative or story a specific scene portrays through these characters. It is their iconography and their interaction with the main character which permits this. An example of this is in a scene known as the 'birth of Athene'. In this scene, there are occurrences where Athene, the key identifying character is missing, and thus scholars have been led to interpret these scenes as the 'birth' on account of the composition of the remaining characters (Figure 8 illustrates the full scene, while Figure 9, a portion of it).

Figure 7

Figure 8   figure 9

Here, Stansbury-o'Donnell provides a framework in which to categorise the involvement of the auxiliary characters in meaning production. In his book *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens,*[125] he suggests that auxiliary characters (referred to in the boundaries of spectators in his work) can be classed into six categories. These spectators are differentiated largely by stance and by gesture. These categories are: inert/inactive spectators; spear-bearing spectators; active spectators; very active spectators; spectators leaning on sticks; and seated spectators, respectively.[126] Of these categories, the inactive, active and very active groups are of interest to this dissertation, as the development of the character's masculinity is tied in with the auxiliary characters in the scene, and their ability to influence its outcome. To describe each of these categories briefly, inert/inactive spectators, are, as the title suggests, characters who do not influence the outcome of the scene itself. They range in stance and depiction, but are typically limited to stances that are static, and gestures that do not influence affect the scene itself.[127] Active spectators, by contrast, are those which, while not affecting the scene, interact with it, these characters Stansbury-o'Donnell typically describes as those that have their arms extended in encouragement.[128] Lastly, very active spectators are those with the greatest range of movement. They have a strong role on the reading of the scene, and are identifiable as most expressive in terms of gestures.

This dissertation shall employ these categories when describing the involvement of certain characters in the type-scenes considered, and how they may impact a reading of the character's masculinity.

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[125] Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006).

[126] For men, Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006) pp. 131-146, and for women, Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006) pp. 189-212.

[127] Stansbury-o'Donnell provides charts of different stances and gestures for men and women Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006) pp. 132,190

[128] Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006) p. 138.

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Masculinity and Black-figure

Introduction

Having described a general theory of the encoding and decoding of meaning in black-figure, I turn now to the task of applying this to the way in which masculinity was encoded in vase-paintings. Accessing masculinity of this period is a difficult task, not least because contemporary works in the field largely focus on issues that concern modern society on a case specific level and, by and large, offer little to the classicist attempting to answer questions of the ancient world. For this reason, in this study, modern theory must be supplemented by arguments grounded in common sense, as well as our knowledge of the ancient world.

This section shall therefore be split into two different areas. The first presents some general theories and strategies borrowed from modern Masculinity Studies, in order both to contextualise and frame the analysis, while the second adapts and shapes these theories to suit the study of the ancient world. In particular, a set of 'masculine markers' is defined, grounded in common sense, in biology, as well as in what is known about the operation of gender in the ancient world. These markers, explained and defended in the last part of this chapter, will form the basic categories of analysis for the rest of the study.

Gender, Sexuality, and Masculinity - A Separation of Terms

While the concepts of masculinity, gender and sexuality are clearly interrelated, not only are they different from a conceptual and theoretical standpoint, but they have given rise to different areas of study. Gender Studies concerns the operation of gender in terms of its representation and impact on the formation of identity. Masculinity is a field that appropriates concepts from both studies in masculinity and femininity, and relevant sexuality. Sexuality concerns the operations of sex, not typically the physical act, but rather the manner in which it is socially understood. This can range from the construction of sexual desire, to sexual orientation, and the role of sex within the society. Finally, the concept of masculinity is concerned with the ideas and ideals of what it is to be a man, from characteristics, mannerisms, and gendered roles. The field of masculinity studies arose out of gender studies, and furthermore sexuality plays a large role in the construction of masculine identity. For this reason, while this dissertation does not consider masculinity in isolation, it instead maintains an awareness of the roles of gender and sexuality in its construction.

Strategies towards a Definition of the 'Masculine'

Connell[129] lists four different strategies which he believes characterises how masculinity has been studied, namely *normative, positivist, essentialist,* and *semiotic*. These approaches, according to Connell, arrive at a very different understanding of what makes a 'man'. Below I give a brief description of each, using Connells definitions, followed by an explanation of the role of each in the approach taken in this study.

First, normative approaches assume that a level of difference exists between the sexes, that gender is essential, and hence they "offer a standard: masculinity is what men ought to be".[130] Positivist approaches are typically scientific and are, according to Connell, those "whose ethos emphasises finding facts, yield a simple definition of masculinity: what men actually are."[131] These approaches emphasise a psychological approach and employ the use of statistics in order to validate their assumptions.[132] Essentialist approaches "typically pick a feature that defines the core of the masculine, and hang an account of men's lives on that, [giving the examples of] risk taking, responsibility, irresponsibility, aggression".[133] Finally, semiotic approaches "abandon the level of personality and define[s] masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinity is, in effect, defined as not-femininity".[134]

Each of these strategies, excluding the positivist strategy[135] are included in this study, but at different levels. While it will become more apparent where these fit into the study in the section dedicated to methodology, while clearly it is not the aim of this study to make any claims about how men should behave, the normative approach is useful in attempting to understand how Athenians believed men should behave. Deconstructing this is one of the core aims of the dissertation and is a large undertaking. In Chapters 5 and 6 in which the theory is applied to the characters of Dionysos and Herakles, the conclusions will draw together findings of the analyses with the specific aim of answering the normative question: 'what do the vases tell us about how men were expected to behave?' Secondly, the essentialist strategy frames the *prima facie* categories suggested in the second part of this section, centring on the creation of masculine markers and the ranges in which they can be seen to operate. Finally, the semiotic strategy, which I have already explored at length in the previous section of the chapter, is one which permeates the entire investigation into the masculinity of Black-figure.

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[129] Connell (2005) p. 68.
[130] ibid. p. 69.
[131] ibid.
[132] ibid.
[133] ibid. p. 70.
[134] ibid.
[135] The positivist strategy is not considered, as it is a largely psychological approach.

Hegemonic and Multiple Masculinities

In the introduction I have suggested that the field of modern masculinity resulted from developments in the late 1980s and 1990s. These developments brought about two conceptual revaluations of the structure of masculinity, which moved the field forward. Connell's study *Masculinities[136]* presented a formal method by which to deconstruct the paradigm of masculinity. Specifically, she presented a complicit model, which revealed masculinity not to have been cohesive, semantically or socially. Rather, for Connell masculinity is a flexible and adaptive concept, changing under the influence of social and cultural conditions. She specifically argued that the term masculinity is not an adequate one when dealing with a large society, but rather that the term *masculinities* is more appropriate, since a multitude of different masculinities are present in a single society.[137] These masculinities, according to Connell, exist within a power relationship with each other, a power relationship that determines the position they each hold within a society. These power relationships create masculinities which Connell defines as 'hegemonic', 'subordinate', 'complicit' or 'marginalised'. These categories, I believe, will be useful when attempting to situate the masculinities of the various characters studied in this dissertation; specifically when comparing the masculinities of the characters examined in the later chapters. For this reason, a brief explanation of these categories is needed.

1. Hegemonic Masculinities

Connell defines this as the 'leading cultural position'. However, she is pragmatic about how this hegemonic masculinity comes into being. She believes that it is not the result of a single person or ideal but rather of a "correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power".[138]Connell's understanding of a hegemonic masculinity is "defined as the configuration of gender practice, which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, and which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women".[139] She further states that those persons that exemplify a given hegemonic masculinity are not necessarily the rich or powerful,[140] but rather may be those that occupy a popular social position, such as (and using the example of Connell) film actors, or fantasy figures,[141] or to use an example from this study, a demi-god or

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[136] Connell (2005).
[137] Here I give a contemporary example, that of modern South Africa. It is possible to view that multiple masculinities are at play within one socio-economic grouping, and that those masculinities are different from masculinities of a different grouping or cultural unit.
[138] Connell (2005) p. 77.
[139] ibid.
[140] The structure of hegemonic masculinity not taken here as top-down, but rather as lateral.
[141] ibid.

hero. Finally on this point, Connell illustrates that the concept of Hegemonic masculinity is one that is shifting. For Connell this shift occurs when "conditions for the defiance of patriarchy change, the bases for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded. In this way, groups may challenge old solutions and construct new hegemony".[142]

2. Subordinated Masculinities

In any position of cultural dominance, such as a hegemonic masculinity, there are positions which are excluded and countered in order to justify that cultural position. Subordinated masculinities are those existing outside and therefore with limited power in a given hegemonic masculinity. Connell suggests that in the modern Western society, this position has largely been filled by homosexuality, along with characteristics or actions that may seem effeminate in relation to the hegemonic masculine position.

3. Masculine Complicity

While the first two definitions may be considered to be diametrically opposed, Connell observes that there is a third category, that of masculine complicity. She notes that "many men do not actually meet the normative standards"[143] set out by the hegemonic position. Thus, although hegemonic masculinity may realistically only be practiced by a small number.

4. Marginalised Masculinities

Finally, Connell describes marginalised masculinities as those which operate outside of the three concepts described above. They differ on the levels of class or race and are, to varying degrees, subordinate to the hegemonic. These marginalised masculinities may too have other hegemonic and further subordinated masculinities within them.

How these categories may be applied to the study of black-figure will become more apparent in the next chapter on methodology. In Chapters 4 and 5, these categories will be used to analyse the masculinities displayed by the characters in the scenes in which they appear, contrasting them when it is appropriate in order to arrive at some understanding of which masculinity they best belong to, and ultimately at a better understanding of the social operation of masculinity in Archaic Athens. The second area where this theory is applied is in the comparisons between the various scenes within each character's corpus. Finally, these categories will be applied to the comparison between the two characters studied in the conclusion to this

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[142] ibid.
[143] Connell (2005) p. 77.

study, explaining the relationship between the masculinities they embody in terms of the categories established by Connell.

Masculine Markers

While the above sections presented strategies towards the definition of masculinity, and different levels of power relationship existing between masculinities, none offers a concrete manner of interpreting masculinity for any society other than that of their respective authors. The solution is one of my own making, as it attempts to situate meaning for the interpretation of ancient masculinity through a list of masculine markers. These markers are, in essence, *prima facie* categories, selected not at random, but rather through the observance of biological determinants, common sense, and information presented in the literary accounts of the periods, both prior and subsequent. In addition, these markers selected on account of their appearance, as in multiple societies, and thus conform to what Connell terms as Essentialist definitions. Below I will detail each of these different aspects briefly, illustrating their relevance to the current study.

List of Masculine Markers

- **The Relationship to Masculine Hierarchy**

  The manner in which the character relates to other men is of interest to the establishment of masculinity for the character. In this dissertation, I will be looking at both how the character relates to the gods, and where possible, how he relates to mortals. This is done in order to understand the different positions of 'masculine power' that the character may hold within a masculine hierarchy.

- **Concepts of the Body**

  While this dissertation largely ignores the body, it does attempt to examine the representation of the body when compared to other representations put forward in the sample group.

- **Duty**

  A sense of duty is embedded in what is considered to be manly by number of societies. Duty is a broad concept, that may be manifest in a number of different behaviours. For instance, once may show duty to one's family, to one's state, or to 'the gods'. In this study, the only aspect of duty presenting itself through the ceramics and literature is that of 'duty to the gods'. The extent to

which each of the characters expresses this in a given scene may be indicative of masculine position.

- **Relationship to Women**

  While this is a very broad term when conceptualising masculinity, and one which this dissertation could not fully explore, what I intend to do under this heading is compare the way in which these characters interact with the women that they are rendered alongside. How each woman is positioned semiotically, and what they add to the overall composition of the scene, will be considered in order to understand the characters' interrelationship.

- **Battle**

  Battle, has always been associated with the masculine. From the Homeric Period to modern times, battle and the success in battle has always been intrinsically linked to a given character's masculinity. Thus, examining how the character relates to battle scenes is an important factor in the construction of the masculine.

- **Rage vs. Control**

  Both rage and the ability to control one's self are important aspects in the consideration of the masculine. They can be represented either through culture and a single person in a very different manner. For some characters, the lack of control is an acceptable part of their composition, while for others, control is what largely defines their masculinity. Clarifying this for the individual characters and scenes is a large part of the endeavour in the analysis of this marker.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In the discussion of theory, I outlined a wide range of different approaches, most of which have not yet been applied to the study of black-figure. The purpose of this section is to propose a formal manner of integrating those approaches into a methodological framework for understanding masculinity through the medium of Black-figure. This is achieved through four different headings in this chapter, the first concerns the approach to sources, the second, the way in which the theory discussed in the previous chapter is applied (*Establishing Meaning*), the third a direct implementation of this framework of meaning (*From Meaning to Masculinity*), and the fourth concerns the structure by which analysis will occur in this dissertation.

Definition of Terms

Prior however to launching into this methodology section, several terms which are used regularly in this dissertation require clarification. The most critical of these is the term type-scene. A type-scene is a literary device used to explain the convention by which an author describes a specific character or object. It is, in most cases, a repetition, which is familiar to an audience, and appears across different scenes in which the character or object appears. In Black-figure the term is used to describe the similar rendering of a particular scene (from narrative) between different occurrences, in relation to narrative. Examples of these are the Birth of Athene (Figure 10 and Figure 11), Theseus and the Minotaur (Figure 12 and Figure 13) and the abduction of Helen (Figure 14 and Figure 15).

Figure 10   Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

While variation exists in the depiction of a particular type-scene between occurrences, it has little denotative impact on the reading of the scene. Rather, these differences are connotative.[144] Part of the type-scene in black-figure is the compositional template. While this has been explored in Chapter 2, its relationship to the type-scene needs to be explained here. A compositional template is the convention by which the artist depicts a specific scene, that is, making it possible for a single type-scene to have multiple compositional templates in which it is depicted. Conversely, it is possible to suggest that a compositional template can be used in multiple scene types. To provide an example of this from this study, there are several different compositional templates used to express the scene of Herakles and Kyknos, while a

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[144] Investigations in the various type-scenes will consider these differences.

compositional template, such as a procession, suits the Dionysos and the return of Hephaistos type-scene (Figure 16), but this is not the only type-scene where it appears (Figure 17).

Figure 16

Figure 17

Another important distinction lies in the use of the terms narrative, episode, event and scene. Firstly, narrative is used to refer to the literary work or works which relate to a type-scene. Secondly, an episode relates to a specific point in a narrative, and there can be multiple episodes within one narrative. Thirdly an event refers to a specific point in an episode (such as the death of Kyknos). Finally, a scene refers to the depiction of an episode or event in Black-figure.

1. Approach to Sources

1.1. Repositories

This dissertation relies on two repositories, the Beazley archive and the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*). The Beazley Archive, as mentioned previously, is a culmination of the life's work of John Beazley, who not only attributed tens of thousands of vases to thousands of previously unknown hands, but also created a comprehensive collection of drawings, photographs and notes regarding the Black-figure ceramics that he had examined. This online database has also been integrated with a digital version of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (*CVA*), a series of publications cataloguing ancient Greek ceramics in various museums around the world. These catalogues provide not only concise description, but also present comparison and interpretation by the scholar who wrote them. Together they form the most detailed and easily accessible database for the research of Black-figure ceramics. The online archive permits the researcher to specify multiple different criteria from a wide selection of parameters, presenting very specific results through a search engine. The records detail images of the ceramics, as well as details on ceramic shape, estimated date, various publications, attribution, and description of decoration. This level of specification in terms of search criteria has permitted me to form a sample group (the sampling strategy is discussed in section 3 below) for each of the type-scenes selected for this study.[145]

The *LIMC*, is a printed encyclopaedia organised according to mythological subject, as represented on all forms of ancient art, including ceramics. Each entry includes a list of ancient literary sources, a discussion on the origins of the myth, a list of all known artistic representations. Each of these entries is accompanied with discussion, commentary and regularly is presented with photographs. These entries, unlike the Beazley archive, are largely sorted by type-scene, and together with the size of their catalogue, greatly facilitates the construction of a sample of comparanda between Black-figure and forms of contemporary art.

1.2. Selection of Characters:

It is a fair claim that any image, given that it is of a man, might exhibit some element of masculinity.[146] Simply stating this, however, does not permit any useful understanding, as masculine images taken out of context means very little. Furthermore it is not possible for this dissertation to consider all representations

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[145] While it is not possible to search for a specific scene type, it is possible to search for an individual character. It is from that characters corpus that I build the sample group.

[146] Provided that we consider the society that created it had some understanding of the term, as previously discussed.

of men in the Archaic Period, or even in Black-figure. For these reasons, this study does not attempt to be exhaustive in its scope, but rather works from a carefully selected sample from the corpus of two characters concerned, on whom there exists a considerable body of knowledge.

Further to this, the rationale for the selection of these two characters, Herakles and Dionysos, is that that they appear, at least to modern eyes, to represent elements of two vastly different masculinities. To once again refer to a modern analogy, that of characters portrayed by Arnold Schwarzenegger and James Bond, neither can be described as representing hegemonic or dominant masculinity[147], but elements of their masculinity are considered desirable to modern Westernised audience, such as their braveness or ability to overcome any obstacle. In the same way, it is possible to observe similar trends in the construction of these two mythological characters. An example of this is the many powerful figures from the ancient world that chose to claim to be descendants, or be depicted as Herakles. Examples of this can be found ranging from Alexander the Great (Figure 18) and Commodus (Figure 19).

Figure 18

Figure 19

Another key point in the selection of characters for this study is the regularity with which they appear. Herakles and Dionysos, the main subjects of this study, are the two most popular figures in black-figure,

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[147] That is that the manner in which their characters masculinity is unrealistic for the majority of people and thus cannot be considered to be dominant.

and are depicted on a total of 3443 and 4372 ceramics, respectively.[148] This frequency is important on two levels for the study at hand. Firstly, and obviously, it speaks to the popularity of the character in the 6th century. This popularity in turn bespeaks masculinities which may have been popular or acceptable to the audience of the ceramics. The second level where the frequency of these characters takes its influence is in the creation of the sample group (as described in the next section). Here, this frequency creates a relatively large quantity of ceramics for each type-scene, which in turn creates a sample group able to be compared.

1.3 Sampling Strategy

The number of ceramics on which scenes involving Herakles and Dionysos is overwhelmingly large, as is the number of different narrative scenes in which they appear. In order to confine the number of images analysed, I have selected a smaller set of vases, which I believe is representative and sufficient for the purposes of the study.[149] There are two different levels of sampling involved. The first level occurs across type-scenes, and the second occurs within the selected type-scenes. In the case of the first, I have attempted, as with the characters, to select scenes which present aspects of masculinity readily interpretable to a modern audience. While by no means are these the only scenes which depict the characters' masculinities in Black-figure, I have selected the scenes in order to maximise the range of masculinity displayed. In the second case, I have selected examples within each type-scene, which represent both those that conform to the compositional template, as well as those which lie outside of it, in order to provide a less biased investigation. These sample groups can be found in the catalogue section at the end of this dissertation, and are referred to in this dissertation according to this catalogue. An example of this is [HT05], HT representing Herakles and the Delphic Tripod, and the designation of '05' referring to the fifth ceramic in the list.

An important consideration in the selection of examples for each scene type is that the ceramics known to us today are likely to represent but a small fraction of the total production. Arising from this is the problem that it is not clear as to whether a small number of ceramics depicting a particular scene truly represents the popularity of the scene – particularly when only a handful of said scenes survive. It is with this constraint in mind that the selection of specific examples for each type-scene has been chosen, in this dissertation, to maximise the diversity of renderings with that type-scene.

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[148] Figures taken from the Beazley Archive.
[149] This is by no means a true sampling strategy, as it is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I present an approach to sampling the ceramics of these type-scenes.

Establishing Meaning

2.1 Constructing a Codec of Meaning

One of the problems presented in the theory section is the way in which we, as the modern audience, arrive at meaning or context for a masculine image. In this section, I argue for a model by which it may be possible to begin to understand how meaning may have been manifest for the ancient audience of Black-figure. This model takes into account the theory proposed by Hall, as discussed in Chapter 2, where both the producer and the receiver of the image are affected by the process of interpretation. There is, however, a gap between the abstract theory proposed by Hall and its employment as a practical tool for analysing ceramics. Thus, this section attempts to bridge that gap. The approach this model takes, then, is to present, in a formalised manner, the various factors which may have influenced both the production and interpretation of the image by the encoders, who would mainly be the artists; and by the decoders, examples of which are the buyers, their guests who would see the vases, and not excluding the modern audience who try to imagine the meaning of the scenes to their intended audience some two millennia ago. These factors include visual media (such as sculptures, other ceramics, metal vessels and temple decoration), the remaining literature, and common sense.

Here, a conceptual term borrowed from Engineering may serve. A 'codec' in Engineering is used to describe an algorithm for coding and decoding signals. This 'codec' is the method used by an artist to communicate using an image, and is one shared – for the most part – by the viewer who determines and uses a similar algorithm to decode it. Thus the task of interpreting images can be said to be a reverse-engineering of the codec. For a detailed visualisation of this model, see Figure 20.
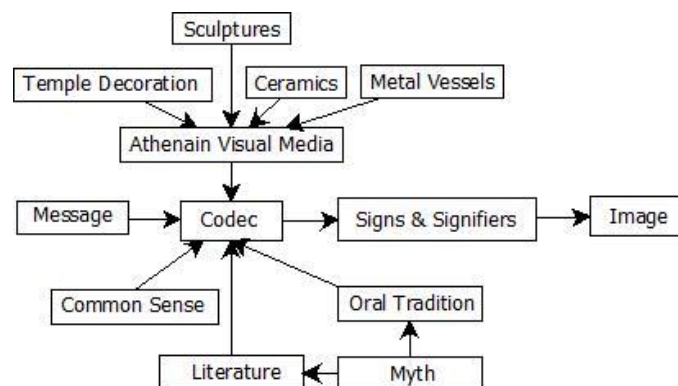
Figure 20

To further explore the term codec and the manner in which it is manifest in black-figure, several considerations need to be taken in to account. Firstly, each person has their own version of a codec and as such it is possible to suggest, as Hall does,[150] that there are going to be distortions and misunderstandings in a communicative process, and thus a perfect codec, in terms of its abstract form, can never exist. It is also possible to suggest that the Black-figure painters would have had a better understanding of the various factors mentioned above, and thus possesses a more precise codec. However, there is evidence to suggest that some painters may have even more precise codec than others, having a greater conceptualisation of the code, where examples of this can be seen in the works of Exekias and the Princeton Painter (Figure 21 and Figure 22, respectively).

Figure 21

Figure 22

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[150] Hall et al. (1980) p. 131.

The degree of distance from the original audience provides challenges to fully grasping the codec of these images. In the following two examples, which portray the 'Rape of Kassandra' type-scene, it is not possible to not know if it is the painter's inability to accurately represent the scene or if it is our inability to interpret the painting, as the same compositional template has been used for both examples. On the left, the iconographical markers which would lead to the assumption that the image depicts the 'Rape of Kassandra' are missing,[151] and thus, meaning is left to inference or invention (see Figure 23 for the completed scene and Figure 24 for the incomplete scene).

Figure 23

Figure 24

Another consideration is that the role of each factor mentioned above would be different to the ancient producer or consumer than it may appear to us, with oral traditions and myths being part of their construction of the codec, whereas, as the modern audience, we can only access the codec through later literature, and the remaining archaeological evidence. Our codec is also informed to a greater extent by common sense (rational argument), than the ancients, and to some extent we have modern theory to assist. Thus, while it is impossible to understand exactly what the meaning of an image was to a society so distant from our own, it is possible to create informed positions, given the various other data presented through the visual and literary record.

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[151] In this example, while the compositional template appears to be the same, the differences in its depiction make it difficult to interpret. In this case, the fact that the central character is wearing a helmet and that there is other fighting occurring around the central characters as a group, suggests that it could either be the 'rape of Kassandra' scene or alternatively it could be an episode from the gigantomachy.

3. From Meaning to Masculinity

While the codec ultimately underlies the interpretation of meaning, it does not specifically concern masculinity. Thus, some further refinement is needed. This is achieved through two different forms, the first through the use of masculine markers, and the second through masculine extents[152]. The first category will illustrate how these masculine markers are applied to the type-scene, while the second will illustrate how the markers themselves can be developed into more general understandings of a character's masculinity.

3.1. From Masculine Markers to Type-Scenes

The first level of this refined model are the masculine markers, as described in Chapter 2; these markers are formalised and comparable aspects in which to explore masculinity. They are deployed both within the individual scenes and between the scenes and characters. This is done in order to build a more comprehensive understanding of the characters' masculinity. For example, the masculine marker of 'battle' will be used as a paradigm both to explore how Herakles interacts with the lion, and how he interacts with Kyknos; where differences and similarities are generated and examined. Of course, it would not be possible to expect every type-scene to display every marker. Dionysos, for example, does not engage in scenes of battle, and thus cannot be studied under this masculine marker.

To illustrate this, Figure 25 and 26 show two different ways in which markers are used to analyse type-scenes and reveal information about the masculinities of the respective subjects. Firstly, Figure 25, shows that any single type-scene might display more than one masculine marker. Secondly, Figure 26 shows the distribution of a single marker over the different type-scenes might also be informative, particularly with regards to the masculinity of the specific character.
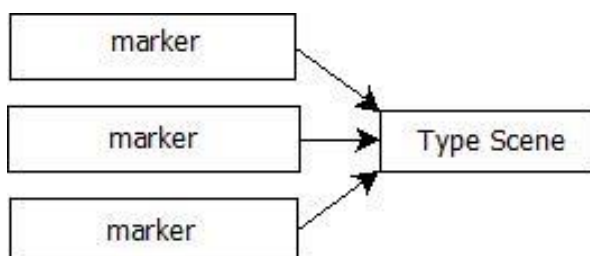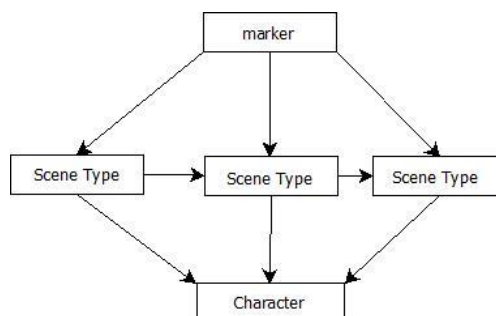

Figure 25

Figure 26

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[152] Explained below

3.2 From Masculine Markers to Qualifying Masculinity:

The second stage of building a conceptualisation of masculinity for the two characters studied is to quantify the extent to which the masculine behaviours are exhibited. Instead of a sliding scale, I propose four categories that are at once both quantitative and qualitative, namely: normative, acceptable, aberrant and comic. They are quantitative in the sense that they are based on the degree to which a masculine marker is manifest, and qualitative in that the extent lends some qualitative feel to the action. I classify type-scenes into these categories both through information generated through the codec, and through comparanda between different scenes masculine markers. The following is an example of this model, illustrating these various forms.
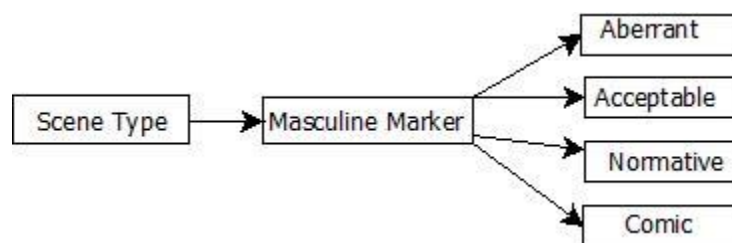
Figure 27

This formal approach to masculine markers permits for one other way in which masculinity can be explored. To achieve this, I will be comparing markers and extents between the two different characters, in order to establish to what degree they can be classed as exhibiting the different types of masculinity expressed by Connell (hegemonic, subordinate, masculine complacency and marginalised masculinities). This will also permit me to examine markers that are not comparable within a specific characters corpus of scenes. The outcome of this level of examination will illuminate trends operating within masculine ranges; and potentially inferring perspectives about the condition of masculinity of the period itself (see Figure 27 for a visualisation of this method).

4. Structure

As the study of these ceramics requires a certain amount of formalism in its approach, the chapters on Herakles and Dionysos will have a rigid structure. Thus formally, the investigation into each character will follow the example on the next page (Figure 28), with the type-scene category being repeated for each case considered. Comparisons between the elements of the character's masculinities will be reserved for the final Chapter 6, as they are dependent on the analysis presented in Chapter 4 and 5.

Introduction

Presents and discusses overarching issues concerning the character

Rationale for Scene Selection

Separated by type-scene

Type-Scene

Introduction and Literary accounts

> Describes different variants of the literary account

Typical Rendering of the Scene

> Looks at how the typical depiction of the scene as well as variants

Appearance of the Scene in Other Visual Media

> Considers the different appearances of this scene and their relation to Black-figure

Discussion

> Largely considers semiotic markers and their baring on the reading of the scene

Masculine Markers Displayed

> Discusses points raised in the above section in relation to the masculine markers set out in chapter 2

Conclusion

Offers a brief comparison between the different type-scenes consider, in order to explore masculinity

Figure 28

Chapter 4: Herakles

Introduction:

Herakles is one of the most popular characters from the ancient world. His exploits were characterised in literature, sculpture, paintings, and ceramics from the Archaic to the Late-Roman periods. While it is largely his success at the canonical deeds which define him, it is his masculinity which largely makes him a character of interest. His brute strength, articulated physical presence, and success in his deeds are all aspects which, for us, combine to form a character which is both distinctly heroic and distinctly masculine.

The popularity of the character in 6th century Athens is well noted: of the nearly 40 000 ceramics listed in the Beazley Archive, nearly ten percent of these depict Herakles. His popularity is only surpassed by the other character under investigation in this dissertation, Dionysos. The growth of Heraklean imagery in the 6th century is the result of at least two different factors. The first is a development of a mythological narrative for the character, as seen in Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles,* and secondly, the characters' involvement with the Eleusinian Mysteries purported by later authors.[153] Gantz points out that during the 6th century, we see the depiction of 11 of the 12 canonical labours with which the hero is associated in visual media. He states that of these, five are attested to in previous literature, while six are the invention of the period, and are first attested to in the medium of Black-figure.[154] The second factor likely to have influenced the character's popularity is the relationship he had with the political regime of the period. Boardman argues that the tyrant Peisistratos (who was largely dominant during the period in which black-figure was popular[155]), in an attempt to legitimise his rule, used Herakles to further his political needs. Boardman argues that there is evidence that Peisistratos appeared dressed like Herakles, and arrived in Athens on the back of a chariot, flanked by a character dressed as Athena.[156] It is a line of argument which is supported by the surviving archaeological record, showing that an increase took place in the popularity of the character and the time in which Peisistratos ruled, with a noticeable drop occurring in

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[153] An example of which is pseudo-Apollodorus, who recounts that Herakles, after being denied access to the mysteries on account of the slaughter of the centaurs, is cleansed by Eumolpus and allowed access to them. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.124.

[154] Gantz (1993) p. 381.

[155] Peisistratos had several attempts at establishing a tyranny in Athens which coincide with the period that Black-figure was popular. The first of these tyrannies is thought to be c. 555 BCE, and the last c. 537 BCE, which lasted till his death in 527 BCE.

[156] Boardman (1972) p. 158.

the period after Peisistratos's rule.[157] Boardman also argues that this occurrence altered the manner in which Herakles was depicted in visual media of the period.[158]

If Boardman's argument is correct, and that the increase in the circulation of Heraklean imagery was related to the tyrant's rule, then this would suggest that both the audience and the painters of Black-figure bought into both the narrative and character of Herakles. Here Boardman posits that Herakles as a character came 'naturally' to the Athenian audience as "he had been traditionally regarded as protégé of Athena"[159]. Boardman suggests that his association with the Eleusinian mysteries, which more and more came under the control of Athens, helped 'naturalize' him to an Athenian audience.[160]. This view of a 'naturalized Herakles' is one of particular interest for this section as it speaks to what the character's behaviour says about what was acceptable to the Athenian.

Herakles as a character is both tragic and violent. The actions which he commits as a result of the madness inflicted upon him by Hera, are as abnormal to our society as they were to the ancients. While this madness is a large part of the character's narrative[161], the actions which are the result of it, namely the murder of his wife and children and the murder of Iphitus, do not appear in Black-figure. Herakles as a character, is then depicted in a very specific way in Black-figure. These ceramics appear to focus largely on the successes of the character, as the majority of scenes involving the hero come from his labours. The prevalence of successful Heraklean scenes directly influences the perception of the character's masculinity, an analysis of which is the subject of this chapter.

For this task I have selected four different type-scenes, namely Hekrakles and the theft of the Delphic Tripod; the battle with Kyknos; the capture of the Kerkopes; and the battle with the Nemean Lion. These are each selected according to two different rationales. The first is the regularity with which they appear in the corpus, while the second is the wealth of masculine markers present in the scene. While these only represent a very small group of scenes from the character's rich corpus, I believe they best represent the range of masculinities displayed by the character and the best range of different markers that might be compared. Below is a more detailed justification for the selection of each of the scenes, each prefaced by a brief summary of the main elements of the narrative.

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[157] The remaining number of ceramics in Red-figure is significantly smaller by comparison to Black-figure (approximately 800 Red-figure ceramics), according to the Beazley Archive.
[158] Boardman (1972) p. 60.
[159] Boardman (1972) p. 158.
[160] ibid.
[161] For example, it gives rise to the Labours through Herakles's need for penance.

Motivation for Scene Selection

1. Herakles and the Delphic Tripod

The fullest narrative of this episode comes from pseudo-Apollodorus,[162] where he recounts that Herakles, in an attempt to cure himself of the madness inflicted upon him by Hera, went to the prophetic priestess at Delphi in order to receive an oracle. When the priestess offered none, Herakles in a fit of rage began to loot the temple with the aim of establishing his own oracle. The tripod was essential for Herakles, as it was the vehicle through which oracles were given. However when he attempted to leave with it, Apollo appeared and prevented him from doing so. The battle that followed between these two characters was eventually concluded by Zeus, who separated them with a thunderbolt.

This scene, on its surface, displays a very different aspect of Herakles than the others considered in this dissertation. Where in other scenes he seeks to undo the repercussions of his madness by obeying the command of the deity, oracle, or royalty under which he serves; in this scene we see a version of Herakles who attempts to challenge the respective gender and hierarchical order by ransacking the temple in an attempt to create his own fortune. In doing so, Herakles is depicted in a position above that of Apollo, and while the outcome is not in Herakles's favour, the scene illustrates that the masculine power he exhibits is either equal to the gods, or greater than it. He is also supported in this endeavour by Athene, who intercedes on his behalf. That he acts not out of duty, or piety but rather acts according to a personal desire, diverges from the modern conceptualisation of what it is to be a hero and to be heroic. For this reason, this scene is an important one to consider when developing a gendered position on the character.

2. Herakles and Kyknos:

The most detailed version of the myth is from Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles.*[163] It recounts the story of Herakles brought into conflict with Kyknos by Apollo and Athene. The resulting battle was swift, with Kyknos falling from a wound in the neck. Ares entered the battle in order to avenge Kyknos, his son. In this battle, Herakles wounded Ares in the thigh, but was instructed by Athene not to kill him. The battle was concluded when Ares was carried back to Olympos by chariot.

There are several factors which mark this scene as being of particular interest for this dissertation. The first factor is its popularity: the scene is one of the most common within the Heraklean corpus, and appears a total of 141 times in the Beazley archive. The second factor concerns the variations in the scene.

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[162]Apollod. Bibl. 2.6.2
[163]Hes. Theog. pp. 57-76; 327-483.

The sheer quantity of both major and minor variations to the scene makes it atypical within this corpus. Thirdly, this scene is one of relatively few which appear in the literary evidence in the period roughly contemporary to the Black-figure.[164] This close chronological relationship between the narrative and the ceramics permits greater insight into the visual departures and ranges of depiction. The fourth factor concerns the type of scene. This specific scene is of battle, one of the masculine markers identified in Chapter 2. Finally, the regular appearance of Athene in both the scene and the literary account, with a role as guardian and instructor of Herakles, has bearing for the reading of masculinity for Herakles.

3. Herakles and the Kerkopes

There are multiple different variants of this myth, each differing slightly from the others. The one I have selected is that of pseudo-Apollodorus. Here he describes Herakles seizing and tying up the Kerkopes, while he was Omphale's slave. The myth however does not describe who or what the Kerkopes were or the rationale for Omphale's request. The *Homerica*[165] recounts that they were two brothers, called *Kerkopes* (monkeys), on account of their cunning and profession, as they were thieves. While Diodorus Siculus suggests that it was their crimes that caused Omphale to manipulate Herakles.[166]

This scene reveals a key point in understanding Herakles's relationship to mortal men. In examining it, we can better construct an understanding of the relationship between the masculinity that Herakles embodies and that of ordinary mortals. In this scene, he shows characteristics which are unlike those expressed in other scenes. An example of this is that, while it is clear that he defeats the Kerkopes through brute force, their capture represents a more controlled Herakles than in other scenes, making the scene of interest in the determination of the character's masculinity.

4. Herakles and the Nemean Lion

The Nemean lion is generally taken as the first of Herakles's twelve canonical labours, where he defeats a lion. Most sources also include that this victory was achieved through squeezing, choking, or wrestling it to death. However, it is only with Diodorus Siculus[167] that we see the impenetrable lion skin being used as armour, a distinctive part of the character's iconography.

The motivation for the selection of this scene is twofold. Firstly, it is the most popular of all Heraklean scenes in Black-figure ceramic, and secondly it illustrates the most typical conceptualisation of the

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[164] This will be discussed later in this section.
[165] Hom. Evelyn-White: 539
[166] Dio. Sic. 4. 31. 7
[167] Dio. Sic. 4.11.3

character's masculinity. That is, as Herakles resolves his challenges through the use of physical strength, his physicality is a key part of his masculinity. He is paired and defeats one of the most dangerous animals in the world, not only illustrating this physicality, but likewise Herakles's supremacy in this sphere.

The order of this chapter will now follow a discussion of each of these type-scenes in the manner expressed in Chapter 3, followed by a brief conclusion, which will examine the masculine markers expressed in each type-scene.

Herakles and the Delphic Tripod

Figure 29

Introduction and Literary Accounts

This scene appears only fairly late in the surviving literary tradition, with the earliest extant account appearing in pseudo-Apollodorus,[168] according to whom Herakles sought an oracle from the Pythian Priestess after the murder of Iphitus, an action committed not out of penance, but out of a desire to rid himself of madness. The narrative further explains that the priestess declined to offer an oracle, in response to which Herakles began to loot the temple, in an effort to establish his own oracle. The tripod, as the central physical apparatus in the prophetic process, was thus required by Herakles in order to establish his own oracle. Apollo intervened as Herakles attempted to remove the tripod, and the resulting struggle was eventually concluded by Zeus' separating the two with a thunderbolt. The narrative ends with the tripod being restored by Herakles, and the Pythian Priestess granting him an oracle, who stated that he should be sold into slavery for a period of three years, and that reparation should be paid to Eurytus, Iphitus's father, for the murder.

The narrative of the tripod was also recounted by later sources such as Pausanias[169] and Hyginus.[170] Both narratives are very similar to pseudo-Apollodorus in their telling of this saga with several minor variations. Pausanias' account includes characters who support Apollo and Herakles, Athene for Herakles, and Artemis and Leto for Apollo. Hyginus' version, on the other hand, has Herakles seeking to atone for the murder, rather than seeking a cure for his madness.

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[168] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 6.2
[169] Paus. 13.6-13.8
[170] Hyg. *Fab.* 32

Typical Rendering of the Scene

The typical composition of this scene sees Herakles depart from the scene to the left, while his head is often turned to the right to face his opponent. There are, however, counter-examples in which the opposite is true. Herakles in all cases has the tripod under arm, clearly indicating his possession of the object.

Figure 30

He also regularly has his club raised above his head in an action that can only be read as threatening his opponent. The other constant figure in this scene is Apollo (the character to the right of Herakles figure 30), who is regularly depicted holding firmly to the tripod. While Apollo is not rendered in an iconography as distinct as Herakles's,[171] he is identifiable through the type-scene and through the other auxiliary characters. These auxiliary characters are Athene[172] and Artemis (far right and left, respectively in the above figure), each coming to the aid of their respective character of interest. In the case of Herakles, this is Athene, and in Apollo's case this is Artemis. Athene is regularly identifiable by her aegis and usually through being fully armed, while wearing a peplos (although Artemis does sometimes appear as any ordinary woman, dressed simply in a peplos). However, the frequency with which the figures of Athene and Artemis appear together in the Herakles and the tripod scene leads us to assert that the otherwise unidentified figure is likely to be Artemis.

Two small groups of alternative renderings of this scene have been noted by von Bothmer.[173] These groups can be identified by the composition, and particularly the positioning of the characters. In the first group,[174] the tripod is central to the scene, with Herakles and Apollo flanking it. In the second, there are

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[171] Here, and in other occurrences in Black-figure, he is rendered as a warrior, or simply as a man in a chiton.
[172] This argument will be made later in this chapter.
[173] von Bothmer, 1957.
[174] According to von Bothmer, this comprises six Black-figure ceramics (1957) p. 51-52.

examples of the scene where either of characters are mounted on chariots. In the second group, other deities such as Zeus, Dionysos and Poseidon also appear.

Appearance of the Scene in Other Visual Media:

There are two documented appearances of this scene in the visual media contemporary to the Black-figure period. These are the East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury (figure 33), and a set of sculptures (known only from an account in Pliny[175]), depicting what is believed to be this episode. Boardman, Parke, and van Bothmer, have each written an account explaining the scene's rise in popularity in Black-figure and its composition in terms of its characters, using both these visual resources and literary evidence. Below I will briefly explain each of these academic's arguments in turn, in order to explore these sculptures' influence on and relationship to the scene in black-figure.

First, Parke's paper explores the possible reasons why this particular scene appealed to an Athenian audience in late Archaic 'art'. Parke argues that the tripod gained symbolic meaning, resulting from the events of the First Sacred War. He postulates, on the basis of a number of fragments, that Herakles was associated "with the Krisian side in the first sacred war",[176] and that within the 'apocryphal tradition' from the War, there existed a narrative of a "Krisian attempting, like Herakles, to steal the mantic tripod from the Delphic sanctuary."[177] For Parke, the fragments which allude to the Krisaian narrative, when combined with the Heraklean narrative, suggest that the Tripod as an object was symbolically loaded. Furthermore he argues that "to carry off the tripod is not a general act of robbery: it is to take possession of the oracle of Delphi itself".[178] Given the result of the First Sacred War, with Athens and her partners liberating Delphi, the image of Tripod itself, he posits, became recognisable as a part of Greek life[179]. Finally he maintains that the construction of Herakles and the Delphic Tripod narrative may have been based on much older pre-existing narrative,[180] which saw the two gods as rival entities.

Boardman, like Parke, suggests that there some evidence which would explain the popularity of this particular scene in Black-figure. His argument, however, centres around a sculpture, mentioned by Pliny, and described by him as an expensive set of sculptures of 'Heracles, Diana, Apollo, and Minerva',[181] crafted by two Cretan sculptors, Diopoinos and Skyllis, within this period. Boardman concludes that the

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[175] Plin. HN. 36.4
[176] Parke & Boardman (1957) p. 281.
[177] ibid.
[178] ibid. p. 277.
[179] ibid.
[180] ibid. p. 278.
[181] Plin. HN. 36.4

only scene in which all of these characters could logically appear together is in the episode involving the theft of Delphic Tripod. The second argument is one based on lost literature. He suggests that "a hymn or poem symbolically commemorating the Sacred War in terms of the struggle seems the most likely source of inspiration for the group, and also provides an explanation for the wide popularity of the theme". [182]

Another approach Boardman considers is to ask where else these two characters (Herakles and Apollo) appear together. He suggests that in Black-figure there is one other type-scene in which this is the case, namely the struggle for the Ceryneian hind, part of the canonical labours. Pseudo-Apollodorus explains that Herakles was accosted by Artemis and Apollo in his attempt to retrieve the hind.[183] Boardman's argument is that the Hind was a loaded image, as it not only referred to the mythical event, but also directly to Apollo, owing to the god's association with the animal. He argues further that an association must have also existed between Hind, Apollo, and the First Sacred War in the mind of the Athenians in this period,[184] stating that the two 'attributes', the "tripod and hind (or fawn), are objects coveted by Herakles; both […] are objectives in the Sacred War, the 'animal' as the ally of Delphi, the tripod as symbol of Apollo's main function there".[185] For Boardman, the popularity of this scene in Black-figure can be read as the Athenians expressing interest in the Sacred War, and of the theme of the Theft of the Tripod itself.

Finally, von Bothmer's argument is that the typical rendering of this scene in ceramic art, from Black-figure onwards, is heavily influenced by the composition of the East pediment on the Siphnian treasury at Delphi (Figure 33). He points out that the early renderings of this scene in Black-figure, prior to the completion of the treasury, were very different to images from the later Black-figure period. For example, the earliest examples in Black-figure have a central group around the Tripod in a static composition (as exemplified by Figure 31), while the later examples follow the treasury example of an active scene that places emphasis on the struggle between Apollo and Herakles (such as in Figure 32).

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[182]ibid. p. 279.
[183]Apollod. Bibl. 2. 81
[184]Parke & Boardman (1957) p. 281.
[185]Parke & Boardman (1957) p. 281.

Figure 31

Figure 32
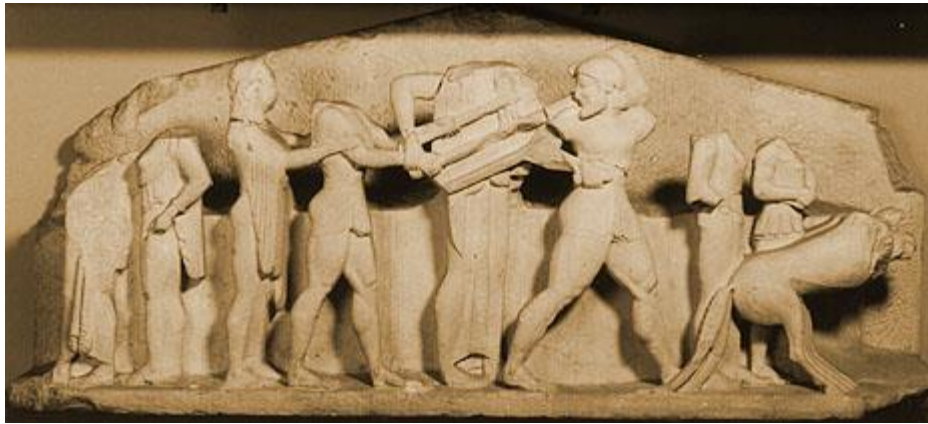
Figure 33

van Bothmer does however note that while no Black-figure ceramics are a 'slavish copy' of the pediment and that there is no "single vase that incorporates all the compositional elements of the pediment",[186] the similarities between the pediment sculpture and the vase paintings is marked. This argument, for the copying of the treasury, suggests that as a narrative this particular representation held value for the Athenian audience.

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[186] von Bothmer (1957) p. 52.

Discussion

There are several important iconographical and semiotic markers which influence our response to this scene. They are the weapons, the tripod, and the stance/positioning of the characters and their place in the scene. Firstly, Herakles's club, as discussed above, is a regular auxiliary character for Herakles, through the various adventures in which he is involved, so much so that it is considered to be part of the standard iconography for the character. In this scene, it is regularly rendered above Herakles's head, in what can be seen as a threatening manner, as if ready to strike his opponent. The positioning of the club above Herakles's head (which also appears above all other characters within the scene), suggests dominance in battle over his foe, Apollo. In all cases of this scene considered, Apollo is shown either weaponless or has his weapon sheathed. The auxiliary character supporting him, Artemis, is often rendered unarmed, or in the case where she carries arms, she does not brandish them. Athene, who is the auxiliary character supporting Herakles, is often rendered with spear drawn, and unlike Artemis, wields it in support of Herakles, amplifying the perception of Herakles's dominance over Apollo.

Regarding the composition and stance of the characters, Herakles is once again dominant. In positioning he is regularly rendered central to the scene, or alternatively, is positioned parallel to Apollo in the centre. In stance, Apollo is rendered as a less aggressive character by comparison. He is, in all the examples of the scene, shown to be holding the tripod, and as mentioned above, is unarmed. The deity is depicted as holding the tripod with various degrees of fervour by varying artists; in some cases Apollo clings desperately to the tripod struggling to maintain hold of it, while in others, he appears more static in his defence. This exaggeration occasionally sees him bent over, holding firmly to the tripod,[187] again showing Herakles's dominance over his foe.

The next point requiring exploration is Athene's role in the scene. However, to access her role in this scene, from a semiotic standpoint, we need to understand how she differs from other women and female deities in black-figure, and secondly how she is typically rendered in the style. Women in Black-figure have a range of different activities and roles, and can be roughly divided into those from everyday life and those which are related to mythology. In the first category belong tasks such as drawing water at the fountain, spinning wool, and acting as bystanders. In the second category, women form part of the mythological narrative, either in the capacity of bystanders or alternatively as active participants in the

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[187] It is possible to suggest that this depiction is the result of the skill of the artist, as this form of rendering is more difficult. Actions outside the typical rendering of characters can be seen, such as upright and side profiles.

scene, such as the maenads dancing and interacting with Dionysos. Athene falls into the latter of these two categories.

Athena appears regularly in Black-figure in a stance known as *pro machos*, also found in other visual media such as statues. It sees Athene holding a spear above her head, with an arm extended (see Figure 34). This *pro machos* stance is important for a two specific reasons. Firstly, it is a symbolic representation of Athene as the goddess of war; as a stance it mirrors the manner in which male warriors attack with spear (see figure 35). Secondly it presents Athene in a position of power or assertion in a given scene, to use the terminology deployed by Stansbury-o'Donnell,[188] it gives her a very active role in the scene.

Figure 34

Figure 35

There is, however, a difference between the typical representations of Athene *pro machos* described above, and her representation in the group of ceramics selected for the theft of the tripod scene. In this group, Athene is not depicted as though about to strike, but rather with the spear at her waist, with the tip of the spear pointed upwards (see figure 36). While the sample group for this scene is fairly small, the fact that there are no instances where Athene appears in *pro machos* stance, yet is still armed, indicates that there may have been some rationale for the painters depicting her in such a subdued pose. A possible explanation is that it follows a narrative account or an appearance in other visual media of the period. In the Pausanias account, the only account to mention her, her role is relatively minor, where she and other characters play a role supporting the two main characters.[189] Furthermore, the depiction of Athene in the East Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury seems to support the same hypothesis. Here, Athene is often tentatively identified as the character second to the right (see Figure 33). While the upper-half of the

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[188] Stansbury-o'Donnell (2006) p. 12-51.
[189] "Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and Athena is calming Heracles" Paus.10.13.7.

statue has been lost, it would be difficult to conceive that she could be *pro machos,* considering that she is facing away from the combat. Both the Siphnian treasury then, and the Black-figure depictions of this scene, show Athene in a less aggressive stance than the popular *pro machos* stance, and I postulate that she serves the role of providing agency for Herakles, through supporting his actions rather than acting on her own accord.

Figure 36

There is one other possibility of interpretation regarding Athene's role in this scene, which might see her as a supportive character, rather than as an aggressive one. This focuses on interpreting her contact with the tripod. In HT10 (Figure 37) she is pictured holding the tripod with one hand, with a spear in the other. Artemis, who appears regularly in this scene, is rendered as a character that is in many ways opposite to Athene. Here Artemis's involvement appears to mirror Athene's, where she supports her sibling Apollo. However, unlike Athene, her expression appears to be one of shock, as she gestures towards the tripod (see Figure 37). This subtle difference alludes to the power dynamic between her and Artemis that may have been in play during the Black-figure period, where Athene, due to her connotative association with Athens, was preferred and thus permitted a stronger position. While Athene here, is less aggressive than in other scenes, she still has a greater position of power when compared to Apollo and Artemis for the painter of Black-figure, this will be discussed below in relation to the masculine markers.

Figure 37

Next I move to the examination of this type-scene within the context of the broader corpus of Herakles scenes. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, Herakles is simultaneously both a tragic and a heroic character. While we can in no way consider Herakles, by modern standards, to be an altruistic hero, his attempt at atonement through his labours, it could be argued, positions him as a morally neutral character. He, by modern standards, is neither good nor bad. While his actions are largely undertaken for others, his underlying motives, according to narrative tradition, are to achieve purification. This scene however breaks from this description, as, enraged, he attempts to defile the oracle in order to achieve his goal. This action can only be seen as self-serving. If then we consider this a break from the characters typical position in narrative and depiction in visual media, we must ask the question as to why it appealed to an Athenian or Greek audience.

There are two other ways in which this scene can be explored. The first comes from an argument made by Boardman in a later paper, in *Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons*.[190] In this paper, Boardman explores the popularity of the character through a discussion of the political association of the period. Here, he suggests that Peisistratos attempted through several different means to forge an association with Herakles in the Athenian psyche. Boardman argues that this was achieved through the adoption of iconographical markers, such as the club,[191] or through the mirroring scenes, such as Herakles's return to Olympos. On this last point, Boardman observes a quote from Herodotus, which states:

> In the deme of Paiania there was a woman called Phye, three fingers short of four
> cubits in height and comely with it, whom they dressed in full armour and mounted
> in a chariot. Then, having rehearsed her in the most impressive pose to adopt, they

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[190]Boardman (1975)

[191]Boardman (1975) p. 61.

drove to the city where heralds who had been sent ahead announced, according to

their instructions, 'O Athenians, receive Peisistratos with friendly spirit for Athena

has favoured him above all men and herself leads him to her acropolis'.[192]

Boardman argues that it was this political manoeuvring on the behalf of Peisistratos upon his return to Athens after his first exile, which precipitated a change in the representation of Herakles in Black-figure; where once he was regularly depicted walking after the return of Peisistratos, here he typically appeared riding in a chariot with Athene.[193]

The next argument I present follows on from the above, and concerns the impact of the symbolism of the tripod on the audience of Black-figure. As discussed earlier, as a physical object, it was an important part of the prophetic process, and thus as an image, it was symbolically loaded for the audience for which this prophetic process held meaning. This would imply that it had religious connotations and also, if Boardman and Parke[194] are to be believed, a political connotation; one which would associate the tripod with the power of the state. The next point concerns the appearance of the tripod in Black-figure. The tripod is rendered outside of this scene in Black-figure, typically as a shield motif and appearing with a range of different characters. The regularity with which it is deployed suggests that the artists of Black-figure saw it as a popular image and not one which was restricted to the specific scene in question. An example of this is where it adorns Athene's shield as Herakles fights the Nemean Lion.

Figure 38

[192] Htd. 1.60.4-5
[193] ibid. p. 1.
[194]As discussed earlier, from Parke & Boardman (1957).

The last point I wish to make is with regard to the relationship that the scene has with the literary account. In the case of this scene, there appears to be very little difference between it and the literary account, in terms of the characters displayed. Here there is one important consideration to take into account, namely that there is a rather large chronological gap between the recorded narrative and the depictions of the scene in Black-figure and other visual media, with the literature from a later period. This gap raises the possibility that the visual medium may have influenced the narrative. While the scope of this dissertation would not permit for such an investigation, there is one important aspect to note regarding the relationship between these two sources, namely the depiction of the characters in the broader examples of visual media available to us from the period. Herakles, as I will make a case for below, is depicted as dominant, asserting control over the tripod and Apollo. This observation opposes all versions of the narrative, and in particular, the Diodorus Siculus account, which states that the battle between the two half-brothers was separated by Zeus, prior to any dominance being established. However this discrepancy ties into an argument concerning the character's popularity in 6th century Athens.

Masculine Markers Displayed

Relationship to masculine hierarchy

While one might assume that the normal hierarchy would be that gods would sit above demi-gods and demi-gods above mortals in a power hierarchy, and thus their masculinities would reflect as such, the theft of the tripod seems to present a counter example. Herakles here asserts his own desires, challenging the superior position of Apollo, as a god. The bias to which the painters and audience ascribe when producing and viewing Herakles, due to the reasons mentioned above, suggests that this break from the masculine hierarchy is acceptable, and indeed normal for the character.

The way in which Athene is depicted in the majority of these scenes is also important to a reading of masculine hierarchy in this scene. Athene, as I have argued above, has an active role in the scene. Her inclusion can be seen as having three implications, the first of which (argued above) is that she limits Herakles's masculine agency. The second point concerns her inclusion as a part of Herakles's iconography. If we consider, in the case of this scene, that Pausanius's account was not circulated amongst the Black-figure painters, then the only mention of her is removed, and we must consider that her inclusion was part of an iconographic tradition. The third point concerns her position within Athenian society. Because she is the patroness of Athens, scenes which include her are thus granted agency by the audience, it reasonable to consider, would have high regard for the goddess, if they are themselves Athenian.

While it is difficult to position Athene in terms of her gender power it is more likely that she was affected by the points above. Although Athene supports Herakles – a woman supporting a man, and is thus peculiar to a modern understanding of gender power – this should in no way be seen as diminishing his masculinity, as Athene was no ordinary woman but a goddess of war often depicted in other scenes in a combative stance. Even then, in this scene, Athene, for once, lowers her weapons, deferring to the hero in this instance.

The final point I consider under this heading is Artemis's role in the scene as it relates to Herakles's masculinity. Firstly, in her only appearance in the literary accounts, she is described as calming Apollo,[195] while in Black-figure, she appears, through her gesturing,[196] either to be in 'shock' at the event, or to intervene on behalf of her twin (see figure 39 and 40). Secondly, with the exception of HT04, she breaks the traditional composition of auxiliary characters.[197] This may suggest that her appearance was to follow a narrative that existed at the time of these paintings. Such a narrative may have differed from the Pausanius account, due to the manner in which she is gesturing. Finally, the majority of ceramics depicting both Athene and Artemis, show Athene as the more aggressive of the two, since although Athene is not *pro machos,* she is still more often seen wielding a spear, suggesting that she is asserting dominance. This final point supports the view that Herakles and Athene as a group have a greater masculine position than Apollo, Artemis and Leto and that, in turn, Herakles breaks from the preconceived deity-human masculine hierarchy for the painters and audience of Black-figure.

Figure 39   Figure 40

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[195] Paus. 10 13.7
[196] This is not so in all the cases. In HT04, she appears not to be gesturing but rather standing stationary to the left of Herakles.
[197] Here, the composition would see the two opponents (Herakles and Apollo) flanked by two auxiliary characters (typically Artemis and Athene). This scene composition follows a regular pattern in Black-figure.

Rage vs. Control

In the previous section I have described Herakles's apparent physical dominance of the scene. In this section, I wish to explore the manner in which this dominance is conveyed, and the extent to which it is depicted. Firstly, we must explore the extent to which Herakles's rage is manifest in the scene. He, unlike the scene involving Kyknos, which will be discussed in the next section, does not wound or attempt to kill the deity, but rather opposes him for the right to confer oracles; a right which would undermine the deity's masculine agency. There are, however, two different and opposing sides to the character's rage. He is either measured or uncontrolled, depending on the circumstances, and I shall attempt to investigate these individually. First, the literary narrative of the myth, rather than the visual depictions of it, depict a Herakles who is dominated by fits of rage that result in the aggressive looting of the temple and the theft of the tripod. This is in contrasted to the scene in Black-figure, where rage isn't manifest to a large degree, but rather, where the anger is tempered, exhibited only through Herakles's physical dominance in the scene and through the threat of his raised club.

There is some scope for the comparison between Herakles's madness, expressed in other scenes, and the rage exhibited in this scene. In all cases, where Herakles is affected by the curse of Hera, namely the episodes concerning the slaying of his wife and children and the murder of Iphitus, the effects of his rage are beyond his control. This creates a character who appears dislocated from his rage and actions, through the pardon of inflicted madness. It is this inflicted madness, coupled with his attempt to pay for his actions through his labours. This created a socially-acceptable image for the character. Furthermore, the lack of any ceramics depicting Herakles committing his two 'mad' crimes, suggests that they, the crimes, did resonate with the audience's understanding of the character. In addition to this, it is plausible to suggest that any rage exhibited by Herakles is mitigated through the popularity of the tripod as a motif or the popularity of Herakles to the Athenian audience. There are, however, other influential factors governing his rage, and the perception of his rage by the audience in this scene, which ought to be taken into consideration. One factor is that the operation of his rage in this scene is not an affliction brought on by a curse from the gods, but rather a rage brought on by the character's desire to be rid of the curse, achieved through an oracle. This rage is, in effect, a madness of Herakles's own making; this, his rage, is a humanising element for the demigod in the minds of the audience. Here Herakles, distraught over not being able to attain an oracle, attempts to establish his own oracle in order to be free of the madness.

Concepts of the Body

Tripods in both decoration and in composition varied in antiquity, the most common form depicted in the art of the Archaic Period sees a bowl set atop three legs, with two looped handles at the top of the device. While the tripod, which was used by the Phythian Priestess, is now lost, and thus impossible to compare, the device to the images depicted in Black-figure, there is a comparison to be found in the Plataean Tripod. The Plataean Tripod erected in 478 BCE on account of the victory of the Greeks against the Persians at the Battle of Plataea, is one of the most well-preserved metallic pieces from the period and still stands today in Istanbul.[198] The exterior of this tripod was once coated in gold, while the interior is made from bronze,[199] and the body stands at eight meters. While we can only speculate as to the size of the Delphic Tripod, it would be a fair assertion to suggest that the material used would have been similar to the Plataean Tripod, given its heightened religious significance. Given its depiction both in Black-figure and on the Siphnian Treasury, this would indicate that it was a large object, and as such is likely to have been heavy. The depiction in Black-figure, then, of him carrying the device under one arm (see Figure 39 and 40), alludes to Herakles's godly strength and illustrates; a physicality which is above that of mortals. A comparison could be made with Athlete's tripods, in which they struggle under the weight; Figure 41, as depicted in such a scene.
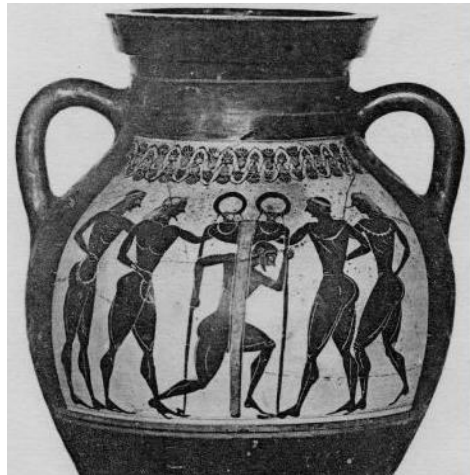

Figure 41

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[198] Suhr (1953) p. 219.
[199] ibid.

Herakles and Kyknos

Figure 42

Introduction and Literary Account

This myth, like others within the literature, exists within a wider chronological framework. The majority of the sources are from the Classical and Hellenistic period. However unlike many other scenes there is an account from the Archaic Period: Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles,*[200] thought to have been written between the late half of the seventh century[201] and the early 6th century.[202] The main story concerns the battle between two demigods and the intercession of other gods in the battle. In this there is little variation between the account in the Archaic Period and that of later sources. In the Hesiodic account, Kyknos, son of Ares, desires the armour of Herakles and his charioteer,[203] with the eventual combat engineered by Phoebus Apollo, who stirred Herakles against Ares. The prelude to the combat is defined largely by a lengthy comparison between the two foes and savage animals,[204] followed by a comparatively brief recount of the eventual combat. Hesiod notes that Herakles is struck by Kyknos upon the shield, and as a response, Herakles thrusts his spear into Kyknos's neck, killing him instantly. An aggrieved Ares attacks Herakles, despite the intercession of Athene. Herakles thus responds by wounding Ares deeply in the thigh, forcing his retreat to Olympus,[205] thus concluding the scene. Athene features prominently in this narrative. She shapes the outcome of both battles, firstly by bestowing the blessing of Zeus upon Herakles

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[200] Hes. *Theog*
[201] Suggested by Evelyn-White in the preface to his translation of Hes. *Theog*. xxvi
[202] Argued by Shapiro (1984) p. 524.
[203] Presumably Iolaus.
[204] Shapiro (1984) p. 386-402.
[205] ibid. p. 450.

in the combat with Kyknos,[206] and secondly, by cautioning Ares not to do battle with Herakles.[207] Lastly, and critically, she instructs Herakles on how to defeat Ares.[208] Later literature is far less detailed when dealing with this scene. While the story is mentioned in Euripides, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, pseudo-Apollodorus and Pindar, in each it appears as a minor battle along Herakles's many journeys, and in each there is little new information added to Hesiod's account. Finally, Shapiro also draws attention to a note from Pindar,[209] who makes reference to a now-lost narrative belonging to Stesichoros, entitled *Kyknos,* a poem, which he suggests would have "had an important influence on Archaic artists".[210]

Typical Rendering of the Scene

This scene is a popular one in Black-figure, but unlike other scenes in Hearkles' corpus, such as the Nemean Lion, there are a number of different ways in which this it is expressed in terms of composition. In addition, depictions of this scene in Black-figure appear from five different parts of this narrative, whereas, in Black-figure the depiction of static single episode from any mythological narrative are more common. The five events are: the warning of Athene; the battle itself; the defeat of Kyknos; the battle of Herakles and Ares; and the parting of Ares and Herakles by Zeus.[211] One could argue, given the prior statement, that 'typical rendering' is an invalid descriptor of any of the scene types associated with this episode. Rather than try to force this paradigm on the scene, I shall examine popular variations in composition and inclusion, exploring and building arguments from them.

Some argument has arisen over the multiple variations of this scene, claiming that the identification of characters in the scene is problematic. This problem has left many ceramics with only tentative identifications in the Beazley Archive. As such, I offer a brief description of the challenges in identifying this scene, the characters in the scene itself, and the point in narrative at which this occurs.

Here, three major tools are typically deployed to identify characters, namely the examination of inscriptions, examination of character's iconography, and examination of characters included in the scene; each of which are then the subject of literary accounts. Concerning the first criteria, there are several instances where the names of the characters are inscribed in the sample group. Second is the critical problem of iconography. While Athene and Herakles are regularly identifiable through their own distinct

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[206] ibid. p. 327.
[207] Shapiro (1984) p. 443.
[208] To pierce him with his spear below his 'cunningly-wrought shield'.
[209] Pind. Ol.10.15
[210] Shapiro (1984) p. 524.
[211] I shall use these segments or sub-scene types as terminology through this section.

iconography,[212] all other characters depicted in the scene show no identifiable iconography. That is, Ares/Kyknos are regularly dressed as warriors[213], with no embellishment of the armour. The problem in identification arises, in ceramics were Herakles fights unidentified foes. Zeus too does not have any particular iconographical identification; he appears in two fashions in this scene, either as a large bearded man in *chiton* and *himation*, or once, as suggested by Shapiro,[214] represented by a lightning bolt.[215] The last criterion concerns the inclusion of characters. Here Shapiro notes that the 'completed scene'[216] comprises Herakles, Kyknos, Athene, Ares, and Zeus. Shapiro accounts for the inclusion of Zeus in the 'completed scene', as part of an alternative myth or artistic tradition, due to the fact that he does not appear in the Hesodic account. The representation of all the characters within a single scene is, however, rare.[217] More typically, the scenes in Black-figure have either some combination of the characters mentioned above, or in rare cases, just include the two warriors.

There is no one set formula for the relative positioning of the characters; this is attributable both to the specific scene's conventions, and the shape of the ceramic on which it is typically depicted. As has been stated earlier, five different events from the battle between Herakles and Kyknos are rendered in black-figure, and I shall deal with them here briefly. Firstly in the 'warning of Athene', she typically appears in the centre flanked by Herakles, Kyknos or Ares. This scene is usually composed of these three characters, although in some cases, such as can be seen in figure 43, an onlooker may be present. In the case of 'the parting of Ares and Herakles by Zeus', the composition follows the same as the previous case. Here Zeus is central, and flanked by the two combatants. To some degree, shape influences whether or not spectators appear, with Type B Amphoras favouring these auxiliary figures.

Figure 43

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[212] In the case of Athene this is the aegis, and for Herakles the lion pelt and occasionally the club.
[213] This typically infers that they are depicted with some combination of comprising breastplate, shield, chiton, and/or shin guards.
[214] Shapiro (1984) p. 526.
[215] 1966.63 Worcester.
[216] Shapiro (1984) p. 523.
[217] ibid.

The next event is the 'battle between Ares and Herakles'. This scene is difficult to identify due to Ares not having a well-defined iconographical set. It is difficult then to determine whether Herakles is fighting Kyknos, Ares, or another character. The only time where it becomes clearer is in the 'parting of Ares and Herakles by Zeus', where due to the position of characters, we are able to tell that it is indeed Ares that Herakles battles. Here typically, a character (Kyknos) lies on the floor of the scene while a second character (Ares), is locked in battle with Herakles, with a third character parting the two warriors (Zeus) see Figure 44.

Figure 44

The fifth event from this narrative is the 'warning of Athene'. In scenes of this type there appears to be renderings of both occurrences where Athene intercedes the battle. That is, prior to the battle between Herakles and Kyknos (see fig 45), and secondly, prior to the battle between Herakles and Ares (see figure 46). The occurrence of these two scenes suggests that Hesiodic narrative, or a similar narrative, was available to the painters.

Figure 45

Figure 46

Appearance of the Scene in other Visual Media

While this scene is a popular one in Black-figure, it does not occur frequently in other forms of visual media, where the only existing example is damaged. This is a metope from the Athenian Treasury (see figure 47) erected c. 490, which depicts the two warriors locked in combat. It appears to follows the format which appears in several of the ceramics, with Herakles, the victor, about to deliver the death blow to his opponent. This manner of its depiction is a compositional template in the Black-figure, with this template occurring in a number of cases.[218] The specifics of this scene, however, see the defeated character, thought to be Kyknos, depicted with his shield in an open position, showing the reverse of the shield, and illustrating that it has been struck aside and is thus no longer protecting him (for comparanda see Figure 48).

Figure 47

Figure 48

While the above metope is the only surviving visual comparanda outside of Black-figure, there are two other examples attested to in the literature. The first was part of a statue group in front the temple of Athene in front of the Akropolis, while the second was said to have been a relief on the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai. Both are recorded by Pausanias, who preserves little detail about the combat itself, how the characters are depicted, or even what characters accompany the scene, as he is more concerned with describing larger compositional motifs. The dates of the first examples are not known, although according to Pausanias, they were damaged when Athens was under siege,[219] and thus must have been contemporary. It is however not clear to what siege he was referring, making the dating of the statues more difficult. The relief on the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai is more promising as a source. This example can be dated roughly to the late 6th Century BCE, and was "built for the Lacedaemonians by

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[218] Argued in the next section.
[219] Paus. 1.27.6

Bathykles of Magnesia as part of the furniture of the precinct of Apollo at Amyklae".[220] Although Pausanias mentions little more than that there was a battle,[221] his account does, at least, attest to the popularity of the myth in the late Archaic narrative landscape.

Discussion

Here we are fortunate to have the scene recounted in a narrative that is thought to have been written close to the period of the production of Black-figure ceramics. While it is tempting then to analyse the character's masculine traits through the lens of the narrative, the task is, however, complicated by variations with which the narrative is rendered in Black-figure. For this reason, I shall be looking at a few general points concerning the manner in which the characters are depicted and then move the investigation towards several different key semiotic points in this scene.

The first point concerns the relative stances of Herakles, Kyknos, and Ares in the scene where they battle scene. There are two different compositional templates employed in Black-figure to depict this scene. The first type sees the warriors locked in battle in which the two characters appear to be evenly matched. Here I have provided figure 49 as comparanda to figure 50 which shows the 'separation of Ares and Herakles by Zeus'.

Figure 49   Figure 50

The second type of template used to depict this scene is that of the defeated foe. Here there are a range of different positions in which both the victor and the defeated character may be positioned, but with the constant that the defeated character is depicted in a lowered position to the victor. Figure 51 and 52 show two examples of this template, with figure 52 showing this particular scene. Often the defeated character is on his or her knees and typically the victor is about to deliver the death blow.

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[220] Grafton Milne (1986) p. 215.
[221] Paus. 3.18.10

Figure 51

Figure 52

The relevance of these templates to the interpretation of this scene is two-fold. Firstly they suggest that any reading of the semiotics may well be true of any scene rendered using the template and not simply of Herakles and Kyknos. Secondly in the majority of examples in the sample group Herakles is depicted as the victor. It also appears that the majority of those in which he is not depicted as victor are scenes of intercession. This style of depiction, without any other evidence would appear to follow the Hesiodic narrative.

The next major point concerns Athene's stance and role, with emphasis on examples in which she is *pro machos* and where in which she interrupts the battle. Regarding Athene *pro machos*, the Hesiodic narrative is clear that she favours Herakles in the combats; aiding him indirectly through her speeches[222]. In Black-figure, her role appears to be more direct. Here she appears to the left of Herakles, who is locked in combat, as in figure 53. Her spear appears above her head in an action that can only be considered to be that she intended to bring it down upon her foe, in this case, Kyknos. The rendering or embellishing of the Hesiodic narrative in Black-figure either speaks of another version of the myth, or, as I have made a case for previously, that the addition of Athene as an auxiliary character was part of a stylistic agenda (which is itself motivated by the political or the religious state).

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[222]Hes. *Theog.* pp. 327-337; 445-449.

Figure 53

Concerning Athene interceding in the combats, there are three examples in the sample group.[223] In all but one (HKYK02), Kyknos lies at the feet of Herakles, while in all cases, Athene appears with one hand raised in a gesture that could be read as a warning to Ares to desist (figure 54).

Figure 54

A final point concerning Athene is that she occasionally appears in the scene as though she might be an auxiliary character. There are a number of ceramics in the group where she is found to be static on the left of Herakles. Her appearance here seems to follow yet another template; that of a scene flanked by bystanders. In this case, she is opposed to Ares (with Ares appearing on the right and Athena on the left), who in these cases, also appears in a static format. This format is popular in Black-figure, but it is not particularly revealing; all it illustrates is that the Athene appears in support of Herakles.

The next point in this section concerns the weapons wielded by the characters. In this scene, it would seem that they lack consistency. Herakles here only rarely uses his club in the combat. Instead, the most common weapon is a sword, although a spear is also common. Ares and Kyknos aslo show inconsistency in their choice of weapon, both the spear and sword appear in the corpus. This sword is of particular

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[223] HKYK19, HKYK20, HKYK02

interest as it does not match the Hesiodic account, which clearly spears as the weapons used in the battle.[224]

Finally, before moving on to the next section, I shall briefly discuss two vases, which don't fit into any templates described thus far. The first is a Siana Cup from Basel[225] (Figure 55), which displays the two warriors locked in combat, with no other decoration. It is the only example of this composition. The scene is rendered on the tondo, and while this placement is a common one, the composition of the scene is of interest. Here Kyknos and Herakles are locked in close combat. Tempting as it may be to interpret the fact that, unlike all other representations, this depicts them with nearly touching bodies, cups of this type typically display fewer images in their interiors due to their shape and, as such, I do not believe that this reveals anything significant in terms either of masculinity or semiotics.

Figure 55

Masculine Markers Displayed

Relationship to Masculine Hierarchy

This scene illustrates, at first glance, a secure position for Herakles in the masculine hierarchy, namely that he is triumphant in battle over his foe, placing him above Kyknos, and even possibly Ares, in the hierarchy. A closer reading of the gendered interactions operating within this scene renders this view as somewhat simplistic. In particular, if one examines the larger hierarchy, composed of more than simply the two main characters, Herakles no longer appears at the apex, but rather as integrated within this more complex structure, seen in the various type-scenes.

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[224] Hes. *Theog.* p. 450.
[225] HKYK14.

With so many different scenes representing the same narrative, a logical starting point is the battle between Herakles and Kyknos itself. As mentioned above, Herakles appears to hold a more dominant, masculine position to that of Kyknos. For a more nuanced interpretation, we must consider both the lineage of the characters, as well as the popularity amongst Athenians of the gods. Both these characters are the offspring of gods, Herakles being the son of Zeus, and Kyknos the son of Ares. As such, they are part of a genealogy in which Zeus holds in the ultimate position of power and authority. It is logical therefore to read the son of Zeus as being represented in a higher position than the son of Ares, reflecting this hierarchy. When it comes to the popularity of the gods, the case is made earlier for the bias in the market for certain Athenian black-figure characters. This, I have argued, reflects a demand that is in turn influenced by a variety of factors, including political intervention. The association of Herakles and Athene with the concept of statehood by Peisistratos suggests more than simply a pre-existing mythological power structure, but rather one that was actively perpetuated by those consuming black-figure pottery.

An alternative interpretation might start from the assumption that, as in the Delphic Tripod scene, the masculine position of a god ought to be depicted as being above that of a demi-god. This assumption would see Herakles beneath Ares in such a hierarchy. However, Herakles illustrates his superiority by defeating the deity, puncturing him through the thigh with his spear. This causes Ares to flee back to Olympus, according to the Hesiodic account,[226] an action which, for a contemporary western audience, may be indicative of cowardliness and an undermined authority. While it is uncertain as to what extent such a semiotics matches that of the ancients, it clear that Herakles is depicted as being above Ares in this encounter. Once again, the popularity of the gods as Athenic symbols might influence both the popularity of the scene for depiction, as well as the repetition of the elevated position of Herakles in the visual economy of the period.

Athene's role in this scene is more difficult to interpret in relation to this masculine marker. Both in the Hesiodic narrative and in black-figure, she is shown to be supporting Herakles. As I have already shown, there are three different ways in which she operates within this narrative as it is depicted in black-figure, namely as an auxiliary character, as parting the warriors, and as actively involved in the battle. Of these three, the last has the greatest bearing on my reading of this trait, and I shall deal with it first. I have argued earlier that Athene's role in this scene is *more* active than that of the other characters it portrays, to the extent that she often appears *pro machos*. I will argue that this very active role has a direct bearing on Herakles's depicted masculinity, at least for the consumers of black-figure. This may be taken as a bold

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[226]Hes. *Theog.* 464.

assertion, but is one which is supported by the evidence of both black-figure pottery itself, as well as the Hesiodic account. In both scenes she is depicted/described as guiding or controlling Herakles. Indeed, in the Hesiodic account, she even goes as far as to deflect a spear thrown at Herakles by Ares.[227] The help of Athene is achieved to differing extents in Black-figure, as shown in the different manner in which she interacts with the scene; the examples with her as an auxiliary figure being the least so, while those which have her involved in the battle being more so. In the Hesiodic account of this scene, Athene guides him, Herekles, in how to defeat Kyknos and Ares, while ordering him not to kill Ares. That Herakles largely obeys her in this literary account, mirrored in the Black-figure, illustrates that she has a position of authority, which to an extent, subjugates Herakles. While to modern understanding, the extent to which Herakles is dictated to and aided by Athene might seem 'unmanly', Athene is hardly a typically feminine character, since she has a complex relationship both to the masculine (as a goddess of wisdom and skill in warfare), and to women (as a virgin and a goddess of skill in weaving).

Thus far in reconstructing the relationships between the respective characters in a social hierarchy, we have shown Herakles to be above Ares and Kyknos, and exist in a parallel but lower position to Athena. To complete this picture we need to look at the relationship between Zeus and Herakles. We may start with the observation that Zeus never appears in any of the narratives as an active member of the battle sequence, a fact which Shapiro interprets as either a misinterpretation of myth, or through a "'deliberate transposition' of the character due to the fondness of the character".[228] Regardless of this, the fact that Ares is spared only through the intervention of Zeus, places Zeus within the masculine hierarchy. At first appearance, this would seem to place Herakles in a subordinate position to Zeus. Furthermore, the resemblance between the intercession of Zeus and the intercession of Athene (see figure 56 and figure 57) should also be considered. In terms of the semiotic markers, these two examples are very similar. Both of the central characters are positioned in a similar fashion, breaking the combat, suggesting that they generate a similar reading for the viewer of the ceramic. This reading suggests that they play a similar role in the scene, that their masculine positions are almost equivalent, and that both are greater than Herakles in terms of their masculine position.

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[227] *ibid.* p. 454.
[228] Shapiro (1984) p. 526.

Figure 56   Figure 57

Rage vs. Control

The Hesiodic account of this narrative is quite unlike other narratives in which Herakles is often overcome with madness and rage. Here, Herakles is presented as behaving reactively in both battles. It is not he who initiates the battle between himself and Kyknos, but rather he attempts to talk Kyknos out of the battle.[229] In the battle between Herakles and Ares, it is Ares who initiates the battle too, rushing in, maddened by the death of his son. In both he meets his foes, not out of anger or lust for death but rather out of self-defence. Unusually in this instance, Herakles displays an uncharacteristic amount of self-control.

The depiction of this scene in Black-figure, however, is a bit more difficult to interpret. I have already made a semiotic case for the dominance of Herakles in the scene depicting Ares and Kyknos. Dominance, however, has little bearing on the determination of rage and control. Herakles does however operate in black-figure in a manner which would appear to follow the Hesiodic account. Thus, it would be plausible to assert that Herakles in this scene is a controlled character, behaving in a manner which appeals to the audience of both the narrative and the ceramics.

Battle

I have argued earlier that the manner in which the battle is conducted, the positioning of the characters, and their use of gestures, is similar to the manner in which other battling parties are depicted. This reuse and circulation of templates may be explained in three ways: it is possible that this composition either mirrored life (in terms of the manner in which the battle was conducted); was appealing to the audience for some reason, or a combination of both. The relation Herakles had with the Athenian consumer speaks

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[229] Hes Theog. p. 349.

to his popularity, and this common template grants him a position which the Athenian audience would have associated with a high masculine position and dominance. Secondly, the manner in which the combat occurs in Black-figure is not outside that which can be considered to be normal of spear combat.

Herakles and Kerkopes

Figure 58

Introduction and Literary Account

The composition of the Kerkopes varies from source to source, some saying they were two brothers,[230] and others that they may have been a group of men.[231] The sources do, however, agree that they were proficient thieves. In the Homerica, an obscure poem of unknown date and author, we are told that they were two brothers "called Kerkopes (monkeys) because of their cunning doings";[232] and that they "practiced every kind of knavery".[233] In this narrative, their ultimate fate was to be turned into stone for attempting to deceive Zeus. Herakles does not appear as a protagonist in this early source; rather his name serves as a warning. He is, for the Kerkopes, a character to be avoided. Another source that mentions the interaction between these two groups, soon after black-figure, is a passage from Herodotus. Here he remarks that there is a landmark called the 'black-buttock', referring to a name given by the Kerkopes to Herakles,[234] and that this landmark is close to another landmark known as the seats of the Kerkopes. The

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[230] Hom. Evelyn-White. p. 539.
[231] Such as Dio. Sic. 4. 31.7
[232] Hom. Evelyn-White. p. 539.
[233] ibid.
[234] This name is also the name that Herakles is referred to in the Hom. Evelyn-White. p. 539.

first account of interaction between these two groups, however, occurs in Diodorus Siculus,[235] where we see Herakles punishing a group known as the Kerkopes for "robbing and committing many evil acts"[236] upon the citizens of Lydia. This version suggests that some of them where "put to death and others he took captive and delivered in chains to Omphale".[237] Finally, Pseudo-Apollodorus specifically describes their capture, suggesting that Herakles "seized and tied up the Kerkopes".[238]

Typical Rendering of the Scene

There is only one version of the overall composition of the scene in which Herakles appears in the center of the scene as the primary character, moving towards the right of the scene, with the two Kerkopes bound both by their feet and their hands, and attached to either a bow or a staff by their ankles, hanging upside-down. There is little variation in the rendering of Herakles, with the only exception being the positioning of his head, which either faces right or left.

Appearance of the Scene in other Visual Media

This scene also appears in a pinax, three engraved gems, and four reliefs.[239] In each of these representations the composition of the scene is very similar to the form displayed in Black-figure, with the only variation being the manner in which the Kerkopes are presented hanging off the stave/bow. The pieces are roughly contemporary with Black-figure, with the exception of only one gem thought to be from the century BCE.[240] These examples illustrate that the scene was both popular on the Greek mainland and *Magna Graecia*, having been produced in a variety of places, such as Corinth in the case of the Pinax, and Selinus and Paestum for the two of the reliefs. While I do not consider Red-figure in this dissertation, it is interesting to note that the scene does continue into this style, however there is only one example of it.

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[235] Dio. Sic.4. 31.7
[236] ibid.
[237] ibid.
[238] Apollod. Bibl. 2.132
[239] Based on the analysis provided in the LIMC s.v. Herakles.
[240] LIMC s.v. Herakles.

Discussion

There are relatively few semiotic markers that we are able to interpret from this scene. Herakles is dominant, while the Kerkopes are bound and unable to move, represented as subordinates in terms of masculinity. Susan Woodford observes several trends that occur in the rendering of this scene[241], firstly that the two youths often appear beardless, nude, and diminutive in form in relation to Herakles, sometime appearing less than half his size. She too notes that the visual representations of the Kerkopes do not bear any likeness to monkeys, but that they appear as youths. Finally, she observes two possible explanations for Herakles's head turned back to face the opposite direction. The first is that it may reflect the narrative in which there is dialogue between Herakles and one of the Kerkopi concerning his 'Black-bottom', an aspect of the narrative that appears in both the *Homerica* and the Herodotean versions. The second argument she makes is that this variance may be due to the compositional balance of the scene. Here she cites a trend in black-figure, where these narratives would have the main character turn to face the opposite way from which he is heading, thus breaking the balance or flow of the scene and drawing visual attention to the main character.

Masculine Markers Displayed

Relationship to Masculine Hierarchy

Subordinated Masculinities

The first issue I consider is subordinate relationships, to which end I will first analyse the larger narrative to which this episode belongs. Herakles captures the Kerkopes while being enslaved to Omphale, to whom he had been sold by Hermes, for either two or three years (depending on the source), as atonement for the murder of Iphitus.[242] This sale has bearing on Herakles' social position and his masculinity. The sale of a person into slavery is a drastic action that removes social position and status, bringing dishonour. Connell argues that a relationship exists between various masculinities and class structure and that the loss of one's social status brings with it a loss in masculine position or masculine agency.[243] That the further one moves from a social ideal, the less their masculine ideal becomes. Logically, then, the masculinity of the slave cannot be the dominant or desired masculinity. Herakles, through this, may be interpreted as a character whose masculinity is completely aberrant to the Athenian ideal; however, this is not the case in this scene and particular narrative. Herakles is presented as a man of ability beyond that to

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[241] Taken from her commentary, LIMC s.v. Herakles.
[242] Sop. Trach. pp. 248-53; 274-78.
[243] Connell (2005) pp. 77-79.

which normal men can aspire. His brute strength and confrontational presence allows him to capture the Kerkopes and deliver them to Omphale. Critically, in Black-figure, he is not depicted in a different manner during his enslavement[244] than he is in any other type-scenes. He remains in the visual registry a very physical strong and battle-ready character. This continued representation suggests that the enslavement did not affect his masculine position. Here, a possible explanation of this, is that while he was a slave, an implied sexual relationship existed between Omphale and Herakles. This is on account of them having children together[245] and would suggest that his masculinity was not diminished to a great extent.

The second consideration concerns the overall dominance of Herakles in the scene. His brute strength allows him to both capture the Kerkopes, as well as bind and carry them, and as such, they present no challenge or threat to him or his masculinity. The regularity with which they are displayed as smaller, beardless males serves as a contrast with the large powerful Herakles, a contrast that accentuates his representation as hyper-masculine, rather than simply as the ideal man. Woodford's observation that the Kerkopes also often lack clothes is another indication of their subordinated masculinity. Here, they are rendered nude, outside of the realm where it was acceptable to be nude at the time.[246] This lack of clothing outside of the acceptable norms of private nakedness could be read as indicating both a lowered social position and thus a lower masculine position when compared to Herakles.

2. Restraint

Important to note here is that in all the scenes considered and across the various mediums the Kerkopes are rendered as bound characters. This consideration by the artist would suggest that they were indeed captured alive. While there is no literary source close to the Black-figure period, other than the *Homerica*[247] (which does not mention direct involvement between Herakles and the Kerkopes), we must assume that there was some narrative in which this capture took place. If we examine later sources such as Diodorus Siculus or Pseudo-Apollodorus, the capture of the Kerkopes plays a prominent part, and was the result of an order by Omphale. In the account of Diodorus Siculus, he is described as killing some of the Kerkopes, although this is rationalised as a manner of dealing out justice to a band of people that were "*committing many evil acts*".[248] The fact that they are, for the most part, captured alive in both the visual and literary accounts, suggests some restraint on Herakles's part. In the imagery from the various

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[244] Of which the scene involving the Kerkopes is the only one known to exist.
[245] Apollod. bibl. 2.7.8
[246] An example would be sports such as wrestling.
[247] Hom. Evelyn-White. p. 539.
[248] Dio.Sic. 4. 31. 7

mediums considered in this section, Herakles appears to overwhelm Kerkopes, and their capture cannot have been a great physical labour for him. In capturing, rather than killing them all, however, he is forced to curb his temper and show both restraint and deference to Omphale, as he delivers them to her.

3. Concepts of the Body

The 'typical depiction' of this scene illustrates a notable physical dominance on the part of Herakles. Here the fact that he possesses the strength to carry two people, who are never described as dwarves, or small people is indicative of this. Further, it is possible to suggest, much in the way of the tripod, that he possesses a strength which is beyond that of other mortal men.
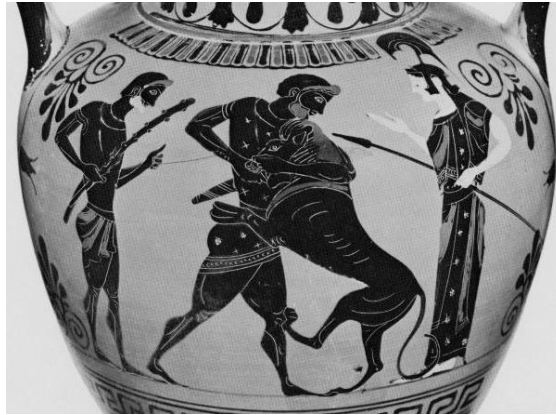
Herakles and the Nemean Lion

Figure 59

Introduction and Literary Account

When we consider Herakles and his labours, the first that comes to mind is Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion. It is one of the most popular scenes within the character's corpus in black-figure and the most popular amongst the cycle of labours. The narrative involves Herakles defeating a lion that has been terrorising the countryside of Nemea, overcoming it by force. There are some slight variations, which need to be considered in order to assess the depiction of the scene in Black-figure. The first recorded example of this story comes from Hesiod's *Theogony* in the *Shield of Herakles,* where as the story is told, the lion is a descendent of Orthos and the Chimaira and is fostered by Hera.[249] Gantz notes here that in this account, the Lion is not ascribed invulnerability.[250] This omission, or later addition, is an important one, and shall be discussed in the examination of the scene. The first accounts of the lion's impenetrable skin are in Pindar[251] and Bacchylides, both dating to around 480. Gantz also concludes that Bacchylides[252] is the first to allude to Herakles's killing the lion with his bare hands. Later narratives, uniformly adhere, to the tale of the invulnerability[253] from mortal weapons, mostly modelled in the narratives of Theokritos[254] and pseudo-Apollodorus.[255]

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[249] Hes.Theog. p, 326-332.
[250] Gantz (1993) p. 383.
[251] Pind. Isthm. p. 46.
[252] Bacchyl. p.13.
[253] ibid. p. 384.
[254] Theoc. Id. 25.153-281 in Edmonds p. 1912.
[255] Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.1

Typical Rendering of the Scene

From amongst the typical rendering of this scene, there are two formats which appear in Black-figure. The first and most common expression sees Herakles wrestling the lion, with Athene and another character, believed to be Iolaus, regularly appearing in an auxiliary capacity. While the second sees Herakles battling the lion armed, with Athene and another character once again accompanying him. Within these two groups there are a great number of minor differences in the manner in which the scene is articulated. These variations include the manner in which Herakles fights the lion, the depiction of auxiliary characters, the positioning of these characters, and the type of weapon used. While this dissertation attempts to be thorough in the investigation of the semiotic markers, in this case, given the range of variation, it is not useful to be completely exhaustive. Instead, those examples considered below were selected as they have the greatest bearing on the reading of the masculinity.

Concerning first the unarmed group, Felton suggests that there is an observable division between "scenes in which H. [Herakles] stands and in which he wrestles on the ground",[256] but also notes that there is "third smaller group in which he *kneels* or *crouches*".[257] In the first two groups, Herakles appears with one arm wrapped around the lion's neck, while the other arm holds some part ranging from the front paw of the lion to the lion's head. While in the third group, Herakles wrestles on the ground, the more common rendering has Herakles with his arms linked around the lion.

Turning to the armed Herakles, there are two major variations noted by Felton, in which Herakles fights it with either a sword or a club. While this is a less common depiction of the scene, Felton notes that its popularity spans from the mid-6th century, and grows in the last quarter of the century. Here the composition of the scene typically sees Herakles with one arm, holding the lion around the neck, and the other clasping a weapon. The manner in which he holds the weapon depends on the choice of weapon. In the case of the club, it is shown raised above the character's head in a gesture which would indicate that Herakles was about to strike the animal. In the case of a sword, two formats are common, the first sees the blade buried in the lion's chest, while the second shows the sword pointed towards the chest in a gesture suggesting Herakles was about to run it through. In both instances of the sword being used, the sword is positioned in the under-arm stance, indicative of a stabbing action. Finally, another variant, which corresponds to some of the early representations of the scene, sees Herakles kneeling with one arm around the lion's neck and the other holding the sword blade near its throat.

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[256] LIMC s.v. Herakles.
[257] ibid.

The next point in this section concerns other characters rendered in the scene. Here as suggested, above the most common selection, would appear to be Athena and Iolaus. Here in all the sample vases considered, Athene is positioned in one of the auxiliary positions, and more regularly on the right, with the exception of HL05, where she appears in the centre of the scene. In each of the examples, she does not appear to be aggressively entering the scene, she is not depicted *pro machos* for example. Her stance is neutral, and often depicted with one hand raised (for an example of this see fig. 60), in a gesture which could be read as supportive.

Figure 60

Lastly, it is important to note that this scene is almost exclusively rendered at one point within the narrative (that of Herakles in battle with the lion), and in this way, is unlike scenes such as the battle with Kyknos, where multiple stages of the narrative are depicted. This would suggest that this particular format of the scene was popular to the audience of black-figure itself. Indeed Felton notes that only a few cases exist where the "fight itself is ignored"[258] in Greek visual media, however these are from later periods than the era in which black-figure ceramics were produced.[259]

Appearance of the Scene in Other Visual Media

The popularity of this scene is not limited to Black-figure, indeed, as a mythological event, its depiction can be tracked back to the last quarter of the 7th century,[260] appearing on a Peloponnesian shield band, and appears a number of times in a similar time frame to Black-figure. There are however some issues with the identification of this scene in both Black-figure and in other visual media. Here, iconography is the key problem to interpretation, as it is often difficult to separate this mythological scene from a scene where a warrior fights off a lion. Indeed, here Felton ventures that the variant, which includes the sword

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[258] LIMC s.v. Herakles.

[259] Felton provides just one example for Black-figure where Herakles "pursues the cornered lion into its cave, in the presence of Athena and Iolaos" LIMC s.v. Herakles, p. 33. However even in this case it can be argued that the battle sequence is still preserved.

[260] LIMC s.v. Herakles.

in Back-figure "probably derives from anonymous lion-fights with a sword".[261] The problem of identification stems from Herakles's iconography itself. In Black-figure (as with most visual media from the ancient world), Herakles is depicted wearing the lion pelt. In this scene, it is obviously impossible for him to do so. Thus often we are presented with a man who is either stabbing or wrestling a lion, a scene which is thus difficult to single out as Herakles's battle. The manner in which scholars then identify this scene is through other iconographical markers, and ranges from included characters, to the depiction of the club (with which Herakles is associated). Concerning the characters, the two we are able to identify are Athene and Iolaus, Athene through the fact that she is armed and depicted in armour (with aegis), and Iolaus through holding Herkales's weapon. In Black-figure however, neither of the characters appear in every version of the scene, in this case, we see a character wrestling a lion, either alone, or with other non-identifiable bystanders.

With the problems in identification stated, there are certain examples which provide some comparison for the scene. Here I will separate this comparison into the scenes where Herakles is armed, and those where he wrestles the lion, respectively. In both cases case I provide two examples of comparanda[262]. Here rather than beginning with the more popular unarmed scene, I begin with the armed scene, as it is, as Felton suggests[263], the older of the representations of this scene. Here the oldest[264] positively identified by Felton is that of a Peloponesian bronze shield band (Figure 61), dated roughly to the 7th century. In this example, we see Herakles sword held to the lion's throat, with his other hand around the lion's neck. This particular format differs from Black-figure in the manner in which the lion faces, and appears to be a popular early format of this scene, with another example appearing on a Laconian shield band from the 6th century (Figure 62).

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[261] ibid.

[262] A note must be made here that it is not possible to be extant in description of the other appearances of this scene. To provide analysis of all of these would be too large for the scope of this dissertation. Hence, those selected show either the most variance from the Black-figure rendering, or show a great deal of similarity.

[263] LIMC s.v. Herakles

Figure 61   Figure 62

The next example is a metope from the Delphi Treasury. Here, Herakles is depicted as being armed with a club (see Figure 63) in a slightly lowered position while his other arm is around the lion's neck. In this particular rendering of the scene, we see a greater similarity between it and Black-figure than the earlier examples provided above (see Figure 61 and 64 for comparanda). Also important to note is that the two shield bands presented above were created outside of Athens, and as such, have a different artistic tradition.

Figure 63   figure 64

The second format is that of Herakles unarmed. Here I have selected two examples from the 'standing' group. These examples, while by no means illustrating the extant group, do illustrate the common rendering of the 'unarmed' scene in black-figure, and are contemporary to Black-figure, implying the mythological narrative to itself have been popular. In the first example, that of a bronze shield relief from Olympia (see Figure 65), we see Herakles with both arms locked around the lion's throat, while his weapon lies to the left of the scene, unused. In the second example, an Italian bronze statuette dated to the 6th century (see Figure 66) we also see a similar format.

Figure 65   Figure 66

Finally, a note must be made on the exclusion of the auxiliary characters from these examples. Their omission is likely to have arisen not from a version of narrative which does not include them, but rather from the limitations of the medium.. In both the shield bands and the metope, there is a very limited space for decoration. Given this limitation, it is logical to conclude that the space would be reserved for the characters which operate the narrative, in this case Herakles and the lion. Following this logic, the greater decorative space black-figure permitted allowed for artists to add characters that supported the main character, in this case Athene and Iolaus. This assertion is further supported by the absence of the characters in any other media prior to the Black-figure period, and their absence from the narrative accounts proximal to the style.

Discussion

Given the variation in depiction in this scene, it is difficult to present one line of argument which fully encompasses all of the various semiotic markers expressed in this particular scene in black-figure. The approach I have taken, then, is selective. The rationale for this follows the rationale for the above section, where I will approach those markers with the greatest bearing on the reading of masculinity. In this way, I have selected three focus areas to investigate. These are the wresting format, the inclusion of weapons, and the involvement of Athene in the scene.

Concerning the wresting format, the comparison between this scene and scenes involving two human wrestlers is apparent in black-figure. While there are many different compositions in which wrestling is portrayed in the style, two of the more common are those where one opponent holds another's arms (see figure 50) and where the one character holds another in a headlock. Both of these are comparable to the Heraklean scene, as in figure 67 we see the combatants in a hand grip. In the case of Herakles and the lion, this is transferred to him holding the lion's paw, preventing the lion from swiping him. Whereas in Figure 68, we see the two combatants locked in a throw, where in this case, the grip is the important

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factor, as one warrior holds the other by the neck. This stance suggests the control of one character over the other, similarly this format is presented in the composition of Heraklean scenes, such as HL10 (Figure 60).

Two other notes need to be made here. Firstly, in Figure 67, we see a character that is clearly dominant over another. He is positioned above and larger than the other; in the same way, Herakles in many of the examples in the sample group is positioned above the lion in terms of stance, illustrating his dominance. The second note concerns the auxiliary characters. In both of the wrestling comparanda below, auxiliary characters are present. This is commonly thought to be the result of the painter attempting to fill a large decorative area. Wrestling scenes only occupy a small amount of decorative space in the centre. This line of reasoning explains the involvement of Athene and Iolaus in the Black-figure scene when they did not appear in the narrative itself. Finally, a note needs to be made on the interpretation of the scene. Here, as with other comparanda, I do not believe that the Heraklean scene is an exact copy of the wrestling scene, merely that it adopted the format, through recognisable semiotic markers.

Figure 67

Figure 68

The next point in this discussion section concerns the inclusion of weapons in the scene. While ultimately they do not affect the outcome of the scene (Herakles is still victorious regardless of whether he is armed or not), they do affect how a modern viewer perceives the masculinity depicted. That is, for a modern viewer, defeating the lion with the use of a weapon is secondary to its unarmed defeat. While we can attest to the fact that the action itself is inherently brave, and thus adds to a perceived masculine value, we are still left with a hierarchy of value. Linking the involvement of a weapon in this way is however, a difficult task. It is apparent from the sample group and from the LIMC that the unarmed wrestling is a more popular manner of expressing the scene in Black-figure. The earliest recording of the invincibility of the Lion's skin too comes from the period contemporary to Black-figure, and given the earlier examples

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of an unidentified armed man fighting with a lion, it is possible to conclude that this particular format, that of an unarmed Herakles, held a particular value for the Black-figure audience, a value which I will show in the 'masculine markers' section.

The last point concerns the addition and role of Athene in the scene. Here, her inclusion is more passive than in scenes such as Herakles' battle with Kyknos. Earlier mention is made of the fact that she is never seen *pro machos* in this scene. This is a very important observation, as it shows that the painter did not view her role in the scene as determining its narrative outcome. Instead, Herakles completes this labour without the aid of any other characters, a point that I will discuss further in due course. Her inclusion then, as Iolaus, is in a supportive capacity. The hand gesture with which she is occasionally rendered in the sample group, is supportive, rather than apprehensive or raised in warning (see Figure 69). A comparative for this would be Figure 37, where Artemis gestures in shock as Herakles attempts to escape with the tripod.

Figure 69

Masculine Markers Displayed

Concepts of the Body

The first and most obvious masculine marker is the physical dominance expressed by Herakles in this scene. Physicality has, as a trait, been associated with being a man across many cultures. Here Herakles's triumph over the lion can be seen as granting him an increased masculine power. The physicality of the scene is of particular importance. The visual impact of the lion as a loaded image is at least partially known for the period, in using the descriptions from Hesiod, we are presented with an animal which is described as a 'plague to mankind'[265] and as 'flesh-eating'.[266] Thus its depiction in Black-figure would, as

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[265] Hes. Theog. p. 327.
[266] Bacchyl. p. 13.

it would for us, have a loaded meaning, one of dominance and terror. As such, Herakles defeating the lion in this style can be read as the physical victory over these fears.

The second factor to consider is the wrestling format. As I have shown in the previous section, there is a notable similarity between the way in which the dominant character is positioned in some of the examples of wrestling scenes, and the way in which Herakles is depicted with the lion. Given that Herakles appears larger than the lion in these scenes, it is logical to conclude that it is through his physical dominance that he is indeed made victorious.

Relation to Masculine Hierarchy

While this trait is not initially apparent, it is however a trait which is expressed in the scene. Firstly, we must work with the concept that it is only Herakles that is able to defeat the lion. While there are other examples of unidentified people slaying lions from media that predated Black-figure, this particular episode is unique. While it is indeed probable that there were men that were able to slay lions in Archaic Greece, the manner in which Herakles slays the lion[267] and the lion itself are unique to his corpus. That he was able to slay the lion, who was preying on tribesmen,[268] suggests that his masculine position and power was above that of mere mortals.

The inclusion of Athene helps us to infer more about Herakles's relation to patriarchy. While I have argued above that Athene's role is not typically feminine, it is not overtly masculine either. Her inclusion in this scene as an auxiliary character, however, does not affect a reading of Herakles's masculinity, as her role in the scene is likely to have arisen from the need for auxiliary characters in the decorative space in Black-figure.

Rage vs. Control

In this scene, rage is all but absent, there is no need for it to enter the narrative. Herakles here performs a task, and in so doing is controlled. As part of the canonical labours in order to atone for sins committed, he is under the command of King Eurystheus. We must conclude then that in this instance the scene portrayed is simply the controlled completion of a task.

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[267] Most common in Black-figure through unarmed combat.
[268] ibid.

Conclusion

The arguments built in the type-scene analysis suggest that there are two ranges in which Herakles is permitted to act. These are the controlled Herakles, who acts out of necessity in the completion of a task, and the Herakles who acts out of rage when he is vexed by the gods. These two contrasting views are, however reconciled in this character, as the regularity in which he is depicted in each suggests that they were seen as acceptable for this character by the audience of Black-figure. Below is a brief summary and comparison of the masculine markers studied in the above section.

The masculine marker most commonly expressed in the Heraklean scenes is his relationship in the masculine hierarchy. Herakles's arrest of the Kerkopes reinforces his position of power above that of ordinary mortals, and his slaying of the Nemean lion without weapons even places him above ultra-virile super-natural beasts. Further to this, in both the Kyknos and tripod scenes, his position of power enabled him to challenge gods. In the first the case, of the struggle for the tripod, he fights on equal terms with Apollo, while after his fight with Kyknos, he overcomes Ares, whom he wounds, and who is consequently forced to flee to Olympos. But Herakles does illustrate subornation to some gods, such as Zeus, who ultimately dictates what he can and cannot do. However, Athene is of interest since she not only takes a particular interest in the hero, but also takes an active role in the events. Not only does Herakles sometimes require the assistance of Athena, but he also appears, at times, subject to her orders and requests.

The second most important marker concerns Herakles's masculine rage, and his ability to control it. There is some variation in which Herakles appears to be controlled by rage. In the theft of the Delphic tripod, for example, his rage is in response to the oracle not providing his prophecy, while in many other cases, it is due to the effects of the madness inflicted upon him by Hera, at least as far as the literature is concerned. In Black-figure, Herakles is never depicted committing any of his tragedies which the madness brings on. Thus, these tragedies can be considered to be an extreme form of rage or loss of control that was not popular to the Black-figure audience. In the scenes with Kyknos, the Kerkopes and the Nemean lion, Herakles displays a range of different levels of control. In the Kyknos scene, this is a control which is largely meted out by Athene, while in the Kerkopes, this control is meted out by Omphale, and in the last case, it is King Eurystheus who holds authority over Herakles.

Lastly the manner in which Herakles's body is conceptualised is similar in all of the scenes examined. In each scene, with the exception of his battle with Kyknos, he achieves his victory through sheer strength. This strength is well beyond what would have been possible for the mortal man, as illustrated by his lifting the tripod with one arm, or easily holding two Kerkopes.

One final point concerning the political affiliations, and the popularity of the hero, needs to be made. In this chapter I have made two arguments concerning popularity, the first concerns the popularity of the tripod and the second the popularity which Herakles was afforded on account of Peisistratos. There is some overlap within these two arguments. Parke and Boardman[269] have put forward a strong case for the tripod becoming a loaded symbol for the Athenian audience. Likewise then, it is possible to argue that the image of Herakles became a loaded symbol for Athenians on account of this political association, where the image of Herakles came to represent to some degree Peisistratos, and *vice versa*. With this considered, it is possible to further this argument, extending it to suggest that the symbol of Herakles had different connotations for periods other than Black-figure. This could then account for more comic depictions of Herakles in later art and literature, as during this period, he was held in a higher regard by the Athenian audience.

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[269] Parke & Boardman (1957). p. 277.

Chapter 5: Dionysos

Introduction

Dionysos is the most popular character in Black-figure, appearing on approximately 4000 of the ceramics listed in the Beazley Archive. While as a character he has long been associated with revelry and excess, ancient visual media sees him surprisingly represented. In Black-figure in particular, he is rendered as a reserved character. These factors have a range of implications for the reading of the character's masculinity, which is different to that of Herakles.

Dionysos in black-figure ceramics is almost always accompanied by his followers. These followers comprise satyrs, maenads and occasionally nymphs. They are characters who, both according to literary accounts and the way they are rendered in art, are very different from Dionysos. The most striking of these differences is in the manner in which satyrs conduct themselves by comparison with the deity. Satyrs in Black-figure, as in other styles, are the most lascivious and extreme of all characters. While their actions seem to be without consequence, they are held to fulfil a role in a given scene, and thus are limited to specific actions such as sexual revelry, dancing, or playing instruments. In the completion of these roles these characters can go to extremes, which can only be considered to be aberrant to both modern and ancient audiences. While satyrs can be the main protagonists in a Black-figure scene, such as those that involve the production of wine and on the occasion where they chase maenads/nymphs, they are never the main protagonists when rendered in a scene with Dionysos or with other gods. Physically, satyrs are distinct from other characters, typically depicted as overweight, hairy men with equine features. These features mark them as different, beast-like, and inferior to other mythological creatures in terms of physique. Further, in Black-figure they are subjugated to Dionysos, and largely contrast with him. Dionysos is defined as much by his own actions as by not being involved in the actions of his followers.

While Dionysos is the character most often rendered in Black-figure, unlike Herakles, he has relatively few identifiable type-scenes. This dearth of type-scenes is largely due to the character having a less developed literary narrative than Herakles in the 6th century. The two most clearly defined type-scenes from myth in Black-figure are those of 'The Return of Hephaistos' and the 'marriage of Ariadne', both of which are included in this study. The vast majority of scenes that depict Dionysos, however, fall outside of these two scene-types. These render Dionysos and his followers conducting actions for which they are typically associated, such as the production and consumption of wine, or general revelry. The prominence of these types of scenes can be linked to the relationship that the deity had with the function of the vessel. This relationship would appear to be an obvious one, the god who is, and whose followers are typically

associated with wine, are logical choices to decorate a vessel which is itself used for the storage or consumption of wine.

In this chapter these two identifiable type-scenes have been selected in conjunction with a section on the relationship between the satyrs and Dionysos. In each case, a different aspect of Dionysos's masculinity is represented, building a hypothesis which suggests that Dionysos's masculinity is constructed both from his own actions and through the actions of those with whom he is represented.

Motivation for Selection

1. The Return of Hephaistos

This mythological scene is one of the earliest rendered in Black-figure. It also is one which does not undergo change throughout the course of the 6th century. The most commonly held version of this myth summarised sees Dionysos return Hephaistos to Olympos after getting him drunk. In this myth Hephaistos traps Hera in a chair, which she cannot escape from, and as a result, Dionysos is requested to return him. When Dionysos does so she is rewarded by being granted the status of a god.[270] It is of particular interest to this study for three reasons: the first is that it displays a range of different relationships and interactions between characters; thus making it possible to view Dionysos's masculine position, in terms of power relationships, compared to these other positions. Secondly, it illustrates the manner in which Dionysos solves problems, in that he does so through the use of intellect, an aspect which will be explored in the section and which has bearing on his masculinity. Thirdly, the narrative illustrates a restructuring of power in Olympos, as Dionysos, an outsider, does what the Olympians are unable to do; namely return Hephaistos, thus making it an important point in the narrative development for the character.

2. The Marriage of Ariadne

The wedding of Dionysos to Ariadne is another important point in the narrative and visual development of the character. While there are several conflicting narratives of the myth, the version which would seem to support the visual media is Hesiod's *Theogony;* in this version, Dionysos is described as taking Ariadne as his wife.[271] While there are problems evident in both the literary narrative of this wedding scene and the identification of Ariadne in Black-figure, it is still useful in the determination of several different facets of Dionysos's masculinity. These facets include: the conceptualisation of duty in

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[270] Lib 7. p. 1-3.
[271] Hes. Theog. 947.

marriage; aspects of control and masculine hierarchy; and in particular, it illustrates once again the relationship between Dionysos and other characters, such as satyrs.

Dionysos and Hephaistos

Figure 70

Introduction and Literary Accounts

The return of Hephaistos to Olympos is an important scene in the narrative development of each of the characters concerned. For Hephaistos, it concludes the saga, which commenced with his banishment from Olympos, while for Dionysos, it was the condition for his entry into Olympos.

Like many of the other scenes considered in this dissertation, there are very few literary accounts for this myth from the 6th century.[272] The accounts, which do narrate this episode, typically come from a much later period. Of these, the most extant is from Libanios, from c. 3rd Century A.D. His account of the narrative sees Hephaistos cast out of Olympos by Hera for his lameness. In response, he gifts Hera a throne, and when she sits in it, it locks around her arms, trapping her. After she becomes trapped, the gods attempt to free her, and Ares is sent to retrieve Hephaistos, but both missions result in failure. The gods then resort to asking Dionysos for help, and after making Hephaistos drunk on wine, they force him to return to Olympos and free Hera. Finally, Hera rewards Dionysos for freeing her, by convincing the gods that Dionysos should join their ranks.[273]

Apart from Libanios, the narrative is recounted through two other authors from the ancient world, pseudo-Hyginus in *Fabulae 166,* and Pausanias in his *Description of Greece* 1.20.3. In addition to these narrative accounts, Pausanias, in the 2nd Century CE, describes this scene painted on a temple to Dionysos in

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[272] Hedreen notes the existence of two fragments from the early 6th century poet Alkaios, but does not consider them to add anything great to the telling of the myth.
[273] Lib. 7. p. 1-3.

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Athens, the content of which matches the Libanios description. In brief, Dionysos returns Hephaistos to free Hera, after getting him drunk on wine. Pseudo-Hyginus, around the 1st Century CE, gives a near identical account, save the substitution of the deities' names for the Roman names.

Typical Rendering of the Scene

This scene appears on a wide range of different shapes in black-figure, and for this reason, there is significant variation in terms of the number of characters in the scene, as dictated by the space allowed by the shape. The elements that regularly appear in its depiction are Hephaistos mounted on a donkey/horse, typically facing to the right of the scene, and ithyphallic, accompanied by satyrs. Dionysos is not always present in the cases of the sample studied. However, whenever he is not rendered in the scene in which Hephaistos appears, he appears in some other area of decoration on the ceramic. Maenads/nymphs also are popular additions in the form of auxiliary figures in the scene.

One important example of this scene, the François Vase (Figure 72) disrupts these conventions, in that there are a series of other gods present in the scene, namely Poseidon, Hermes, Artemis, Ares, Athena, Zeus and Hera. In this example, Poseidon, Hermes andArtemis form a procession, entering from the left of the scene, while Ares is seated on a block with Athena nearby, and Zeus and Hera are seated on the right of the scene, on thrones.

Appearance of the Scene in Other Visual Media

From the archaeological evidence, this scene is rarely depicted outside of Black-figure, with only a few examples remaining, typically on Corinthian vessels. Thus, this section will investigate these ceramics and also discuss the scene as purported by authors.

 An example of this scene in other visual media provided below is a Corinthian Amphora (Figure 71), where both Hephaistos and Dionysos are present. This piece is roughly contemporary with the date of the earliest Attic Black-figure,[274] and a contemporary piece to the François vase, the importance of which will be discussed below. It depicts Hephaistos, holding a drinking horn and riding a donkey, with Dionysos also holding a drinking horn behind him. The scene is populated by five other characters who, unlike Attic representations, appear to be men instead of satyrs or maenads/nymphs.

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[274] Carlo Gasparri, contributing author of the LIMC, who writes the section on Dionysos, states that it is dated to roughly 600-575 BCE.

Figure 71   Figure 72

A comparison between the scene in the Corinthian example (Figure 71) and that of the François vase (Figure 72) is necessary, as they belong to roughly the same date. In both, Hephaistos rides a donkey/mule and is followed by a servant carrying a sack. Differences between these two versions arise where the characters in the François vase are clearly labelled; the followers are also labelled SILENOI (satyrs); and that Dionysos leads Hephaistos to the seated Zeus and Hera. The absence of drinking vessels is noted in the François vase. While the Corinthian piece illustrates Hephaistos becoming inebriated, the Francois vase depicts a scene which is after the fact.

It is important, however, to note is that the respective shapes of the François Vase (Figure 72) and this Corinthian vessel example differ, thus resulting in a different decorative space, and in turn affecting the number of characters that might be depicted. Furthermore, the decorative areas of both of these two examples are reserved bands across the whole vessel, unlike later examples of the scene, in particular amphora of the mature black-figure period, in which the decorative space became more centered on the vessel and larger, thus resulting in a different format for composition of the characters included.

Hedreen argues that there is some evidence to suggest that this scene existed in two other forms of visual media, that of a late Archaic pediment relief in temple of Athena at Sparta,[275] and on the "throne of Amyklai by Bathykles".[276] Both artefacts are lost but are referred to by Pausanias; in the first, Pausanias describes a scene which would follow from the return sequence in that "Hephaestus [is depicted] releasing his mother from the fetters",[277] while the second case, the throne of Amyklai, was said to display the banquet dedicated to Dionysos and Hephaistos after the release of Hera.[278] Unfortunately neither survives, and Pausanias' account is insufficiently detailed to use as a comparandum.

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[275] Hedreen (1992) p. 14.
[276] ibid.
[277] Paus. 3.17.3
[278] Paus. 3.18.10

Discussion

There are three main considerations that will be dealt with in this section; these are the inclusion of certain semiotic markers, the positioning of characters, and the relationship between different auxiliary characters.

The first point to be made concerns the donkeys or mules ridden by Hephaistos and Dionysos in this scene.[279] While satyrs and nymphs are typically seen as associates of Dionysos, the donkey is less typically so.[280] The donkey's value and thus position in Athenian society is lowly, Hedreen asserts that "The donkey was a less valuable animal than a horse in antiquity".[281] While this may seem obvious to a modern reader, its appearance in this scene is of particular importance for the reading of masculinity. In the François vase, as in others, Hephaistos is depicted as riding on a donkey as opposed to riding on a horse. This choice of animal would suggest that Hephaistos occupied a low social position. Indeed, Hedreen remarks that the donkey is a suitable animal to illustrate the contrast between him and the other gods, as he is "both physically inferior to the other gods and a hardworking craftsman, rather than a member of a divine leisure class".[282]

The second point concerns the ithyphallism, exhibited regularly by the donkey in this scene (Figure 73). While it primarily illustrates sexual drive, in many ways it is part of the iconography that defines Dionysos; ithyphallism is shown regularly by satyrs both with and without the presence of Dionysos. Ithyphallism is also a characteristic that is exclusively deployed by Black-figure artists in the Dionysos corpus, and is always shown in stark contrast to Dionysos, who in these scenes, is typically subdued and dressed more formally.

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[279] While there is some debate as to if the animal ridden by Dionysos and Hephaistos is indeed one or another, for the sake of this discussion I shall follow the tradition that identifies it as a donkey, as both the scope and research into the animal does not allow for a differentiation between these two animals.

[280] Some argument has been made to suggest that there is a relationship between the satyr and horse, most notably by Hedreen (1992) p. 16, who suggests that satyrs as hybrid creatures consist partially of a donkey, thus creating this association.

[281] Hedreen (1992) p. 17.

[282] ibid.

Figure 73

The next point concerns the relationship between the two main protagonists in the scene, Dionysos and Hephaistos. The catalogue of ceramics chosen for this scene display these characters rendered in a range of different positions and a range of different actions, some of which are more active than others. In terms of their position in the scene, Dionysos either appears in front of Hephaistos, or directly behind him. In the first case, that of Dionysos appearing in front of Hephaistos, he is facing in the direction which follows the scene. This could be interpreted as him leading Hephaistos. Alternatively, in Figure 71, we see his head is tilted towards Hephaistos, while he is facing in the other direction. The most plausible interpretation is that there is some interaction between the two characters. There does not appear to be a preference for either the positioning of Dionysos, or for the positioning of his head in the sample group. However, there is only one example where he appears behind Hephaistos. In this example, he faces Hephaistos, wine horn in hand.

The most active of all of these scenes is on an amphora in Frankfurt,[283] where Dionysos turns his head to Hephaistos, his arms lowered in a wide open gesture. Hephaistos is riding a bucking donkey (Figure 74). The active nature of this scene when compared to others in this sample group does make it atypical, however an argument may be made that this was the painter's attempt to capture the drunkenness of the scene within the limits of what was acceptable for each character.

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[283] DH15.

Figure 74

Masculine Markers Displayed

1. Relationship to Masculine Hierarchy

This scene is of particular interest for establishing Dionysos's position within a divine hierarchy. To explore this we need to identify the social position of all of the characters within this scene. Firstly, that Dionysos occupies a higher social position than satyrs is clearly visible. They are the followers of Dionysos, and are thus subjugated to him. This relationship will be explored below and in the other Dionysian scenes. Secondly, Hephaistos occupies a lower position to that of Dionysos. This assertion is based on two observations: firstly, he is outwitted by Dionysos; and secondly, he is dependent on an animal to carry him, on account of his lameness. This lameness means, as mentioned above, that he has a lower masculine position to that of the other gods. Thirdly, in relation to the other gods, Dionysos holds a position which ultimately is very high. The Return of Hephaistos from the literary record illustrates a displacement in terms of hierarchy, as Dionysos is an outsider to the Olympian gods; he is able to do what all other gods are unable to achieve; to release Hera from the chair. In so doing he outwits all the other gods and assumes a position of power.

There is one critical observation to be made in regard to the narrative and his depiction in black-figure. Firstly, Dionysos is not yet a god at the time of this type-scene, but still an outsider; he is granted his status after the success of this endeavour. Thus, the representation of Dionysos at the top of any divine masculine hierarchy is not completely accurate. Furthermore, the act whereby he is granted divinity suggests that his position is indeed lower than that of the other gods.

Lastly, the relationship between Dionysos and Ares can be explored through the narrative description of this scene. Here Ares, according to the Libanios account, "accomplished nothing, but quitting disgrace

when Hephaestus threatened him with torches".[284] This failure by Ares, who was renowned for warfare, indicates that he, in the light of this narrative, was viewed as lower than Dionysos in terms of his masculine status.

2. Rage vs. Control

This scene is unlike those that have been studied before with Herakles, as here, Dionysos does not display rage or control in the same direct manner. However, this is not to say that these markers do not exist. Dionysos, through the majority of Black-figure scenes, is the paragon of reserve and control. Rarely does this god show any major movement in scenes in which he is found to be rendered. His typical rendering then is standing still with drinking vessel in hand. Never, in the cases that I have examined outside of this study, does the god fall prey to his own devices. For example, Dionysos does not appear intoxicated in Black-figure, with the drinking vessel in most scenes appearing purely due to the association between the god and wine.

Dionysos's actions, however, are very different from those of his followers in this scene. The most obvious example of contrast in this scene is the sodomisation of the donkey by the satyrs, as shown in Figure 73. While this action, through its appearance on multiple ceramics, suggests that it was an acceptable action for the satyr,[285] and thus normal, it is not an action which Dionysos is permitted. In other words, control for Dionysos is not a question of internal conflict about whether to do something sexually unacceptable or not. I postulate that Dionysos is the most controlled of all the characters examined in this study. He does not suffer from rage or madness, and his treatment of Ariadne, as the next section will explore, illustrates a character that is not easily swayed by emotion.

Additional Notes

The manner in which Dionysos resolves the quarrel between Hera and Hephaistos is an area which illustrates the extents of his masculinity. Dionysos makes Hephaistos drunk, and while conforming to the soon-to-be deities' role as the overseer of wine, this is an approach which is atypical of the other Olympian gods and demi-gods. Certainly characters such as Ares and Herakles, as shown through the analysis above and in the previous chapter, would not use a technique which involved subterfuge. Ares' and Herakles's masculine power partly arises from their ability to directly resolve problems, typically

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[284] Lib. 7.2

[285] Theories to account for this deviant activity range from either the relationship that satyrs have with donkeys, through their physical composition, or their deviant actions arising from a narrative constructed through the lost satyr plays a time roughly comparative to that in which Black-figure was produced.

through the use of physical force. While this might not be true in all the literary accounts, it is, however, true through the scenes and ceramics chosen for this study. While it is bold to suggest that this technique is unmanly, it is, however, against what is contrary to a normal or typical solution.

The Marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne

Figure 75

Introduction and Literary Accounts

An introduction to this narrative must begin with the events that led up to the wedding itself. This begins with the failed relationship between Ariadne and Theseus. Briefly the narrative sees Ariadne fall in love with Theseus, helping him escape the maze of the Minotaur and subsequently eloping with him. This relationship was, however, ill-fated as, according to Homer, she was abandoned on the Isle of Dia (modern day Naxos).[286] There are a range of reasons why this abandonment occurs, ranging from faithlessness on the part of Theseus to his tiring of her.[287] On the Isle of Dia the different narrative accounts of the myth diverge, particularly with regard to the relationship between Dionysos and Ariadne. Homer, in the oldest narrative, writes that Ariadne, upon arrival on the isle, was killed by Artemis. In this account, Dionysos's relationship with Ariadne is unclear, as Homer only adds that she was slain "because of the witness of Dionysos".[288] This last statement has posed some confusion amoungst academics, as it is difficult to discern meaning from it. Dionysos appears here as an afterthought, and the wedding sequence is not recorded at all. The literature is indeed sparse when considering this wedding sequence, as the first and only time the wedding between Dionysos and Ariadne is mentioned explicitly is in Hesiod's *Theogony*; where it records that "Dionysos made blonde-haired Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, his buxom wife"[289] and adds that Zeus made her immortal for him. Later accounts appear to imply such a

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[286] Hom. *Od.*11. 320
[287] *ibid*
[288] *ibid*
[289] Hes. *Theog*. 947

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marriage, but do not mention the wedding sequence, focusing rather on describing the children of this marriage.[290]

Typical Rendering of the Scene

Given the scarcity of this scene in literature and the extent to which it is detailed, it is then atypical that the scene should appear in over a hundred cases in Black-figure.[291] Clearly this scene is popular for the audience of Black-figure; however, I shall consider this later in further detail. In the approximately one hundred examples where Ariadne appears, there are three major compositions in the wedding sequence. These identified by Hedreen[292] namely 'the bride Ariadne', 'the wedding procession', and 'the nuptial feast'. Of these, the most common depiction is 'the bride Ariadne'. Here, one of the most apparent compositional choices is that Ariadne and Dionysos are facing each other. A characteristic of this type-scene, noted by Hedreen, is that a large proportion depicts Ariadne wearing a himation and peplos combination, where the himation is taken over Ariadne's head. This characteristic is one of the chief means of identification, and will be discussed in the Discussion section. Also the gesture that Ariadne is often rendered with, with one hand half-raised, is also a feature which is associated with marriage and will be discussed below (see Figure 76). Dionysos is, in almost all cases, rendered with a raised drinking vessel (most commonly a drinking horn). He is also depicted with an ivy wreath on his head and typically is dressed in a chiton and himation. Also dependent on shape, a number of range of auxiliary characters are present. They range from satyrs, nymphs/maenads to onlookers and gods such as Hermes.

Figure 76

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[290] Such as Apollod. Bibl. 1. 9, Dio. Sic. 4. 61. 5 and Plut. Thes. 20. 1.
[291] Hedreen (1992) p. 31.
[292] Hedreen (1992) p. 36-48.

In the second type of scene, that of 'the wedding procession' the scene, according to Hedreen, is identified through Dionysos and Ariadne appearing together and facing in the same direction. In this case, both characters are rendered close together, typically in the centre of the scene. Satyrs are often included as auxiliary characters here (Figure 77).

Figure 77

The final group 'the nuptial feast' displays the couple on a couch, as in the example below (Figure 78). Dionysos reclines, while Ariadne is depicted as sitting next to him. This is a fairly rare composition in the group, and typically there are satyrs and nymphs that form the auxiliary characters in the scene.

Figure 78

Appearance in Other Visual Media

This series of scenes appears to be almost non-existent outside of the Black-figure. Of the three different types of rendering of this scene, only the 'nuptial feast' scene appears to have survived into Red-figure, with several examples appearing to follow the manner in which Black-figure presented the couple. Other than this, the visual media of Archaic and Classical Greece appears not to have popularised the scene itself. A logical argument which would explain this is that a narrative could have existed, possibly written or performed during the Archaic Period, which no longer survives. If so, then it is likely that it had

diminished in popularity and circulation during the production of Red-figure ceramics, on account of the relatively few examples that are presented of this scene.

There is one Corinthian plaque dated c. 530, which can be used for in comparison with this scene. Here, Poseidon and Amphitrite are depicted in a manner similar to Dionysos and Ariadne in 'the wedding procession', in that both characters are placed close together, and facing in one direction (see Figure 79). This comparison is used by Hedreen to argue for the 'intimacy' between Dionysos and Ariadne in this Corinthian example.

Figure 79

It must also be noted that there is a far larger body of scenes involving Dionysos in Black-figure when compared to Red-figure,[293] and thus it is logical to conclude that the myths involving Dionysos were more popular to the Black-figure audience.

Discussion

As an introduction to the discussion, I draw attention to an important consideration: the problem of the identification of Ariadne. There is much debate amongst scholars as to whether the woman pictured with Dionysos in this scene is indeed the daughter of Minos. The problem that surrounds her identification is twofold: the first has to do with her depiction, while the second concerning her appearance in this scene in literature. In the first instance regarding her identification, no iconographical markers exist in Black-figure that distinguishes her from any other woman depicted in the style. Also, there are no ceramics which identify her by name. This is further complicated by her appearance in literature. The literary narrative, as described above, provides a somewhat sparse and conflicting account of this scene, with

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[293] These figures see Dionysos appear in 4371 Black-figure and 1564 in Red-figure ceramics.

Homer describing an event which would discount their marriage,[294] and Hesiod only briefly mentioning it.[295] An additional problem is that of the dating and the originality of the pieces. The authenticity of Homer's piece, Hedreen suggests, has been questioned by academics,[296] while Hesiodic account was likely added later in antiquity.[297] If both of these authors are discounted, the problem of chronology and narrative arises, as authors mention this union only much later. With the variability in the literature noted, it is generally accepted amongst scholars that the woman accompanying Dionysos is indeed Ariadne. This acceptance derives from a number of different logical conclusions that can be drawn from scenes in which she appears. The first and clearest point is that, as a rendered character, she is distinct from the other followers of Dionysos. She is often depicted in the centre of the scene and often afforded a slightly elevated positioning when compared to the auxiliary characters. The second point worth noting is that nowhere in literature is there any other reference to a marriage in which Dionysos is the groom. This note is particularly important as the only other women who appears regularly with Dionysos are maenads and nymphs, and since no union between either and Dionysos is described in the literature, it is unlikely that it would be any character other than Ariadne. Further, Hedreen suggests that she is distinct from the nymphs in that she is depicted in a static manner, while nymphs are typically engaging in an activity such as dancing. Following this logic, it is plausible that her static stance forms part of her iconography. If this is true, then in scenes that are almost identical, but where Dionysos is not present, it is also plausible that it the figure depicted as static is indeed Ariadne. For example, Figure 80 depicts a static woman (right), possibly Ariadne, and in this case she is rendered with the veil, another iconographical marker.
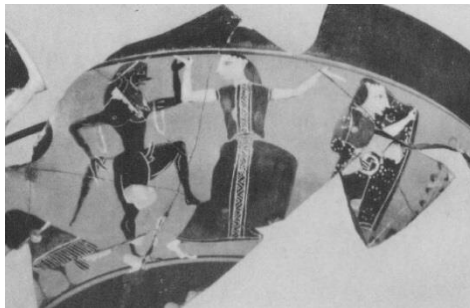

Figure 80

After establishing the case for Ariadne in black-figure, the next task of this discussion is to explore the semiotic markers involved in the scene itself. Four different headings will be explored. These are, namely,

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[294] Homer describes her to be slain by Artemis and only mentions a relationship to Dionysos Hom. Od. 11.320.
[295] Hes., Theog. 947.
[296] Hedreen (1992) p. 33.
[297] ibid.

stance and composition of the scene, gesturing, clothing, and the involvement of the auxiliary characters. While it may appear that a stronger emphasis is being placed on Ariadne in this exploration, it will be shown that that it is necessary in order to explore the masculinity of Dionysos under the masculine markers pointed out below.

Stance and Composition

In this section, I have chosen to present the discussion in terms of the three scenes identified by Hedreen.[298] The first point to discuss concerns the scene Hedreen calls 'the wedding procession', in which the characters are depicted side by side. This depiction, according to him, "suggests intimacy",[299] as the close proximity of the characters to each other is, to a certain extent, atypical for the style. More regularly Black-figure artists space their characters evenly, even when the characters closely associated (see Figure 80 and Figure 81 for comparanda). This choice by the artist of the ceramic is indicative of two different considerations, firstly that there was precedent for the two characters to be rendered in such a close manner, thus suggesting a narrative that involved them during the Black-figure period. Secondly, and on account of there being several examples of this type of scene, that there was a compositional template to which the artists adhered.

Figure 81

The second point concerns the stance of 'the bride Ariadne'. While there are instances of characters facing each other in Black-figure, these are typically underpinned by some other action in which the characters are engaged, such as a battle, or one character addressed by another. It is very unusual for two unengaged characters to face each other directly, forcing us to read that an interaction is occurring between them. Hedreen therefore suggests that this is 'the bride Ariadne', and, as will be shown below, that she is at her wedding. The formality of the scene also bears some sway on its interpretation, as both

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[298] Hedreen (1992) p. 31-64.
[299] Hedreen (1992) p. 43.

characters are positioned statically, typically raising only one arm each (Dionysos with his drinking vessel and Ariadne holding her himation). This static composition is unlike the other characters in Dionysos's corpus, which are typically depicted as being very active. This lends an air of solemnity to the proceedings, suggesting that an important event is in progress.

The last point concerns the 'nuptial feast'. While this scene is more popular in the later Red-figure style, perhaps on account of the growth in the symposium culture of the period, the inclusion of Ariadne is important to the reading of the scene. Here, as mentioned, she appears at Dionysos's side approximately in the middle of the scene. She does not occupy the same space as the god, and is not reclining. When considering Ariadne's social standing, this composition still sees the two characters facing each other in a manner that seems to follow the 'intimacy' as described by Hedreen. To conclude here, each of these points suggests a level of intimacy between the characters, and that this intimacy can inform masculine markers discussed below.

Gesture

Gesturing in this scene plays an important role in the overall reading. Here the emphasis is placed on Ariadne's gestures, of which two are prominent. The first is described as the 'veiling' by Hedreen,[300] an action which is associated with the wedding procedure, and sees Ariadne holding her veil, presumably to remove it when the time is right. The second is a passive gesture, by which she raises her hand in manner suggesting she poses no aggression, which appears to the modern reader to indicate acceptance.

Garments

Dionysos is usually depicted in much the same manner as in the rest of his corpus, with a chiton and decorated himation. Ariadne typically wears a peplos and himation. There is a two of ways in which the himation is depicted. The first sees the himation worn regularly and tucked under both arms, while the second sees it over her head in an action which Hedreen argues is in the manner of a bride.[301]

Auxiliary Characters

A consideration here is that the satyrs are not as lascivious as in other scenes. They are not depicted as performing any overtly sexual acts. In the three different scene-types, the satyrs are relatively well-behaved. Where the most typical rendering of them is dancing, the worst action that they can be perceived

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[300]Hedreen (1992) p. 36.
[301]Hedreen (1992) p. 43.

to be engaged in is either lifting a nymph, or kissing one (see the catalogue). There are examples where they are shown playing instruments and carrying sacks. There appears to be no set template to their inclusion, and their inclusion appears not to influence the outcome of the scene itself; they are passive characters.

Masculine Markers Displayed

1. Duty

Duty and marriage to the modern audience are linked concepts. For the modern western audience, the institution of marriage is defined by the duty of a man to a woman and *vice versa*, at least in an ideal concept. It is unlikely that this concept would have been different in Archaic Athens. That wedding scenes appear regularly in ancient visual media suggests that the institution of marriage had a loaded meaning, and that that meaning was embedded in the relationship between the man and woman (given that they are typically the focus of the art). With this in mind, we need to examine the relationship between Ariadne and Dionysos in literature and in Black-figure. Here, with the exception of pseudo-Apollodorus,[302] who suggests that she was kidnapped by Dionysos, the sources all seem to confirm that there was a willing union between these two characters, despite them not specifically mentioning a wedding. Thus we are lead to believe that the union would indeed indicate that Dionysos was dutiful to her. The popularity of this scene in the different Black-figure variants suggests that this indeed was the case, and that positioning Dionysos in it, suggests that he followed this dutiful conceptualisation. The 'intimacy' described by Hedreen and the absence of any other scenes which shows any conflict between these figures further reinforces this justification.

2. Relationship to Masculine Hierarchy

It is difficult to establish pointers on masculine hierarchy for this scene, given that there is so little literature which involves this ceremony, or of weddings in general in Archaic Athens. There are other examples of wedding scenes in Black-figure, such as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis,[303] but the majority of these scenes are processional. There is one particular area in which this scene differs from others in Black-figure: the auxiliary characters. In other wedding scenes, auxiliary characters are typically men and women behaving in a reserved manner; while Dionysos the auxiliary characters, who are typically satyrs and nymphs or maenads, behave very liberally. This liberal action of the auxiliary

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[302] Apollod. *Bibl.*1. 9
[303] DH15.

characters speaks to the positioning of Dionysos in the masculine hierarchy. While auxiliary characters in other scenes are reserved, mirroring the bride and groom, the satyrs are often depicted as dancing, kissing and pointing at other auxiliary characters. The result of this, it can be argued, is a diminished masculine power for the satyrs, ranking them lower within a masculine hierarchy.

It is important to note that Dionysos behaves with Ariadne in a manner which is different to the way in which he behaves with other women in his corpus. He does not typically interact with his female followers. If he is the central character, then the other characters in the scene, while active in stance, are passive in their interaction with Dionysos. While there are examples where Dionysos addresses an unidentified woman, it is not with the same 'intimacy' as described by Hedreen.

3. Rage vs. Control

Here only a brief note is made, that Dionysos, as in the scene with Hephaistos, is the very modicum of control. His actions are measured he is often depicted with very little expression. This is opposed to his followers, who go far beyond this in terms of exuberance and normality.

Conclusion

In both of the type-scenes examined in this study, Dionysos's character appears to represent similar values, and is frequently represented in a similar manner by different artists across different type-scenes. This suggests that there was a specific conceptualisation, for both painter and audience, of the god's character. The masculine markers reveal that he, as a character, exhibited both a sense of duty and considerable self-control, with the latter central to the construction of his character. This self-control is usually all the more apparent when contrasted with the behaviour of his followers. While it might be argued that the scenes in which he appears *are* scenes in which one ought to lack control (he is depicted as holding a wine vessel and his supporters are revelling and thus breaking the typical spectator template), he is depicted as being mostly solemn.

The duty Dionysos displays appears also to be a factor in the construction of his masculinity. While the type of duty differs between type-scene (in the case of the return of Hephaistos scene this is duty to the gods, in the case of the marriage scene it is to her), given that it appears in both type-scenes, the only two type-scenes in which he appears, suggests that it is indeed important to his construction.

The masculine power that Dionysos displays in these two type-scenes affords him a high social and masculine position. In the case of the marriage scene, the argument has been made that the liberal and often lascivious actions of his followers permit him an elevated status. While in the case of the return of Hephaistos, his ability to return Hephaistos to Olympos where other gods had failed permits him a high level status, where he is ultimately still subordinate to the other gods, and answerable to them.

In summary, Dionysos appears to be a character held in high regard in terms of his masculinity, both by the audience and painters, and furthermore, the frequency with which Dionysian scenes appear suggests that his behaviour should be seen as acceptable.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation set out to explore the way in which masculinity could be understood, placing a focus on two characters represented in Black-figure in the Archaic Period. To achieve this, a hybrid theory was created which borrowed from mass-media theory, semiotics and masculinity theory. This was in turn refined and narrowed to suit the study of Black-figure. It was also shown that modern mass media theory, despite being designed specifically for the modern world, was largely applicable to the study of black-figure. To illustrate this applicability, a comparison between mass media and Black-figure, was conducted in which it became clear that many of the criteria used to define modern mass media could be explained in terms that were relevant to the study of the ancient world. The resulting theory postulates the existence of a *code* in style of style. In particular, the concept of a codec, or coder/decoder, was defined, whereby artists could encode meaning into their paintings, and an audience could decode it in interpretation. The task of the modern scholar then, is seen as the reconstruction of this codex. The codex constructed by the modern scholar is informed by theories, literature, and other visual media; along with common sense, which is the repository of the connotative. Central to the application of this theory to Black-figure is the recognition that certain traits are often associated with masculinity. These traits were explored through various markers (such as duty and control) within the type-scenes of the characters considered, and were informed by the manifestation of modern masculinity. This was applied to Herakles in Chapter 4, and Dionysos in Chapter 5.

This conclusion will include a summary and direct comparison between these two characters, a discussion on the characters masculine extents (comic, normative, acceptable and aberrant); and the positioning of each character can be seen as holding according to Connell's classes of masculinities, as explained in Chapter 2, namely hegemonic, subordinated, complicit and marginalised masculinities.

Herakles

The first point concerning Herakles, according to the type-scenes considered in this dissertation, is that his depiction in Black-figure does not simply equate to the concept of Herakles as a 'super-male'.[304] While his strength and bravery are elements that elevate him beyond the masculinity of ordinary mortals,

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[304] A notion explored by Loraux (1990) p. 21-50.

where he is, as Loraux argues, tempered by women.[305] Indeed Herakles's enslavement by Omphale, the madness inflicted by Hera and Athene's supporting role, largely dictate his narrative and actions.

Athene's role is of particular importance to the reading of Herakles's tempered masculinity in Black-figure. The prominence in which she appears in the type-scenes considered, including those where she is not part of literary narrative, indicate that she was a large part of the visual construction of the character in black-figure. Taken together with the evidence that her role in some type-scenes is as an active player in the scene, it is reasonable to consider that she is integrally bound up in the construction of Herakles's masculinity. In this way, Herakles can be considered to be aberrant in relation to other men and gods depicted in the style, as there are no other cases where a female deity is so regularly depicted assisting a main character.

We may read the selfish action of the theft of the tripod as yet more seemingly aberrant. While a modern audience might see this action to be aberrant as it is both sacrilegious and based on personal gain, it is possible to argue that it may have appeared less so to the ancient audience. Here we must consider a few factors, namely that the popularity of the scene in the style suggests that it was one which was desired by the purchasers of Black-figure and thus was a popular scene for the character, thus making it less aberrant than, say, a once-off lascivious satyr scene, for example. In this there are two considerations. The first is the popularity of the hero and the association Peisistratos tried to forge with him, and the second is the appearance of Athene in the scene. Athene is of particular interest, as her involvement legitimates the events taking place, as the patroness of Athens. Thus it could be argued that, while showing seemingly aberrant behaviour, the scene was actual read by the archaic audience to be acceptable on account of these factors.

There are two different ways in which Herakles's masculinity can be considered acceptable. The most prominent is the manner in which he expresses duty. In Black-figure this is largely expressed through his labours. In achieving all of his duties without waning, he can be seen as being dutiful to King Eurystheus. This leads to another masculine trait, in which Herakles's actions seem to be normative, and that despite his strength and otherwise hyper-masculine traits, he still fits within a masculine hierarchy in which he does not hold the highest position. As the type-scenes have shown, his actions are tempered by characters such as Zeus and Athene. Critically here, while he does challenge the masculine hierarchy on occasion (such as in the fight between Herakles and the god Ares, for example), he does not upset it and thus his behaviour can be considered as normative.

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[305] Loraux (1990) p. 24.

It is difficult to suggest that any of Herakles's type-scenes considered in this dissertation can be taken as comic. His actions in his labours or in his servitude are not comic, but rather are tragic, where the madness inflicted by Hera has caused his great misfortune (the killing of his wife and children, amongst others), as well as the need for his atonement. The manner in which Herakles might be considered to be comic is through his aberrant strength, which is so different to what mortal men would be able to achieve, that it becomes comic. Here there are a few points to consider, the first of which is that Herakles in Black-figure is never depicted as being more muscular than any other warrior character. It is then plausible to make the argument that because his body is not articulated in a different manner, the audience of Black-figure did not see it in a different light, and thus it could not be seen as comic. There are however two pieces of evidence around which it is possible to build counter-arguments.

First, it is possible to cite the type-scene of Herakles and the Kerkopes as an apparent counter-example, where he appears physically larger than the Kerkopes. However, this occurrence sees him disproportionate in size to the Kerkopes, rather than more muscular. This is an important distinction. As has been shown in other type-scenes, such as the theft of the tripod, Herakles's prodigious strength is acceptable for his character, thus lifting two Kerkopes can be considered to be acceptable, rather than comic. Another point to consider is that physical strength in the modern world is rarely seen to be comic. Strength for us only becomes comic when it is grotesque, in that it prevents the character from being able to perform actions which regular people are able to do, examples of this are the Hulk and Thor. As there is no grotesque element by means of which we might discern from his depiction in Black-figure, it is possible to suggest that his strength was neither partially nor completely comic.

Secondly, there are scenes in Herakles's corpus that can be considered to have comic elements, such as the scenes depicting the encounter with the Erymanthian Boar, and the Kerkopes. In the case of the Boar, Herakles is depicted holding the boar above King Eurystheus about to drop it on him, trapping him inside of a large storage jar. While in the case of the Kerkopes, he is referred to in the *Homerica* as having a Black-bottom,[306] which has widely been interpreted as jocular. In each of these scenes, as pointed out by Mitchell,[307] elements of their construction were very likely to have been seen as humorous. However, there is clearly a distinction between a character seen as comical in and of themselves, and a character being involved in a scene which has comical elements. In the case of the Erymanthian boar, for example, Herakles is not the butt of the joke, but usually the opposite. While it is possible that the black-figure

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[306] *Hom*. Evelyn-White. p. 539.
[307] For Herakles and the Boar see Mitchell (2009) p. 121-122 and for the Kerkopes see Mitchell (2009) p. 123-124.

audience viewed these scenes with some humour, given the evidence as well as Herakles's clearly revered position at the time, we should hesitate before accepting this assumption.

The next issue that needs to be addressed is that of the position Herakles occupies in Connell's masculine positions.[308] Here from the arguments made in Chapter 4, his masculinity can be best seen as fitting with a hegemonic conceptualisation of this concept. That is, while not all elements of Herakles's character can be seen as desirable or aspirational, there is sufficient evidence to assert that he would not fit into any of the other categories.

Dionysos

Dionysos is a character who embodies self-control in Black-figure. His masculinity is articulated in a very different manner from that of Herakles. He is ultimately a very different kind of hero, solving his challenges in a vastly different manner. However, that is not to say that the masculinity he expresses is any less than that of Herakles.

One area where Dionysos must be seen as aberrant as a character is in the return of Hephaistos, where he, a demi-god, achieves what the gods are not able to do. This action upsets the masculine hierarchy and grants him a higher position of power than one should expect, given his status.

Self-control, as already suggested, is one of Dionysos's chief characteristics. It can be considered to be both a normative characteristic as well as being an aberrant one. To briefly explain this, it is normative in the sense that he appears controlled in all of the cases considered, and thus this can be considered to be acceptable for him. It is atypical, and thus aberrant, when compared to how other men are rendered in the style, where they are involved in a wide variety of activities and express a great number of different extents of self-control. Thus it is possible to suggest that the control which Dionysos expresses is particular to him. The fact of his extraordinary popularity in Black-figure suggests that this idiosyncrasy was perceived to be an acceptable characteristic for him.

Dionysos can be considered to be normative in the manner in which he expresses duty as well. His type-scenes duty is expressed in two different ways, the first is through his duty to the gods in terms of the return of Hephaistos, while in the second it is through his marriage to Ariadne. This is likewise acceptable for the character, as this marker appears in both of the type-scenes.

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[308] Refer to pages 41-42 of the current study.

As with Herakles, it is difficult to consider him as a comic character. He is depicted in the type-scenes in a very static manner, with intense action being portrayed by his followers. As with Heraklean scenes, comic masculinity is expressed in Dionysian type-scenes, but it is expressed in the wider scene rather than with the main character. This is to say that while the satyrs and other followers often express such aberrant actions that they can only be considered comic, Dionysos does not. This provides a stark contrast for the character amongst others, and positions him, if anything, in a more respectable position to the ancient viewer of Black-figure.

Finally, it is more difficult to position Dionysos in terms of Connell's categories, as his masculinity is so different from that of Herakles, however it is possible to argue that it too is hegemonic. This assertion is made with the following realisation in mind, namely that it is unlikely for one character to meet all the demands of a hegemonic masculinity, and also that hegemonic masculinity represents aspects of masculinity which are very different. Thus, the masculine power expressed by Dionysos is in no way expressed to be less than that of Herakles. Rather, they both hold positions of power, just different positions of power within the ancient conceptualisation of masculinity.

In Conclusion

Masculinity in the Classics is still to see extensive theoretical work concerning its construction for specific periods and visual mediums. This study aims to have introduced such work to a specific period and genre. I believe that through the re-examination of visual media such as black-figure, in light of modern theories, a greater conceptualisation of social context in which they were created can be established. Through this investigation, I have taken two popular and charismatic characters, and analysed them according to a new lens through which to view masculinity through ancient visual media, which better considers the various factors that governed its production and consumption than its predecessors.

List of Figures

Note:

- All images used in this dissertation are done so without the permission of their relevant holdings or owners.

- All Black-figure ceramics used are, unless otherwise stated, are from the Beazley Archive. This archive was last accessed on 2014-02-10

- The manner in which the Black-figure ceramics are presented, unless otherwise specified, sees the shape first, then the vase number (according to Beazley's Achive), followed by the city and collection it is housed in, and finally, where possible, the accession number.

21. Amphora Type B, 310395, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16757. Image taken from:

http://24.media.tumblr.com/3da4e208fe644a5fefbc44a518cfcbb0/tumblr_mezre8FDIr1rmd611o1_1280.jpg. Date accessed 2013-12-10

22. Amphora Type B, 320414, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 56.171.9.

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30. Neck Amphora, 320051, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS435.

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33. https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/CGPrograms/Cast/image/A012.jpg. Date accessed 2013-10-4

34. Neck Amphora, 13848, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

35. Amphora Type B, 1115, Orvieto, Museo Civico, 1640.

36. Neck Amphora, 7770, Munich, Antikensammlungen, J178, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1574.

37. Neck Amphora, 320051, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS435.

38. Amphora Type B, 22997, New York, Market.

39. Neck Amphora, 7770, Munich, Antikensammlungen, J178, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1574.

40. Neck Amphora, 320051, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS435.

41. Amphora Type B, 310293,Copenhagen, National Museum, 109.

42. Neck Amphora 13848, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, STG16.

43. Amphora Type B, 2848, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., D6, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., S702.

44. Oinochoe, 310183, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1732, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, F1732.

45. Amphora Type B, 301782, Munich, Antikensammlungen, SL460.

46. Amphora Type B, 2848, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., D6, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., S702.

47. http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/CGPrograms/Cast/ASP/Cast.asp?CastNo=A020.html. Date accessed 2014-10-4

48. Amphora Type B, 301613, Paris, Musee du Louvre, F31.

49. Lekythos, 1195, Gela, Museo Archeologico, 2.

50. Neck-Amphora, 43951, Copenhagen, Carlsberg Glyptothek, 2676.

51. Amphora Type B, 3756, Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 10901.

52. Amphora Type A, 1274, Hamburg, Museum fur Kunst und Gewerbe, 1917.471.

53. Neck Amphora, 13848, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, STG16.

54. Amphora Type A, 301782, Munich, Antikensammlungen, SL460.

55. Sienna Cup, 300533, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS428, Riehen, Private, XXXX300533.

56. Amphora Type B, 320386, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 1437, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, PU192.

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60. Neck Amphora, 1853, Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1964.

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64. Kylix, 172, Cambridge, Fritz. Museum, 60.

65. Olympia, Museum B1010, drawing from the LIMC s.v. Herakles.

66. Bronze statuette,Stuggart, Landesmus. Antikenabt. 3.15, LIMC s.v Herakles.

67. Amphora Type A, 303082, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1464.

68. Oinochoe, 350447, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 65.45.

69. Neck Amphora, 1853, Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1964.9.

70. Amphora Type B, 350424, Christchurch (N.Z.), University of Canterbury, J.Logie Mem.Coll., 42.57.

71. Corinthian Amphora, London, BM B42.

72. Volute Krater, 300000, Florence, Museo Archeologico.

73. Neck Amphora, 13826, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 1553.

74. Neck Amphora, 351279, Frankfurt, Museum fur Vor- und Fruhgeschichte, B286.

75. Neck Amphora, 7834, London, British Museum, B25.

76. Sianna Cup, 300586, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 44081.

77. Neck Amphora, 351068, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 76.40.

78. Neck Amphora, 303221, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 86.90.

79. Corinthian plaque, 486, Berlin Antikensammlung, picture from LIMC s.v. Dionysos.

80. Little Master Band Cup, 10632, Copenhagen, National Museum, 1349.

81. Neck Amphora, 7453, Munich Antikensammlugen, J1189.

Catalogue of Black-figure Ceramics

All images considered for this catalogue are sourced from the Beazley Archive accessed via http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk. Last accessed on 2014-02-10

All ceramics are presented with the following information:

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Herakles

Delphic Tripod

HT01. Stamnos, 473,Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 251.

HT02. Neck Amphora, 6095, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1853.

HT03. Neck Amphora, 6836, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, F1853.

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HT05. Neck Amphora, 7770, Munich, Antikensammlungen, J17.8

HT06. Hydra , 7813, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, L68.142.8.

HT07. Column Krater, 7828, Paris, Musee du Louvre, F312.

HT08. Neck Amphora, 596, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.69.

HT09. Oinochoe, 7950, Brussels, Musees Royaux, R298.

HT10. Neck Amphora, 320051, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS435.

Kerkopes:

HK01. Lekythos, 471, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, R145.

HK02. Lekythos, 13812, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1889.1010.

HK03. Amphora Type A, 301632, Paris, Cabinet des Medailles.

HK04. Olpe, 8128, Brussels, Musees Royaux, R293.

HK05. Neck Amphora, 301558, Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 10917.

HK06. Neck Amphora, 302395, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3871.

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HKYK01.   Neck Amphora, 1274, Hamburg, Museum fur Kunst und Gewerbe, 1917.471.

HKYK02.   Amphora Type B, 2848, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., D6.

HKYK03.   Kyathos, 4560, Northampton, Castle Ashby, 36.

HKYK04.   Amphora Type A, 8156, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 4.

HKYK05.   Olpe, 12144, Brussels, Musees Royaux, R292.

HKYK06.   Neck Amphora, 13831, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC6992.

HKYK07.   Neck Amphora, 13848, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, STG16.

HKYK08.   Amphora Type B, 13849, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC5660.

HKYK09.   Neck Amphora, 15771, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C866.

HKYK10.   Amphora Type B, 23041, Geneva, Market, Koutoulakis, XXXX23041.

HKYK11.   Neck Amphora, 43951, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 2676.

HKYK12.   Cup, 200430, Paris, Musee du Louvre, F129.

HKYK13.   Sienna Cup, 300533, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS428.

HKYK14.   Amphora Type B, 301457, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.131.

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HKYK16.   Hydra, 301765, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 418.

HKYK17.   Amphora Type A, 301782, Munich, Antikensammlungen, SL460.

HKYK18.   Hydra, 301814, London, British Museum, 1843.11-3.49.

HKYK19.   Hydra, 302009, Munich, Antikensammlungen, J48.

HKYK20.   Amphora Type A, 302083, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3822.

HKYK21.   Amphora Type B, 302100, London, British Museum, 1837.6-9.47.

HKYK22.   Amphora Type B, 320386, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 1437.

HKYK23.   Hydra, 351200, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 63.473.

HKYK24.   Cup A, 302232, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 37.12.

HKYK25.   Oinochoe, 310183, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1732.

HKYK26.   Amphora Type A, 320380, London, British Museum, B197.

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HL01. Hydra, 654, Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung, T683.

HL02. Neck Amphora, 654, Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung, T683, London, Market, Sotheby's, XXXX654, Diosphos Painter.

HL03. Neck Amphora, 705, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, GR523.

HL04. Neck Amphora, 1493, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1556.

HL05. Neck Amphora, 1494, Cleveland (OH), Museum of Art, 70.16.

HL06. Amphora Type B, 1793, Como, Museo Archaeologico, D3359.

HL07. Amphora Type B, 5152, Detroit (MI), Institute of Arts, 76.22.

HL08. Lekythos, 6912, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Z339.

HL09. Neck Amphora, 6915, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1921.342.

HL10. Cup, 1853, Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1964.9.

HL11. Neck Amphora, 1969, Mainz, Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 29215.

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DH03. Lekythos, 656, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universitat Leipzig, T59.

DH04. Cup Type B, 3357, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universitat Leipzig, T5.

DH05. Column Krater, 6804, Fiesole, A. Costantini.

DH06. Neck Amphora, 7306, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1982.1097.

DH07. Hydra, 8095, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3809.

DH08. Neck Amphora, 12967, Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, CSA5.

DH09. Cup Type A, 13243, London, British Museum, B427.

DH10. Neck Amphora, 13826, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 1553.

DH11. Neck Amphora, 13846, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, XXXX13846.

DH12. Amphora Type B, 24080, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, XXXX24080.

DH13. Volute Krater, 300000, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209.

DH14. Calyx Krater, 301794, Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 847.

DH15. Neck Amphora, 351279, Frankfurt, Museum fur Vor- und Fruhgeschichte, B286.

DH16. Amphora Type B, 350424, Christchurch (N.Z.), Univ.of Canterbury,J.Logie Mem.Coll., 42.57.

DH17. Neck Amphora, 320260, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1522.

DH18. Little Master Band Cup, 350749, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 17.230.5.

Ariadne:

DA01. Amphora Type B, 301835, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1911.256.

DA02. Amphora Type B, 301833, Orvieto, Museo Civico, 2694, Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina, 74.

DA03. Amphora Type A , 301830, Paris, Musee du Louvre, F209.

DA04. Neck Amphora, 301759, London, British Museum, B268.

DA05. Neck Amphora, 301680, Rugby, School, 11.

DA06. Oinochoe, 301459, Goluchow, Czartorski, 13.

DA07. Amphora Type B, 301366, Orvieto, Museo Civico, 240.

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DA09. Sianna Cup, 300572, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 7739.

DA10. Sianna Cup, 300548, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30.4, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR4.1930.

DA11. Amphora Type A, Plate Fragment, 46020, London, British Museum, B204.

DA12. Amphora Type B, 24088, Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina, 2721.

DA13. Amphora Type B, 23037, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, XXXX23037.

DA14. Neck Amphora, 15771, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C866.

DA15. Cup Type A, 14114, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2747, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81128.

DA16. Neck Amphora, 14106, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC2800

DA17. Olpe, 12547, Gotha, Schlossmuseum, AHV29.

DA18. Amphora Type A, 12446, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 161, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B1.

DA19. Amphora Type B, 12030, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum, CG4.

DA20. Neck Amphora, 11908, Frankfurt, Stadel Institute, V10.

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DA23. Neck Amphora, 6211, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1542.

DA24. Plate Fragment, 6053, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., D74, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., S101511.

DA25. Neck Amphora, 5598, Tours, Musee des Beaux-Arts, 863.2.66.

DA26. Olpe, 5903, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., D64, Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., S10667.

DA27. Skyphos Fragment, 4175, Rennes, Musee des Beaux Arts, D08.3.3.

DA28. Neck Amphora, 301323, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 01.80.52.

DA29. Neck Amphora, 351068, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 76.4.

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Note: All classical sources are abbreviated in this dissertation to conform to the Oxford Classical Dictionary 4

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