

# Columns in Archaic Lakonian Vase Painting

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Studies of Archaic Attic and Corinthian vase painting have demonstrated that paradigmatic relationships sometimes exist between multiple images on individual vases.<sup>1</sup> Such relationships generally occur between primary, mythological episodes and subordinate, seemingly decorative animal scenes. On a frequently cited Attic black-figure kalix-krater by Exekias, for example, a secondary frieze of lions overpowering bulls sits beneath an illustration of Greeks and Trojans fighting over the body of Patroklos (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> The implication here is that the warriors fight as savagely as the lions, a comparison that comes directly from Homer.<sup>3</sup>

Similar connections occur on vases from Lakonia—the province controlled by Sparta—and appear most often in the interiors of kylikes, the wine cups used and dedicated at

ritual meals in Spartan and associated sanctuaries.<sup>4</sup> On a kylix by the Boreads Painter, for example, a wild boar decorates the exergue, or predella-like secondary register, beneath an image of the introduction of Herakles to Olympus (Figure 2).<sup>5</sup> Here the animal, whose courage, strength and tenacity are respected throughout Greek myth and epic, exemplifies the virtues that enabled Herakles to complete his labors and take his place among the gods.<sup>6</sup> It is a “simile” that reinforces and enriches the principle image but does not affect how the main scene is interpreted.<sup>7</sup> This example demonstrates that Lakonian vase painters thoroughly understood Attic and Corinthian juxtapositions of images and contradicts the long-held view that Spartan artists only slavishly and incompetently imitated work from the artistic centers of Archaic Greece.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Studies of connections between images on individual Attic and Corinthian vases include, but are not limited to: J. Hurwit, “Reading the Chigi Vase,” *Hesperia* 71 (2002): 1-30; A. Shapiro, “Correlating Shape and Subject: The Case of the Archaic Pelike,” in *Athenian Potters and Painters*, eds. J. Oakley, W. Coulson, and O. Palagia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 63-70; J. Benson, “Human Figures, the Ajax Painter, and Narrative Scenes in Earlier Corinthian Vase Painting,” in *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, eds. J. Carter and S. Morris (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 335-362; J. Benson, “Human Figures and Narrative in Later Protocorinthian Vase Painting,” *Hesperia* 64 (1995): 163-177; G. Markoe, “The ‘Lion Attack’ in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph,” *Classical Antiquity* 8 (1989): 85-115; I. Scheibler, “Bild und Gefäss: Zur ikonographischen und funktionalen Bedeutung der attischen Bildfeldamphoren,” *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 102 (1987): 57-118; and H. Hoffman, *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit: A Structuralist Approach to Greek Vase-Painting* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1977). I use the term “paradigmatic” as coined in A. Stewart, “Stesichorus and the François Vase,” in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, ed. W. Moon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 53-74, an article that also belongs in the above list. For the view that programmatic interpretations of ancient vase painting are conceits of modern scholarship, see J. P. Small, “Time in Space: Narrative in Classical Art,” *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 573; and B. Ridgway, *Prayers in Stone: Greek Architectural Sculpture Ca. 600-100 B.C.E.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 82-94.

<sup>2</sup> The vase is Athens, Agora 1044. The fight over the body of Patroklos is the main subject of *Iliad* 17.

<sup>3</sup> The connection made here comes from Markoe, “‘Lion Attack,’” 94-95 and is reiterated in Benson, “Earlier Corinthian Vase Painting,” 340.

<sup>4</sup> For the use and distribution of Lakonian kylikes, see M. Nafassi, “Distribuzione della ceramica laconica,” in *Studi sulla ceramica laconica: atti del seminario, Perugia, 23-24 Febbraio 1981*, ed. F. Pompili (Roma: G. Bretschneider, 1986), 149-172; and M. Pipili, “Archaic Lakonian Vase-painting: Some Iconographic Considerations,” in *Sparta in Laconia: Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium, London 6-8 December 1995* (London: British School at Athens, 1998), 82-96.

<sup>5</sup> The vase is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 50.11.7. Curtius originally thought it depicted Hyakinthos and Polyboia approaching the gods, but Lane, Shefton, Pelagatti, Stibbe, and Pipili have subsequently agreed that the introduction of Herakles is shown. See E. Lane, “Lakonian Vase Painting,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 34 (1933-1934): 163-164; B. Shefton, “Three Laconian Vase-Painters,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 49 (1954): 300; P. Pelagatti, “Kylix Laconica con Eracle e le Amazzoni,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 82 (1958): 493; C. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1972), 98; and M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 11-12. For the characteristic large exergue of Lakonian kylix tondos, see Lane, “Lakonian Vase Painting,” 133-134.

<sup>6</sup> For the wild boar in myth and epic, see M. Davies, “The Boar-hunt in Greek Myth,” *Prometheus* 27 (2001): 1-8.

<sup>7</sup> Benson uses the term “Homeric Simile” to describe such images; see Benson, “Earlier Corinthian Vase Painting,” 340-341; and Benson, “Later Protocorinthian Vase Painting,” 163.

<sup>8</sup> The characterization of Lakonian artists as inept and provincial appears in E. Pernice, “Kyrenäische Schale in Berlin,” *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 16 (1901): 191-192. It is reiterated in several key studies; see, for example, Lane, “Lakonian Vase Painting,” 143; and T. Webster, “Tondo Composition in Archaic and Classical Greek Art,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 59 (1939): 105-106. This attitude has begun to shift in recent decades, at least with regards

Lakonian artists also sometimes used the contents of exergues to qualify how principle scenes were interpreted. This technique, which was likely not appropriated from elsewhere in Greece, further suggests that the sophistication of Lakonian workshops has been underestimated.

Doric columns are among the least common subjects of Lakonian kylix exergues, occurring for certain on only a few extant vases. Each cup is by a different painter and has a distinct primary subject. The most widely published of these is a kylix by the Arkesilas Painter on which the exergue column appears to support the groundline of the main scene, where the punishments of the Titans Prometheus and Atlas, paired on the vase as they are in Hesiod's *Theogony*, are shown (Figure 3).<sup>9</sup> The column has frequently been interpreted as representing the earth as described by Anaximander, the Milesian philosopher who envisioned the inhabited world resting on one end of a giant cylinder.<sup>10</sup> According to much later sources, Anaximander taught in Sparta during the middle of the sixth century B.C., around the time when the vase was made.<sup>11</sup> This reading suggests that the entire tondo forms a single cosmological image where Prometheus, whose punishment took place in the Caucasus, represents the East, and Atlas, whose punishment took place near Gibraltar, represents the West.<sup>12</sup> The stylized lotus buds extending from the column are dismissed as decorative.

to the "porthole" compositions of the Hunt Painter; see J. Hurwit, "Image and Frame in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977): 6-9; and J. Papadopoulos, "A Lakonian Cup by the Hunt Painter in Sydney," *Antike Kunst* 35 (1992): 97-99.

<sup>9</sup> The vase is Vatican 16592. The punishments of Atlas and Prometheus are described together in Hesiod, *Theogony* 489-497; the connection between Hesiod and the vase is made in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1993), 645; N. Kaltsas, ed., *Athens-Sparta* (New York: Onassis, 2007), 130; and N. Yalouris, "Astral Representations in the Archaic and Classical Periods and Their Connection to Literary Sources," *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980): 314.

<sup>10</sup> The idea was first put forward in H. Jucker, "Herakles und Atlas auf einer Schale des Nearchos in Bern," in *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1977), 195-196. It also appears in G. Schaus, "Two Notes on Lakonian Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87 (1983): 86; T. Gelzer, "Zur Darstellung von Himmel und Erde auf einer Schale des Arkesilas-Malers in Rom," *Museum Helveticum* 36 (1979): 175; and Yalouris, "Astral Representations," 314. For Anaximander's theory of the earth, see C. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 55 and 81, where the relevant fragments of Hippolytus and Pseudo-Plutarch are analyzed.

<sup>11</sup> The testimonia for Anaximander's visit to Sparta are Diogenes Laertius 2.1.1-2 and Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.50.112. However, Kahn warns against trusting reports of where and when Anaximander taught; see Kahn, *Anaximander*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> For the cosmological interpretation of this image, see A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1888), 1410; Gelzer, "Zur Darstellung von Himmel," 175; Yalouris, "Astral Representations," 313-315; Schaus, "Lakonian Vases," 86; and K. Scheffold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, trans. A. Griffiths (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 53.

As convincing as this interpretation may be, it does not help explain the other two vases with columns in their exergues. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that a vase by the Hunt Painter, on which two male drinkers stand along side a large wine vessel, represents anyone's view of the earth (Figure 4).<sup>13</sup> The men in this image are likely *komasts*, or revelers participating in a cult meal.<sup>14</sup> *Komos* scenes are common on Lakonian kylikes, which is not surprising since these vases were used in ritual meals where the activity depicted would have taken place.<sup>15</sup> Drinking and dancing are known to have been part of Spartan festivals honoring Apollo, and it is likely that they were also included in festivals honoring Artemis Orthia, the principle goddess of Sparta, since vases similar to this one were dedicated in her sanctuary and, according to the literary record, Artemis was honored with orgiastic revelry in other parts of the Peloponnese.<sup>16</sup> In this case the column, which is decorated with simple vegetal ornaments and flanked by aquatic birds, likely relates to a tradition of representing the Olympian deities aniconically.<sup>17</sup>

According to the literary record, the earliest representations of the Greek gods were made of unworked material. For example, Pausanias tells us that the Greeks worshipped "rough stones" in what was to him the ancient past, and Callimachus claims that the earliest cult statue of Hera at Samos was a *xoanon* or "a plank not carved by chisels."<sup>18</sup> Nikolaus

<sup>13</sup> This vase is San Antonio Museum of Art 2005.1.63.

<sup>14</sup> The *komasts* are identified in C. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: supplement* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), 64. Stibbe calls the poorly preserved vessel between them a transport amphora, but it is more likely a volute krater, as in a similar scene by the Hunt painter, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 192; see Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler*, cat. no. 228.

<sup>15</sup> See Pipili, *Laconian Iconography*, 71-72 for a list of symposiastic and *komos* images on Lakonian vases. See A. Seeberg, "Astrabica," *Symbolae Osloenses* 41 (1966): 73-74; and A. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1971), 80 for the view that *komasts* in Corinthian and Lakonian painting represent mortals participating in contemporary festivals.

<sup>16</sup> For dancing as part of the *Gymnopaideiai*, see A. Powell, "Mendacity and Sparta's Use of the Visual," in *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success*, ed. A. Powell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 149-150. Pipili sees a cup by the Naukratis painter found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia as evidence that komastic rites took place there; see Pipili, *Laconian Iconography*, 74. Dancing and orgiastic rites honoring Artemis throughout Greece are also covered in Powell, "Mendacity," 151.

<sup>17</sup> Schaus connects images of columns throughout Lakonian vase painting, whether in exergues or principle scenes, with both Anaximander's theory of the earth and scenes of divine justice. His argument centers on a fragmentary cup by the Hunt Painter from Samos, formerly Kessel S 49 B and now lost, which he believes represents Sisyphus, although others have viewed it as a scene of construction. See Schaus, "Lakonian Vases," 87.

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias 7.22.4; and Callimachus, as recorded in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 3.7.98d-3.8.99d. See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 88; and A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta:

Yalouris traces the tradition of representing deities in “the form of a column, pillar, cube, pyramid, cone or tree” back through Mycenaean and Minoan times, ultimately citing a Near Eastern origin.<sup>19</sup>

Although none of these representations survive today, the visual record nevertheless supports Pausanias’ account and demonstrates that aniconic cult statues were venerated in historical times. Coins from Megara, which was an ally of Sparta during the Peloponnesian war, show a stone pyramid that represented Apollo; the same god is represented as a pillar on coins from the Corinthian colony of Ambrakia.<sup>20</sup> Yalouris sees herms as semi-iconic descendents of aniconic representations of deities and suggests that an Attic red-figure stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter records the practice of decorating sacred pillars with branches; in this example, the pole, which has a volute capital, is also adorned with a chiton and a mask (Figure 5).<sup>21</sup> He also suggests that the single Corinthian column from the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was a representation of the god, comparing it to sacred trees or pillars decorated with branches and connecting it to the Arkadian tradition of representing the hyperborean god Apollo Agyieus aniconically.<sup>22</sup>

The tradition of representing deities aniconically was especially strong in Lakonia. As Lévy points out, Pausanias lists fifteen *xoana* in Lakonia, six of which were in Sparta itself; these generally represented goddesses associated with fertility, including Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera, and Persephone, although some apparently represented Apollo.<sup>23</sup> The colossal statue of Apollo at Amyclai, the focus of the Hyakinthia, one of Lakonia’s most important annual festivals, was itself only semi-iconic.<sup>24</sup>

Pausanias also records a legend claiming that the original cult statue for the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the most important in Sparta, was a *xoanon* found bound by lugos branches in the marshy areas adjoining the Eurotas river.<sup>25</sup> Rose, one of the excavators of the sanctuary, posits that living branches were used to decorate the statue throughout the Archaic period, suggesting that the arboreal associations of the Spartan goddess were actively maintained.<sup>26</sup>

There may be a kind of truth in the legend that the Spartans discovered their deity in the form of a tree. Jane Carter argues that the principle Spartan goddess Orthia, although later conflated with Artemis, originally came to the Peloponnese from Phoenicia in the eighth century B.C., around the time when Sparta’s most prominent sanctuary was founded.<sup>27</sup> Archaeological, art historical, and literary evidence clearly demonstrate a close connection between Sparta and Phoenicia in the Archaic period, and it is certainly possible that Phoenician customs were either brought directly to mainland Greece or learned by Spartans on Samos, an Ionian island with which Sparta was closely affiliated up to around 540 B.C.<sup>28</sup> Carter connects this Phoenician goddess with *asherah*, wooden pillars and trees associated with Canaanite shrines in the Old Testament, which call to mind the *xoana* described by Pausanias.<sup>29</sup>

*Asherah* was also the name of a Syro-Canaanite mother goddess who could be represented as a *potnia theron*, or mistress of animals, in reference to her association with fertility.<sup>30</sup> A thirteenth-century B.C. Aegeanizing ivory pyxis lid from Syria depicting a goddess seated on an altar in a rocky landscape feeding two rearing goats may be such a representation (Figure 6).<sup>31</sup> Its composition recalls early

Scholars Press, 1988), 195. The translations here are from Donohue, *Xoana*, 315 and 388. These accounts bring to mind Vitruvius’ statement that the proportions of Doric and Ionic columns were originally based on the human form; see Vitruvius 4.1.6.

<sup>19</sup> Yalouris, “Astral Representations,” 100.

<sup>20</sup> See N. Yalouris, “Problems Relating to the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai,” in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World: Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3-9 September, 1978*, eds. J. Coldstream and M. Colledge (London: National Organizing Committee, XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 1979), 100; and Pausanias 1.44.2.

<sup>21</sup> Yalouris, “Temple of Apollo Epikourios,” 100-103. The stamnos is by the Villa Giulia Painter, London, British Museum E 451.

<sup>22</sup> Yalouris also cites the absence of physical evidence for an iconic cult statue in the temple; see Yalouris, “Temple of Apollo Epikourios,” 96-103.

<sup>23</sup> E. Lévy, *Sparte: histoire politique et sociale jusqu’à la conquête romaine* (Paris: Seuil, 2003), 98-99; and Pausanias 3.22.1-12.

<sup>24</sup> For a description of the image of Apollo from the Amyklai throne, see Pausanias 3.19.2.

<sup>25</sup> Pausanias 3.16.7; see J. Carter, “The Masks of Orthia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987): 375.

<sup>26</sup> See Rose in E. Dawkins, “The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies Supplement* 5 (1929): 403.

<sup>27</sup> Carter, “Masks of Orthia,” 374-378. Although Dawkins thought the sanctuary dated to the tenth century B.C., Carter follows Boardman, who convincingly places its origins in the eighth century. See Dawkins, “Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,” 18-19; and J. Boardman, “Artemis Orthia and Chronology,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 58 (1963): 3.

<sup>28</sup> Lakonian dedications were prevalent at the Samian Heraion until around 540, when Polykrates took over Samos; see Pipili, “Archaic Lakonian Vase-painting,” 85.

<sup>29</sup> See Carter, “Masks of Orthia,” 375-376, where 2 Kings 18:4 and 2 Kings 23:14 are cited.

<sup>30</sup> This is pointed out in Carter, “Masks of Orthia,” 377. Also see A. Caubet’s entry in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, eds. J. Aruz, K. Benzel, and J. Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 409. For a discussion of problematic inscriptions suggesting that Ashera was at one time considered the consort of YHWH, see John Collins, “Israel,” in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston (Cambridge: Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 182-183.

<sup>31</sup> See Caubet in *Beyond Babylon*, 408-409; and R. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1982), 30.

Mesopotamian images of goats on either side of a sacred tree and is echoed on numerous objects from the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, such as a seventh-century ivory fibula plaque that shows the goddess as a mistress of animals flanked by aquatic birds that presumably refer to the marshy location of her sanctuary (Figure 7).<sup>32</sup>

Given the origins of Artemis Orthia in a Near Eastern pillar cult, the tradition that her cult statue was an unworked plank found among lugal branches and sometimes decorated with freshly cut tree limbs, and the convention of representing the Spartan goddess as a mistress of animals with aquatic birds on either side, it is possible that Spartan viewers would have understood the column decorated with vegetal ornaments and flanked by waterbirds in the exergue of the Hunt Painter's vase in San Antonio to be a representation of their principle goddess, especially since the main image more than likely depicts part of a cult meal in her honor. Rather than literally standing beneath the *komasts*, then, the column, which occupies the central axis beneath the large vessel above it, figuratively supports, or sanctions, the ritual activity in the main scene and signifies that the drinking should be interpreted as sacred. The groundline of the principle scene, which creates the exergue, both indicates that the column occupies a conceptually distinct space and joins it to the vessel whose contents help the *komasts* connect with their deity.

Unfortunately, this particular vase has no provenance. The overwhelming majority of Lakonian kylikes with figural decoration, however, come from sanctuaries where cult meals and ritual drinking would have occurred. In addition to the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, numerous Lakonian vases have been found at the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Naukratis, and the sanctuary of Persephone in Cyrene.<sup>33</sup> Each of these sanctuaries was closely affiliated with Sparta during the middle of the sixth century B.C. and honored a goddess who, like Artemis Orthia, was associated with fertility, had Near Eastern origins, and was sometimes represented by a *xoanon*. Maria Pipili suggests that images of the Lakonian cult would have been easily understood at these destinations where religious practices were strikingly similar, a fact that no doubt greatly aided the success of Lakonian exports.<sup>34</sup>

A third exergue column in Lakonian vase painting can also be read as referring to Artemis Orthia. It appears on a vase by the Rider Painter that shows Herakles wrestling the Cretan bull (Figure 8).<sup>35</sup> A siren, itself an indicator that we are seeing a supernatural event, carries lotus blossoms above

the combat, and eagles, symbols of the hero's power and reminders that his father was Zeus, fill the empty spaces. The column, which is flanked by aquatic birds and has only a conceptual relationship to the main image, stands directly beneath the hero's braced foot, suggesting that the goddess sanctions and supports his labors.

Although we are used to seeing Athena aid Herakles in Greek art, it is not surprising that the Rider Painter depicts Artemis Orthia instead. The Spartan kings claimed to be the descendants of Herakles and thereby used the hero to legitimize their authority and symbolize the military power of their state.<sup>36</sup> Spartan soldiers, on the other hand, sacrificed to Artemis Orthia.<sup>37</sup> By using a column to show the principle goddess of Sparta directly supporting the hero who is both the source and symbol of Spartan power, the Rider Painter turns what would otherwise be an illustration of a popular legend into a reiteration of ideology central to the identity of the Lakonian elite.

The column beneath the Arkesilas Painter's depiction of the punishments of Atlas and Prometheus is admittedly different from the other two examples. Only half of it is visible, and more of its components, including the flutes and the elements of the capital, are delineated with incision. The lotus buds, however, both recall the vegetal ornaments used to decorate aniconic images of deities and, like the aquatic birds found on the other two kylikes as well as on the images showing Artemis Orthia as a mistress of animals, suggest the marshy location of the goddess' sanctuary. Although it would be difficult to make a case for Artemis' direct impact on punishments dealt by Zeus, it is safe to say that this vase suggests that that divine punishment awaits those who challenge the gods.

On each of the vases discussed above, the exergue columns directly impact the meanings of the principle subjects. By referencing the tradition of aniconic cult statues, the columns would have led Spartan viewers to interpret the genre and mythological scenes in the main registers of these tondos as illustrations of sacred practices and beliefs directly related to the context in which vases such as these were used. Considered alongside the use of "similes," a practice borrowed directly from Corinthian and Attic vase painting, these columns demonstrate that Lakonian artists were able to build upon, not simply imitate, the techniques they appropriated.

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<sup>32</sup> See Kaltsas, *Athens-Sparta*, 71; and Dawkins, "Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia," 208, plate XCVIII (#2).

<sup>33</sup> See Pipili, "Archaic Lakonian Vase-painting," 85-92.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-92.

<sup>35</sup> The vase is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.15.

<sup>36</sup> See J. Boardman, "For You Are the Progeny of Unconquered Herakles," in *Φιλόλακων: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Sanders (London: British School at Athens, 1992), 25.

<sup>37</sup> See Powell, "Mendacity," 180.



Figure 1. Exekias, Attic black-figure kalyskrater, c. 530 B.C., clay, 45 cm high, Athens, Agora Museum 1044, courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens.



Figure 2. Boreads Painter, Lakonian kylix, c. 570-565 B.C., clay, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1950 (50.11.7) Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 3. Arkesilas Painter, Lakonian kylix, c. 560-550 B.C., clay, 20 cm in diameter, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16592, Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 4. Hunt Painter, Lakonian kylix, c. 545 B.C., clay, 14 cm in diameter, San Antonio, San Antonio Museum of Art 2005.1.63, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art. Photo credit: Peggy Tenison.



Figure 5. Villa Giulia Painter, Attic red-figure stamnos, c. 470-450 B.C., clay, 34 cm high, London, British Museum E451, © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 6. Pyxis lid from Minet el-Beidha, Syria, 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C., ivory, 13.7 cm high, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 7. Lakonian fibula catch-plate, c. 660 B.C., bone, 8 cm high, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15502, courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture /Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 8: Rider Painter, Lakonian kylix, c. 550 B.C., clay, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of N. Koutoulakis, 1959. (59.15) Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.