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April 8, 2022

The Origin of the *Pilleus*

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Abstract

The Origin of the *Pilleus*By Hannah Marier

Why did the Romans choose to make the wearing of the *pilleus* a step in the manumission ritual (manumissio)? This paper attempted to answer this question by diving into the origin of the *pilleus* in the Greek *pilos*. The *pilos* was worn predominantly by unbearded youths on Greek vase-painting, often symbolizing the 'proving time' in which these youths transitioned from boys to adult citizens. This symbolic meaning of proving time was what the Romans adopted for the *pilleus*, which thus also symbolized the proving time of the newly freed enslaved person.

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The *pilleus*, in the sense of the cap placed upon the head of a newly manumitted enslaved person, is usually said to have been a symbol of liberty. This it may have been on certain coins under both the Republic and Empire. This paper considers a question about the *pilleus* seldom posed, namely why the Romans chose to make the donning of the *pilleus* a part of their manumission ritual (manumissio) in the first place. The origin of the *pilleus*, it is argued, lay both etymologically and iconographically in the Greek *pilos*. The Romans adopted the *pilos* for their manumission because in the Greek imaginaire, as attested especially in vase painting, it regularly marked the key stage in the career of mythical and idealized male figures: their "ephebic" passage from boyhood to manhood, their "proving time" as heroes or, in a political context, citizens in the act of becoming. As a signifier of proving time it was applied by the Romans in a new context: the transition from enslaved person to free, to mark the newly manumitted enslaved person as a "citizen in training."

The method adopted here is primarily iconographical, focusing on visual evidence that has been neglected by scholars who have addressed the *pilos* and the *pilleus*. A table was created using the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) and the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum (CVA), in which 267 Greek vases were identified as showing the *pilos*. This sample of the extensive examples of the *pilos* in Greek art was the backbone of the paper, supplemented by images found in other books and the Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae

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¹ H. Ubl, P. Pannonicus, die Feldmütze des spätrömischen Heeres, in: Archaeologica Austriaca, Beiheft 14 (= FS R. Pittioni) vol. 2, 1976, 214-241; Rolf Hurschmann, "Pilleus", in Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity volumes eds. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, English eds. Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes eds. Manfred Landfester, English eds. Francis G. Gentry.

² The phrase "proving time" is a term of my own invention, meant to refer to the stage in a young male Greek's career when they transitioned from a boy to man, proving their worth as a future Greek citizen. The phrase proving time is meant to apply not only to the ephebic moment but also to the transitional apprenticeship of Greek youths that occurred before the emergence of the system of the ephebate in the 4th century BCE.

³ See end of paper for table. Note that not all 267 mentions of the 'pilos' were correctly identified by past scholars.

Classicae (LIMC). From these sources, a typology for the *pilos* was created in order to properly distinguish it from other headgear such as the *petasos*.

The Pilleus

Students of Roman art are familiar with the *pilleus* as the Roman liberty cap donned by enslaved persons who have been newly manumitted.⁴ According to Cicero and Gaius, there were three ways to free an enslaved person in Roman law: manumissio vindicta (manumission by wand), manumissio censu (manumission through census), and manumissio testamento (manumission through a will).⁵ The *pilleus* was not specific to any of these types, but rather was a part of the more general ceremony of manumissio, wherein a slave would change his name, shave their head, don the toga, and wear the *pilleus*.⁶

There is solid literary evidence for the *pilleus* in its relation to manumission. The term *pilleus* used in the phrase "servos ad pilleum vocare," meaning literally "to summon the slaves to freedom" and denoted the freeing of slaves to participate in civil disorder. This phrase is used in Suetonius's *Lives of the 12 Caesars* to refer to the unsuccessful freeing of slaves by the father of Tiberius following the assassination of Julius Caesar. Livy also uses the phrase to refer

⁴ Hurschman, "Pilleus," 1.

⁵ Cicero *Topica*, 10 and Gaius *Institutiones*, 1.17.

⁶ R. G. Nisbet, "The Festuca and the Alapa of Manumission." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 8 (1918): 8. See also Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania, 1915), 50.

⁷ Suetonius, Tiberius (Lives of the 12 Caesars), 4.

to the freeing of slaves before the election of Hippocrates and Epicydes as praetors.⁸ Visual evidence for manumission using the *pilleus* is less prevalent. The most famous example appears on the Tomb of the Haterii, in which liberti wearing the *pilleus* mourn their deceased patrona.⁹

Few have tried to explain the origins of the *pilleus*. The more common depiction of the *pilleus* is as an attribute of the goddess Libertas, as seen most often on Roman coins. Some depictions of the goddess show her holding the *pilleus*, probably in reflection of the gifting of the *pilleus* during the manumission ceremony. One such depiction can be found on a sesterius of Galba from 69 CE.¹⁰ Another more common depiction of the *pilleus* on Roman coins is immediately behind the bust of Libertas. One such denarius from 75 BCE show a bust of the goddess Libertas wearing a diadem.¹¹ Behind her, in miniature scale, is a small *pilleus*. In these depictions, it is often only the "Libertas" written on the coin and the tiny *pilleus* that identify the youthful woman as the goddess. The goddess herself is never shown wearing the *pilleus*—it is only ever shown in her hand or within her context, indicating that the *pilleus* is something that she metaphorically gives upon a slave's manumission.

However, the term 'pilleus' is used to the hat worn by priests (pontifices and flammines), certain military officers, and the rex sacrorum. Eitrem argues that the priests wore the pilleus in order to ward off bad spirits. However, while there is some literary

⁸ Livy 24.32

⁹ Carroll, Maureen. ""The mourning was very good". Liberation and Liberality in Roman Funerary Commemoration," in V. Hope and J. Huskinson (eds.), *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death*, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 130.

¹⁰ Sestertius of Galba. 69 CE. Wriston Art Galleries: 91143

¹¹ Denarius. 75 BCE. Issued by L. Farsuleius Mensor. RRC 392/1b. http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-392.1b

¹² Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 384.; See also Renate Kreis-von Schaewen, "*Pilleus*," "*Pilos*," Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Band XX, Halbband 40 (1950), 1328-1333.

¹³ Ibid.

evidence for the wearinig of the 'pilleus' by priests and others, the iconographic depictions of these kinds of so-called piloi do no match up with the majority of depictions of the hat in other Greek and Roman sources. ¹⁴ In this paper, the word pilleus will be restricted to the cap that was donned by newly manumitted slaves in an attempt to properly identify the origins of the manumission ritual.

The approach of this paper is first to ask the question: Why did the Romans choose to make the wearing of the *pilleus* a step in the manumission ritual (manumissio)?

A previous attempt to answer this question was made by Wolfgang Helbig in his treatise, Über den Pileus der alten Italiker. Written in 1880, Helbig's main argument centers around an assumption that in order for the pilleus to symbolize freedom, it must have been the hat of the citizen worn early in Roman and Italic history:

"If the *pilleus* was the attribute of the goddess of freedom, of Libertas, and if the *pilleus* was set upon the heads of liberated slaves during the legal procedure of manumission, then the only way to really explain these facts is by assuming an era during which free Romans wore the *pilleus* and distinguished themselves from slaves by doing so." ¹⁶ (Translated by Hannah Marier)

However, tabling further discussion surrounding his treatment of Etruscan and Indo-European evidence, there are logical problems with the formulation of Helbig's argument.

Helbig's thesis assumes the conclusion in the premise, asserting that the *pilleus* was always a

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¹⁴ See Samter, E. Der pilleus der römischen Priesten und Freigelassenen, Philologus 53 (1894), p.535ss.

¹⁵ Wolfgang Helbig, Über den Pileus der alten Italiker. (München: Verl. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss, 1880).

¹⁶ Helbig, Über den Pileus, 487.

cap of freedom. Indeed, while the *pilleus* demonstrably has the function of a cap of freedom as it is depicted on early Roman coins, this paper instead proves that the *pilleus*'s association with freedom is metonymic, and that it instead retains its meaning of a symbol for proving time from its Greek origins. Only later did the *pilleus* gain its identity as a "cap of freedom" from its continued depictions with the goddess Libertas and its role in the manumission ceremony.

Concurrently, the concept of libertas did not extend to the Etruscan period, as the term was conflated with immunitas around 167 BCE.¹⁷ Thus, Helbig presents a fallacy, a petitio principii, by assuming that the meaning of the *pilleus* was only ever that of freedom.

Helbig is most likely projecting the function of the cap as solely a symbol for liberty from French Revolution and the American Revolution, which used the classical imagery of the *pilleus* to legitimize their cause. The *bonnet rouge*, depicted on in Eugene Delacroix's *Liberty Leading* the *People* in 1830, became a famous symbol of freedom that spread first from Italy, then to England, France, and the Americas. The *bonnet rouge*, also called the liberty bonnet, appeared in descriptions for liberty in Italian emblem books, such as Cesar Ripa's *Iconologia o vero descrittione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichita e dei altri luoghi* (1593). The description of the liberty bonnet, accompanied by a scepter, was then copied into French

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¹⁷ Sherwin White, *The Roman Citizenship*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 179. See also Arena, Valentina. *Libertas and the Practice of Politics in the Late Roman Republic*. Cambridge. 2012.; Balmaceda, Catalina. *Libertas and Res Publica in the Roman Republic: Ideas of Freedom and Roman Politics*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020.; Kleijwegt, M., "Creating New Citizens: Freed Slaves, the State, and Citizenship in Early Rome and under Augustus," European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire 16 (2009) 319-330.

¹⁸ Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (1987): 60.

¹⁹ Edith Warren Hoffman, "A footnote to Eugéne Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 9, no. 3 (1990): 24.; David J. Harden, "Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees," *Past & Present*, no. 146 (1995): 68.

²⁰ Jean-Charles Benzaken, "L'allégorie de la Liberté et son bonnet dans l'iconologie des monnaies et médailles de la Révolution française (1789-1799), "Gazette des archives 146, no. 1 (1989): 343.

emblem books, including Baudouin's *Iconologie ou nouvelle explication de plusieurs images,*emblems...(1677).²¹ The pilleus and the bonnet rouge were connected to lend legitimacy to the
French Revolution, a classical connection that was emphasized in newspapers such as the
Revolution de Paris in March 1972.²²

As the symbol of the liberty bonnet continued to spread, the *pilleus* proportionally became further ingrained with the concept of freedom. The *bonnet rouge* appeared in the chosen iconography of the American Revolution and was employed by the silver-smith Paul Revere. The liberty bonnet was also associated with the abolitionist movement in the Americas. In 1792, Samuel Jennings, an American abolitionist artist, painted *The Genius of America Encouraging Emancipation of the Blacks*, wherein liberty looks over a group of enslaved people while the liberty cap dangles from her staff. By the time that Helbig was writing in the 19th century, the *bonnet rouge* had become synonymous with freedom, and it would have been difficult to imagine a *pilleus* that was separate from this modern context of liberty.

²¹ Benzaken, "L'allégorie de la Liberté," 347.

²² Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: a study of dress worn by french revolutionary partisans 1789-94." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 3 (1981): 286. See also Nicola J Shilliam, ""Cocardes Nationales and Bonnets Rouges": Symbolic Headdresses of the French Revolution," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 5 (1993): 116.

²³ Benzaken, "L'allégorie de la Liberté," 347.; David J. Harden, "Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees," *Past & Present*, no. 146 (1995): 68.

²⁴ Samuel Jennings, (act. 1787-1834), artist. 1792. Painting. The Genius of America Encouraging Emancipation of the Blacks; or Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences. Easel Painting / Identified Artist. Place: PHILADELPHIA (PA)., The Library Company of Philadelphia., 250. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/asset/IBWA DB 10313287979

²⁵ For more on the *bonnet rouge*, see: Robert Morris, "The Liberty Cap on American Coins," *American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society* 13, no. 3 (1879): 52. Maurice Dommanget, "Le symbolizme et le proséltisme révoltionnaires a beauvais et dans l'oise: Le Bonnet Rouge, Le Livre De La Loi, L'Arche Et La Bannière Constitutionnelles," *Annales Historiques De La Révolution Française* 3, no. 13 (1926): 48. For the importance of revolutionary headgear: Kwass, Michael. "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," The American Historical Review 111, no. 3 (2006): 634.

In his treatise, Helbig postulates the existence of a proto-Itallic cap worn by freedmen.²⁶ To support this, Helbig looks at a particular passage of Livy, wherein Lucius Tarquinius Priscus had his cap (*pilleus*) removed from his head by an eagle who then replaced it back on his once more.²⁷ While this famous passage of Livy has been the topic of many scholarly debates, it might not be the best source for ascertaining the clothing of early Romans due to the problem of chronology.²⁸ Helbig treats Livy as a contemporary source for this period in early Roman history despite the fact that Livy was writing during the time of Augustus. Furthermore, Helbig's evidence for the existence of such a hat to have Etruscan origins is limited. As with so many other things, it is much more likely that the Etruscans, like the Romans, borrowed the iconography of the *pilos* from the Greeks. Etruscans were themselves voracious consumers of Greek art.²⁹ Therefore, it is best to focus on the Greek evidence of the *pilos*.

The *pilos* appears to be associated with a phase in the mythical career of a great number of Greek heroes—their proving time. The proving time corresponds with what Pierre Vidal-Naquet called "the Black Hunter," by which he meant a youth undergoing a ritual whereby he was transformed from a boy to a man; from an dependent child to an autonomous adult; from a pre-citizen to a full citizen, viz. a man capable of fighting, participating in its political ordering,

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²⁶ Helbig, Über den Pileus, 505.

²⁷ Helbig, Über den Pileus, 504.; Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, 1.34.8-10.

²⁸ For a discussion of the role of gender in this passage of Livy, see Tom Stevenson, "Women of Early Rome as 'Exempla' in Livy, 'Ab Urbe Condita', Book 1," *The Classical World* 104, no. 2 (2011): 183.

²⁹ See, Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2000).; Nigel Spivey, *Etruscan Art*, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1997).; Thomass R. Martin, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1996).; Steven Lowenstam, *As witnessed by images: the Trojan War tradition in Greek and Etruscan art*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

producing children through marriage to constitute the next defending generation.³⁰ Vidal-Naquet postulates an early 'ephebate' to refer to this transitory rite de passage.³¹ There is significant scholarly debate surrounding the existence of an ephebate outside of the fourth century BCE.³² However, this paper does not concern itself with the existence of a structured ephebate before the fourth century BCE, but rather focuses on the existence of apprenticeship and initiation ritual surrounding Greek youths. This model of an 'ephebic'-like youth is then more centered around the 'rite de passage' articulated by Arnold Van Gennep and the 'initiation ritual' described by Victor Turner.³³

Current scholarly opinion on the etymology of the *pilleus* is that it has the same meaning as the *pilos*: felt.³⁴ A passage in Appian uses the word *pilos* to refer to a "pileus": "τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξυρημένος καὶ πῖλον ἐπικείμενος."³⁵ Subsequently following this etymological evidence, the first assertion of this paper is this: what is called a *pilos* in Greek iconography is the same as what is called a *pilleus* in Roman iconography.

The flagship example of the continuity of the *pilos* and *pilleus* in Greek and Roman iconography is the Dioskouroi (Dioscuri). Indeed, the extensive iconography in both Roman and

³⁰ Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World.* Trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 106-122. See also Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter Revisited," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, no. 32 (212) (1986): 128.

³¹ Vidal-Naguet, *The Black Hunter*, 106.

³² Williamwitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles: Aristotles und Athen*, Vol I-II, Berlin, 1893, I.193-194; L. Robert, *Etudes epigraphies et philigiques*, Paris: 1939, 297-307; C. Pelekidis, *Ephebie: Histoire de l'ephebe attique, des origins a 31 avant Jesus-Christ*, Paris, 1962. H.I Marrou, *Education: A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York: 1956), 163-168, 521-22, 539-44.

³³ Arnold Van Gennep,. *The Rites of Passage*. Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. (London: Routledge, 2004).; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, (London: Routledge, 2017).

³⁴ Renate Kreis-von Schaewen, "*Pilleus*," "*Pilos*," Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Band XX, Halbband 40 (1950), 1328-1333 Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. (Germany: Heidelberg Winter, 1938).

³⁵ Appian, Mithridatic Wars, 1.

Greek art alone proves the parallelism of the *pilos* and *pilleus*'s iconography. The Dioscuri are two mythological twins, Kastores (Castor) and Polydeukes (Polydeuces), born from an egg by Leda.³⁶ The two twins died tragically young and are then catasterized as the constellation Gemini.³⁷ They are traditionally depicted as horsemen and shown with *piloi* with stars above their heads, as seen on an intaglio of unknown origin.³⁸

Because the Dioscuri were killed at such a young age and then immortalized, they become 'forever youths,' consistently stuck in the proving time stage. A marble statue from the Athenian Agora depicts one of the Dioscuri in this 'ephebic' moment, wearing a chlamys and a pilos.³⁹ The Romans adopted the Dioscuri at a fairly early time, creating a myth where the immortal twins aided the Romans at the Battle of Lake Regillus (around 500 BCE).⁴⁰ When Rome starts having coins minted in its own name, the Dioscuri are some of the earliest figures depicted.⁴¹

The *pilos* was thus adopted by the Romans for its paradigmatic initiatory pattern, the perfect signifier for the proving time of newly manumitted slaves. The role of the *pilleus* as a transitionary symbol is also reflected in the depiction of manumission in Roman art. One of the most compelling and extensive groups of art from Rome is that of freedmen's (liberti) monuments. On such monuments the citizenry of the liberti are proudly displayed, such as on a

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³⁶ Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Vol.I (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 319.

³⁷ Gantz, Early Greek Myth Vol. I, 327.

³⁸ Intaglio: Two *piloi* with stars, cornaline. Münzslg., Munich. LIMC 245, pg. 588.

³⁹ Marble Statue: One of the Dioscuri, Imperial period. Agora S 1342, Athens. LIMC 52, pg. 572.

⁴⁰ Richardson, J. H. "The Dioscuri and the Liberty of the Republic." *Latomus* 72, no. 4 (2013): 901–18.; Clarke, G. W. "The Dioscuri of the 'Lacus Juturnae.'" *Latomus* 27, no. 1 (1968): 147–48.

⁴¹ AE, Aelia Capitolina (Palestine), Antonin le Pieux. - BMC Palestine 86, 23 pl. 9, 6; Kadman, o.c.; Medaillon en terre cuite. Autrefois coll. Fouquet, Le Caire. Du Fayoum. - Perdrizet, P., Terrescuites de la collection Fouquet (1921) n° 254 pl. 72; Chapouthier, 89 n° 96 pl. 9; Picard, 439 fig- 5

three portrait relief from the Villa Tittoni in Manziana.⁴² This relief depicts three figures, listed from right to left: a man, his wife, and their son. The man wears a toga, a sign of his citizenship, while his son wears a bulla, indicating his citizenship and his ability to run for office.⁴³

However, an examination of every single liberti monument in Kockel and other sources show a lack of the *pilleus* on any such monuments. The exclusion of the *pilleus* from the funerary monuments of liberti can be explained by the transitory meaning of the *pilleus* and *pilos*. While it could be argued that a liberti would spend the entirety of their life in the proving time stage, the *pilleus* would no longer have a positive denotation. Instead, the *pilleus* would become a symbol of the shackles of social boundaries and potential alienation.

In contrast, the *pilleus* is depicted on the funerary monuments of Roman patrons. Such depictions were used to demonstrate the wealth and prestige of the patron, as the act of freeing more than one slave would have been costly. The most famous of these depictions, mentioned at the beginning of the paper, is the Tomb of the Haterii. A depiction of a lying-instate scene is depicted, wherein mourners visit the dead body of the patrona, Hateria. The four tablets of the patrona's will rest by the feet of the deceased, indicating that the three enslaved men, now liberti, wearing *pillei* were freed by manumissio testamento. A row of *pillei* appears on several other private funerary monuments, each *pilleus* representing a

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⁴² Three figures relief, ca. first century AD, Palazzo Castellani, Via Polli, 88, Rome. In *Porträtreliefs Stadtrömischer Grabbauten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts* by Valentin Kockel, (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1993), 129, Tafel 41 a, G4.

⁴³ Kockel, *Porträtreliefs Stadtrömischer Grabbauten,* 129-130.

⁴⁴ William Michael Jensen, "The Sculptures from the Tomb of the Haterii," PhD diss., (University of Michigan, 1978).

⁴⁵ Eve D'Ambra, "Mourning and the Making of Ancestors in the Testamentum Relief," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 4 (1995): 668. See also Edward Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.-A.D. 250*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

freedman.⁴⁶ A fragmentary stone from a mausoleum in Narbonne only depicts several stacks of *pillei* (eight clearly shown).⁴⁷ The funerary alter of T. Boduacius Karus and his wife Gaia depict three *pillei* at its base.⁴⁸ The placement of the *pillei* at the base are both prominently displayed and also deferentially placed. The funerary alter of C. Nemonius Plocamus, found in Nimes, was erected by his freedmen.⁴⁹ Four *pillei* at the bottom of the alter represent these liberti as well as demonstrating the virtue and wealth of the deceased.⁵⁰

Another possible explanation for the adoption of the *pilos* would have been the desire for Romans to appeal to enslaved Greeks. Greeks comprised the majority of desirable enslaved people, especially increasingly over time and with the abolishment of nexum in 267 BCE. ⁵¹ Evidence for the number of enslaved Greeks in any given part of Rome is complex. An analysis of the Greek cognomina on funerary inscriptions show that Greek names are much more prevalent amongst enslaved people and freedmen. ⁵² In using the *pilos*, the Romans were trying to speak the language of the ethnic group that they were trying to incorporate into their civic order. The possibility for manumission of a Roman slave was relatively high, as demonstrated by the lack of funerary monuments of enslaved elderly. ⁵³

Following the adoption of the Greek iconography, *pilleus* is used as a political symbol to represent 'liberty' from a tyrant. This concept was first introduced with M. J. Brutus coin, which

⁴⁶ Carroll, "The mourning," 143.

⁴⁷ Carroll, "The mourning," 144.

⁴⁸ Carroll, "The mourning," 142.

⁴⁹ Carroll, "The mourning," 144.

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Pierre Noailles, "« NEXUM »," Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger (1922-) 19 (1940): 205–74.

⁵² Henrik Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 125.

⁵³ G. Alföldy, "Die Freilassung von Sklaven und die Struktur der Sklaverei in der römischen Kaiserzeit," in *Die römische Gesellschaft. Ausgewählte Beiträge,* Stuttgart, 1986, 286-331.

depicts the *pilleus* between two daggers, representing the toppling of the tyrant Julius Caesar through his assasination.⁵⁴ This same concept is also used frequently in Roman literary sources. Livy reports that Q. Terentius Culleo wore the *pilleus* in a victory procession to symbolize Scipio Africanus's freeing him from Carthage.⁵⁵ Suetonius also reports that the common people wore the *pilleus* upon the death of Nero, symbolizing their freedom from an unpopular and oppressive ruler.⁵⁶

The Pilos

The *pilos* appears in several different literary sources in its context as headgear and other felt products, apparel or otherwise. Because the word *pilos* (π ῦλος) meant felt, many literary texts use the word '*pilos*' to refer to the felt material of various linings. The word '*pilos*' is often used to refer to a felt lining for armor and footwear. Hesiod in his *Works and Days* refers to lacing up boots lined with felt: " π ίλοις ἔντοσθε π υκάσσας." Or, as in Plato's *Symposium*, felt was placed in shoes to "muffle up…feet with felt" against the cold. 58

The *pilos* had many other meanings related not only to its materiality but also to its texture. The word *pilos* was also used to refer to Median rugs in Xenophon *Cyropaedia*. ⁵⁹ In

⁵⁴ Coin: M. Junius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus, ca. 43-42 BCE. Bertolami Fine Arts - ACR Auctions, 454.

⁵⁵ Livy, 30.45

⁵⁶ Suetonius, Nero, 57.

⁵⁷ Hesiod, Works and Days 536

⁵⁸ Plato, Symposium 220b "ἄλλα, καί ποτε ὄντος πάγου οἴου δεινοτάτου, καὶ πάντων ἢ οὐκ ἑξιόντων ἔνδοθεν, ἢ εἴ τις ἐξίοι, ἡμφιεσμένων τε θαυμαστὰ δὴ ὄσα καὶ ὑποδεδεμένων καὶ ἐνειλιγμένων τοὺς πόδας εἰς πίλους καὶ ἀρνακίδας" "...how once there came a frost about as awful as can be: we all preferred not to stir abroad, or if any of us did, we wrapped ourselves up with prodigious care, and after putting on our shoes we muffled up our feet with felt and little fleeces."

⁵⁹ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.5.7.

Plato's Laws, hair is referred to using the term pilos (πίλων... φύσιν). ⁶⁰ The use of the adjective "natural" (φύσιν) combined with the use of the word pilos implies a roughly textured hair. The pilos also appears frequently in an equestrian context. The word pilos is a horse's saddle cloth in Plutarch's Artaxerxes, as well as a horse's trappings (πίλον ... ἵππου). ⁶¹

The *pilos* was also referenced as a type of headgear. The *pilos* most commonly referred to a cap of some kind, such as in passage from Lucian where the two halves an egg break to form two separate hats large enough for human heads. The *pilos* was also used to describe foreign hats, such as the hats of Arcadian or Laconian make. The word *pilos* was used to describe the elaborate headgear of Egyptian priests which were decorated with snakes. Hesiod refers to the *pilos* as a rustic cap meant to protect the wearer from the elements: "On your head above wear a shaped cap of felt to keep your ears from getting wet" (κεφαλῆφι δ' ὕπερθεν πίλον ἔχειν ἀσκητόν, ἵν' οὔατα μὴ καταδεύη).

There is little to suggest that there was a direct connection between the *pilos* and slavery in Greek society, although a passage from his *Orationes*, Dio Chrysostom identifies the

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⁶⁰ Plato, Laws 12.942e. "καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθείρειν τῆ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῆ, τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολλύντας πίλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν" "...what is most important, they shall accustom themselves not to spoil the natural powers of head and feet by wrapping them in coverings of alien material, and thereby ruining the production and growth of their own natural hair and soles"

⁶¹ Plutarch, Artaxerxes 4 "τὸν δ' ἐφίππειον πῖλον ἀπορρυέντα λαμβάνει τοῦ τὸν Κῦρον βαλόντος ἀκόλουθος αἵματος περίπλεω" "but the horse's saddle-cloth, which had slipped off, was captured by the attendant of the man who had struck Cyrus, and it was soaked with blood" and Plutarch Artaxerxes 15. See also Plutarch, Artaxerxes 14, "τούτοις σε τιμῷ ὁ βασιλεύς ὅτι τὸν ἐφίππειον Κύρου πῖλον εὑρὼν ἀνήνεγκας:'" "This is thy reward from the king because thou didst find and bring to him the trappings of the horse of Cyrus"
⁶² Lucian, Dipsades, 7.

⁶³ Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, 35.15. "πῖλος Ἀρκαδικὸς ἢ Λακωνικὸς"

 $^{^{64}}$ Diodorus Siculus, 3.3 "πίλοις μακροῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος ὀμφαλὸν ἔχουσι καὶ περιεσπειραμένοις ὄφεσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἀσπίδας" "[Egyptian priests wear] high felt hats which end in a knob at the top and are circled by the serpents which they call asps"

⁶⁵ Hesiod, Works and Days, 545

pilos as a way to distinguish a freeman from an enslaved person. 66 Some literary sources do associate the pilos with the youthful citizen. An interesting passage from Aeneas Tacticus's Poliorcetica describes how the pilos was used as a symbol of the young Spartans. When the pilos was raised, the young magistrates would attack; however, this uprising was prevented by the prevention of the lifting of the pilos. 67

The *pilos* was also used to describe the lining of helmets, as is demonstrated in Homer's *Iliad*, where a felt lining was used under Odysseus's famous boar-tusk helmet:

"...ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε / ῥινοῦ ποιητήν: πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἱμᾶσιν / ἐντέτατο στερεῶς: ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὁδόντες / ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα / εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως: μέσσῃ δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει" "...And Meriones gave to Odysseus a bow and a quiver and a sword, and about his head he set a helm wrought of hide, and with many a tight-stretched thong was it made stiff within, while without the white teeth of a boar of gleaming tusks were set thick on this side and that, [265] well and cunningly, and within was fixed a lining of felt."68

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⁶⁶ Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 14.21, "μὴ οὖν, ὥσπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς τότε τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε σημεῖα, καὶ νῦν δέῃ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχειν σύμβολα καὶ βαδίζειν πῖλον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ δυνησόμεθα γνῶναι τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον"

⁶⁷ Aeneas Tacticus, *Poliorcetica*,11.

⁶⁸ Homer, *Iliad* 10.254

One such boar's tusk helmet with bronze cheek pieces as well as armor, greaves, and a sword was found by archaeologists in Tomb XI at Dendra.⁶⁹ The use of the *pilos* as a felt lining for helmets is notable when looking at archaeological evidence of Italian and Etruscan helmets.

The shape of the *pilos* as a felt lining was adopted as a kind of helmet, known as the *pilos* helmet.⁷⁰ A *pilos* helmet from Dodona is made of bronze and exemplifies the same symmetrical shape of *piloi* depicted in Greek vase painting.⁷¹ A terracotta bust from Tarentum of a warrior wearing a *pilos* helmet also clearly shows the conical shape of the helmet with a slightly flaring brim.⁷² Pflug cites the growing necessity for lighter protective armer and weapons with the rise of the cavalry in the second half of the 5th century BCE for the invention of the *pilos* helmet.⁷³ However, as this paper demonstrates, the *pilos* helmet was depicted on Greek vases even earlier in the 6th century BCE.⁷⁴ J.K. Anderson also discusses the *pilos* helmet at great length in his book, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*. In it, Anderson examines the *pilos* through the lens of military theory, focusing on the *pilos* as it was used in war by the Spartans.⁷⁵

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⁶⁹ Jürgen Borchhardt, Homerische Helme: Helmformen der Ägäis in ihren Beziehungen zu orientalischen und europäischen Helmen in der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit, (Germany: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1972), 30-31, Plate 6.

⁷⁰ Herman Pflug, *Schutz und Zier: Helme aus dem Antikenmuseum Berlin und Waffen anderer Sammlungen,* (Switzerland: Gissler Druck Basel, 1989), 26.

⁷¹ Greek *Pilos* Helmet, ca. 450 BCE. Antikenmuseum, Berlin. In *Antike Helme*, by Hermann Pflug, (Bonn: Druckhaus B. Kühlen KG, 1989), 23, fig. 17.

⁷² Warrior with *Pilos* Helmet, ca. 350 BCE, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel. In *Schutz und Zier*, by Pflug, 27, fig. 23.

⁷³ Pflug, Schutz und Zier, 26.

⁷⁴ A similar conclusion was drawn by J.K. Anderson, "II Hoplite Armour and Weapons," *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 29.

⁷⁵ J.K. Anderson, "II Hoplite Armour and Weapons," *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 29-41.

Literary sources also indicate that the *pilos* was not always made out of felt. In Procopius's *de Bellis*, a *pilos* is made out of silver (πῖλος ἀργυροῦς). ⁷⁶ A phylarch (commander of cavalry) from Aristophanes made an omelet in his bronze *pilos* helmet. ⁷⁷ Aeneas Tacitus also provided a system for younger, inexperienced warriors by which to communicate on dark nights when it was difficult to recognize friend from foe. One method would be to plant one's spear in the ground, signaling the challenger to say a password, or to take off his *pilos* or set his *pilos* to the back of his head. ⁷⁸ The *pilos* is also used to refer to as a helmet in Procopius's *de Bellis*. ⁷⁹

Typology

The *pilos* is often a victim of scholarly mislabeling. It is not uncommon for scholars to label any and all kinds of headgear as a "*pilos*." A particularly egregious example of scholarly mislabeling is of a red-figure fragment dating from around 450-400 BCE, which clearly depicts a woman wearing a Scythian cap; however, the Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions has labelled it a *pilos*.80

This mislabeling is the result of the lack of an iconographic typology for the *pilos* and the presence of numerous other hats in Greek art and literature. This paper will attempt to create a typology that distinguishes the *pilos* from other hats such as the *petasos* and the *kynē*, which each have their respective meanings separate from the *pilos*.

⁷⁶ Procopius, *de Bellis*, 3.27.

⁷⁷ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 562.

⁷⁸ Aeneas Tacticus, *Poliorcetica* 25.

⁷⁹ Procopius, *de Bellis*, 8.31.

⁸⁰ Eretria Painter, Red-figure fragment: Woman with Scythian cap, ca. 450-400 BCE. Ceramicus: 4960, Athens. Beazley Archive Pottery Database (henceforth referred to as BAPD), 45105. CAVI, 1762.

This paper divides the paper into two main types: F (for felt) and B (for bronze).⁸¹ The *pilos*'s conical shape is a characteristic that is universal and applies to both types. Both types are also often depicted with a slightly flared brim. Sometimes the *pilos* is shown which chinstraps (see Type F.2) or a loop at the top (Type B.1), which was used to easily hold the hat. Other straps that run along the top of the brim (Type B.8) or along the hat's side are also popular.

A *pilos* can be identified as type B (bronze/metal) through five key indicators. Some *piloi* are depicted with filled in spots or dots on their side (Type B.5). These spots are indicators of what Markus Egg called a "Futterbefestigungsvorrichtung," that is, a device to hold the lining of the helmet within it.⁸² The smaller dots are then meant to represent studs, or rivets, for securing the inner lining of the helmet. Likewise, Greek artists painted circles on *piloi* (Type B.2, B.1, B.3), which were meant to represent the same bosses. A pointed peak at the top of the helmet (Type B.4) most likely is another indicator for the *pilos* being metal, as such a peak would have only been possible through the medium of metal. Similarly, a slight cinching of the body of the hat (Type B.5) before the brim is another feature only accomplishable through the stiffness of metal. The context of the *pilos* can also be a possible indicator of its materiality. For example, *piloi* depicted in scenes of battle may have a higher likelihood of being made out of metal, although this is an arbitrary and unreliable gauge.

All other *piloi* that do not have these characteristics should be assumed to be Type F (felt) (Types F.1-3, F.5). When a *pilos* is held and there is a slight indentation, the *pilos* is made

⁸¹ See table on page 76.

⁸² Marcus Egg, *Italische Helme: Studien zu den Ältereisenzeilichen Helmen Italiens und der Alpen,* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1986), 1.

of felt. For an example, see a tombstone from Megara from around 420-410 BCE, upon which a soldier holds a *pilos* in his right hand. Beazley notes the felt nature of the *pilos*, stating: "The hand sinks into the hat and presses it out of shape. ... I have no doubt that the material is felt and that felt *piloi* were used in war as in peace. The hat of Odysseus on the Dolon vase in London certainly seems to be soft." Other iconographic indicators that the *pilos* is made out of cloth are a wavy brim (Type F.6), a slightly less flared brim (Type F.1), and a sharply pointed brim (Type F.4). The sharply pointed brim, while at first might be an indicator of metal, is in fact evocative of the *petasos*, as seen on this fragment of a loutrophoros painted in the manner of the Talos Painter. Because the *petasos* is a hat known only to be made out of cloth or leather, this sharp pointed brim can be identified instead as a marker of cloth.

Here is a list of iconographic markers that I believe to be indicative of hats that are not the *pilos*. An asymmetrical flipped brim (Type 2) is likely meant to be a *petasos* with one of its broad brims upturned. An example of this kind of *petasos* is seen on a neck amphora attributed to Bucci Painter, which depicts an agricultural scene. ⁸⁵ On this amphora, an old man wearing an animal skin and an asymmetrical flipped-brim *petasos* drives ploughing oxen with a switch. A tubular brim (Type 1), as seen on a red-figure lekythos from around 450-400 BCE, is also most likely a *petasos* with its wide brim viewed parallel to the view. ⁸⁶ A tubular brim that extends well beyond the hat (Type 4) is also a *petasos*. A hat with a tubular brim that reaches down to cover the ears (Type 3) is also not a *pilos*. A stippling effect (Type 5) is meant to indicate animal

⁸³ J. D. Beazley "Stele of a Warrior," JHS, 49 (1929), 1-2.

⁸⁴ Manner of the Talos Painter, Red-digure fragment of Loutrophoros: Head of Youthful Horseman in Petasos, ca. 425-375 BCE. Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologisches Institut: S101649, Tübingen. BAPD, 11737.

⁸⁵ Buccy Painter, Black-figure neck amphora: Agricultural scene, ca. 550–500 BCE. Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, New York. BAPD, 14902.

⁸⁶ Red-figure lekythos: Man in petasos, ca. 450-400 BCE. Metropolitan Museum: 41.162.65, New York. BAPD, 13230.

skin or animal pelt, and is more likely to be an indicator for a hat such as the *kynē*, which is a dog skin cap. This stippled hat is most commonly associated with Charon, as seen on this white ground lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter.⁸⁷ Traditionally, scholars have referred to this cap as the banausic form of the *pilos*.⁸⁸ While the *pilos* has a rustic form in literature, there are relatively few instances where the *pilos* has a banausic connotation in classical Greek art.

The *petasos* appears in many scenes that a *pilos* does. Indeed, there are scenes that are identical except for the replacement of a *pilos* with a *petasos*. For example, a column krater attributed to the Hephaistos Painter of Theseus bringing in the Marathonian bull to surprise his stepmother Medea is depicted with Theseus wearing a *petasos*. ⁸⁹ This differs from the same scene depicted on neck amphora attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, which was made during the same period as the Hephaistos Painter's vase. ⁹⁰ While the *pilos* is a marker of the 'citizen-to-be,' the *petasos* is a traveler's cap, and therefore is a marker of itinerancy. The choice to depict one hat over the other is determined by what motif the painter wants to emphasize. Employing the *pilos* evokes the proving time paradigm, while the *petasos* is a more general marker of travel. In addition to this differentiation in meaning, the painter might choose one hat over the other simply for variation's sake.

Genre Scenes Featuring the *Pilos*

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⁸⁷ Thanatos Painter, White ground lekythos: Charon and Hermes leading woman, ca. 450-400 BCE. Antikensammlungen: 2777, Munich. BAPD, 216352.

⁸⁸ John H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 116.

⁸⁹ Hephasitos Painter, Column Krater: Theseus and Marathonian Bull, ca. 440 BCE. Museum 3, Sevres. LIMC 205, 938.

⁹⁰ Group of Polygnotos, Neck Amphora: Theseus and Marathonian Bull, ca. 440 BCE. Antikenmuseum Lu 54, Basel. LIMC 204, pg. 938.

The *pilos* appears in the same types of scenes as the 'citizen in training': departure for war, the abduction of women (procreation and marriage), and hunting. These same schematic themes will appear on mythological vases as well.

Youths departing for war is a common motif on Attic Greek vase painting, as seen on vases like a volute krater attributed to the Niobid Painter from around 450 BCE. ⁹¹ This motif also extends to mythological scenes, as on a cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, which shows a youthful Paris shaking the hand of a bearded man upon his arrival to Troy, bringing war with him. ⁹² The act of departing for war was seen a defining characteristic of manhood and citizenship, and the gestures and garb of these youths reflect that. As scholar Timothy McNiven describes, "the handclasp seems to have been a sign of maturity, of being taken seriously, which is why Athenian painters do not depict children making this gesture." ⁹³ The handshake, or the *dexiosis*, thus marked the transition from boyhood into manhood.

Likewise, departing youths are often depicted wearing the *pilos*, a similar marker of this transitional stage from pre-political youth to full citizen. The tondo of a Greek cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter depicts a youth departing from his elderly father. ⁹⁴ The youth wears a *pilos* and a chlamys with a fibula, and he holds two spears as he steps out of the register. The youth gestures a farewell to the old man, who sits on a throne. The scene takes place indoors, as indicated by a column behind the man. A white slip is used for the old man's short hair and

⁹¹ Niobid Painter, Volute Krater: Departure Scene, ca.450 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 33.56: ARV2 600, no. 12; Simon 1963, figs. 7, 8, pi. 11.

⁹² Brygos Painter, Cup: Paris Arriving at Troy, ca.490-470 BCE. Museo Nazionale, Tarquinia, RC 6846: ARV2 369, no. 4; LIMC 1,1981, pi. 380.

⁹³ Timothy J. McNiven, "Behaving like a Child: Immature Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting," *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007): 96.

⁹⁴ Penthesilea Painter, Red-figure Cup: Youth Departing Old Man, ca. 475-425 BCE. Musée du Louvre: G382, Paris. BAPD, 211641.

beard, which, combined with his cane, emphasizes his old age. Above the man hangs a sword suspended, signifying the militaristic nature of the youth's departure. The youth and the man both look into each other's eyes, perhaps symbolizing the recognition of the father for his departing son.

As Vidal-Naquet notes, the "definitive admission" meant for the young citizen essentially two things: marriage, and entry into the hoplite phalanx."⁹⁵ While departure for military exploits were common in depictions of youths with the *pilos*, there are also a significant number of *pilos*-wearing youths who are abducting women. On a hydria attributed to the Peleus Painter, a youth wearing a youth and chlamys and carrying spears pursues several women, one of which holds a hydria similar to the vase it is painted on. ⁹⁶ Another youth, wearing instead a wreath and a *petasos*, reaches out for one of the fleeing women. In turn, the fleeing woman raises her arm in distress, and with the other she holds up her peplos so that she will avoid tripping on it.

A pelike attributed to the Herakles Painter from around 400-300 BCE also depicts a *pilos*-wearing youth pursuing a fleeing woman.⁹⁷ The youth is on horseback, his chlamys billowing slightly behind him from his horse rearing up. The woman flees, her foot peeking out from the bottom of her peplos as she looks back at her pursuer. In between them, flying in the air, is winged Eros. Eros reaches out to the woman, pointing at her lips, signaling the inevitability of her capture. On the other side of the pelike is a satyr bearing a thyrsos. The

⁹⁵ Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 107.

⁹⁶ Peleus Painter, Red-figure Hydria: Youth Pursuing Woman, ca. 450-400 BCE. Private, Switzerland. BAPD, 1032.

⁹⁷ Herakles Painter, Red-figure Pelike: Horseman Pursuing Woman, ca. 400-300 BCE. Pushkind State Museum of Fine Arts: II1B637. BAPD, 9007820.

presence of both the mythological characters of Eros and the satyr imply that the horseman and woman might themselves be mythological figures, although because of the generic nature of the scene it is difficult to assert this confidently. As demonstrated later in the paper, the scene of the abduction of women is common in Greek myth and is also popular on Greek vase painting.

Another common genre scene in which the *pilos* appears is the hunting scene. As Vidal-Naquet argues, the hunt was an essential part of the formation of a youth to a man. Genre scenes of hunting youths appear on many Greek vases. On these scenes, the youths are sometimes marked with the symbol of their transitional status, that being the *pilos*. A bell krater from around 450-440 BCE and attributed to the Barclay Painter depicts three youths chasing a deer. In the forest, as shown by a tree, one of the huntsman wields a bow and is dressed in an animal skin. The two youths closest to the hart are dressed in chlamydes and *piloi*. Both of the *pilos*-wearing youths bear spears, but while one stabs the hart, the other instead uses his sword. The use of the spear distinguished adult hunting from the hunting of boys, who used nets instead.

Another genre scene depicting a *pilos*-wearing huntsman appears on a Dionid Volute Krater attributed to the Meleager Painter.¹⁰⁰ This volute krater is primarily a mythological vase, featuring Adonis on its neck. However, a genre scene of hunting youths can be found at the top of its base. On one side of the base, a youth wearing a chlamys stabs a deer through its neck

⁹⁸ Barclay Painter, Bell krater: Hunting Youths, ca.450-440 BCE. Antikenmuseum, Basel, in *Figuur ohne Raum?* Bäume und Felsen in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhuderts v.Chr., by Nikolaus Dietrich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 535 (Abb. 454).

⁹⁹ Vidal-Naquet, Black Hunter, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Meleager Painter, Dinoid Volute Krater: Hunting Hares. ca. 390-380 BCE. Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. 87.AE.93 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103WFJ

with a sword, while elsewhere two chlamys-clad youths accompanied by dogs chase a hare. One of the youths chasing the unfortunate rabbit holds a lagobalon (a hunting club) and wears a *pilos*, while the other youth wields a spear. This generic scene of hunting is directly contrasted with the mythological scene of hunting—just past the hare and the tree, a man who is most likely Theseus is locked in combat with a boar. The *pilos* and scenes of hunting are most commonly depicted through a mythological lens, using heroes as paradigmatic figures. As F. Orth noted: "heroes are hunters and hunters heroes," and thus hunting was emulated by Athenian youths.¹⁰¹

Athenian Youth on Lekythoi

The *pilos* also frequently appears within a funerary context. While the *pilos* appears most frequently on mythically themed vases, the *pilos* was also regularly depicted on Athenian lekythoi. The lekythos is a container for holding oil or perfume that could be made out of ceramic or metal, first referenced in Homer's *Odyssey* when Nausicaa is gifted "soft olive oil in a golden lekythos" by her mother. The lekythos has several different shapes, as classified by J.D. Beazley in *Attic Red-fire Vase-painters* (1963) and C.H.E. Haspels in *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (1936). These shapes include the earliest Deianeira lekythos, the shoulder lekythos, and the squat lekythos. The lekythos was used as in a funerary context, acting as the most

¹⁰¹ F. Orth, "Jagd," R.E. 9 (1914): 559.

¹⁰² Homer, *Odyssey*, VI. 79

¹⁰³ See Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) for a helpful guide to shape, subject matters, and artists. Supplement with J.R. Mertens (1977) and I. Wehgartner (1983).

popular grave gift from about 560 B.C.E. until the end of the fifth century.¹⁰⁴ However the lekythos would not have appeared in every grave, as Oakley suggests that white lekythoi especially would have been a special grave item and a vessel only available to those who could afford it.¹⁰⁵

The *pilos* appears on a plethora of lekythoi, almost always worn by youths. Note that the even though the deceased is depicted as youth, it is not necessarily a reflection of the actual age when they passed away. As is illustrated by the Paris school, vase painting was not a depiction of reality, but of *l'imaginaire*. Similarly, these so-called 'youths' could have died in their thirties or forties and instead were chosen to be depicted on these lekythoi in the idealized bloom of their youth. For the sake of pragmatism, this paper will approach these lekythoi by taking their youthful depictions at face value.

The deceased youths almost always fall into a similar typological scene. The youth either sits or stands beside a tomb, dressed in a chlamys and *pilos*, often with two spears. A white ground lekythos from around 475 to 425 B.C.E. depicts one such youth. ¹⁰⁷ This lekythos, discovered in a classical grave in a gravesite heading towards Phaleron, shows one youth wearing a *pilos* with a chin-strip, which the artist represented with a thick brush stroke. ¹⁰⁸ The *pilos* has a small brim and holding loop at its top. Otherwise, the youth is plainly garbed, armed with a sword and two spears and wearing only a chlamys pulled together by a fibula and boots. He rests on of his feet on the altar of the stele as he offers a ribbon to what is presumably his

¹⁰⁴ John H. Oakley, *Picturing* 9.

¹⁰⁵ Oakley, *Picturing*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Bérard, Claude et al., La Cité des Images: religion et société en Grèce antique (Paris: F. Nathan, 1984).

¹⁰⁷ Red-figure Lekythos: Youth in *Pilos*, ca. 475-425 BCE. National Museum, Athens. BAPD, 4105. In "Cemetery on the Way to Phaleron," by Y. Nikopoulou, *Archailogika Analekta ex Athenon*: 3 (1970), 179, Fig.14

¹⁰⁸ Y. Nikopoulou, "Cemetery on the Way to Phaleron," Archailogika Analekta ex Athenon: 3 (1970), 178-179.

own tomb. The presence of this fillet as an offering is a typical one, as wreaths, fillets, and vases (lekythoi, plemochoai, and oinochoai) all were common decorations for painted monuments.¹⁰⁹ The youth is not simply offering the ribbon, but also actively decorating the stele, reflecting the action of the visitor to the grave. This action of decorating his own grave also sets up a tragic contrast, in which the viewer is confronted with a youth decorating his own grave before he was able to fully become a man and a citizen, a liminal state marked by his wearing of the *pilos*.

The posture of the youths on these lekythoi were likewise meant to evoke similar tragic themes. A different white ground lekythos currently in the Ithaca Museum in New York depicts two youths, one seated and one standing, before a large lekythos. ¹¹⁰ This vase is notable for its depiction of a lekythos as a grave monument, as the large vessel rests on a base, most likely meant to be of marble. ¹¹¹ The seated youth reclines on a rock, upon which he has laid his chlamys. His left hand rests on the sword on his hip, while his right hand loosely holds two spears which extend beyond the register of the lekythos. He wears a *pilos* with a brim and a stud. The standing youth holds a single spear and wears a *petasos*, and his chlamys cloaks most of his form. Both youths look towards the lekythos. The seated youth, although seated, holds the spears in a loose replication of the mourning Athena pose. He mourns not only his death, but also his inability to move forward into citizenship and manhood because of his death. His seated pose likewise reflects his static nature, contrasted with the standing youth wearing the *petasos*, both differences that mark his as a more active, mobile figure. This standing youth

¹⁰⁹ Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 36. See white lekythos, second quarter of the fifth century. National Museum, 16422, Athens. In *Athenian White Lekythoi* by Kurtz, 28.3. for an example of fillets being offered to and decorating a funerary monument.

¹¹⁰ Red-figure white ground Lekythos: Youths, one in *pilos*, ca. 475-425 BCE. Ithaca Museum, New York. BAPD, 3020.

¹¹¹ Oakley, *Picturing,* 200. See also B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1970), 112-114.

could be at first be identified as Hermes come to take the deceased to the underworld, as his *petasos* would suggest, but the presence of the spear implies that the youth is more likely the deceased's companion. Here then on one vase are depicted the different functions of the *pilos* and *petasos*. The *petasos* is worn by the youth meant to signify his traveling towards the underworld, or perhaps the *petasos* indicates that the youth is in fact a living mourner who is free to travel through life still. In contrast, the *pilos* is meant to emphasize the tragedy of his arrested potential, his youth where he was meant to achieve military prowess now halted by a young death.

The act of sitting at a grave also implies an ambivalence regarding whether the youth is deceased or not. A white lekythos attributed to the Inscription Painter from 460-450 BCE depicts a man and woman at a grave. The woman brings a lekythos and flat basket of offerings, to which her gaze is downcast. The depiction of her left foot in profile while her right foot faces frontally implies that she is leaving. On the other side of the stele, a youth sits, leaning up against the grave with crossed legs. Wearing the typical garb of the proving time youth in a chlamys, sandals, and a *pilos*, he lets his spear rest on his shoulder as he gazes straight forward while a phormiskos, ribbon, and cup hang above him. As Oakley asks: "Is he a visitor or the deceased?" It is unclear, especially given the departing woman who could also be the deceased. Likewise, neither the woman nor the youth could be the deceased—both could simply act as visitors paying their respects.

¹¹² Inscription Painter, Attic white lekythos: Woman and Man at grave, ca. 460-450 BCE. National Museum 1959, Athens. In *Picturing*, by Oakley, fig. 112-113, pg. 150.

¹¹³ Oakley, *Picturing*, 149.

A similar white ground lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter depicts a similar scene and thus a similar dilemma. 114 A woman, wearing a chitoniskos and carrying an undecorated flat basket in one arm, has one profile foot and one frontal foot as she turns away from the grave. One of her arms is raised, palm facing her head, in the gesture of mourning seen used typically in prothesis scenes, where the deceased's body is placed on a bier and is surrounding by mourners. 115 A youth, sitting on his chlamys and shield and otherwise naked besides his boots and pilos, leans on his two spears while he rests his arm on his knee. As with the previously discussed lekythos, the status of the youth is unclear. His idealized figure implies a heroic depiction of the dead, but the frontality of his knee, facing the viewer and represented with a squiggly brushstroke, also mirrors the twisting motion of the woman opposite him. This twisting motion is also further emphasized by the placement of his hands. The hand casually resting on his knee combined with the hand holding his spears above his head opens up his chest and shoulders, indicating a tension that belies his seemingly comfortable seated position. This tension, combined with the outward motion of his foot approaching the bottom of the register, contrasts sharply with his static position. The implied motion of both the man and woman only further blur their possible roles. This thesis will generally assume that the majority of seated youths are the depictions of the deceased themselves, while other figures fulfill the general role of mourners, although closer inspection and interpretation of specific vases might prove otherwise.

¹¹⁴ Triglyph Painter, White-ground Lekythos: Youth and Woman at Grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Fitzwilliam Museum: Gr21.1885, Cambridge. BAPD, 217850.

¹¹⁵ H. A. Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, no. 4 (1991): 643. See also G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965) and Elizabeth Finkenstaedt, "Mycenaean Mourning Customs in Greek Painting," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 60, no. 2 (1973): 40-41.

In addition to being seated at their own graves, *pilos*-wearing youths are also shown departing. A red-figure lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter shows a youth bearing two spears and wearing a *pilos* and chlamys. The *pilos*, most likely made of leather from the slight wave of the slope towards the back of the brim and the separate slip to denote chin-straps and other straps, barely remains within the register of the vase. His spears break through the register. This, combined with the running motion of his feet, implies that the youth's departure, either to war or to the underworld. This scene is evocative of the genre departure scenes discussed earlier in the paper, in which the youth sets out for military training and battle.

A squat lekythos from around 450-400 BCE depicts a group of warriors who have left for war and are in the midst of battle. ¹¹⁷ A horseman rears his horse, while two youths combat him. One youth is dressed as an idealized warrior in the nude, although he bears a shield, a plumed helmet, a scabbard and a sword which is painted behind his head in its upswing. It is possible that he is truly meant to be a man who has been de-aged to appeal to the practice of homoeroticism amidst Attic military. ¹¹⁸ Behind the youthful warrior stands a youth depicted as the 'citizen in training,' wearing a chlamys and *pilos* and wielding a spear. The superiority of the warrior in comparison to the *pilos* wearing youth is evident from the hierarchy of scale between the two figures; the warrior stands taller and above the *pilos*-wearing youth who crouches behind him. The placement of this youth behind the young warrior parallels the rising of such youths from apprentice 'ephebes' to warriors. The youthful appearance of the warrior helps

¹¹⁶ Sabouroff Painter, Red-figure Lekythos: Youth in Chlamys and *Pilos*, ca. 475-425 BCE. Gorny und Mosch Market, Munish. BAPD, 21590.

¹¹⁷ Red-figure Squat Lekythos: Warriors, ca. 450-400 BCE. Agora Museum: P6546, Athens. BAPD, 9037722. ¹¹⁸ J. K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). See also Gundel Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke: Ihre Bedeutung im päderastischen Erziehungssystem Athens*, (Berlin: Mann, 1983). H. A. Shapiro, "Leagros and Euphronis: Painting Pederasty in Athens," in *Greek Love Reconsidered*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (New York: Wallace Hamilton Press, 2000).

further this connection, and perhaps even suggests a continuous narrative, in which the warrior is a projection of the youthful 'ephebe' in a future he never achieved.

Departure scenes for war were not solely used for youths on funerary lekythoi. Compare the recently discussed Sabouroff Painter's vase with a poignant white ground lekythos from around 450-445 BCE attributed to the Achilles Painter. 119 This lekythos depicts a mature, naked warrior with a beard, helmet, spear, shield and sword. Just like the youth, the plumes of the man's helmet and his spear break through the register. Interestingly, the stele also breaks through the register, encroaching on the shoulder of the lekythos. On the other side, an old man, most likely the warrior's father, openly grieves for his deceased son. He leans on his cane, holding his forehead with his right hand in a traditional gesture of mourning. 120 His mouth is open, indicating the vocalization of his grief. This outward display of mourning is slightly unusual, as most depictions of mourners stand "quietly, pensive but not grieving or even noticeably sad," and those who are depicted with emotion are more often women. 121 An extra white stippling is applied to represent his beard and hair, which, combined with the wrinkles on his face, provide a veristic representation of his old age. 122 The emphasis on his old age presents another tragic element to the death of a warrior who died before his elderly father. The warrior looks back towards his grave and his mourning father. His left foot is depicted frontally, as if he is about to turn away from father and depart. His departure is similar to the

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¹¹⁹ Achilles Painter, Attic white lekythos: Old man and warrior at grave, ca. 450-445 BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussicher Kulturbesitz, 1983.I. In *Picturing*, by Oakley, fig. 120-121 pg. 160-161. ¹²⁰ Shapiro, "The Iconography," 650. While depictions of women wailing and mourning are more common than men on vase painting, there exist earlier depictions of more emotional men and officiant women in the Late Bronze Age. See Margaretha Kramer-Hajos, "Mourning on the Larnakes at Tanagra: Gender and Agency in Late Bronze Age Greece," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 84, no. 4 (2015): 636, 650-652.

¹²¹ Shapiro, "The Iconography," 652.

¹²² Oakley, *Picturing*, 158.

youth of the Sabouroff Painter—he departs for war, or for the underworld, or perhaps a merging of the two.

In addition to the departure scene, the vase of the Achilles Painter also includes a different typological scene, where the deceased is depicted with a mourning figure. This typology of more than one figures is "an innovation of paints of polychrome white lekythoi." The figure of an older man mourning a deceased youth wearing a *pilos* is also depicted on several white lekythoi. A white lekythos from around 450-400 BCE attributed to the Triglyph Painter show a reclining youth wearing a chitoniskos and *pilos* with a prominent loop at its top. He sits on the stele with one hand in on his knee, while the other holds two spears. An older man approaches the tomb, bearing a sprig and a fillet as an offering to the tomb, which is already decorated with many fillets. The man is clearly older than the seated youth, his age distinguished by his prominent beard. Differing from the non-funerary scenes of departure, the youth has now taken the static position as the man instead advances towards the grave, a reversal of the departure scene of a youth leaving the static man for war.

Another similar vase attributed to the Triglyph Painter depicts a draped, bearded man leaning on a cane standing before a youth in a *pilos* with spears seated on a stele. The man reaches out to the youth in a gesture of a final farewell to what is most likely his son. A similar and interesting lekythos that completely breaks the standard of the *pilos* being only worn by

¹²³ Oakley, *Picturing*, 74.

¹²⁴ Triglyph Painter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Youth and Man at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Antikensammlungen: SS82, Munich. BAPD, 217860.

¹²⁵ Triglyph Painnter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Youth and Man at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Metropolitan Museum: 06.1021.135, New York. BAPD, 217849.

youths is a white lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter.¹²⁶ The bearded man is completely modeled after the proving time youth. He wears a chlamys, pulled together in a fibula at his chest, and a chitoniskos. He sits in the typical pose of reclining youths at the grave, with one hand holding up his spear and the other resting on his knee. A youth wearing a chitoniskos stands above him, one hand resting on his hip in a vaguely seductive gesture. Perhaps this reversal of the wearer of the *pilos* is meant to evoke the relationship between a bearded lover (erastes) and his unbearded male beloved (eromenos).¹²⁷

The deceased youth is most commonly depicted with a woman who stands on the other side of the tomb with offerings. A white ground lekythos attributed to the Reed Painter, depicts a draped youth, seated before a stele and leaning against shield, holding a spear with a *pilos* hanging from its point. This hanging *pilos*, not donned by the youth, emphasizes his resting state. Likewise, the *pilos* as a symbol of his future rite de passage hangs symbolically above him, no longer truly needed in his death. On the other side of the stele, a woman bears a flat basket, which is common in depictions of worship at the grave. The flat basket is a common offering for women to offer to the tomb, as in another white ground lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter. The youth stands, wearing a chlamys and a *pilos*, holding two spears in a pose approaching the mourning Athena pose. Opposite him is the stele, and then the woman holding the flat basket. The women represented in these lekythoi are most likely the youth's mother, as the youth would not have yet reached marrying age. However, the presence of his mother as a

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¹²⁶ Triglyph Painter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Youth and Man at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Musee des Beaux Arts, Lyons. BAPD, 217864.

¹²⁷ Dover, Greek Homosexuality, X.

¹²⁸ Arthur Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi*, (New York: Macmillian Company, 1907), 52-53.

¹²⁹ Triglyph Painter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Woman and Youth at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Allard Pierson Museum: 8218, Amsterdam. BAPD, 42149.

solitary mourner also symbolizes the second unfulfilled responsibility of a citizen: marriage. As the youth died too young to marry, his mother also acts as a stand-in for the wife that the youth never married.

The presence of multiple women on a vase complicates the role of a solitary woman as a mother. A white lekythos attributed to the Triglyph painted from around 450-400 BCE depicts two women and a youth at a grave. ¹³⁰ One woman stands, while another women, resting her head on her hand in mourning, sits on the stele. A youth, dressed in a chlamys and *pilos* and bearing spears, extends a hand to console the seated woman. This gesture of consolation also is an indication of the youth's age, as boys in their transition to manhood are depicted with a greater variety of gestures. ¹³¹ The relationship of the youth to each respective woman could be maternal or one or both could be his sister(s). A similar lekythos attributed to the Quadrate Painter also depicts two women and a youth. ¹³² One woman holds a loutrophoros and a sash, both offerings for the dead, while the other sits not on the tomb but in a chair. The youth wearing a *pilos* and bearing a spear, reaches out to the seated woman in a similar consoling gesture.

Three or more figures also appear on white ground lekythoi that depict the *pilos*. The most common combination of these figures is the presence of a *pilos*-wearing youth and a man and woman. The man and woman are typically thought to represent the parents of the youth, such as on a white lekythos attributed to the Group of Athens 1810 from around 450-400

¹³⁰ Triglyph Painter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Woman and Youth at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. National Museum: 1755, Athens. BAPD, 217839.

¹³¹ McNiven, "Behaving," 85.

¹³² Quadrate Painter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Women and Youth at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Musées Royaux: A2289, Brussels. BAPD, 216492.

BCE.¹³³ The vase is badly fragmented, making it difficult to make out fine details. The youth, wearing a tall *pilos*, is seated at a stele. Opposite him, a draped man leans on his staff while a woman offers a flat basket and a wreath to the tomb. The bearded man extends his hand out to the youth, who takes it in a handshake. As mentioned previously, the handshake (or dexiosis) was a distinguishing gesture for youths (in comparison to boys) and was common in farewell scenes between a departing youth and his father, mother, or wife.¹³⁴ Interestingly, there are several lekythoi where the seated youth is instead replaced by a man seated on the stele. The man is distinguished as such by his beard, while, as on a vase from 450-400 BCE attributed to the Triglyph Painter, a youth with a *pilos* and a woman bearing offerings stand around him.¹³⁵

An interesting break from the typological scenes thus far is a black figure lekythos attributed to the Asteas-Python Workshop by Rolf Hurschmann.¹³⁶ The vessel is unusual not only because of its use of black figure, but also because of its use of a number of other slips, including white and red. Two figures are depicted on this vase: a youth and a woman. The woman wears a white chiton and a cloak which wraps around her lower body and right shoulder. She holds a situla, a bowl full of white fruits, and a red fillet that has been dotted with white spots. In front of her, a youth stands with a white *pilos* with a prominent loop at is top, a brown sword, a lance, and a red chlamys with white dots. One of the youth's feet is propped up on an altar with red edges as he offers an apple to the woman.

¹³³ Group of Athens 1810, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Man, Woman, and Youth at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. Ruhr Universität, Kunstsammlungen: S160, Bochum. BAPD, 217657.

¹³⁴ McNiven, "Behaving," 95, 96.

¹³⁵ Triglyph Painnter, Red-figure white-ground lekythos: Man, Woman, and Youth at grave, ca. 450-400 BCE. National Museum: 142406, Warsaw. BAPD, 217846.

¹³⁶ Rolf Hurschmann, *Die Pagenstecher-Lekythoi*, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1997), 21.

Another common depiction of the *pilos* on lekythoi is on squat lekythoi. These squat lekythoi, most of which date from either 400-300 BCE or 425-375 BCE, feature only the head of a young man wearing a *pilos*. Scholars have often categorized the heads to belong to the god Hermes, as on a squat lekythos from 400-300 BCE. This identification most likely stems from the presence of other heads who clearly wear a winged *pilos*, such as on a squat lekythos compared to the Mina Painter and the Straggly Painter. However, because of the lack of attributes seen on the majority of these lekythoi, it may be better to largely identify them as generic youths 'in training.' A beautiful lekythos currently located in the Musée du Louvre gives slightly more detail, include a small enough portion of the upper torso to include the top of a chlamys and a fibula. The inclusion of the chlamys and fibula are still too generic of an attribute to identify this youth as a proving time youth unequivocally, but the garment and brooch still aid this identification.

Mythological Paradigms

While there are numerous depictions of the *pilos* on genre scenes, the majority of *piloi* appear on mythological vases. On these vases, the *pilos* is used as a symbol of a heroic 'ephebe,' which a Greek youth would wish to emulate. This section of the paper tackles various different mythological figures, from Theseus to Odysseus, from Perseus to Amphiaraos. The

¹³⁷ Red-figure squat lekythos: Head of Youth (Hermes?) in *pilos*, ca. 400-300 BCE. Museum: 364, Eivissa. BAPD, 9003634

¹³⁸ Compare to Mina Painter and Compare to Straggly Painter, Red-figure squat lekythos: Head of Youth, ca. 425-375 BCE. Allard Pierson Museum: 732, Amsterdam. BAPD, 9024966.

¹³⁹ Black-figure lekythos: Head of Youth in *pilos*, ca. 340-300 BCE. Musee du Louvre N 2583, Paris. In *Die Pagenstecher-Lekythoi*, by Hurschmann, Tafel 24, a und b, pg. 44.

mythological figures are divided into similar categories reflected by the genre scenes, as it is this same set of scenes that were meant to evoke the proving time: departure, heroic deeds, warfare, the pursuit of women, and hunting. Note that there are other mythological figures who are depicted wearing the *pilos* as a symbol of their proving time that were no included in this paper and that some of the mythological figures depicted with a *pilos* are not restricted to any one kind of proving time scene.

Departure and Heroic Deeds: "On their way to greatness"

There is perhaps no other mythological figure who represents the 'ephebe' and the proving time more than Theseus. As Jeanmaire first demonstrated, Theseus is the "model initiate" for youthful Athenians. The majority of Theseus's mythology centers around his coming into manhood through the reclamation of his birthright. According to Apollodorus, Hyginus and Plutarch, Aigeus, king of Athens, begets a son with Pittheus's daughter, Aithra. Upon sleeping with Aithra, Aigeus returns to Athens, but not before placing sandals and sword under a rock; when his son is old enough to lift the rock and retrieve the sword and sandals underneath, he may come to Athens to claim his inheritance. Theseus successfully lifts the rock, as depicted on a calyx crater from the fifth century BCE, and retrieves the tokens (gnorismata) that will be his identifiers when he meets his father in Athens.

¹⁴⁰ Henri Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes* (Lille 1939).

¹⁴¹ Gantz, Early Greek Myth, Vol I, 249.

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¹⁴³ Theseus lifting rock, Attic calyx crater, 425-420 BCE, attributed to the Painter of the Berlin Dinos, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The role of the *pilos* as a symbol of Theseus's birthright and initiation ritual is perhaps nowhere more clearly depicted than on an Apulian bell krater from around 370 BCE. ¹⁴⁴ The bell krater depicts Medea, Theseus and Aigeus as Theseus arrives at Athens and presents his inheritance tokens to Aigeus. Medea, who is behind Theseus, reacts in shock, dropping a hydria which falls to the floor. Theseus, pouring a libation on an altar, is dressed as a youthful traveler, wearing a chlamys and a *petasos* and holding the club he took from Periphetes. On the other side of the altar stands Aigeus, who looks over the tokens that Theseus has brought to identify himself. However, instead of a sword and sandals, Aigius is shown holding a sword and a *pilos*. The *pilos*, held by a loop at its top and with a dangling chinstrap, has replaced the sandals as a symbol of Theseus's identity and initiation.

Theseus journeys from Troizen to Athens to reclaim his inheritance, encountering and defeating numerous wayside villains along the way: Periphetes, who beat passersby with a club; Sinis, who tied his victims to bent pine trees and then flung them into the sky; the Sow of Krommyon; Skiron, who forced passersby to wash his feet by a precipice before kicking them into the jaws of man-eating turtle; Kerkyon, who challenged passersby to wrestling matches; Prokrustes, who would chop off the feet of visitors who were too large for his bed. These deeds were opportunities for Theseus to not only show off his fighting prowess, but also hone his skills as a hero as he was on his way to greatness. In addition to these deeds, Theseus defeated the Marathonian Bull as well as the Minotaur.

¹⁴⁴ Adolphseck Painter, Apulian bell krater: Theseus and Aigeus with Tokens, ca. 370 BCE. Adolphseck 179. In *Die Urkönige*, by Schefold, 252.

¹⁴⁵ Gantz, Early Greek Myth, Vol I, 250-255.

¹⁴⁶ Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, Vol I, 255-257, 262-265.

These deeds are commonly represented on many Greek vases. In these depictions, Theseus often wears a pilos or has his pilos resting somewhere nearby. The presence of the pilos gives the victories over the various ragamuffins a deeper meaning beyond Theseus's brute strength by symbolizing Theseus's larger goal of reclaiming his birthright and his coming-of-age through an initiation ritual. It is clear in the depictions of the completion of these deeds that Theseus passes the initiation ritual successfully. These initiatory deeds of Theseus are depicted on the fragments of a skyphos from around 500-450 BCE. 147 Theseus, naked, his name above him, grabs a hold of the hair of Sinis and raises a weapon that has been broken off in a lost fragment above and behind him. Above Sinis's panicked face is a pine tree branch, presumably the same tree that Sinis had been using to kill his victims. Upon the tree hang Theseus's gear, including a dotted chlamys, his sword, and a pilos helmet. The pilos helmet hangs right above Sinis, who frantically gestures at Theseus to stop. The placement of the pilos marks the deed of killing Sinis as an important moment in Theseus's journey to become a man. A similarly suspended pilos can be found on a cup from around 475-425 that is attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter. 148 On this vase, a pilos appears above any deed of Theseus, hung with his chlamys on trees that demarcate the various deeds. A pilos hangs on tree next to him slaying the Minotaur with a sword. The *pilos* also hangs above the Prokrustes, who gestures desperately in the same was as Sines from the previous vase. Likewise, the pilos hangs right above Prokrustes as Theseus prepares to kill him with his own ax, marking the action of killing the villain as a moment of 'proving time.' The pilos does not need to be suspended directly over

¹⁴⁷ Red-figure skyphos fragments: Deeds of Theseus, ca. 500-450 BCE. J. Paul Getty Museum: 81.AE.214B2, Malibu (CA). BAPD, 23878.

¹⁴⁸ Pistoxenos Painter, Red-figure cup: The Deeds of Theseus, ca. 475-425 BCE. Antikensammlungen: J372, Munich. BAPD, 211337.

the deed to maintain this same meaning, as on a cup from around 420-410 BCE, wherein Prokrustes lays on the same bed he would chop the limbs of his victims with Theseus swinging his ax above him. He prokrustes and the bed rest Theseus's pilos, chlamys, and spear. This representation of the pilos off to the side is more subtle than the previously mentioned descriptions but is no less effective in conveying to the viewer the purpose of Theseus's actions as initiatory.

A kantharos attributed to the Penthesilea Painter also depicts Theseus confronting Skiron and Sinis. As Theseus challenges a seated Skiron, pointing at him accusingly while holding his spears, Theseus's *pilos* falls off from his shoulders. This, combined with his twisting feet, where one is frontal and the other is painted in profile, give Theseus a sense of potential motion. On other other side of the kantharos, Theseus does not a wear a *pilos* as he bends back a pine in front of a fleeing Sinis. Next to Sinis is a bearded man, and then a youth who holds out a *pilos*. Perhaps the youth is offering the *pilos* to Theseus for the deed of killing Sinis, a sign that Theseus is successfully completing his initiation as an adult.

A red-figure skyphos attributed to the Kadmos Painter depicts Theseus wearing a *pilos* and chlamys slung over his shoulder.¹⁵¹ Unlike other depictions of Theseus' deeds, Theseus is not actively vanquishing his enemy. Skiron sits on a rock, gesturing as if speaking, while Theseus bends down with a basin to wash Skiron's feet. Ancient viewers familiar with the myth would take note of the way one of Skiron's legs is cocked back, as if in preparation for a kick, creating

¹⁴⁹ Cup, Deeds of Theseus, ca. 420-410 BCE. Madrid Archaeology Museum, 11265, Madrid.

¹⁵⁰ Penthesilea Painter, Red-figure kantharos, ca. 475-425 BCE. Antikensammlungen: J301, Munich. BAPD, 211732.

¹⁵¹ Kadmos Painter, Red-figure skyphos: Theseus and Skiron, ca. 450-400 BCE. Museo Nazionale di Spina: T971, Ferrara. BAPD, 215727.

a dramatic tension. The only indication of Theseus's future victory, and the marker that distinguishes from any other traveler, is his *pilos*. The presence of the *pilos*, here depicted most likely as cloth, reminds the viewer that this deed is merely a transition for the young hero as he becomes a man on his way to Athens.

A cup from around 425 to 375 BCE depicts a youth in a *pilos*, probably Theseus, attacking a sow. ¹⁵² Theseus's arm extends out, nearly touching the sow, who cowers away from him. Theseus's *pilos* here emphasizes not his military prowess but his hunting skill as he defeats the sow, which most likely the Sow of Krommyon. The *pilos* has a similar meaning in depictions of Theseus defeating the Marathonian Bull, as on a column-krater from around 460-450 BCE. ¹⁵³ On this column-krater, Theseus, wearing a chitoniskos, holds the bull's horns while a *pilos* and club are suspended above him. An old man, most likely Aigeus, watches as a woman, perhaps Aigeus wife Medeia, flees from the boar. According to Apollodorus, Medeia convinced Aigeus to send Theseus to kill the boar in the hopes that he would perish. ¹⁵⁴ Similarly, a neck amphora depicts Theseus wearing a *pilos* as he drives the boar with a club towards a fleeing Medeia. ¹⁵⁵ In these depictions, the *pilos* reinstates Theseus's birthright, reinforced by Theseus's thwarting of Medeia's plans.

In addition to killing villains, Theseus participates in another proving time schema by abducting Helen. This abduction has an old iconographic history. A Proto-Corinthian aryballos shows a Helen which dwarfs the other figures on the vase, which A.G. Ward humorously notes,

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¹⁵² Red-figure cup: Main in pilos, ca. 425-375 BCE. Aberdeen University, 698, Aberdeen. BAPD, 9024196.

¹⁵³ Deepdene Painter, Column-Krater: Theseus holding Marathonian Bull, ca. 460-450 BCE. University. 714, Münster. LIMC, 200, pg. 938.

¹⁵⁴ Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 1.5-6.

¹⁵⁵ Neck amphora. Basel, Antikenmus. Lu 54. 440 BCE. Attributed to Group of Polygnotos

"hardly [bears] out her reputation for beauty!" ¹⁵⁶ According to Plutarch and other literary sources, at the time of the abduction, Helen was not yet old enough to marry. ¹⁵⁷ However, as Ada Cohen points out, Helen is often represented as an adult woman during the abduction, such as on a black-figure hydria from the late 6th century BCE. ¹⁵⁸ Despite the fact that Theseus is often depicted in his "ephebic persona" when he is shown abducting Helen, the *pilos* is not as common of a symbol because of the lack of a marriage resulting from the abduction. ¹⁵⁹ On a calyx krater attributed to the Niobid Painter and painted in the manner of the Altamura Painter, Theseus, dressed in a chlamys and a *pilos* and bearing two spears, pursues a woman, most likely Helen. ¹⁶⁰ He reaches out to grab her shoulder as she runs away. This abduction illudes to a different ethos surrounding Athenian masculinity. The presence of the *pilos* in the abduction of Helen is not related to marriage, but rather to a more general domination of women. In this way, the *pilos* represents masculinity as defined by the ability to have power over the feminine.

Odysseus

There is perhaps no one who is depicted with the *pilos* more than Odysseus. At first glance, it appears to be difficult to reconcile the figure of Odysseus with the "proving time" that has been articulated thus far in the paper. By the end of the Trojan War and the start of

¹⁵⁶ The abduction of Helen by Theseus, proto-Corinthian aryballos, c.680 BCE, Musee du Louvre, Paris.; A.G. Ward, *The Quest for Theseus*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 30-31.

¹⁵⁷Ada Cohen, "Gendering the Age Gap: Boys, Girls, and Abduction in Ancient Greek Art," *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007): 264.

¹⁵⁸ Cohen, "Gendering," 266.; The abduction of Heleb by Theseus, attic black-figure hydria, attributed to the Leagros Group, late sixth century BCE, London, The British Museum B310.

¹⁵⁹ Cohen, "Gendering," 264.

¹⁶⁰ Manner of Altamura Painter, Niobid Painter, Red-figure calyx krater: Theseus pursuing Helen, ca. 475-425 BCE. State Museum, Georgia (S. Russia). BAPD, 3004.

Homer's *Odyssey*, he is already a middle-aged man, described as a "many pained old man" in Book 14 of the *Odyssey*. ¹⁶¹ He is a man who has been through war and hardship, the opposite of a youth seeking to prove themselves through a rite de passage.

In addition, Odysseus is not as heroic of a figure as previous wearers of the pilos, such as Theseus, Perseus, the Dioscuri, etc. He lacked an auspicious lineage, with mortal parents that had no great connections to Greek deities or mythology outside of Odysseus himself. His father was Laertes, king of the island of Ithaca, and his mother was Anticleia, daughter of Autolycus. Autolycus, Odysseus' maternal grandfather and famed cattle rustler, is described as "the prototype of Odysseus' personality seen in its most negative aspect." 162 A thief of sheep, cattle, and other livestock, Autolycus was similar to Odysseus in his sneaky nature, changing the brandings on animals to successfully steal them. 163 Odysseus also took part in the stealing of these cattle with Autolycus, as his infamous scar, used by Eurykleia to identify Odysseus in Book X of the *Odyssey*, was given to him by a wild boar while he was on such an expedition with his grandfather. Autolycus also reportedly named Odysseus. 164 While scholars have debated upon the etymological origins of the name Odysseus, one interpretation can be taken from his association with Autolycus, punned in Book XIX.407 of the Odyssey with ὀδυσσάμενος, "the man who deals out harsh treatment." ¹⁶⁵ The scholar L. Ph. Rank also hypothesized that Odysseus's name could have the dual function of meaning both "The Hater" and "The

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¹⁶¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, 14.386.

¹⁶² Joseph Russo, Manuel Fernandez-Galiano, and Alfred Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, Vol 3, *Books XVII-XXIV*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 96. See also W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Oxford, 1963).

¹⁶³ Russo, *Commentary*, 96.

¹⁶⁴ Russo, *Commentary*, 97.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

Hated."¹⁶⁶ To add to his unheroic lineage and name, his appearance was also often overlooked by his fellows, as is described in the *Iliad*: "like any man who knows nothing. Yes, you would call him a sullen man, and a fool likewise."¹⁶⁷ It was only when he spoke that he revealed his cleverness: "But when he let the great voice go from his chest...then no other mortal man could stand up against Odysseus. Then we wondered less beholding Odysseus's outward appearance."¹⁶⁸

However, it is undeniable that the *pilos* itself was intertwined with Odysseus's identity and iconography. Just as the caduceus is an attribute for Hermes, or the thunderbolt for Zeus, so too is the *pilos* for Odysseus. While the prevalence of the *pilos* as a signifier for Odysseus does not appear to initially match with Odysseus' apparently unheroic nature and origin, it is actually the more unsavory aspects of his character that make the *pilos* an ideal symbol for Odysseus as a hero. In his return journey home, Odysseus goes through his own rite de passage, his own 'proving time,' falling into many of the same paradigms illustrated by other heroes. His return to Ithaca and his reclaiming of his inheritance and his wife are emblematic of the accomplishments of the 'proving time.' His journeying back home also brought him to the absolute extremes of Greek mythological geography, a parallel to the isolation of the initiation of ephebes who are sent to the farthest "frontier region." ¹⁶⁹ A deeper understanding of why Odysseus wears the *pilos* would require a separate monograph mapping out the hundreds of

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¹⁶⁶ L.Ph.Rank, Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus (Assen, 1951), 51-65.

¹⁶⁷ Homer, *Iliad* 3.220.

¹⁶⁸ Homer, *Iliad* 3.321-324.

¹⁶⁹ Vidal-Naquet, The Black Hunter, 111.

different scenes Odysseus appears in while wearing the *pilos*.¹⁷⁰ This paper will attempt to take a broader look at the scenes in which Odysseus is depicted wearing the *pilos* and demonstrate his connection to the rite de passage and "proving time."

There are several depictions of Odysseus proving his identity to Eurkyleia through his boar scar. The scar connected to his thieving activities is also connected with the paradigm of the hunt as an important part of the ephebic moment. ¹⁷¹ A red-figure skyphos from around 450 to 400 BCE attributed to the Penelope Painter depicts this scene. 172 Odysseus stands, wearing a pilos, a travel bag strung around a stick in his left hand and a small staff in his right. He lifts his leg to be washed by the elderly Eurkleia (named Antiphata by an inscription), who holds his foot in one hand and his shin in the other. Their gazes are locked together, recognition passing between them in a pregnant moment as Eurkyleia sees past the guise of a beggar and perceives Odysseus for who he is. The hierarchy of scale between the two of them is also acts as a restoration of Odysseus's place as the king of Ithaca, as his standing form towers over the kneeling form of Eurykleia and the unnamed draped youth behind her. The pilos also acts as a clue to Odysseus's true identity, the iconography including the viewer in the same realization as Eurykleia in recognizing the otherwise nameless beggar. Similarly, a terracotta relief from Melos from around 460 to 450 BCE depicts Odysseus dressed as beggar standing, slightly crouched, before Penelope. 173 Penelope has her arm raised to her face, both a pondering and grieving

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¹⁷⁰ See Odette Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes Odysséens dans l'art antique*, (1968) and Frank Brommer, *Odysseus*, 1983.

¹⁷¹ Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*, 117-120.

¹⁷² Odysseus and Eurykleia. Red figure skyphos. 450-400 BCE, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 1831.

¹⁷³ W. B. Stanford, *The Quest for Odysseus* (New York: Praeger, 1974) ill. 38 (pg. 55)

gesture. Odysseus wears a clearly metal *pilos* which stands out against his beggar's rags and walking stick as the feature for the audience to identify him as the returning hero.

Odysseus wears the *pilos* in other instances in which he is proving himself throughout his journey returning from Troy, such as on an early South Italian calyx crater from the late fifth century BCE.¹⁷⁴ There Odysseus and some of his companions are depicted as youths. Odysseus himself looks like any number of the *pilos*-wearing youths described elsewhere in this paper. He is clean-shaven, and he wears a chlamys that is brought together by a fibula at his chest. Except for the chlamys, his form is naked and idealized. He gestures at his companions with a short staff, directing them to fell a tree to stab the sleeping Polyphemus's eye out, who reclines below Odysseus. Here the *pilos* acts as a signifier not only of Odysseus proving himself through his leadership and cleverness, but also emphasizes the 'ephebic' paradigm in which Odysseus finds himself as he makes his way back home to his family and land.

Perseus

Perseus is a model hero for youthful Athenians. His famous slaying of Medusa was aided, quite unusually, by more than one god. Hermes and Athena are his main benefactors, but varying versions of the myth also give credit to Hephaestus, who forged his sword, and others. Perseus is supplied with the tools he needs to slay the Gorgons: winged sandals, a kibisis (a bag), a sword and shield, and the cap of Hades. The cap of Hades, referred to in Homer as a kyneē (κυνέη), is also referred to using the word *pilos*: "and a cap upon his head, which

¹⁷⁴ Stanford, *Quest*, ill. 21 pg. 36

¹⁷⁵ Gantz. Early Greek Myth, Vol I, 305.

signified the helmet of Hades" (ὁ πῖλος δὲ ὑπῃνίττετο τὴν Ἅιδος κυνέην). 176 Looking at depictions of this winged helmet on vase painting, it sometimes resembles the *pilos* helmet in shape. A calyx krater attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus shows Perseus showing the Gorgon's head to a group of stayrs, while Athena stands behind him. 177 Perseus wears a chlamys and a winged *pilos* helmet. The *pilos* helmet comes to a point and has a curving brim, implying that it is made out of metal. Likewise, the painter drew the wings stiffly and without texture, perhaps to mimic the brazen material of the helmet.

Sometimes Perseus is depicted only wearing a simpler *pilos* that lacks any accoutrements, such as wings. Another depiction of Perseus holding up a Gorgon's head (called a Gorgoneion) is on Lucanian nestoris from around 400-370 BCE depicts a young Perseus in chlamys and lifting up a Gorgon's head.¹⁷⁸ Perseus wears a *pilos* helmet, identified by its conical shape and the curving brim. Note that the *pilos* is not winged, perhaps symbolizing that Perseus wears not the invisibility cap but rather the proving time *pilos* in its origin form with its original connotations.

However, some depictions of the Helm of Darkness worn by Perseus resemble the other kinds of hats. A volute krater attributed to the Niobid Painter from around 475-425 BCE has two heads depicted on either of its handles. ¹⁷⁹ On one handle, the head of a man who is most likely Hermes clearly wears a *petasos*, while on the other handle a youth, presumably Perseus, wears

¹⁷⁶ Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon, 3.7

¹⁷⁷ Painter of the Birth of Dionysus, Red-figure calyx krater: Perseus Gorgonieon, ca. 380-370 BCE. Museum Nazionale 124007, Taranto. LIMC 34, pg. 335.

¹⁷⁸ Red-figure Lucanian nestoris: Perseus Gorgoneion, ca.400-370 BCE. Akad. Kunstmuseum 2667, Bonn. LIMC 33 pg. 335.

¹⁷⁹ Niobid Painter, Red-figure volute krater: Heads of Man and Youth in Petasoi, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Civico Archeologico: 278, Bologna. BAPD, 14107.

a winged hat. The brim of the hat has been folded up, implying that it is actually a widebrimmed *petasos* instead of a *pilos*. Likewise, a volute krater from around 400 BCE depicts Perseus wearing a chlamys and holding a harpe. Perseus is clearly identified by the Gorgoneion, and a group of satyrs flee on either side of him, fearing Medusa's head. In his head, he wears a winged Scythian hat, identified by its long, wavy ear flaps and an excess of cloth at the top. Because it is more commonly referred to as *kynē* in literary sources and because of the hat's wide-ranging iconographic variations, it is a misguided generalization to call all of the caps of Hades worn by Perseus a 'winged *pilos*.'

Kadmos

Kadmos (Cadmus) is another hero depicted wearing the *pilos*. In the myth of Kadmos, Kadmos founds the city of Thebes by following a cow which leads him to a spring guarded by the dragon of Ares. ¹⁸² After defeating the dragon, Kadmos sows its teeth, which sprout up as warriors. The defeat of the dragon acts as an initiatory ritual for Kadmos, and thus he is often depicted wearing the *pilos* often during or immediately following his vanquishing of the dragon. A hydria attributed to the Whiteface Painter depicts a youthful Kadmos stabbing a giant, dead serpent surrounded by oversized flowers and floral. ¹⁸³ Kadmos wears a chlamys, which falls across his shoulder and partially covers his thrusting spears. He wears a *pilos*, emphasized with

¹⁸⁰ Volute krater: Perseus with Gorgon's head, ca. 400 BCE. Museum Nazionale 8263, Taranto. LIMC, 32, pg. 335.

¹⁸¹ See Dietrich Von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

¹⁸² Gantz, Early Greek Myth, Vol II, 469.

¹⁸³ Whiteface Painters, Hydria: Kadmos and dead dragon, ca. 340 BCE. Boston 69.1142. In *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassichen und hellenistischen Kunst,* by Karl Schefold and Franz Jung, (Germany: Hirmer Verlang München, 1988), 37.

white slip to stand out against the rest of his body and garments. The dragon, whose scales are indicated with a sporadic stippling slip, is knotted together in death, its head perpendicular with the ground. Kadmos's spear touches the serpent, the painter capturing the second right before the spear would penetrate the dragon's scales. The suspension of this moment, when Kadmos has killed the dragon, is the precise moment when he becomes a man.

Amphiaraos

Amphiaraos, one of the seven champions against Thebes, is also depicted wearing the *pilos* in his departure for Thebes. Amphiaraos was a seer, and could had foreseen the failure of the expedition, but he was convinced by his wife Eriphyle (who was bribed with the necklace of Harmonia) to join the Adrastos and the other champions. ¹⁸⁴ However, Amphiaraos was already old enough to have a wife and child at this time (his son, Amphilocus, who would later found the Amphilochian Argos in Akarnania.) ¹⁸⁵ Indeed, several vases depict Amphiaraos leaving behind more than one child. ¹⁸⁶ Despite the fact that Amphiaraos is clearly a 'man,' it is this moment of departure when he decides to head to war that marks his true transition into manhood. That is, by fulfilling his duty of setting off to war, Amphiaraos finally becomes a man in his own right.

In this way, the iconography of the 'ephebic' youths is used by Amphiaraos to symbolize his accomplishment of masculine duty. He is depicted on a fragmentary vase attributed to the

¹⁸⁴ Robin Hard, *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 317.

¹⁸⁵ Gantz, Early Greek Myth Vol II, 522.

¹⁸⁶ Gantz, Early Greek Myth, Vol II, 507.

Dwarf Painter. Amphiaraos, dressed for war, is facing away from a woman holding a child, most likely Eriphyle and Amphilocus. 187 Just like many proving time youths, he carries a spear, a chlamys is flung over his arm. However, the defining marker of his transition is the pilos. He also has a beard, similar to another depiction of Amphiaraos on a bell krater attributed to the Danae Painter. 188 In it, Amphiaraos hands a sword to a young boy, most likely his son, as a woman and a young warrior watch. The young warrior is marked as such by his shield and spear, and he wears a metal pilos helmet and a chlamys. The young warrior stands behind Amphiaraos, dividing the vase into two visual representations of Amphiaraos's decision. On the left is Amphiaraos' family—his wife and son—while on the right is his militaristic duty, represented by the pilos-wearing youth. While his head is turned in profile as he gifts the sword to his son, Amphiaraos's body faces frontally. The painter used looplike strokes to represent the slope of the arch of his frontally facing feet, and small circles for the toes. The frontality of his body, and especially his feet, represent Amphiaraos's transitional state and the turning motion away from his family. Amphiaraos is also sometimes represented as a youth without a beard to further emphasize his 'ephebic' iconography. A red-figure stamnos depicts Amphiaraos as a beardless youth, wearing armor, a pilos helmet, a chlamys slung over his arm, and bearing a spear. 189 Just as on the previously described bell krater, Amphiaraos' body are depicted frontally, with his toes indicated by crudely spaced circles (his right foot is shown as having six toes). However, Amphiaraos is momentarily stopped by a young boy plaintively grabbing his arm. This

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¹⁸⁷ Dwarf Painter, Fragment of Amphiaraos departing, ca. 440-430 BCE. Kalpisfr., rf. Boston 03.798.

¹⁸⁸ Danae Painter, Red-figure bell krater: Amphiaraos departing, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi: 18421, Syracuse. BAPD, 214462.

¹⁸⁹ Stamnos: Amphiaraos departing, ca. 440 BCE. Kunsthandel Basel 703. LIMC 73a.

emotional goodbye from his son underlines Amphiaraos's tragic decision to knowingly leave to die fighting for Thebes.

Mythological Warfare

With war and militaristic duty featuring so prominently in the admission into manhood and Athenian society, it is no surprise that many mythological wars featuring the *pilos* are depicted on Greek vase painting. A pelike from around 400 BCE depicts the Gigantomachy, a conflict between giants and the Olympians. ¹⁹⁰ The giants, as their name (Gigantes) would suggest, were earth-born, and thus are identified as the figures on the bottom of the vase. ¹⁹¹ Nikolaus Dietrich notes that one of the giants steps on a clay rock as he attempts to attack a youthful god wearing a *pilos* helmet above him, a motif that becomes more common in the fourth century BCE. ¹⁹²

Perhaps the most common mythological battle depicted on vases with a *pilos* is the Amazonomachy. A bell krater from around 475-4225 BCE depicts an Amazon riding on horseback, attacking two spear-wielding Greek warriors. The warrior closest to the Amazon is a youth dressed in a chlamys and a *pilos*. His garb is distinct from the warrior behind him, who wears a plumed helmet and lifts a large shield. A stamnos attributed to either the Guglielmi Painter or the Group of Polygnotos depicts two amazons attacking a youth dressed in a chlamys

¹⁹⁰ Circle of the Pronomos Painter, Pelike: Gigantomachy, ca. 400 BCE. National Museum, Athens, 1333.

¹⁹¹ Hard, The Routledge Handbook, 86.

¹⁹² Niklolaus Dietrich, *Figur ohne Raum? Bäume und Felsen in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. Und 5. Jahrhuderts v.Chr.,* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 293-294.

¹⁹³ Red-figure bell krater: Amazonomachy, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi: 22833, Syracuse. BAPD, 213541.

and *pilos* with a sword and a Greek wearing a plumed helmet and wielding a spear and shield. ¹⁹⁴ The *pilos*-wearing youth stumbles back against the onslaught of a swinging Amazon, while the warrior behind him protects him with a thrusting spear. Another depiction of an Amazonomachy appears on a bell krater attributed to the Group of Polygnotos. ¹⁹⁵ On this vessel, a warrior named Theseus by an inscription with a shield and plumed helmet attacks a fleeing Amazon. Behind him cowers a *pilos*-wearing youth. As is demonstrated by these three vases, the youth in *pilos* is also accompanied by a warrior who is characterized as more mature by either having a beard, carrying heavier armor (plumed helmet, shield, etc.), or both. Anderson identifies these youths as "attendants" of the hoplites. ¹⁹⁶ The presence of this presumably older man combined with the scene of war imply that the *pilos*-wearing youth is an apprentice for an experienced masculine warrior.

Pursuit of Women

Marriage and procreation were also important aspects of becoming a full Greek citizen. Thus, another common type of scene that *pilos*-wearing heroes appear on is the abduction and pursuit of women, as mentioned earlier regarding Theseus's abduction of Helen. While there is an abundance of violent sexual acts and rape in Greek mythology, it is notable that the *pilos* appears specifically in relation to another transitional ritual: marriage. The *pilos* then signifies

¹⁹⁴ Guglielmi Painter or the Group of Polygnotos, Red-figure stamnos: Amazonomachy, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16, Vatican City. BAPD, 213543.

¹⁹⁵ Group of Polygnotos, Red-figure bell krater: Amazonomachy, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Arqueologico Nacional: L170, Madrid. BAPD, 213681.

¹⁹⁶ Anderson, *Military Theory*, 30.

then not only a male dominance over women, but also a union that was a symbol of an accomplished Greek citizen.

Peleus

Peleus also wears the *pilos* when he is chasing the goddess Thetis. Perhaps one of the most notable marriages in Greek mythology is that of Peleus and Thetis, most famously depicted on the Francois Vase. Peleus wins Thetis's hand in marriage by clinging onto her as she transforms into various creatures, and the following wedding between the mortal and goddess was attended by a large number of important gods and goddesses. ¹⁹⁷ The union of the two would produce the talented warrior Achilles. Peleus is sometimes depicted wearing the *pilos* right as he begins to cling onto Thetis. A hydria from around 440 BCE depicts a youthful *pilos*-wearing Peleus in a short chiton and holding two spears running after a fleeing Thetis. ¹⁹⁸ Between Peleus's legs runs a dog in the opposite direction, adding to the chaos of the scene and perhaps symbolizing the bestial transformations of Thetis that will begin as Peleus grabs her. The *pilos* represents Peleus's transition into manhood as he forcefully grabs Thetis, and thus marriage, by the hand.

Oedipus

¹⁹⁷ Gantz, Early Greek Myth, Vol I, 228-231.

¹⁹⁸ Hydria: Peleus pursuing Thetis, ca. 440 BCE. Sotheby's, New York. LIMC, 57 and 70, pg. 256.

Oedipus is also sometimes depicted wearing the pilos in his confrontation with the Sphinx. While Oedipus is coming of age, he sets out to consult the Oracle of Delphi, and on this journey he (unknowingly) kills his father Laios and encounters the monstrous Sphinx which has been plaguing the city of Thebes. 199 Oedipus defeats the Sphinx by correctly answering its riddle, and thus gains the hand of his mother, lokaste.²⁰⁰ In most depictions of this riddle contest, such as on a well-known kylix attributed to the Oedipus painter, Oedipus wears the petasos, signifying that he was originally just a traveler who happened to pass by Thebes.²⁰¹ However, Oedipus is also sometimes depicted wearing a pilos in this same scene, signaling his transition from a wanderer to a 'citizen,' i.e. the king of Thebes and also his unfortunate marriage in a tragic proving time paradigm. One such vase is a pelike from around 400-300 BCE.²⁰² The figure of the sphinx takes up most of the vase as it sits on rock, facing Oedipus. Oedipus stands, wearing a pilos and a chlamys, and holds a club between him and the monster. Behind the sphinx stands a woman, perhaps lokaste, symbolizing that he has won his mother's hand in marriage with his victory. Tragic as it is, the allusion to marriage, a requirement for "definitive admission" into manhood, is emphasized by the painter's choice to depict Oedipus wearing a pilos rather than the more traditional petasos. 203 Another vase depicting Oedipus with a pilos is bell krater painted in the manner of the Meidias Painter. 204 On this krater, the sphinx and Oedipus are centrally framed by four youths. A beardless Oedipus sits with a walking

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¹⁹⁹ Hard, *The Routledge Handbook*, 308-309.

²⁰⁰ Hard, *The Routledge Handbook*, 311.

²⁰¹ Oedipus and the Sphinx, red-figure kylix, c. 470 BCE, attributed to the Oedipus painter. The Vatican Collection: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.

²⁰² Red-figure pelike: Oedipus and Sphinx, ca. 400-300 BCE. State Hermitage Museum: B4256, St. Petersburg. BAPD, 30552.

²⁰³ Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 107.

²⁰⁴ Manner of Meidias Painter, Red-figure bell krater: Spinx and Oedipus with youths, ca. 425-375 BCE. Lady Lever Art Gallery: 5041, Port Sunlight. BAPD, 30382.

staff, wearing a chlamys and a *pilos*. He looks up at the Sphinx while the other youths, some with *piloi* and clubs, watch the riddle contest in anticipation. Some gesture wildly, a contrast with the maturity of Oedipus, who calmly reclines.

Kephalos

Kephalos is also depicted wearing the *pilos*. Kephalos is an interesting inversion of the abduction of women trope, in that it is him who is pursued by the woman. A neck amphora which has been attributed to the Epimedes Painter and also the Polygnotos Group depicts a fleeing youth, named Kephalos in an inscription, in a chlamys and *pilos*. As he runs away, Kephalos raises a club to strike his pursuer, who is a winged woman, identified as Eos in an inscription. In contrast with Kephalos's violent action, Eos has her hands outspread in a grabbing and hugging gesture. The *pilos* that Kephalos's wears thus is a marker of the upcoming marriage between the unwilling youth and goddess, especially with the presence of other youths who only wear *petasoi* elsewhere on the vase. This deliberate decision to depict Kephalos with a *pilos* and not a *petasos* like other youths is also shown on a poorly preserved bell krater attributed to the Polygnotos Group and that recalls the Peleus Painter. Aephalos, named with an inscription, wears a *pilos* as he flees Eos. Another youth named Kallimachos in an inscription is not being pursued by a woman, and therefore is not trying to flee an impending marriage. Thus, Kallimachos wears a *petasos* instead of a *pilos*.

²⁰⁵ Erimedes Painter, Red-figure neck amphora: Eos pursuing Kephalos, ca. 475-425 BCE. Museo Arqueologico Nacional: L171, Madrid. BAPD, 213548.

²⁰⁶ Recalls Peleus Painter, Red-figure bell krater: Eos pursuing Kephalos, ca. 475-425 BCE. Cabinet des Medailles: 423, Paris. BAPD, 213704.

Mythological Hunters

Meleagros (Meleager) is most famous in Greek mythology as a hunter in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and his death from a burning brand. ²⁰⁷ Likewise, he often appears in depictions of the Boar Hunt, which served as a paradigm for Athenian 'ephebic' hunters. Meleagros is sometimes depicted wearing a pilos, although it is more common for him to be depicted with companions who wear the pilos. For example, a calyx krater attributed to the Dinos Painter depicts Meleagros reaching out for a departing handshake with his wife Kleopatra, daughter of Idas, who bears a child.²⁰⁸ Meleagros, bearing two spears and a sword and wearing a chlamys and petasos, is setting out for a hunt, as indicated by the youthful huntsman behind him. This huntsman wears a pilos, and he has in one hand a lagobalon for hunting and a walking stick. An amphora of Panathenaic shape from around 350 BCE depicts Meleagros stabbing the Kalydonian Boar through the head.²⁰⁹ The spear graphically plunges and reappears on the other side of the boar's head, while blood runs down its flank from the ferocious attack of a hunting dog. A fallen hunter is sprawled on the bottom of the slope down which the boar descends, marked by the painter with a wandering white stroke. A woman clad in Amazon-like dress and who is almost certainly Atalanta cocks an arrow in her bow. Two youths stand on either side of the boar, both wearing chlamys, boots, and a white pilos. One youth raises his lance to strike the boar, while the other dramatically swings his sword behind his neck, preparing to slash the

²⁰⁷ Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, Vol. I, 329.

²⁰⁸ Dinos Painter, Red-figure calyx krater: Meleager departing, ca. 450-400 BCE. Kanellopoulos Museum: 2500, Athens. BAPD, 215260.

²⁰⁹ Panathenaic amphora: Meleagros and Kalydonian Boar Hunt, ca. 350 BCE., Museum Civ. S. 380, Trieste. LIMC, 1981, 26, p. 417.

hairy, bleeding boar. While other scholars identify these two youths as mere hunters, it is possible that they are meant to represent the Dioscuri, who are known for wearing the *pilos*, and who are listed as being present at the Boar Hunt by Ovid and several other literary sources.²¹⁰

Aktaion

Aktaion is another mythological huntsman depicted on Greek vase painting. However, unlike Meleagros, Aktaion is often shown in the midst of his tragic death, that is being transformed into a stag by Artemis and consumed by his own hunting dogs. ²¹¹ A calyx crater in the Michael C. Carlos Museum depicts Aktaion raising his lagobolon in vain as antlers sprout from his head and he gains deer ears. ²¹² Next to him, his companion, named Diokles by an inscription, flees. He is dressed in an elaborate chiton with a sword's hilt just visible by his waist, and he carries two spears. His arm is thrown up, reflecting not only his running motion but his distress. His *pilos* marks him as a 'citizen-in-training,' indicated also by their hunting. A volute crater attributed to the Painter of Wooly Satyrs also depicts Aktaion being consumed by his hunting dogs. ²¹³ Unlike the Carlos vase, Aktaiion shows no signs of transformation, although he dramatically grasps a dog by the throat and raises his club above his head to beat it. One of the hunting dogs has broken away from attacking Aktaion and instead nips at the naked thigh of Aktaion's fleeing companion. In his haste, the huntsman has dropped his spears and his own

²¹⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.260; See also Apollodorus, *Library*, 1.8.2; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 173.

²¹¹ Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Vol. II (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 478.

²¹² Red-figure Calyx Krater: Death of Aktaion, ca. 430 BCE. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. 2000.006.001

²¹³ Painter of Wooly Satyrs, Red-figure volute krater: Aktaion and Hunter, ca. 450 BCE. Louvre CA 3482, Paris.

club. The young hunter's *pilos* flies off his head, indicating the rapid motion of the fleeing youth.

Conclusion: The Dioscuri as a Bridge between Roman and Greek

As discussed at the beginning of the paper, the twin gods, Kastores (Castor) and Polydeukes (Polydeuces) were adopted by the Romans following their mythical appearance at the battle of Lake Regillus.²¹⁴ The Dioskouroi's Itallic roots go back even earlier, as they are depicted on several Etruscan mirrors and were most likely introduced through southern Italian Greek colonies.²¹⁵ However, just as at the battle of Lake Regillus, the Dioscuri become the main announcers of victory at several important Roman battles, such as the battle of Pydna (168 BCE), Vercellae (101 BCE) and Pharsalus (48 BCE).²¹⁶ The Temple of Castor in the Roman forum, dedicated in 484 BCE, also became a central location for the Roman politics by the Late Republic, including a place for the Senate to assemble, an oratory platform, a voting space, and a general "centre for debate and riot."²¹⁷ The rebuilding of their temple was also used for political purpose by Tiberius, who sought to be associated with the brothers.²¹⁸

These eternally youthful figures were famed for wearing the *pilos*, the egg-shaped hat perhaps recalling the twins' birth from an egg.²¹⁹ Indeed, it became one of their sole attributes

²¹⁴ Richardson, "The Dioscuri," 901.

²¹⁵ Tinas Clinair, ca. 3rd century BCE, Cab. Med. 1317, Paris. LIMC 62.; Annewies van den Hoek, "Divine Twins or Saintly Twins: The Dioscuri in an Early Christian Context," *Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice*, ed. S. Blakely, Lockwood Press (2017): 18.

²¹⁶ Edward Chaplin, "Tiberius and the Heavenly Twins." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011): 74.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Chaplin, "Tiberius," 97-98.

²¹⁹ Chaplin, "Tiberius," 74.

on Roman art, referred to as the 'pilleus.' A bust from the second century CE shows a youthful Castor (or Polydeuces) with large flowing wavy locks that curl out from underneath his pilleus.²²⁰ It is only his youthful features and his headgear that make him identifiable as one of the Dioscuri. The Dioscuri also appear on several Roman sarcophagi, as on a sarcophagus from the first quarter of the third century CE.²²¹ On this sarcophagus, the Dioscuri descend from the top left on horseback, wearing only a chlamys and pilleus respectively to identify them.²²²

The Dioscuri are depicted in similar contexts as their Greek counterparts. A Roman sarcophagus from around 180-200 CE is evocative of the panatheniac amphora depicting a similar hunting scene. The central scene on this sarcophagus is mythological, featuring the Calydonian Boar Hunt. The central figure of the sarcophagus is Meleager, who is the midst of thrusting his spear into the rearing boar's skull. However, immediately behind Meleager are two youths, each wearing a *pilleus*—the Dioscuri. One of the Dioscuri holds Meleager by the forearm, guiding his spear to its deadly purpose. The depiction of the Dioscuri on this mythical hunting scene are perhaps a call to the conquering of death by the deceased, as the Dioscuri were immortalized upon their death. Combined with the youthful figure of Meleagros, who also died young, the appearance of the Dioscuri could also represent an immortalized youthfulness for the deceased.

The Dioscuri, although altered to fit Roman culture and community, still maintained most of their Greek symbolism as proving time youths. They were often depicted as transitional

²²⁰ Marble bust of horseman, one of the Dioscuri, ca. 2nd century CE. Pal. Corsini 640, Rome. LIMC Castores 132.

²²¹ Marble Sarcophagus, ca. first quarter of 3rd century CE. Ermitage A 985, Leningrad. LIMC Castores 161.

²²² An identical representation of the Dioscuri can be found on another Roman sarcophagus from 2nd quarter of the third century, Cumont *Symb* 64-65 fig. 5: Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 182.

²²³ Marble Sarcophagus, ca. 180-200 CE. Pal. Doria, Rome. LIMC Meleagros 121. See Panathenaic amphora: Meleagros and Kalydonian Boar Hunt, ca. 350 BCE., Museum Civ. S. 380, Trieste. LIMC, 1981, 26, p. 417.

characters, as seen on a fresco from Pompeii where the twins frame the main entrance of the House of the Dioscuri. Their association with militaristic victory and youthful transition likewise aligned them with the heroic mythological paradigms of other Greek heroes outlined in this paper. The Dioscuri had no substantial association with the ceremony of manumission, but instead embodied the 'citizen-in-training' ethos that new liberti were meant to emulate. This heroic image of the Dioscuri in Roman art and culture is in sharp contrast with the stigma associated with the headgear by Roman liberti, perhaps an example of the discrepancy between reality and the idealized l'imaginaire of the heroic proving time youth.

The purpose of this paper was to explain why the Romans chose to make the donning of the *pilleus* a part of manumission ritual (manumissio). In order to answer this question, the paper closely examined the origins of the *pilleus*, which both etymologically and iconographically are the Greek *pilos*. The Romans adopted the *pilos* because the Greeks used it as a marker of an initiation ritual, a transitional apprenticeship stage in the career of a young man. Thus, just as the *pilos* symbolized the transition from a youth to a man and citizen, the *pilleus* symbolized the transition from an enslaved person to a Roman citizen.

The paper also points to the need for further research surrounding the *pilos* and its adoption by the Romans. Scholarship surrounding the *pilos* has thus far been a propagation of assumptions made by scholars such as Helbig. Not enough attention has been paid to the visual evidence. Therefore, further research should be devoted to the use of the *pilleus* in Roman art, the role of the *pilleus* and *pilos* in ritual in both Greece and Rome, the inconsistency between the idealized proving time youth and the stigma towards the *pilleus* by Roman liberti, and the

²²⁴ Fresco of Dioscuri, ca. 4th century style. Pompeii VI, 9, 6, The House of the Dioscuri, vestibule 33. LIMC, 34.

role the *pilos* plays on mythological figures, both addressed (Odysseus, etc.) and not addressed (Orestes, etc.) in this paper.

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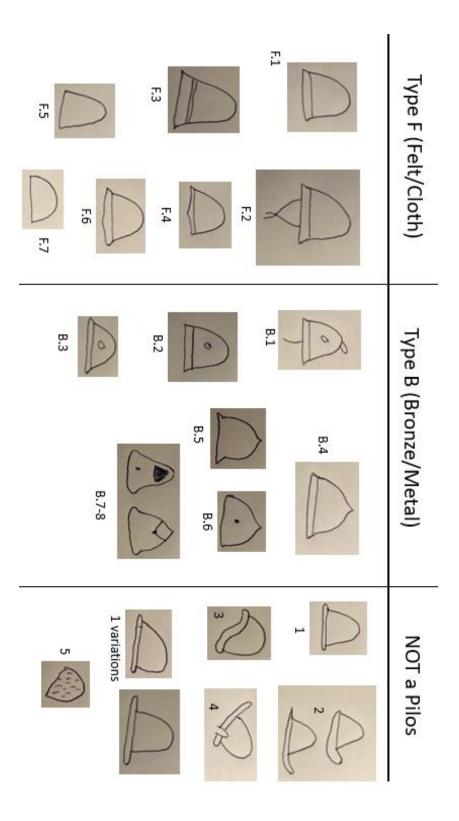
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30552	yes	(Oedipus ?)	woman	n/a	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Museum	No attribution	F.1	No	<u>E4</u>

41008	no	Man	Men, one in chotoniskos, one with pilos and youth with wreath or sprig at herm, all with spears	n/a	400-300 BCE	Calyx Krater	Athenian	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/EC D5B8E7- A989-4044- 8F01- 151221A9A9 D3
44063	no	Man - Hermes	Theseus and Skiron, Athena, woman, man in chitoniskos and pilos	n/a	400-300 BCE	Bell Krater	Athenian	Naples, Muse Archeologico Nazionale	No attribution	F.1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/5C 982041- 3F8B-4052- 988B- 3E3A4D13C 4BA
44521	no	Man	Eurykleia crouchign with vessel, Odysseus seated on stool, man in chitoniskos and pilos (?), women, tree	n/a	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Rhodes, Archaeologic al Mueseum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D4 FBFEB8- 53FC-4F94- 820A- 11B8B69C8F F9
46375		Warrior	Amazonoma chy, amazons, one on horseback, and warrriors, one with pilos	n/a	400-300 BCE		Athenian	Unknown, excavation	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/A5 DD0505- 95D7-4C0E- 9B2D- E58C93D371 6C
217914	Yes	Youth	I: Youth in pilos and chlamys	A: Athletes	400-300 BCE	Cup fragments	Athenian	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano	Close to P of New York Centauromac hy by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/4C D08B7F- CA69-4E81- 88BA- 8ED1F2BAE3 94

217982	No	Youth (Theseus ?)	I: Youth in pilos and half naked woman seated, club (theseus and ariadne)	A,B: Athletes and woman	400-300 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina	Meleager P by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/A0 C15189- ED3F-4B59- 85C6- 5CA64C9BCA C3
218183	Yes	Youth	Youths with pilos, petasos, chlamydes and clubs, one seated, at herm, Eros	B: Draped youths, with strigil, aryballos and diskos	400-300 BCE	Calyx Krater fragment	Athenian	Paris, Musee Auguste Rodin	P of Rodin 966 by Beazley	F.5	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/03 CCD7F5- 02E5-4F9C- A262- C4F5AF8BDF D4
218185	Yes	Youth	Youth with pilos, seated, man ? with staff, figure	n/a	400-300 BCE	Calyx Krater fragment	Athenian	Tübingen, Eberhard- Karls- Universität, Archäologisc hes Institut	P of Rodin 966 by Beazley	F.5 ? broken off	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/8A F8DE75- 31E4-4C73- B7AA- 008946E3584 5
230259	No	Warrior		B: Draped youths with diskos, strigil and aryballos	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Salonica, Archaeologic al Museum				http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/EB 241874- D10A-424C- 8429- EA13AC9CBE
230279	No	Warrior		B: Draped youths	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian		Group G by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/7D C9890B- E57D-46CA- 8FDE- E7BF8446ED 70

230387	Yes	Warrior	Fight, warriors, some with spears, one falling, with sword, one with pilos, archer, device, star	n/a	400-300 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	London, British Museum	<i>Near</i> Group G by Beazley	F.5	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/B7 03B290- DD30-4013- 9023- BF3FFD844B B3
230390	Yes	Warrior	Fight, warriors, one with pilos, one fallign , device, disc, rock	n/a	400-300 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum	<i>Near</i> Group G by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/64 409844- 733A-4C67- AECA- FFEDOBD34D 37
230391	Yes	Warrior	Fight, warriors, one in pilos, device, disc	n/a	400-300 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	London, British Museum	<i>Near</i> Group G by Beazley	F.1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/83 D4471D- 4B42-4015- A5DA- EC68C49A1D D3
230406	Yes	Telephos	Telephos in pilos and chlamys with child (Orestes), men	B: fight, warriors, one falling, device, star, youths	400-300 BCE	Pelike fragment	Athenian	Salonica, Archaeologic al Museum	P of Salonica 34.263 by Robinson	F.3	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/14 2778C7- 39B0-4408- 9DA5- F29897C1BC D0
230407	Yes	Youth	Figure seated with sceptre, youths, one in chlamys and pilos (2)	A: Dionysos seated with satyr and maenads, one with thyrsos	400-300 BCE	Pelike fragment	Athenian		P of Salonica 34.263 by Robinson	B.3; might not be a Pilos, different helmet?	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/EC BDD821- A790-4D9B- B11A- 405836DBB3 5E

	230422	Yes	Peleus	Peleus in pilos and Thetis, naked, Nerieds, some seated, one on stool, some naked, some fleeing, snake, dolphins, Eros	B: Dionysos (beardless) seated between satyr and maenad, with thyrsos and tympanon	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	London, British Museum	Marsyas P by Schefold	F.6 - emphasized flared brim; petasos?	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/88 DOCB64- 00B4-48F8- AB05- 3B5407A8CC 3C
,	9003654	Yes	Hermes(?)	Body: HEAD OF HERMES (?) IN PILOS, FILLET	N/a	400-300 BCE	Lekythos,	Athenian	Eivissa, Museum: 364	None	F.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/FF7 BD131-F8BD- 4437-B575- 6C08F9F4748 2
	9007820	Yes	Horseman	A: HORSEMAN IN PILOS PURSUING WOMAN	EROS, SATYR WITH THYRSOS B: THREE DRAPED YOUTHS, ARYBALLOS (?) SUSPENDE D	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: II1B637	HERAKLES P by TUGUSHEV A	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B3 7E4A84- EA96-4E04- 97D3- 07DFEB8BD 630
	9007948	Yes	Warrior	A warrior (Pilos)	N/a	400-300 BCE	Pelike fragment	Athenian	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: M82	Compare GROUP G by TUGUSHEV A	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/0C 9A0F91- 2033-49EB- B306- E61A52F4A4 82
	9024973	Yes	Youth	Body: HEAD OF YOUTH WEARING PILOS	N/a	400-300 BCE	Lekythos, squat	Boeotian	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum: 3346	None	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/A1 97829E- 770F-4DE7- 80CA- 623DEC5C2 384

9025016	No	Warrior	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, GREEKS AND AMAZONS, ONE ON HORSEBAC K, WARRIOR IN PILOS, SHIELD DEVICE, STAR	N/a	400-300 BCE	Krater, bell	Athenian	Unknown, excavation	None		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C8 912118- 7ED0-45C9- 9770- AE670277B D7F
9025366	No	Youth (Adonis?)	FIG: HEAD OF YOUTH IN PILOS (ADONIS ?)	N/a	400-300 BCE	Figure vase	Athenian	Unknown, excavation	None	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/2A 8BEB9C- 78DA-4525- 843E- C37813923C 0B
9030406	No	Man	AMAZONOM ACHY (?), MAN IN CHITONISK OS WITH CLUB AND PILOS, HORSES, SPEARS	N/a	400-300 BCE	Krater (?)	Athenian	Unknown	Unknown		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/19 FBD76B- F1D4-4BD2- 8B5C- BAEB5ACCA 496
9030682	No	Warrior	AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON IN PATTERNE D SUIT ON	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH DISKOS, ONE WITH ARYBALLOS	400-300 BCE		Athenian	Odessa, Archaeologic al Museum: 21549	Unknown		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/6D 284877- 9BFA-40B7- 8696- 6716051602 6C

9033922	No	A: EROS AND DRAPED FIGURE I: YOUTH WITH PILOS (?) SEATED (?), HOLDING PHIALE (?) AT ALTAR, HALTERES SUSPENDE D	N/a	400-300 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Unknown, excavation: ZAC.C.056	Unknown	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/75 8F82D6- 3971-4B66- AB71- 93EB869F86 76
9034827	No	A: PARIS AND HELEN (?) BETWEEN YOUTHS, SOME SEATED ON CLOTHS, ONE WITH PILOS, ONE WITH PETASOS, WOMAN, CHARIOT EMERGING	N/a	400-300 BCE	Krater Rell	Athenian	New York (NY), market, Christie's	Unknown	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D6 A6183F- 446B-4B1B- B891- 0973907AEC 59

				Decoration:							
				A:							
				SACRIFICE							
				FOR							
				DIONYSOS							
				(BEARDLES							
				S) SEATED							
				WITH							
				THYRSOS,							
				MAENADS.							
				SOME							
				SEATED,							
				ONE WITH							
				TORCH AND							
				THYRSOS,							
				SOME WITH							
				TYMPANA,							
				ONE WITH							
				PHIALE AND							
				THYRSOS							
				AT CALYX							
				KRATER,							
				ONE WITH							
				KROTALA,							
				ONE WITH							
				SACRIFICIA							
				L BASKET,							
				SATYR							
				SEATED							
				PLAYING							
				KOTTABOS							
				WITH							
				KANTHARO							
			CENTAURO	S, YOUTH							
			MACHY,	OR		1					
			WARRIORS,	MAENAD							
			COME IN								
			SOME IN	WITH KNIFE		1					
			PILOS	AND GOAT							
			HELMETS,	AT TABLE		1					
			DEVICE,	WITH FIRE,		1					
				IDOL OR							
			CENTAURS,								
			ONE WITH	DIONYSOS,		1		Naples,			
			ROCK,	INCENSE		1		Museo			
			SOME WITH	BURNER				Archeologico			
			ANIMAL	THEATRICA		Krater,	South Italian,	Nazionale:			
9036832	Yes	Warriors	SKINS	L MASK	400-300 BCE		Apulian	82922	<u>F.1</u>	No	

	A:					
	FUNERARY					
	OF					
	PATROKLO					
	S, PYRE ON					
	DAOF					
	BASE,					
	INSCRIPTIO					
	N, WITH					
	CORSELET					
	S,					
	GREAVES,					
	HELMET					
	AND					
	SWORD,					
	TROJAN					
	PRISONERS					
	IN PERSIAN					
	IN PERSIAN					
	SUITS WITH					
	HANDS					
	BOUND,					
	SOME					
	SEATED,					
	ONE					
	ICNEELING					
	KNEELING,					
	ACHILLES					
	WITH					
	SWORD,					
	CHARIOT					
	WITH THE					
	DODY OF					
	BODY OF					
	HEKTOR,					
	WARRIOR					
	(AGAMEMN					
	N) WITH					
	PHIALE,					
	WADDIOD					
	WARRIOR					
	WITH PILOS					
	HELMET					
	SEATED					
	(ODYSSEUS					
	?), WOMEN,					
	ONE WITH					
	CINE VIII					
	FAN AND					
	SACRIFICIA					
	L BASKET,					
	ONE WITH					
	HYDRIA AT					
	LAVER,					
	AROVE					
	ABOVE,					
	OLD MEN					
	SEATED ON					
	KLINE IN					
	TENT					
	(PHOINIX					
	AND					
	AIND					
	NESTOR ?)					
	BETWEEN					
	WARRIORS,					
	ONE					
1	· · · –	I	i .	i .		

9036841	Yes	Winged youth,	WINGED YOUTHS WITH SWORDS AND SPEAR (KALAIS AND ZETES), MAN WITH SPEAR IN PERSIAN (?) SUIT AND CAP, HERMES SEATED ON ROCK, BOX, PILOS HELMETS	PATTERNE D SUIT WITH SCEPTRE AND FOOTSTOO L, TABLE WITH FOOD AND PHIALE,	400-300 BCE	Krater,Volute	South Italian, Apulian	Ruvo, Museo Jatta: J1095	Unknown	F.1 with loop; F.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/9C CE66EB- 5536-4A8D- B9A7- 3B3D19C02 AE9
			THEATRICA L, COMIC ACTORS ON WOODEN STAGE, MEN WITH SWORDS, ONE OLD IN PILOS HELMET (ELPENOR AND ODYSSEUS) ATTACKING									http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D9 EBD687- E795-4843-
9036851	Yes		WOMAN (CIRCE)	N/a	400-300 BCE	KRATER, BELL	SOUTH ITALIAN, PAESTAN	Ruvo, Museo Jatta: 901	Unknown	B.4	Yes	B1C6- DD494A3D0 905

9044999	No	Warriors	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZONS IN PATTERNE D SUITS, ONE ON HORSEBAC K, WARRIORS, ONE FALLING, ONE IN PILOS B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH DISKOS, ARYBALLOS	N/a	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Kerch, Museum: 48	Unknown			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/9E 686F9D- 998C-4138- 899A- 0741B525F9 B1
9045000	No	Warriors	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZONS IN PATTERNE D SUITS, ONE ON HORSEBAC K, WARRIORS, ONE FALLING, ONE IN PILOS WOMAN with	N/a	400-300 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 1840.45	Unknown			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B9 24F858- 15F0-4D8D- B49A- 0F754E2FFF A1
217850	Yes	Youth (Warrior)	flat basket and youth (warrior) in booths and pilos with spears seated at stele	Funerary	400-450 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum	Triglyph P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/38 AF9C3A- 49A8-4BA0- B437- 14BF3C5A3D 60

												http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/6D
												383D62- 62CA-4571-
		Unknown	Figure in			Cup		Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco		NOT a Pilos;		AF1A- 916CFF5547
9028183	Yes	figure	Figure in Pilos	N/a	400-450 BCE	fragment	Athenian		None	1		<u>3E</u>
												http://www. beazley.ox.
												ac. uk/record/E4
												581FC7- 3C3A-410D-
			I: Head of		425 to 375	Cup		Athens,				8D36- 56B04D612F
9045456	No	Youth	youth wearing pilos	n/a		stemless fragment	Athenian	Agora Museum	No attribution		No	6A
								Perm, State National				
								Research				
			Head of Hermes in		425 to 375	Lekythos,		University, Museum of	Straggly P by			
9047672	no	Hermes	winged pilos	n/a	BCE	squat	Athenian	History	Petrakova			http://www.
			1									beazley.ox.
			I: youth seated in									ac. uk/record/43
				A,B: Eros with strigil,								05CF9C- E169-4531-
			laver,	draped youth				Erteria,				8677-
17837	no	Youth	hlateres suspended	with aryballos	425-375 BCE	Cup B	Athenian	Archaeologic al Museum	by McPhee		No	AC9FEF0B0 711
			Amazonoma	B: Dionysus								l- 44 //
			chy, amazons in	(beardless) with thyrsos,								http://www. beazley.ox.
			patterned suits, one on	ariadne seated on								ac. uk/record/0B
			horseback,	rack, satyrs,								3601BD-
			and greeks, warriors, one	one seated on rock, and					Compare			4BC0-40C1- 8668-
19738	no	Warrior	in pilos, trees, stones	maenads	425-375 BCE	Column	Athenian	Germany, privateL 68	Pronomos P by Simon			B8AC201C4 250
19730	Tilo	Ivvaiiioi	lices, stories	with thyrsol	423-373 DUE	rvialei	Auteman	privater 00	by Sillion			200

												http://www.
												beazley.ox.
												ac.
												uk/record/D2
								Frankfurt,				DF4F37-
								Goethe-				319C-4C29-
			Head of			1 -1 - 41		Universität,				909F-
21075		Harman	Hermes with	2/2	425 275 DCC	Lekythos,	Athenian	Antikensam	No attribution		No	628B12018C 51
21075	yes	Hermes	pilos	n/a	425-375 BCE	Squat	Ameman	mlung	ino attribution	r.3	INO	_
												http://www.
			Women with									beazley.ox.
			tympana,									ac. uk/record/63
			one seated.									23C2AC-
			youth in									CA4B-422A-
			pilos, rock,	Draped								B40C-
			sash	youths, one				Cyrene,				884054A6E5
21547	no	Youth	suspended	with staff	425-375 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Museum	No attribution		No	<u>6F</u>
												http://www.
												beazley.ox.
												ac.
												uk/record/FF
			Draped youth									77C3AF-
			with neck					Athens,				<u>15F8-4606-</u> <u>A977-</u>
			amphora, man in pilos,			Volute Krater		Agora		F.4 - skullcap		1BB8E63F7F
29414	VAS	Man		n/a	425-375 BCE		Athenian		No attribution		No	B2
20414	yes	IVIAIT	licc	11/4	420-070 BOL	nagment	Automan	Mascaili	140 attribution		140	http://www.
												beazley.ox.
												ac.
			Sphinx									uk/record/C1
			(Theban),,									97EFE1-
			Oedipus									2BEF-4FFF-
			(youth in									9013-
			pilos, seated									8CF4D4C7F
			with staff),									09D
			youths, some									https://www.
			with piloi and					D . O . I'				liverpoolmus
		Va. Ha	clubs, draped					Port Sunlight,				eums.org.
20202	V00	Youths	man with	n/a	125 275 DCF	Poll Krator	Athenian		Meidias P by unkown	E 6 with loop	No	uk/artifact/kra
30382	yes	(Oepidus ?)	staff (?)	II/a	425-375 BCE	Dell Klatel	Autenian	Art Gallery	unkown	F.6 with loop	INU	ter

	1	1	1		ı			1	1	1	1	
				Fig: Heads of								
				Black Youths								
				Neck A:								
				Adonis								
				reclining on								
				kline,								
				Aphrodite								
				seated on								
				box with								
				mirror,								
				women, one								
				seatd, one								
				with mirror,								
				eros with tray								
				with flowers								
				(?), box,								
				tables with								
				fruits Neck B:								
				Symposium,								
				men and								
				youths								
				reclinging on								
				klinari, one								
				playing								
				kottabos with								
				cup, some								
				fruits ?,								
				tables with								
				food, lyre								
				Stand 2:								
				Dionysus								
				reclinging								
				with								
				kantharos,								
				Hephaisots								
				in patterned								
			Stand 1:	costume, and								
			Grypomachy,	apollo with								
			arimasps,	lyre, satry								
			one in	with								
			chlamys, one									
				maenad with								
			suit, and	torch, satyrs,								http://www.
			griffins,	one with								beazley.ox.
			youths	thrsos, one								ac.
			(Theseus ?)	with drinking								uk/record/15
			and deer and	horn, onl old,								65B02A-
			bull, youth	playing				Malibu (CA),				4A59-4267-
			with club and	pipes,				The J. Paul				9ABB-
			pilos chasing	maeneds				Getty	Meidas P by	B.8 - without		455D472FB4
44230	yes	Youth	hare, tree	etc., hare	425-375 BCE	Volute Krater	Athenian	Museum	unknown	strap	No	38
	1.	1	· '	'				1		· '		

-													,
	217512	Yes	Dioskouroi	Gigantomach y, gods, dioskouroi, one as horseman, one in pilos with shield, Ares and giants, one falling with animal skin, device, waves, inside, hippocamps, pegasos	B: Youths in petasoi and chlamydes with spears, one seated, plants	425-375 BCE	Pelike	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	<i>Near</i> Pronomos P by Beazley	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/EC 7A6C62- 56CD-4E24- AB62- A1388110D4 1E
ŀ	-			Fight,						.,,			http://www.
	217573	No	Youth	horsemen in patterned chitoniskoi, youth in pilos and chlamys with stone, tree, shield	B: Satyr and maenad	425-375 BCE	Neck Amphora	Athenian		Suessula P by Beazley		No	beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/6D 142D4D- 44FB-4E64- 94F0- 4491795E091 E
	218716	No	Pigmy	Pigmy with club, pilos and animal skin, crane	Fig: Crocodile and black youth	425-375 BCE	Figure vase	Athenian	Ruvo, Museo Jatta	Class W by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/09 BED892- A4CA-4E5B- 9CAD- F22AED770C EC
	230126	Yes	Youth	Head of youth with pilos (Hermes ?), tendril	n/a	425-375 BCE	Lekythos, squat	Athenian	Aleppo, Museum	Mina P by Beazley	F.1 with loop	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/24 01EC66- 8CB1-43A6- B3A3- C02740CD6C 0F

Г													http://www.
													beazley.ox.ac.
													uk/record/CA
													78D9DF-
													BC3F-4859-
									Oxford,				<u>A8C9-</u>
				Head of			Lekythos,		Ashmolean	Straggly P by			4AFFB1D47F
	230156	Yes	Youth	youth in pilos	n/a	425-375 BCE	squat	Athenian	Museum	Beazley	1	No	<u>1E</u>
													http://www.
													beazley.ox.
													ac.
													uk/record/17
									Adria, Museo				<u>0B9BB5-</u> 7652-4DDA-
							Cup,		Archeologico				9E0B-
							Stemless		Nazionale:				0CEA309BB
	9020553	No	Youth	N/a	N/a	425-375 BCE		Athenian		None		No	F08
H	0020000	110	10001	11/4	100	120 010 202	raginon	ranoman	22201	110110		110	http://www.
													beazley.ox.
													ac.
													uk/record/10
													<u>007F40-</u>
													F402-4E6D-
			_ ·	MAN IN					Aberdeen,				AA17-
				PILOS					University:				AD8611E375
L	9024196	Yes	Theseus)	(THESEUS?)	SOW	425-375 BCE	Cup(?)	Athenian	64023	None	F.1	No	<u>B4</u>
				Body: HEAD									http://www.
				OF MAN									beazley.ox.
				(HERMES									ac.
				OR					Ameterdars				uk/record/3B E9CCC3-
				PERSEUS ?) IN WINGED					Amsterdam, Allard				F968-4E59-
			Man	PILOS,					Pierson		NOT a Pilos;		8F44-
			(Hermes or	SPRIGS			Lekythos,		Museum:		winged		48D9CA32F
	9024966	No	Perseus?)	01 11100	N/a	425-375 BCE		Athenian		None		No	32C
∟	002.000		. 5.5545.7	l		3 0.0 00L	24201	ora.r	1				<u></u>

9030022	Yes	ONE WITH THYRSOS	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STRIGIL	425-375 BCE	Krater, Bell	Athenian	London,	Follower of MELEAGER P by UNKNOWN	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/E7 0B9346- 6867-416C- 91DB- 205C59B75B 2B
9030378	No	CHARON IN BOAT WEARING PILOS	Body: FUNERARY, YOUTH AT STELE	425-375 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Archaeology:	Compare REED P by KLINGER	(probably) NOT a Pilos	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D4 8F8B9C- BF4A-4D35- AB3F- E8649A55E D85

			D.	1					1		1
			B: JUDGEMEN								
			T OF PARIS,								
			SEATED ON								
			ROCK IN								
			PERSIAN								
			CAP AND								
			BOOTS								
			WITH								
			SPEAR AND								
			DOG, HERA								
			WITH								
			MIRROR								
			AND								
		A:	APHRODITE								
		ODYSSEUS	WITH EROS,								
		IN THE	BOTH								
		UNDERWOR									
			ROCKS,								
		ON ROCK	ATHENA								
		WITH	WITH								
		SWORD,	SPEAR AT								
			FOUNTAIN								
		OS IN PILOS									
		AND	COLUMNS,								
		CHLAMYS	GORGONEI								
		WITH	ON								
		SWORD,	SPOUTS,								
		WITH	DRAPED								http://www.
		SWORD	HERM,								beazley.ox.
		AND STAFF,	HELMET,								ac.
		ALL IN	SHIELD,								uk/record/71
		BOOTS,	DEVICE,								<u>792525-</u>
		HEAD OF	GORGONEI								7D25-4979-
		TEIRESIAS,	ON,				Paris,				BDBB-
0000000		CARCASS	HERMES AT				Cabinet des		B.1 without		0217C0B446
9036830 Yes	Eurylochos	OF RAM	TREE	425-375 BCE	Krater, Calyx	Lucanian	Medailles	Unknown	loop	No	<u>69</u>

			DOLON IN									
			WOLF SKIN CAP AND CLOAK WITH SPEAR, QUIVER, AND BOW, BETWEEN ODYSSEUS IN PILOS HELMET WITH SWORD AND DIOMEDES (WARRIOR) WITH SPEAR, TREES	B: YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, AND WOMEN, ONE WITH		KRATER,	SOUTH ITALIAN.	London, British Museum:	DOLON P (Lucanian) by			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/77 CB4039- CE0F-4571- 9E1F- 666ABE1B5
9036844	Yes	Odysseus	INCLO	WREATH	425-375 BCE		LUCANIAN	1846.0925.3	TRENDALL	F.2 with loop	Yes	BA5
1032	Yes	Youth	Youth pursuing women carrying spears	Other youths in chlamys and petasos carrying spears (oineus?), one with hydria, man with sceptre (erectheus?)	450-400 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	Private collection, Switzerland	Peleus P by Hamdorf	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/0C 585448- 3876-4C35- 8F77- 72DAD6C5AF 90
4537	yes	Peleus	(shoulder) Peleus, in Chitoniskos and pilos and thetis (fleeing ?), Chiron with Branch and leopard skin, neried, dog, wreath, sprig	Peleus pursuing Thetis, nerieds, one with fish, Chiron (centaur) with fir tree	450-400 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	Longdon, market, Bonhams	Manner of Polygnotos by Cahn	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/23 10E0B9- 370F-4EE1- B61F- B3AC2453F2 24
7181	yes	Youth	Youth wearing chlamys, pilos, holding spear; fight, warrior with spear	n/a	450-400 BCE	Skyphos fragment	Athenian	Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nasionale	No attribution	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/14 87D641- B83B-43EB- AE1A- 11151F5CA9 B6

10617	yes	Youth	Youth in pilos and chlamys, with spear, woman carrying basket at tomb	funerary	450-400 BCE	Loutrophoros fragment	Athenian	Copenhagen, National Museum	No attribution	F.6 - variation with folded brim	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/8F 784951- 95D8-4115- B5D0- B902A38CD F9F
11058	yes	Warrior	Warrior wearing pilos	n/a	450-400 BCE	Loutrophoros fragment	Athenian		<i>Manner</i> of Kleophon P by unknown	F.4	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/E0 3E951F- A7FB-49B5- 9B03- 5D22AC28C 710
11505	yes	Youth	Youth with pilos and chlamys, naked fgiure armed	n/a	450-400 BCE	Cup fragment	Athenian	Beziers, Cailet Collection	No attribution	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B0 660688- 71F2-4B70- AB63- 77FBE9D00 B82
13230	yes	Warrior ?	Man in pilos running with sword and club	n/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	New York Metropolitan Museum	No attribution	NOT a Pilos; 1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/ED 044E83- 699F-461E- A9ED- 85E58A1D6 D6D

			A: Death of									
			Aktaion: Artemis;									
			Hekate									
			winged; a									
			tree at a higher level;									
			Aktaion									
			fighting off									
			the dogs; two companions									
			fleeing									
			[[2087: behind him, a									
			tree; at right,									
			youth with									
			pilos and another									http://www. beazley.ox.
			figure]]. B: a									ac.
			bearded man						Mannagaf			uk/record/94 816B23-
			with a scepter					Emory University,	<i>Manner</i> of Kleophon P			5B37-43B8-
			(king?)					Carlos	by unknown			B2ED-
15540	VAS	Youth ? Diokles		Death of Aktaion	450-400 BCE	Calvy Krater	Athenian	Museum: 2000.6.1	Dinos P by Bothmer	F.6 with loop	No	F993111725 9B
10040	yes		Herakles	ARGOTT	430 400 BOL	Caryx Riater	Automan	2000.0.1	Bourner	1.0 With 100p	140	<u>50</u>
			(beardless)									
			shaking hands with									http://www. beazley.ox.
			athena,									ac.
			Iolaos (?)									uk/record/2A
			(youth in pilos,									AF4AB0- EAC9-4D9D-
			chlamys and									9BB6-
19853	no		boots with spears)	N/a	450-400 BCE	Calyx Krater	Athenian	Unknown, excavation	No attribution			D29B5D4A0 F06
13033	110	10001	opears)	1474	-100-400 DOL	1 Taginioni	, witchian	CAGGVGHOIT	140 attribution			http://www.
												beazley.ox.
												ac. uk/record/AE
			Draped youth									B8AA2F-
			in pilos			Lokythoo		Calonica				<u>CB67-4339-</u> 9EF4-
			leaning on staff at stele,			Lekythos (white		Salonica, Archaeologic				86E34EFA63
29028	no	Youth		funerary	450-400 BCE		Athenian		No attribution		No	<u>DA</u>

29922	no	Man or Youth	Man or youth in pilos, draped figure seated on chair	n/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos, squat, fragments	Athenian	Athens, Agora Museum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/FF 1D8922- FA92-488D- B27E- CFF64047B1 A1
42149	yes	Youth	Woman with flat basket and youth in pilos and chlamys with spears at stele	funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (white ground)	Athenian	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum	No attribution	F.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/87 944A56- 24EA-4E62- A4C7- 468E55FB30 EE
45015	yes	Woman ?	Not a pilos ??? Woman ? with spears in Scythian ? cap- Oriental head gear (pilos?)	n/a	450-400 BCE	Fragment	Athenian	Athens, Ceramicus	Eretria P by Lezzi-Hafter	NOT a Pilos: Scythian Hat	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/3F 62A365- 7EA4-40B8- 9255- 7C5838A3D5 7D
215145		Youth	A: Warrior departing with phiale and shield, YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS, WITH SPEAR, WOMAN WITH OINOCHOE,		450-400 BCE		ATHENIAN	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR8.1928	Kleophon P	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/42 6361B7- E765-4BE5- 8AB0- A8B853CE2 DD4

215173	No	Warrior	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON WITH PELTA, WARRIORS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS	B: DRAPED YOUTHS	450-400 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	KLEOPHON P by BEAZLEY			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/85 20F372- 0DB3-438C- 8BFE- 9D3E5D82C 8D6
215178	Ves			B: DRAPED MAN, WITH STAFF, BETWEEN WOMEN	450-400 BCE	PEI IKE	ATHENIAN	P by	F.1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/1D CBEBE8- 5C60-448D- A679- 51E1605B99 5B

			A: YOUTHS, WITH CHLAMYDE S, SPEARS AND PETASOI, ONE WITH GRAPES, ONE WITH PILOS, WALKING STICK, STRIGIL AND ARYBALLOS , WOMEN, ONE WITH CHILD, OLD MAN SEATED ON CHAIR WITH								
215260	No	Youth	AND ARYBALLOS , WOMEN, ONE WITH CHILD, OLD MAN SEATED ON CHAIR WITH STAFF, COLUMN (MELEAGER , PARTHENO PAIOS, OINEUS, LYKOS AND ALTHEIA) A: HUNTSMEN (?), YOUTHS, IN PILOS, PETASOS	B: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF, BETWEEN WOMEN	450-400 BCE	KRATER, CALYX	ATHENIAN	Athens, Kanellopoulo s Museum: 2500		No	http://www. beazley.ox.
215290	No	Youths (Petasos and Chlamydes?)	AND CHLAMYDE S, WITH CLUBS, ONE WITH HARE	Draped youths	450-400 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania : 5682	DINOS P BY BEAZLEY	No	ac. uk/record/A1 A9BBC3- 8CDD-4C34- 8ADF- 1D2EFAE84 1A9

215322	Yes	Youth	A: WARRIOR DEPARTING , WOMAN (SHAKING HANDS), YOUTH WITH CHLAMYS, PILOS AND SPEARS, DRAPED MAN LEANING ON STAFF	B: DRAPED YOUTHS	450-400 BCE	PELIKE	ATHENIAN	Bonn, Akademische s Kunstmuseu m: 76A	Manner of DINOS P by JACOBSTHA L	B.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/68 F7DD63- 7F42-498F- 854B- F1193A5FFF E5
215323	No	Youth	A: WARRIOR DEPARTING , SHAKING HANDS WITH WOMAN, AT ALTAR (BLOCK), WOMAN WITH FRUIT, YOUTH WITH PILOS, CHLAMYS, CLUB AND BAG ON STICK	B: DRAPED YOUTHS	450-400 BCE	PELIKE	ATHENIAN	Paris, market	Manner of DINOS P by JACOBSTHA L		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/BC 7160F1- 03CA-4F49- AE22- EF75F2DAF 253
215666	Yes	Man	DRAPED MAN WITH PILOS AND SPEARS	N/a		KRATER, BELL FRAGMENT	ATHENIAN	Akademische s Kunstmuseu	ATHENS DINOS, P OF THE by GREIFENHA GEN		Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/70 79F526- E994-40D7- A02B- 5B6C273486 7E

215726	Yes	Youth	BASKET, RETURNING WOMEN, ONE WITH BOX SEATED ON CHAIR, ONE WITH OINOCHOE AND PHIALE, COLUMN	BETWEEN COLUMNS, CHAIRS, YOUTHS IN PETASOI AND CHLAMYDE S WITH SPEARS LEADING HORSES (DIOSKOUR OI), DRAPED MAN LEANING ON STAFF, WOMAN WITH TRAY WITH FOOD B: THESEUS LIFTING	450-400 BCE	HYDRIA	ATHENIAN	Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology: 298	KADMOS P by BEAZLEY	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/84 91932C- 1DF3-4AB4- 88F0- 65791AB77E 9A
215727	Yes	Theseus	A: THESEUS IN PILOS AND BOOTS WITH BASIN AND SKIRON SEATED ON ROCK	SWORD, NIKE WITH FILLET, ARYBALLOS SUSPENDE	450-400 BCE	SKYPHOS	ATHENIAN		KADMOS P by BEAZLEY	B.2	No	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C1 D12338- 680E-4E15- A5E0- 4477985EF2 53

215958	Yes	Youth	BODY: YOUTH IN PILOS, CHLAMYS AND BOOTS WITH SWORD AND SCABBARD (ION OR ORESTES) ATTACKING WOMAN SEATED ON ALTAR	APOLLO WITH LAUREL STAFF	450-400 BCE	OINOCHOE	ATHENIAN	Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensam mlung: T43	SHUVALOV P by BEAZLEY	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/AC DE3745- 8FA1-46C6- A8D1- 0EEF5D5DF FB5
			Body: FIGHT, WARRIOR WITH PILOS, AND MAN IN PATTERNE	YOUTH IN				J				http://www. beazley.ox. ac.
215976	Yes	Warrior	PERSIAN OR PHRYGIAN CAP WITH SWORD	BOOTS, PETASOS AND CHLAMYS THROWING STONE (?)	450-400 BCE	OINOCHOE	ATHENIAN	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2495	SHUVALOV P by BEAZLEY	F.1	No	uk/record/1D E6B077- 382B-4FA8- 9971- EC62CF243 D49
216352	Yes	Charon	Body: CHARON IN PILOS AND CHITONISK OS WITH POLE IN BOAT WITH EYE, HERMES LEADING WOMAN	N/a	450-400 BCE	LEKYTHOS, White Ground	ATHENIAN	Munich, Antikensam mlungen: 2777	THANATOS P by BUSCHOR	NOT a Pilos;	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/18 3E2B55- C6B3-42FA- 8454- 4FBD5B80A 507
216404	Yes	Youth	Body: YOUTH IN PILOS WITH SPEAR AND WOMAN WITH FLAT BASKET WITH SASHES	N/a	450-400 BCE	LEKYTHOS, White Ground	ATHENIAN	Basel, private	BIRD P by BEAZLEY	F.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B5 AFFC84- 4463-4227- B0A7- D1621125B0 CA

		ı	1				1			l	l	1
216573	Yes	Youth	Youth in chlamys with pilos throwing stone	N/a	450-400 BCE	OINOCHOE	ATHENIAN	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Clephan Group by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/6B 52DFF2- 95E1-4111- 8CBC- 95EEAB824 A4B
216693	No	Youth	Youths, one with spear in boots and pilos, one draped, seated at stele with bird	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Athens, Fauvel	Quadrate P by Buschor		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/9F 038B8A- 58B9-4A39- 97C9- A734F9CC4D 32
216695	Yes	Youth	Youth in pilos and chlamys with spears and woman with flat basket at stele, sash suspended	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	Quadrate P by Buschor	F.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/B5 9A57F6- AE02-4281- B6E6- 6455CC910A FE
216789	Yes	Odysseus	basin,	Penelope (named) seated on stool, Telemachos with spears, loom with cloth with pegasoi, Medusa? and griffin	450-400 BCE	Skyphos	Athenian	Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Penelope P by Hauser	B.6	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/F3 22BAD4- 652B-4E56- AFE7- E51A636F2E8 1
216876	No	Youth	Head of youth in pilos	n/a	450-400 BCE	Plate	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina	P of Ferrara T 480 B by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/43 87027E- C1BF-441D- 9D95- ADF8EAF8A6 88

			Head of					Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di	P of Ferrara T 480 B by	F.1 with		http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/2B 5042FC- CE6E-4D3D- A59E- 4F3F146655F
2168	77 Yes	Youth	youth in pilos Head of man in pilos	n/a	450-400 BCE 450-400 BCE		Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina	Beazley No attribution	wreath	No	3 http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/98 337FF5- DEEF-4019- 97F2- E38CE979818
	16 No	Man	Head of man	n/a	450-400 BCE		Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/88 9DE544- C471-4F80- A444- 15407E292FE D
	20 Yes	Warrior	I: Warrior, in chitoniskos, with pilos, shield and spear, device, hare	A: Woman running to youth with staff, man with staff, both draped B: Woman running to draped man with staff, old man with sceptre	450-400 BCE		Athenian	Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Calliope P by Beazley	NOT a Pilos: Negauer Helmet	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/48 F0E814- 18D6-437B- B1C7- CEC6514933 99
2172	76 Yes	Warriors	I: Warriors departing, one with pilos, both with spears	A.B: Fight, warriors, one fallen, shield devices, griffin, lion (panther?)	450-400 BCE	Cup	Athenian	London, British Museum	Manner of Codrus P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/15 7CB6BC- 958B-4F26- B4F1- A751F25A06 4A

217281	No	Youth	Warrior departing with phiale, woman with oinochoe, youth with chlamys, pilos and spear, device, star	B: Warriors departing, one seated, one with chlamys, spear and pilos, device, panther I: Warrior departing with chlamys, petasos and staff, woman	450-400 BCE	Cup stemless	Athenian	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Compare Aison by Beazley; Compare Codrus P by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/20 DE17E3- 64D8-4BF3- 8C70- B11AE1573A
217371	No	Warrior	I: Warrior with pilos	A: Fight, man in chitoniskos with fur cap and ainmal skin throwing stone, warrior, device, wreath; B: youth in petasos, chlamys and boots with staff leading horse			Athenian	unknown (Rome market)	P or London E 105 by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/D6 B3591E- 6DF7-4F7B- 8D2C- 031C434BF9F
217657	Yes	Youth	Draped man leaning on staff, youth with pilos seated at stele, woman with flat basket and wreath	Funerary		Lekythos (whtie	Athenian	Bochum, Ruhr Universität,, Kunstsamml ungen	Group of Athens 1810 by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/73 EB2A68- 66C3-42F4- B00C- AE74E6F483 AE
217679	Yes	Suspended	Draped youth seated at stele holding spear and shield (warrior), woman with basket, pilos suspended	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Glasgow, Sir William Burrell Collection	Reed P by Beazley	F.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/50 B69BAA- 28CA-4A39- 8823- 7D3ABD2D1F 2A

217695	Yes	Youth	Woman seated at stele, youth in pilos, chlamys and boots leaning on staff	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	Reed P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/FB 630FA9- E132-48D1- BD74- B48816B312 F6
217716	Yes	Youth	Youth in chlamys with spears holding pilos, and woman at stelai with sash	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland	Reed P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/98 1CF770- DC95-4F79- 8CDF- 748EF1FBB3F E
217782	Yes	Warrior	Men, one draped, leaning on starff, one in chlamys, with spears, warior with pilos, tree	n/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Basel, market, Münzen und Medaillen A. G.	Reed P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/19 188494- 84A5-414D- BDE9- 61ADEB0C6F 3A
217792	Yes	Youth	Woman and youth in pilos, chlamys and chitoniskos with spears at stelai	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	Reed P by Beazley	F.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/35 6494ED- 62E4-47C7- A249- 6C1A91C4CF 57
217796	Yes	Youth	Youth in chlamys and pilos	n/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos fragment (white ground)	Athenian	Erlangen, Friedrich- Alexander- Universität	Reed P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/58 846527- F27E-4B28- 8DCC- DDE7055626 57

	1		1					1				
217801	Yes	Youth	Fight, warrior and horseman, youth in pilos, chitoniskos and aimal skin with spears running	n/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Hobart, University of Tasmania, John Elliot Museum	Reed P by Cook	Broken; probably F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/99 62DF8C- E93F-4E76- 9A84- EABA96594A 68
217839	Yes	Youth	Women, one seated at stele, youth in pilos and chlamys with spears	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	Triglyph P by Buschor	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/57 F972B2- DA63-4757- 9119- 0A01F7B1C8 15
217841	No	Youth	Women, one seated at stele, youth in pilos and chlamys with spears	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Athens, Acropolis Museum	Triglyph P by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/43 1E7BD2- 4AE5-4FA2- 9E89- 971588BB65 8A
217846	Yes	Youth	Draped man seated at stele between woman with flat basket and youth in pilos and chlamys with spears	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie	Athenian	Warsaw, National Museum	Triglyph by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/78 8DE6C5- C7D0-4C55- BE1C- 302BEC4B7A 63
217848	Yes	Youth	Youths, one draped, seat at stele with duck, one in pilos, boots and chitoniskos with spears	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Amiens, Musee de Picardie	Triglyph P by Buschor	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/CC 69C534- 0F32-4FD5- 85E6- 45F27C648C8

217849	Yes	Youth	Draped man leaning on staff and youth in pilos with spears seated at stele	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	New York, Metropolitan Museum	Triglyph P by Buschor	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/19 AA498C- 5B5C-4803- AACA- F87C6BF1123
217860	Yes	Youth	Youth in pilos and chitoniskos with spears seated at stele, man with fillet and	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Munich, Antikensam mlungen	Triglyph P by Beazley	F.5 with loop	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/33 4B5077- 3B06-46F8- 9FDA- 590180BB39 90
217864	Yes	Youth	Draped youth and man seated in pilos, chlamys and chitoniskos with spears at stele	Funerary	450-400 BCE	Lekythos (whtie ground)	Athenian	Lyons, Musee des Beaux Arts	Triglyph P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/D3 FF466C- 5D46-4587- 8524- F29BF4AE8E A6
220519		Odysseus	Theft of the palladion, diomedes with sword, Helena, Odyssesus in pilos and chlamys with spears and sword, all	B: Olympos with lyre and Marsyas with pipes, both named and seated, women (muses), Thalia (named, Thalea), youth seated,	450-400 BCE	Amphora, Panathenaic	Athenian	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Group of Naples 3255 by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/F9 89C111- AAEB-433E- 874F- 86B3415810

250003	Yes	Youth	Youth departing with chlamys, pilos and spears, draped youth, woman with box		450-400 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Stuttart, market	P of London E 106 by Beazley	F.1	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/E4 C6B4C8- 5660-4A68- B035- 5951A574F2 D1
250004	Yes	Youth	Youth departing, with spears, chlamys and pilos, woman with oinochoe and phiale, draped man	with chlamys	450-400 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	P of London E 106 by Beazley		http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/5F 1BFC21- E391-4ED3- BFB5- 1EC36E8E04 D4
250183	No	Warrior		A,B: Athlete, men ?	450-400 BCE	Cup stemless	Athenian	Paris, Musee du Loubre	P of the Frontal Warrior by Beazley		http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/0D 20FC19- 19B6-4D74- A5B8- 495A6F47028 2

340032	Yes	Youth, possibly	I: YOUTH DEPARTING , WITH SPEARS, CHLAMYS AND PILOS (THESEUS ?), WOMAN	A: YOUTHS DEPARTING , WITH CHLAMYDE S, WOMAN SHAKING HANDS, APOLLO WITH LAUREL SPRIG B: YOUTHS DEPARTING , WITH SPEARS, WOMEN, ONE WITH CLOTH (?)	450-400 BCE	Сир В	Athenian	Basel, Antikenmuse um und Sammlung Ludwig: BS432	CODRUS P by CAHN	F.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/6E F7483E- 5A4D-473B- BFC8- 8CB872B28 B61
340067	No	Youth	YOUTH WITH CHITONISK OS, PILOS AND SPEARS, AT STELE	Body: FUNERARY, WOMAN WITH WREATH,	450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	New York (NY), I. Love: RF37	REED P by BEAZLEY		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/1F B3F771- EB60-4D38- 9175- 9919533E9A 3A
340072	Yes		Body: FUNERARY, DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE SEATED, AT TOMB (STELE ?), SHIELD, PILOS SUSPENDE D	N/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian		REED P by BEAZLEY	F.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/36 64570F- B95B-4256- 8580- 8E16C9114C 1D
340075	Yes		MAN (WARRIOR ?) WITH SPEARS AND PILOS (?), STELE	Body: FUNERARY, WOMAN SEATED HOLDING BIRD,	450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Warsaw, National Museum: 198069	TRIGLYPH P by BERNHARD	F.1 with loop	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/6B4 58300-B687- 48C9-81E0- 9216E480AC B0

9024582	No	Youth	Body: FUNERARY, YOUTHS WITH SPEARS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PETASOS, ONE IN PILOS WITH SWORD,		450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Ithaca (NY), Cornell Univ., Herbert F. Johnson Museum: 77.052	None		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C3 8B2BC0- A819-4A54- 961F- D748340FAE A3
9032922	Yes	Youth	AMAZONOM ACHY (?), YOUTH OR AMAZON IN PERSIAN SUIT AND CAP WITH SWORD, YOUTH WITH PILOS AND STONE	N/a	450-400 BCE	Lid fragment	Athenian	Göttingen, Georg- August- Universität: K625	Unknown	B.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D9 A366FF- 6818-4244- 92AE- 7ABA55A622 3C
9037722	Yes	Warrior	Body: FIGHT, WARRIORS, ONE IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS, HORSEMAN	N/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos, Squat	Athenian	Athens, Agora Museum: P6546	Unknown	B.8	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/9E 2DD547- 53A7-496B- B9EF- 678521AE33 E7
9039845	No	Youth	Body: FUNERARY, YOUTH WEARING PILOS HELMET (WARRIOR)	N/a	450-400 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Athens, 3rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities	REED P by KAZA- PAPAGEOR GIOU		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/5F E58D73- 8835-46FA- AD6E- F285F8B021 C6
1726	no	Warrior	Warriors, one in pilos helmet, departing (seven against thebes ?) chariots	n/a	475-425 BCE	Krater, Column fragments	Athenian	Samothrace, Archaeologic al Museum	Erasinos epoien			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/29 B346C9- F32B-4DE7- A046- 1A577884E5 7E

		I	1	l	1			1				
			Theseus with Pilos and spears pursuing woman (helen ?) draped men with sceptres,	Mythological characters: triptolemos, sheaf of corn and phiale in winged chariot demeter with sceptre, corn and oinochoe, oinochoe, persephone with torches, eos and tithonos, draped men and other youths with lyres, one fleeing; Symposium, man and youth reclining, women, ine playing pipes, one with					Manner of ALTAMURA P by LORDKIPAN			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/27 622434- 0245-4B62-
			woman fleeing, altar	oinochoe, chair tables					IDZE; NIOBID P by			869E- 717CF35FC5
3004	yes	Theseus	chair	column	475-425 BCE	Calyx Krater	Athenian	Museum	KAKHIDZE	B.3	No	<u>61</u>
3020	yes	Warrior	Warriors seated wearing pilos helmet and sandals, holding spears and sword in scabbard at tomb	funerary	475-425 BCE	Lekythos (white ground)	Athenian	Ithaca (NY) Museum	No attribution	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/7C 36FB2D- DE2B-4405- BF7B- 2A6A26FC29 39
4105		Warrior ?	Man in pilos, chlamys and boots, with spear and sword, at tomb	funerary	475-425 BCE	Lekythos (white	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/05 8B72EE- 2711-4B28- 87DC- C070E48D0 E85

10552	no	Huntsman	Huntsman in pilos, sandals and chlamys with club with hare at herm on rock	n/a	475-425 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	No attribution	B.2	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/8D 6DA5F3- FD94-4302- 81BB- BD53A12FC 604
11736	yes	Youth	Youth in chlamys and pilos with spears	n/a	475-425 BCE	Loutrophoros fragment	Athenian	Tübingen, Eberhard- Karls- Universität, Archäologisc hes Institut: S101627	Peleus P by Böhr	F.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/95 CFCCA6- E30F-4C5E- AA6A- B326DBDF3 053
14107	yes	Youth - Perseus?	youth in pilos with wings	A,N: Amazonoma chy, warriors and amazons, shield device, dog; On other handle: Head of man in petasos (hermes ?)		Volute Krater		Bologna Museo Civico	Niobid P by Montanari	NOT a Pilos; 2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/9F E48A0A- DD04-4875- 84DA- 601C6FC58 A9F
14121			A: Woman with oinochoe between youth in chlamys and pilos with staff and man in chlamys and petasos with phiale	B: Draped youths Rim: Lions and boar	475-425 BCE	Column	Athenian	Capua, Museo	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/AA DCACB7- 75AB-4296- 9DB4- 8866CAC743 84

21590	yes	Youth	Youth in chlamys and pilos with spears	N/a	475-425 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	Munich, market, Gorny und Mosch	Sabouroff P by Oakley	B.4	No	https://www.beazley.ox.ac. uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=35&start=0#:::text=Vase%20Number%3A%2021590.PL.181C%20(BD)
24413	no	Youths	Youths, one in chlamys and pilos leading horse, one draped, leaning on staff, column, tree	B: Youth in chitoniskos leading horse, draped man with staff columns I: Draped youth with staff at laver, stele			Athenian	Florence, Museo Archelogico Etrusco	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C7 DF7A43- 622A-458B- 98E5- F7D0941396 4C
24809	yes	Youth	Youth in pilos, chlamys and sandals with spears, and warrior with spear and phiale departing, woman, rock	B: Draped man with sceptre between women	475-425 BCE	Stamnos fragments	Athenian	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts	Peleus P by Sidorova		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/65 4A495A- 8E44-4AFE- A5A1- EA045006B9 77
28564	no	Menelaos	Menelaos (named) with pilos	n/a	475-425 BCE	Skyphos fragments	Athenian	New York, D. von Bothmer				http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/4E 5EF29B- 29F4-4E5F- 8FDF- 5CE7569BE 175

29555	no	Youth	Woman, youth in chlamys and pilos with spears (eos and kephalos ?)	B: Draped figure (?)	475-425 BCE	Pelike fragment	Athenian	Unknown, excavation	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/54 D2025D- 2507-421B- B7D7- 0731B949C1
			,									http://www.
29804	yes	Man (Warrior ?)	Fight, Man in pilos with spear and chiton	n/a	475-425 BCE	Cup fragment	Athenian	Giessen, Justus- Liebig- Universität	No attribution	B.3	Yes	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/71 8B3F6F- DF38-4BAF- 8A72- 1AE2BC2F9 C00
44431	no	Paris	Paris seated on stool with pilos and spear, Helen, woman with phiale, draped man with staff	n/a	475-425 BCE	Skyphos	Athenian	Berlin, Lost	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/EE C5BFD0- 5296-43EE- AF9A- A22D2A4B1 C2A
44556	no	Man	Man ? in pilos, woman with sceptre	n/a	475-425 BCE	Hydria fragment	Athenian	Uppsala University	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/FB 7894FB- 11C4-4926- 8A5D- 6129528A13 50
47029	no	Youth (Huntsman)	Youths, some in Thracian costumes with spears, one seated on rock, one in pilos, chlamys and boots with bag and dogs (Huntsman)	n/a	475-425 BCE		Athenian	London, market, Sotheby's	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/48 06B4F4- A18E-4054- A3C2- 8973184443 C6

												http://www.
50056	yes	Youth	Draped youth running in pilos with spears		475-425 BCE	Neck Amphora	Athenian	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum	No attribution	B.7	No	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/72 04783B- D39D-4646- B915- B74737FA49 BB
206985		Youth	Nike (winged woman) with Oinochoe, at altar, youth with spear, phiale chitoniskos and pilos	Draped youth with spear woman with oinochoe and phiale	475-425 BCE		Athenian	Capua, Museo Campano	Niobid P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/0E BF98A4- 36A6-4EB3- AA94- 970DD7010 D7B
207102	no	Youth	Herakles and the Lion?, Youth with pilos, spears, chlamys, animal skin, quiver and bow (Iolaos?), Draped man seated with staff or sceptre (Eurystheus?)	Women	475-425 BCE	Calyx Krater	Athenian	Palermo, Mormino Collection	P of the Woolly Satyrs by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/CA 5276FD- DB0B-49C3- 89AD- 926DEC2B2 93C
207282		Warrior	Warrior departing, woman, youth, warrior in pilos, draped men with staffs, one with sceptre, old men, one seated columns; Me: Youth with spears on Neck B, one wearing pilos?	Neck A: Fight, Warriors, some on horseback; Neck B: Youths with spears, chlamydes and petasoi, pursuing women, women fleeing, draped man	475-425 BCE			Ferrara, Museo Naxionale di Spina	Chicago P by Beazley	В.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/70 29F181- 816F-4316- 8166- 08263FFE5A 95

207390	Ves	Man	Man in chitoniskos and pilos, with leopard skin and stone	A: Youth in Chitoniskos, chlamys and petasos with sword	475-425 BCE	Neck Amphora	Athenian	Paris, Musee du Louvre	Providence P by Beazley	NOT a Pilos;	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/8A 3D8D18- F058-47B6- 8429- 40A99D7BBB EC
207562		Youth (Shepherd)	Shepherd (youth in pilos, chitoniskos and animal skin), playing pipes, satyr dancing, tree, sheep	B: draped	475-425 BCE	Neck	Athenian	Berlin, Antikensam	Near Oionokles P by Beazley	NOT a Pilos;	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/BD 7BF92F- 211A-44AD- 8513- E738109AC0 52
209181	no	Hermes	Head of Hermes, with winged pilos, keykeion	n/a	475-425 BCE	Lekythos,	Athenian	Athens, market	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B0 5D3403- 1870-482D- 926B- 4E8CB8E34 63E
209574	yes	Man (Huntsman ?)	Boar Hunt, man in chlamys and pilos with spear, boar, spear	n/a	475-425 BCE	Askos	Athenian	Bonn, Akademische s Kunstmuseu m	Group of the Bonn Askos by Beazley	F.1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/36 268657- 9C0E-4786- 941F- 2793FB0AC3 4A
209575	no	Man (Huntsman ?)	Boar Hunt, man in chlamys and pilos with spear, boar, spear	n/a	475-425 BCE	Askos	Athenian	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles	Group of the Bonn Askos by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/AC DAD365- AC7D-4954- BC0F- 9C5B5FDAA 71B

-													
	209799	yes (hard to see)	Youth	draped man with staff, woman with	B: men, youths departing I: Man departing, woman	475-425 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Munich, Antikensam mlungen	Euaion P by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/EF 54319D- 75F8-4057- B2D4- DF52D9289 BCC
F	211337	yes	Suspended	Deeds of Theseus, Minotaur, Prokrustes, Skiron, Periphetes, Trees, Chlamys and	Maenad with thysos and snake	475-425 BCE		Athenian	Munich, Antikensam mlungen	Pistoxenos P	B.8	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/E5 2B27C1- 9E5D-412E- 8EEC- 9B88906AE4 52
F	211395	yes	Youth	krater, block	A,B: Youths and man, one with tablets, one with pipes case, some draped and seated on stools, sponge, strigil and aryballos, sandals suspended	475-425 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese	Tarquinia P	B.6	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/CD 8041BE- 4EC8-417C- B9C3- 9B4F43A6D D84
	211575	no	Warrior (Man)	Warrior (man in pilos ?) pursuing woman, bird	n/a	475-425 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Naxionale di Spina	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/15 19E62B- F145-4A3A- B370- 46F8D40E7A 69

211577	yes	Theseus (youth)	I: Theseus (youth or man with sword) pursuing woman, altar, club, pilos	A: Youths departing, with spears a,d sword, draped men, one with staff, one with sceptre (Kin?), woman with phiale, horse B:Draped men (youths?) one with stick	475-425 BCE	Сир В	Athenian	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano	Penthesilea P by Bothmer	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/0D 0F84A7- A7BD-4451- 9730- 7D0C2F1A0 141
211641	yes	Youth	I: Youth departing, with chlamys, spear and pilos (?), old man seated with staff, column (building), sword suspended	women, one seated, columnd (building), kalathos, mirror and fillet	475-425 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Paris, Musee du Louvre	Penthesilea P by Beazley	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/EE 3B9B9A- D741-423A- 8B71- 605E4CBDC 1A7
211722	yes	Man	Man with pilos, sword, spear, chitoniskos, youth with helmet, petasos and spear, both with chlamydes	A: Man with spear, youth with helmet and spears	475-425 BCE	Skyphos	Athenian	New York Metropolitan Museum	Penthesilea P by	F.1 with loop	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C4 AB8D5E- CF1C-4312- B805- 0499E709D4 4E

			A . Th									
			A: Theseus and Sinis,									
			man and									
			youth, with									
			1.									
			spears,									
			chlamydes,									
			pilos and									
			petasos, tree									
			B: Theseus									
			and Skiron,									
			seated on									I- 44 //
			rock, youths									http://www.
			with club,									beazley.ox.
			spear,									<u>ac.</u>
			wineskin,									uk/record/9D
			petasos,									6FE21A- 39AC-4E0A-
			pilos,					Munich				<u>39AC-4EUA-</u> <u>A037-</u>
			chitoniskos and					Munich, Antikensam	Penthesilea			6B8BF365B3
211732	V00	Youths	chlamydes	n/a	475-425 BCE	Kantharas	Athenian		by Beazley	B.3	No	BF
211732	yes	Toutis	+	II/a	473-423 BCL	Kanthaios	Autenian	mlungen	by beaziey	D.3	INO	
			Youth in									http://www.
			Chlamys and									beazley.ox.
			pilos leaning on staff,									ac. uk/record/65
			woman with									12832C-
			basket, stele,									E402-4A61-
			wreath,			Lekythos						952A-
			lekythos			(white		Switzerland,	Sabouroff P			6CDA337547
212371	no	Youth	suspended	funerary	475-425 BCE	`	Athenian	private	by Beazley		No	DC
						g ,		p				http://www.
												beazley.ox.
												ac.
												uk/record/35
			Draped man									2CD633-
			leaning on									A305-4A09-
			staff, youth in			Lekythos						AD38-
			pilos with			(white		Cambridge	Sabouroff P			026A7480D6
212378	no	Youth	spears, tomb	funerary	475-425 BCE	ground)	Athenian	Seltmann	by Beazley			<u>5F</u>
			Uncertain,									
			draped youth									
			between									
			draped men									
			with staffs,									
			one with									http://www.
			pilos and									beazley.ox.
			hare (animal									ac.
			skin?),	Draped								uk/record/B9
			columns,	youths, some								F0BAED-
			sponge and	with staffs,				Vienna,				7AF4-4342-
			aryballos	sponge and				Kunsthistoris	<u> </u>			9306-
			suspended	strigil		Column	l	ches	Comacchio P		l.,	9EEAFE8CF
212982	yes	Youth	(travellers ?)	suspended	475-425 BCE	Krater	Athenian	Museum	by Beazley	F.2	Yes	<u>E34</u>

	1			Amazanan-			1	1				
			Youth in chlamys and pilos with spear between woman and draped man	Amazonoma chy, youth in petasos and chlamys with spears (named Roikos) warrior (named Theseus) Amazons (one named, Melosa) one on horseback,				Oxford, Ashmolean	Polygnotos			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/E1 3719DF- 0716-4C43- 91A3- C1CFBFE44
21338	yes	Youth	with staff	device, star	475-425 BCE	Stamnos	Athenian	Museum	by Beazley	F.1	No	<u>2B7</u>
21338	3 yes	Youth	Warrior departing, woman with phiale, draped man with staff, (device, lioness, inscription), youth in pilos and chlamys with spears	B: women, draped man (king) with sceptre	475-425 BCE	Stamnos	Athenian	Capua, Museo Campano	Polygnotos by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/0F 7BB922- 4C7A-4E77- 8BBA- 4015EE70314
21340-	4 no	Warrior - Dioscuri	Amazonoma chy, amazons, one on horseback fighting warriors (Device, star), one in pilos and chlamys with spear	B: Komos, draped youths , some with staffs, one with skyphos, one with torch	475-425 BCE	Bell Krater	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Naxionale di Spina	Polygnotos by Beazley	F.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/17 ACB61E- EB54-4AB0- ADEF- ADA0102CF 369
21341	1 no	Kephalos ?	Eos and Kephalos, in Pilos, chlamys and sandals with spears, draped youth fleeing	youths, one	475-425 BCE	Calyx Krater	Athenian	New York D. von Bothmer	Polygnotos by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/01 2158E5- 1B97-4D47- BE09- 277A915FAF A5

			Amazonoma chy, amazons, one on horseback (named Andromache), some with bows, some with spears, some with peltai, some in patterened suits, fighing warriors, one inchlamys and petasos (named Machon, Achilles),								
			warriors, one inchlamys								
			(named Machon, Achilles),								
			with spear and shield (device, scorpion),								
			one in pilos and animal skin with								http://www. beazley.ox. ac.
			spear, one with spear and sheilf (device,					Ferrara, Museo			uk/record/27 D709BF- EBC5-45CE A6C6-
213446	no	Warrior	panth or	n/a	475-425 BCE	Hydia	Athenian	Naxionale di Spina	Polygnotos by Beazley	No	9652D60F7F BB

			Under	A: Woman with wreath, Apollo seated on chair with laurel branch, Mousaios with kithara and laurel branch, quiver and lyre suspended tripod, entablature, Athena, Nike with fillet B:								http://www.
242452		Vouth	Youth in chlamys and pilos with sword and spears pursuing	Women dancing, one at altar Under handle: Winged youth seated	475 405 DOE	Valuta Kastas	Athenies	Ferrara, Museo Naxionale di	<i>Near</i> Polygnotos	D.4	No	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/31 CA275B- 0130-485D- 944C- D587BE7556
213452	110	Youth		WARRIOR WITH SPEAR AND PHIALE, WOMAN WITH OINOCHOE AND PHIALE, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF	475-425 BCE	volute Krater	Autellan	Spina	by Beazley	B.4	No	BA
213473	Yes	Youth	CHLAMYS AND PILOS	SEATED ON CHAIR, DEVICE, PEGASOS B: WOMEN, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF	475-425 BCE	Amphora, neck	Athenian	Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale: 15	Group of PELEUS P by BEAZLEY HECTOR P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	F.7 with rivet and loop; may be different kind of helmet	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/ED 2BB4FE- 0C98-4DEA- 9811- 2EA22C3A1 A8C

DIONYSOS (NAMED) WITH	AND LEANING KRATER, du Louvre: BEAZLEY F.1 with wings No 5F4
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				HEKATE								
				HOLDING								
				TORCHES,								
				APOLLO								
				WITH								
				KERYKEION								
				AND								
				PHIALE,								
				THETIS AND								
				PELEUS IN								
				CHARIOT,								
				EROS WITH								
				WREATH,								
				APHRODITE								
				WITH								
				SCEPTRE								
				(ALL								
				NAMED)								
				B: DRAPED								
				MAN WITH								
				SCEPTRE,								
				YOUTH IN								
				CHLAMYS								
				AND								
				PETASOS,								
			WEDDING	WITH								
				SPEARS,					Near			
				WARRIOR					HECTOR P			http://www.
			/	WITH					by BEAZLEY			beazley.ox.
				SPEAR AND					PELEUS P			ac.
			CHLAMYS	SHIELD,					by BEAZLEY			uk/record/65
				WINGED					POLYGNOT			11FCDB-
				WOMAN				Ferrara,	OS, GROUP			E350-4B27-
				WITH				Museo	OF by			<u>B45C-</u>
				PHIALE AND		KRATER,		Nazionale di	BEAZLEY			E963775064
213495	Yes	Hermes	KERYKEION	OINOCHOE	475-425 BCE	CALYX	Athenian	Spina: 2893		NOT a Pilos	No	<u>3D</u>

213507		Woman (Ippomene)	WOMAN (NAMED, IPPOMENE? ATALANTA?) IN PILOS AND BRASSIERE WRESTLING WITH YOUTH (ATALANTE AND	SEATED, ONE WITH STAFF, ONE NAMED,	475-425 BCE	KRATER, VOLUTE FRAGMENT S	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2865	Near HECTOR P by BEAZLEY PELEUS P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	B.3 with peak	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/59 2499E5- AD41-448C- A107- 185BD61D00 CE http://www. beazley.ox. ac.
213526	Yes	Youth	YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH SPEAR	N/a	475-425 BCE	KRATER, CALYX	Athenian	UNIVERSITÄ T LEIPZIG,	PELEUS P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by	F.1	No	uk/record/F3 80DAB4- 664C-4C85- 97DE- 1FEBCFC19 8B2

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					A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON IN PATTERNE D SUIT ON HORSEBAC K WITH SPEAR AND PELTA, GREEKS, ONE WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PETASOS WITH SPEAR					Manner of			http://www. beazley.ox.
					B: WOMAN WITH					PELEUS P by BEAZLEY			ac. uk/record/30 B947A2-
				YOUTH IN CHLAMYS	PHIALE, DRAPED MAN WITH		KRATER,		Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by			98EC-4E21- 8284- A6F66CB53
	213528	Yes	Youth	AND PILOS	STAFF,	475-425 BCE	CALYX	Athenian	Spina: T128	BEAŹLEY	B.8	No	<u>A2A</u>
	213541	Yes	Greek	GREEKS, ONE WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS, WITH SPEAR	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON IN PATTERNE D SUIT WITH SPEAR AND PELTA, YOUTHS	475-425 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi: 22833	None	B.2 with strap	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D0 83AFBE- 47FB-4AE5- 8992- 4FFFCA49B 065
				GREEKS, ONE WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD, ONE IN CHLAMYS	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZONS IN PATTERNE D SUITS,					GUGLIELMI			http://www. beazley.ox.
	213543	Yes	Greek	AND PILOS WITH SWORD B: WOMEN, DRAPED MAN WITH SCEPTRE	ONE ON HORSEBAC K WITH SPEAR AND SWORD, ONE WITH AXE,	475-425 BCE	STAMNOS	ATHENIAN	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16	P (Red- Figure) by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	F.4 or B.4	No	ac. uk/record/DD 317271- 3E57-4C12- A10B- 8E4FB06FE8 FA

213544	Yes	YOUTH IN CHLAMYS		475-425 BCE	STAMNOS	ATHENIAN	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 39562	GUGLIELMI P (Red- Figure) by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	F.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/8E D16425- 2C10-4D4A- 8C84- 277200AD67 A7
			A: CHARIOT, ATHENA WITH WREATH, NIKE WITH FILLET, YOUTH IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS WITH SPEARS B: DRAPED MAN WITH SCEPTRE, WARRIOR WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD (DEVICE, STAR), NIKE WITH		KRATER, BELL FRAGMENT		Brussels, Musées Royaux:		F.4		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/84 F44F55- 5C5A-48DA- 9BF6- AC0E2F92E

213548 Yes	Youth (Named, Kephalos)	A: YOUTHS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PETASOS WITH SPEARS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH CLUB AND SPEARS (KEPHALOS, NAMED), EOS (NAMED) PURSUING	B: WOMEN, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF	475-425 BCE	AMPHORA, NECK	ATHENIAN	Madrid,	EPIMEDES P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B2 92778B- 6FED-4063- A0BC- 357C153C33 C8
213556 No	Youth (Named, Tithonos)	A: EOS (NAMED) PURSUING YOUTHS, ONE IN CHLAMYS, PILOS AND CHITONISK OS WITH CLUB AND SPEAR (NAMED, TITHONOS), ONE IN CHLAMYS, CHITONISK OS AND PILOS WITH CLUB	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF	475-425 BCE		ATHENIAN	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 1595	LYKAON P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	B.8	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/1B 9D8AC2- 02B9-4D54- A46D- 33919D1915 2D

213644	No	Greek	GREEKS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH STONE, ONE WARRIOR	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON WITH BOW, QUIVER AND SPEAR IN PATTERNE D SUIT DISMOUNTI NG FROM HORSE, GREEKS, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH STONE, ONE WARRIOR B: WOMAN, MAN IN ALOPEKIS AND THRACIAN COSTUME WITH SPEARS, WOMAN HOLDING PHIALE	475-425 BCE	STAMNOS	ATHENIAN	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16510	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/84 D894EC- 242D-4B48- ADB3- D5E4029CC AFF
213678	Yes	Man (Hermes)	ARGOS IN ANIMAL	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STAFF, BAG AND HALTERES SUSPENDE D	475-425 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure: 1145	OF by BERNABO	F.1	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/A5 3124AE- 08BE-45B5- A538- 852D532031 CE

213681	N.	Greek	GREEK IN PILOS AND	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON IN PATTERNE D SUIT WITH BOW, QUIVER AND SWORD, THESEUS (NAMED) WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD, GREEK IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS WITH SPEAR B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STAFF, BAG SUSPENDE D	475-425 BCE	KRATER,	ATHENIAN	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: L170	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	B.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/00 D9343A- 3F22-418F- BF20- 8EB0F8E82 B4A
213704		Youth (Named, Kephalos)	A: YOUTHS IN CHLAMYDE S WITH SPEARS, ONE (NAMED, KALLIMACH OS) IN PETASOS, ONE (NAMED, KEPHALOS) IN PILOS, EOS	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH	475-425 BCE	KRATER,	ATHENIAN		Recalls PELEUS P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C6 F5220A- 2A55-4129- 9778- 48DAC1800 D42
210704	103	repriaios)	I SINSOING	J	T10-720 DOL			720		1.1	1110	<u>D72</u>

213706	No	Greek	A: AMAZON WITH SPEAR AND BOW ON HORSEBAC K, WARRIORS, DEVICE, LION, GREEK IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, SOME WITH STAFFS	475-425 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: RC161	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/75 E9071D- 37EB-4FAD- 88B7- 5D06104294
213720		Warrior	A: WOMAN WITH PHIALE AND OINOCHOE, WARRIOR IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH SPEAR AND SWORD DEPARTING		475-425 BCE	KRATER, CALYX	ATHENIAN	Dublin, National Museum of Ireland: 1917.43	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/39 D3AF1C- F8E1-4D0C- 9C41- ABF5C372E 43B
213724	No	Youth	EOS PURSUING YOUTH IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS	N/a	475-425 BCE	KRATER, CALYX FRAGMENT	ATHENIAN	Leipzig, Antikenmuse um der Universität Leipzig: T645	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/46 7DC3D9- 0DFE-4FB5- 97CC- 6BCC7F8A7 92D
213724	No	Youth	OLD MAN WITH STAFF, WARRIOR (HEKTOR)	B: WOMAN WITH PHIALE, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF, YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PETASOS WITH SPEAR, DEPARTING	475-425 BCE	AMPHORA, NECK	ATHENIAN	Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania : 30.44.4	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/46 7DC3D9- 0DFE-4FB5- 97CC- 6BCC7F8A7 92D

			A: WOMAN, OLD MAN WITH STAFF, WARRIOR (HEKTOR) DEPARTING , YOUTH IN	B: WOMAN WITH PHIALE, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF, YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND				Philadelphia				http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/72 380B3E-
21374	3 No	Youth	CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH SPEARS	PETASOS WITH SPEAR, DEPARTING	475-425 BCE	AMPHORA, NECK	ATHENIAN	(PA), University of Pennsylvania : 30.44.4	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY			406D-4FB2- A039- CBEB95EF3 6ED
21374	16 No	Youth (Theseus)	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON WITH AXE AND BOW, YOUTH IN ANIMAL SKIN AND PILOS, WITH ROCK, WARRIOR (THESEUS AND PERITHOOS ?)	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STAFF	475-425 BCE	AMPHORA, NECK	ATHENIAN	University (MS), University of Mississippi, University Museums: 1977.3.97	Recalls HECTOR P by BEAZLEY Recalls PELEUS P by BEAZLEY POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B0 4C6DD2- 3770-4AF0- B94D- EB9CFA2A2
21376	32 No	Warrior	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON IN PATTERNE D SUIT WITH SPEAR, WARRIORS, DEVICE, LION, ONE IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS	B: WOMEN, DRAPED MAN WITH SCEPTRE	475-425 BCE	PELIKE	ATHENIAN	Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi: 931	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/77 DB302A- 92B0-4948- B2CA- 1F1EB7B98 C76
21379	96 No	Youth	YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS	N/a	475-425 BCE	FRAGMENT	ATHENIAN	Athens, Agora Museum: P25842	POLYGNOT OS, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/70 370925- B57C-4EA9- B420- D40B8E5958 1C

213939	Yes	Man (Telamon, or Ajax, or Teucer, and Aegina.)	Uncertain, Athena, Talthybios, Telamon (named)	Unexplained subjects: Fr. 1: [heads of] Athena and Talthybios, facing (the last figures on the right side, near the handle root). Fr. 2: head and chest of a man to left, wearing pilos and himation: Telamon, or Ajax, or Teucer, and Aegina. Frs. 3-10: bits of drapery, and on fr. 4 also floral and tongue pattern.	475-425 BCE	Skyphos Fragments	ATHENIAN	Vienna, University: 53D	Achilles P by Beazley	B.3	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/24 30319A- E362-4EF2- BEFB- 69233C2B09 90
214220	Yes	Warrior	Hermes in pilos	Old man with staff	475-425 BCE	Neck Amphora	ATHENIAN	London, British Museum Syracuse, Museo Archeologico regionale	Phiale P by Beazley Phiale P by	B.5 with stud	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/7F 443B76- 83FB-4488- BEE8- 81E30F3CDB 1E http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/71 674340- 6ED7-4BD7- 944C- 1EA21BC122
214282	No	Hermes	pursuing woman	N/a	475-425 BCE	Lekythos	ATHENIAN	Paolo Orsi	Beazley			<u>B6</u>

214444	Yes	Youth	Warrior departing, woman with oinochoe and phiale, youth in chitoniskos and pilos, with spears, device, whirligig		475-425 BCE	Column Krater	ATHENIAN	Vienna, Kunsthistoris ches Museum	Akin to Group of the Villa Guilia P by Beazley	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/CC 4F4071- 8535-4B1E- 8DD9- 82CDBBEACD
214462		Youth	Amphiaraos departing, with sword, draped youths, youth	B: Komos, men and youth, all draped with staffs, some	475-425 BCE		ATHENIAN	Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi	Danae P by Beazley	B.3	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/CF 3334BB- 2604-471C- 9FEF- 4883837F33A C
214463	Yes	Youth	Youth in pilos and chlamys with spear ?, departing ?	N/a	475-425 BCE	Bell Krater fragment	ATHENIAN	Athens, Agora Museum: P25901	Danae P by Beazley	B.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/C1 86C346- CD9C-4244- B0E7- 48085C9A6E 3C
214757	Yes	Orestes	Orestes with sword and pilos on stone altar in Delphi, Apollo with branch, erinyes, Bukranion suspended	B: Draped youths, some with staffs	475-425 BCE	Bell Krater	ATHENIAN	Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi	Hephaistos P by Beazley	F.5	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/9D 5867E7- 61C5-4C6F- 9673- C7821BD710 AE

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216030	Yes	Youth	A: WARRIOR DEPARTING , AT ALTAR, DEVICE, SNAKE, WOMAN WITH OINOCHOE AND PHIALE, YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS, WITH SPEARS	B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE LEANING ON STAFF	475-425 BCE	PELIKE	ATHENIAN	Paris, Musée du Louvre: G538	LOUVRE CENTAURO MACHY, P OF THE by BEAZLEY	F.1	No	http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/60 0A487C-43D8-4138-BD9C-DFD7CD14D
												http://www.
216055	No	Youth	YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS, WITH SPEAR (?), DEPARTING (?), HORSE	N/a		KRATER, BELL FRAGMENT	ATHENIAN	Athens, Agora Museum: P202	Near LOUVRE CENTAURO MACHY, P OF THE by BEAZLEY		No	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F6 62C33B- 28B8-4FEB- 8B8C- 9A7F078EFB 83
216061	No	Man	AB1: ORPHEUS SEATED ON ROCK WITH LYRE, MEN IN THRACIAN COSTUME, SOME LEANING ON SPEARS, ONE SEATED, ONE IN CHITONISK OS WITH PILOS (CAP 7), DRAPED YOUTH, HORSES	AB2: THRACIAN WOMEN, WITH PESTLES, AXE, SPEAR AND STICK (?), YOUTHS (?), ONE DRAPED, ONE IN CHITONISK OS, CHLAMYS AND CAP, WITH SPEARS	475-425 BCE	KRATER, CALYX	ATHENIAN	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H2889	Compare LOUVRE CENTAURO MACHY, P OF THE by BEAZLEY			http://www.beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/C0 5A36F2- DDB8-4D0A- AD1F- 38B2D55F2 D74

216062	No	Warrior	COLUMN	B: DRAPED YOUTHS	475-425 BCE	KRATER, BELL	ATHENIAN	Athens, National Museum: N1146	Compare LOUVRE CENTAURO MACHY, P OF THE by BEAZLEY Imitation of BOEOTIAN by BEAZLEY			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/1D C0DD66- 7280-4A0B- 8E05- 28606EF44A 47
216169	No	Warrior	A: AMAZONOM ACHY, AMAZON ON HORSEBAC K, WARRIORS, ONE WITH PILOS AND CHLAMYS, TREE, PELTA	B: DRAPED MEN WITH STAFFS, DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STRIGIL, HALTERES SUSPENDE D	475-425 BCE	KRATER, COLUMN	ATHENIAN	Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi: 37175	ORPHEUS P			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/3A 62EF8B- 4E62-4762- 91A0- 2DD43241B A3D
9011389	Yes	Man in pilos	Man in pilos	n/a	475-425 BCE	Fragment	Athenian	Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 15B2	None	NOT a Pilos; different helmet?	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F8 6F3279- 2E38-4A4A- AECF- AAE500A50 EDA

902851	8 No	Youth	WOMAN PURSUING YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS WITH SWORD AND SPEARS (EOS AND TITHONOS ?) THESEUS (YOUTH IN PILOS AND	A: DELPHI, WOMAN (MUSE ?) WITH WREATH BEHIND APOLLO SEATED AT TRIPOD, WITH LAUREL BRANCH, MOUSAIOS WITH KITHARA AND LAUREL BRANCH, LYRE SUSPENDE D, FIGURES (ATHENA AND IRIS OR NIKE WITH FILLET), DORIC COLUMNS B: FIGURES (?) Under handle 1: WINGED YOUTH SEATED ON ROCK, PALM TREE (?)	475-425 BCE	Krater, Volute	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina	None	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F3 A69908- 63E0-4A5C- 8462- 7FDB36A636 25
903992	23 N o	Youth (Theseus?)		N/a	475-425 BCE	Cup B	Athenian	Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 253129	SABOUROF F P by IOZZO	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/AD 99DDEB- 7E00-42A7- A91A- 04AB76A9D 46F

904095	6 No	Man (Odysseus?)	MAN IN CAP OR PILOS (ODYSSEUS ?), SHIELD (?)	N/a	475-425 BCE	Krater, Column Fragments	Athenian	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico : 1783	Unknown		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/0C 5D82DE- C394-425C- 9184- 3DC76E1621 43
904534	8 No	Warrior	HELMET	Body: DRAPED MAN LEANING AND STAFF, DRAPED YOUTH WITH SPEAR AND WARRIOR WITH PILOS HELMET DEPARTING , WOMEN, ONE WITH PHIALE AND OINOCHOE, ONE CARRYING CHILD, DRAPED YOUTH IN CAP CARRYING BAG AND WINESKIN, DEVICE, SNAKE	475-425 BCE	Olla	Athenian	Italy, private	No attribution		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/93 47115B- 3E43-430E- A9BA- F8527AFAE8 4A http://www.
636	4 no	Youth (Huntsman)	Huntsman (youth in metal pilos and chlamys), rock	A: Herakles (or Theseus) and the Bull, Satyr B: Lion and Bull ?	500-450 BCE	Cup fragments	Athenian	Athens, Ephoreia	Dokimasia P by Maffre		beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/5B ADE4AA- E9CF-48BD- B280- 94ECF0F668 E4

7045	ves	Youth	one old, leaning on staff, one in petasos and chlamys with spears,	A: Youths in chlamydes and petasoi with spears, draped men with staffs I: Old Man leaning on staff, draped youth with staff or sceptre, altar	500-450 BCE	Cup C	Athenian	London, market, Sotheby's	Acropolics 356 by unknown	F.6	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/DA 7215EE- F71D-492D- 8DE8- 5D706421E3
11920			A: Youth in pilos and chlamys carrying spear B: youth in pilod and chlamys running with spear	n/a	500-450 BCE			London, British Museum:	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B4 97A0F2- E04B-40C9- 8EBF- 138252C9CB
23878	yes		A.B: The deeds of Theseus the sow, sinis, skiron (all named), swords, pilos and clothes suspended, rock, trees	Lid: Deeds of Theseus, sinis (?), tree	500-450 BCE	Skyphos fragments		Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum	No attribution	B.7	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D1 6B09B2- 2D2A-4BDF- B2CC- A519F229C0 C2
29055	no	Youth (Theseus ?)	Old woman (Hekale) with phiale at kalathos, youth with chlamys, spears and pilos (theseus ?)	n/a	500-450 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	Hamburg, private	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/4C 232508- 2836-45AD- 8808- FF511CC766 FD

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202456	no	Suspended	Theseus and Prokrustes, Theseus and the Minotaur, Pilos suspended	youths, one	500-450 BCE	Column Krater	Athenian	Salerno, Museo Nazionale	P of Munich Amphora by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/5A 31BBB3- A9C6-4166- 8021- 1410306868 C5
204340	yes	Man at Furnace (Hephaistos ?), Sculptor (?)	Artisans, sculptotrs, man in pilos squatting at foundry (furnace), youth with hammer, draped man at statue, pinakes and statue heads suspended; B: sculptor wearing	B: Artisans, sculptors at statue of Ares in building (?) between draped men (statues?) leaning on staffs with strigils and sponges and aryballoi, tools suspended I: Hephaistos seated with Helmet and hammer, Thetis with boetian shield (arms of Achilles?)	500-450 BCE	Cup B	Athenian	Berlin, Antikensam mlung	Foundry P by Hartwig;	F.7	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/A5 158FBE- FC09-4880- 82AB- 3A4C1A699D 15
205037	yes	Man; Draped men (Warriors?)	Telephos	A: Telephos seated on altar, old man with staff (kalchas ?), draped men, one with spear, one drawing sword (Achilles ?), columns, door	500-450 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts	Hieron Potter by Signature; Telephos P by Beazley	B.3	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/3A 042980- 5B0B-4A98- BA58- F13B3CC0A 3B5

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205464	yes	Youth	Fight; Youth in Pilos, with sword, shield	n/a	500-450 BCE	Loutrophoros fragment	Athenian	Tübingen, Eberhard- Karls- Universität, Archäologisc hes Institut	Hermonax by Beazley	B.8	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/1B 1C80CA- B755-4D8F- BA57- 0D7E754CC 6E7
206612	no	Youth	Amazonoma chy, Amazon falling, Horseman ?, Youth with Pilos	n/a	500-450 BCE	Column Krater Fragments	Athenian	Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nasionale	Agrigento P by Beazley			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F1 125BB1- 5C67-4C54- 9280- ED4415AA5 951
206785	no	Youth	Youth in pilos and chlamys drawing his sword, woman fleeing	n/a	500-450 BCE	Hydia fragment	Athenian	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	Early Mannerist, undetermine d by Beazley		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/2D C80713- 04CC-498B- A7C6- F34CECB1A 6A2
209460	yes	Man in Pilos	I: Death of Opheltes or Aristaios, snake attacking man in pilos and cloth or animal skin with stick (?) and stone, woman, reeds	n/a	500-450 BCE	Cup stemless fragment (white ground)	Athenian	London, British Museum	Sotades P by Van Branteghem	NOT a Pilos;	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/4F F55AA6- EA81-4415- B1DE- 2444AB8691
209532		Youth	Fight, youth in chlamys and pilos with spear, man in chitoniskos and chlamys with sword and spear	A: Fight, warriors, one fallen; I: incised	500-450 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Florence, Museo Archelogico Etrusco	Akin to Sotades P by Beazley	B.7	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/CB 047D23- BF05-40DD- 8A64- 7EFAA07B96 58

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209548	yes	Warrior	pilos, Amazon ? with pelta and spear,	A: Fight, horseman in Thracian costume, fallen warrior; Fig: Amazon on horseback	500-450 BCE	Figure Vase	Athenian	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts	Sotades by Signature	F.1	Maybe - hard to see	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/D6 8F549F- B544-45EC- B667- 4ACB41B844 BC
211343	yes	Suspended	Hermes reclining with kantharos,	Symposium, Dionysus reclinging	500-450 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Ferrara, Museo Naxionale di Spina	Pistoxenos P by Beazley	B.7	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/FC ADE450- 257E-484B- 97BA- 58C996AF51 35
												http://www.
												beazley.ox. ac.
								Volos,				uk/record/F2 29CDE7- 4CF0-46AD- A185-
								Museum:				3540D13F34
9022325	No	Nike?	N/a	N/a	500-450 BCE	Lekythos	Athenian	11587	None			9A http://www.
9033901	No	Youth	HUNT, YOUTH IN CHLAMYS AND PILOS	N/a	500-450 BCE	Cup fragment	Athenian	Ampurias, Museo Monografico: N1090	Unknown		No	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/E0 4BA036- D247-48DD- 8456- 291E58C305 73
			MAN WEARING PILOS, CHITON OR CHITONISK OS, AND CHLAMYS			Stamnos		Heidelberg, Ruprecht- Karls- Universität:		NOT a Pilos:		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/DC 731307- B0C3-4CB8- B794- 8B796457AC
9038006	Yes	Man		N/a	500-450 BCE		Athenian	166	Unknown	2	Yes	<u>B8</u>

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	9042747	Yes	Unknown figure	FIGURE IN PILOS OR THRACIAN CAP (?)	N/a	500-450 BCE	Cup Fragment	Athenian	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 2011.604.1.2 203	Unknown	B.7; or NOT pilos	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C3 07D518- A661-4A12- AEF1- C9395A362B EF
	9044972	Yes	Man	I: ARTISAN (?), MAN IN CHITONISK OS AND CAP OR PILOS (?)	N/a	500-450 BCE	Cup Fragment	Athenian	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 2011.604.1.2 957	Unknown	NOT a Pilos;	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/CF EECF71- C867-4406- 8C8E- 6745587305 51
	6416	no	Draped Man (Hermes?)	(Hermes?)	A,B: Symposium, Herakles and draped man; Under handle: White heron (bird)	525-475 BCE	Skyphos - Black figure	Athenian	Basel, market, Münzen und Medaillen A. G.	Theseus P by Hornbostel		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/C3 74F2E9- F28D-4E9D- BCDE- 3901CA171B D4
	31831	yes	Man (Warrior	I: man with pilos or helmet with spear, on	n/a	525-475 BCE	Cup	Athenian	Ullastret Museum	No attribution	NOT a Pilos;	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/D4 992E5D- 47D3-4026- B210- 32149EB88C 04
	41089		Suspended	Symposium, Hermes and Herakles reclining, pilos, sword, bow and quiver suspended, tree	n/a	525-475 BCE		Athenian	Delos Archaeologic al Museum	Theseus P by unknown		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/DA 073C37- C6A9-4BBA- 8D35- EC24D440A 730

43241	no	Suspended	Symposium, Herakles and draped man reclinging, bow, quiver, pilos and cloth suspended (Hermes?)	n/a	525-475 BCE	Skyphos	Athenian	Bari, prviate	Theseus P by unknown		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/64 716E11- A303-4406- 8AA6- E13BBA89C FDC
46604	yes	Hermes	Chariot, trees, Hermes (named) wearing pilos	n/a	525-475 BCE	Skyphos fragments	Athenian	Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection	Psiax by Langlotz	NOT a Pilos:	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/65 380044- 78DA-4F63- 9E13- ED2FD1FC2 4A8
9022326	No	Unknown	A: ATHENA BETWEEN COLUMNS SURMOUNT ED BY COCKS, DEVICE, PEGASOS, INSCRIPTIO N	B: CHARIOT	525-475 BCE	AMPHORA, PANATHEN AIC PRIZE	Athenian	Volos, Museum: 11145	None		http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/B3 A23B53- D5A6-482C- B9CD- 185C5AA8A 3E1
9034969	Yes	Man (?)	Body: DIONYSOS RIDING MULE, MAN (?) WITH PILOS OR HEADDRES S AND KROTALA, MAENAD, IVY	N/a	525-475 BCE	Lekythos Fragment	Athenian	Athens, Agora Museum: P16824	Unknown	NOT a Pilos	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/7F 817C70- 2B33-4ED0- 8DAB- 20FF1BA9B5 92

330988	No	Eurytion	EURYTION IN PILOS WITH SPEAR AND SWORD, DOG	HERAKLES, KNEELING WITH BOW, AND GERYON, WITH BOEOTIAN SHIELD, EURYTION IN PILOS WITH SPEAR AND SWORD, DOG (ORTHROS), ATHENA WITH SPEAR WITH SPEAR WITH SNAKE, ROCK WITH TREE	550-500	Lekythos	Athenian	London, British Museum:	Connected with HAIMON GROUP by BEAZLEY Near PHOLOS P by BEAZLEY			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/23 17E14F- 6FB1-4E33- BA23- 7F0F2F1433 36 http://www.
14902	yes	Man / Farmer	and animal skin ploughing	B: Bird catching, tree, birds, owl on post, draped men	550-500 BCE	Amphora, neck- black figure	Athenian	New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection	Bucci P by Guy	NOT a Pilos; 2	Yes	beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/2C 9DC7F3- 27C6-40EB- BBC2- 1775374EB8 F9
18458	,		horseback,	Shoulder: Athlets, men, some boxing, some wrestling, one jumping with halteres, draped youths	550-500 BCE	Hydria -	Athenian	Champaign- Urbana, University of II., Krannert Art Museum	, No attribution	F.1	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/83 0EFF2C- 63C6-4B15- A740- 48F7D637AA 9F
20587	yes	Man	Man with pilos or petasos	n/a	550-500 BCE	Column Krater fragment	Athenian	Athens, Agora Museum	No attribution	NOT a Pilos; 2	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/21 6D6DA7- 3C08-4D8C- A0F4- 52E217762A

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23461	no	Man (Perseus or Aristaios ?)	Man in chitoniskos, pilos and nebris running or flying with bag (kibisis) and aze (Perseus or aristaios?)	N/a	550-500 BCE	Cup little master band fragment	Athenian	Vathy, Museum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/39 22C6F5- 6687-4ABE- 96FE- 9877AF118B
301308	Yes	Man	Group of men, horseman, and bird	Group of men, man chasing woman	550-500 BCE	Amphora, neck	Athenian	Munich, Antikensam mlungen: 1439	AFFECTER by JAHN	NOT a Pilos:	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/95 9DC1F8- F04D-4A02- AF21- 784A7D6F29 C7
301603	Yes	Eurytion (fallen)	Herakles and Geryon	n/a	550-500 BCE	Amphora, Belly, Type B	Athenian	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: G39	VATICAN 365, P OF by BEAZLEY	B.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/86 EB080A- 083A-4DF3- A461- 6FEECCB85 B79
301769		Eurytion (fallen)	EURYTION FALLEN IN PILOS AND CHLAMYS, SHIELD DEVICE,	Herakles and Geryon	550-500 BCE	Amphora,	Athenian	New York (NY), Callimanopo ulos	MADRID P by BEAZLEY	NOT a Pilos:	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/8E 8704F9- DDB0-4D03- 9607- A6DF1D463 7B4
9017787	No	Head		HEAD OF WOMAN A2: NONSENSE INSCRIPTIO N BETWEEN PALMETTES	550-500 BCE	Cup Little Master Lip	Athenian	Rome, Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi	None		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F1 B043F2- 8D90-4505- 959E- 928BAFCD7 650

12934	yes (hard to see)	Man ?	Draped man seated (zeus ?), men in himatia, one with pilos and kerykeion (hermes ?) in nebris, approahing	A: Athletes, acontist, diskobolos, youth, youth in chitoniskos with aryballos, onlookers, between horsemen and men with spears I: Herabkles and the Lion	575-525 BCE	Cup Siana - Hermes	Athenian	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum	Heidelberb P by Brijder			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F4 0C1AC2- 49A9-4537- 81C6- DBB2C4B5B D47
14304	yes	Horseman	Horsemen, one in pilos and chlamys, hunting deer, warrior	n/a	575-525 BCE	Amphora (neck ?) fragment	Athenian	London, British Museum: B129.10	No attribution		No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/BC 052259- F74B-4DF6- 894C- DCE6D1931 115
19873	no	Warrior	Warrior (with pilos ?) running	A,B: floral, ivy wreath AB2: Animal frieze, panthers and deer	575-525 BCE	Cup Siana	Athenian	New York, market, Sotheby's	Taras P by Brijder			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/F7 D22940- 0D0A-412D- 8DD6- 72D11E0E39 23
23526	no	Charioteer (Warrior?)	Charioteer wearing pilos in chariot, warrior	n/a	575-525 BCE	Cup A fragment	Athenian	Lost; Previously held in Vathy Museum	No attribution			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/09 94FD61- 0C7E-4A05- A61F- 2C2F8281C4 7D
41555	yes	Warrior	Warrior with pilos departing in chariot, women, draped man with sceptre (?) boeotian shield device, discs	B: Centauromac hy, warrior between centaurs with rocks, device, discs	575-525 BCE	Columm Krater	Athenian	London, market, Sotheby's	No attribution	NOT a Pilos;	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/22 77287C- B0A2-4C94- 9D14- B413D44869 71

300579	Yes	Warrior	Fight, warriors, one falling, one with pilos, one in nebris	B: Komos, men dancing, between draped men with spears I: Herakles and the lion	575-525 BCE	Cup Siana	Athenian	Athens, National Museum	Heidelberg P by Beazley	B.4	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/F8 789F24- 8C7A-4DF9- 81C9- BB8B8EB620 D5
300580	Yes	Warrior	Fight, warriors, one with pilos	Herakles and the lion	575-525 BCE	Cup Siana	Athenian	Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 52170	HEIDELBER G P by BEAZLEY	NOT a Pilos:	Yes	https://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/XDB/ASP/ recordDetails .asp? recordCount =201&start=2 00
310160	Pilos not visible in image	Eurytion (fallen)	EURYTION FALLEN IN CHITONISK OS AND PILOS, SHIELD DEVICES,	Herakles and Geryon	575-525 BCE	Hydria	Athenian	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: M430	LYDOS by RUMPF			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/88 98D8D8- C581-4375- A39F- A1AD827100 B5
310309	Yes		A: HERAKLES AND GERYON, EURYTION FALLEN IN NEBRIS AND PILOS (ALL NAMED)	B: WARRIOR IN CHARIOT, SIREN (ALL NAMED, ANCHIROS, SEMOS, PYROKEME, KALIPHONE, KALIPHORA) Lid: ANIMAL FRIEZE, SIRENS, DEER, INSCRIPTIO NS	575-525 BCE	Amphora, belly, Type B	Athenian	Paris, Musée du Louvre: F53	EXEKIAS, POTTER by SIGNATURE GROUP E by BEAZLEY	NOT a Pilos	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/62 0A1D58- E99F-4BB0- 9F54- 7035F80B3B 55

310316	Yes	Eurytion (fallen)	A: HERAKLES WITH SWORD AND GERYON, EURYTION FALLEN IN PILOS AND CLOAK, CARCASS OF DOG, (ORTHROS), DEVICE, EAGLE WITH SNAKE	B: WARRIOR IN CHARIOT TURNING, CHARIOTEE R IN NEBRIS	575-525 BCE	Amphora, belly, Type A	Athenian	London, British Museum: B194	GROUP E by BEAZLEY	NOT a Pilos	No	http://www. beazley.ox.ac. uk/record/4B9 246B1-DC20- 43D6-B8CF- A396773AFA B9
310058	Yes	Youth	Youth in pilos and chitonoskos	FIGHT, WARRIORS, YOUTH IN PILOS AND CHITONISK OS, BETWEEN HORSEMEN	575-525 BCE	Amphora, neck	Athenian	Marseilles, Musee	CASTELLAN I P by BOTHMER TYRRHENIA N GROUP by BEAZLEY	B.4	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/14 76D987- 8B78-4B7A- BB5D- 0536E9F30A B7
310343	Yes	lolaos	B: HERAKLES AND THE LION BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTH AND IOLAOS WITH STAFF AND PILOS	COCKS,	575-525 BCE	PSEUDO- PANATHEN AIC AMPHORA	Athenian	Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 4320	Near GROUP E by BEAZLEY	NOT a Pilos	Yes	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/CF ED4EF9- 0512-4492- AEC5- 148C09E203 B2
9004302	No	Warrior	A: WARRIOR WITH SHIELD AND PILOS IN NAISKOS	B: PALMETTE BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS	None stated	Amphora, bail	South Italian, Campanian	Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure: 1140	None			http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/68 9B4514- 5345-44DA- A08F- 97674FEC9F B6

	9006776	Yes	Youth	SEATED YOUTH WITH PILOS, TWO	LUXURIOUS	None stated	Krater, volute		Trieste, Museo Civico: S494	None	F.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/CE F36BCC- E10F-4FA4- B0DE- CCA6233F6 3DA
-	9007600	Yes		AND WREATH AT	ALABASTRO N, B: TWO DRAPED	None stated	AMPHORA, PANATHEN AIC SHAPE	SOUTH ITALIAN, APULIAN	Milan, 'H. A.': 446	None	F.2	No	http://www. beazley.ox. ac. uk/record/04 23BF27- D9B7-485E- 8456- 27894D7A43 D8