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## BOREAS AND OREITHYIA IN GREEK VASE PAINTING

Κεχροπίη κομίσειεν ἀπήμονα λαὸν Ἐρεχθεύς,  
καὶ Βορέην μέλψωσι καὶ Ὀρειθυίαν Ἀθῆναι.

Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 39.210

The motif of Boreas, the North Wind, whisking away his bride, Oreithya was particularly popular in vase painting from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards. As a result of studying all the known examples of this motif<sup>1</sup> certain elements can be recognized as common to all of the representations, while other details are found in only one or two. This paper seeks to show the sources of individual details and to suggest reasons for the introduction of the myth into the repertoire of the vase painter.

Let us consider first the usual iconography of Boreas and Oreithya. The characters are normally identifiable by recognizable symbols, or pictorial epithets, which remain unchanged whatever the calibre of the artist. Boreas wears a short tunic with full, elbow-length sleeves, normally he is bearded, and equipped with wings on his shoulders or boots. Some artists prefer, though, to represent Boreas' airy nature by keeping his feet well above the ground line<sup>2</sup>. Oreithya, too, is essentially the same, dressed in a long chiton, with a himation draped around her shoulders and over her arms, or across her breast<sup>3</sup>. The Heidelberg sherd<sup>4</sup>, however, has her dressed in a belted peplos with a full over-

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der Attischen Kunst des 5 Jahrhunderts v. Christ.*, Basel, 1980, .

<sup>2</sup> (Plates 2 and 5).

Carlsruhe 211 (B 1904): J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd. edition, Oxford, 1963, p. 498, Deepdene Painter 5; CVA Carlsruhe pl. 21, Munich 1951.

Berlin F 2186: ARV<sup>2</sup> 208, Berlin Painter 150; *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Rome, 135), pl. L—M.

<sup>3</sup> (Plate 3)

ARV<sup>2</sup> 594, *Altamura Painter* 61; *Antike und Abendland*, xiii, Berlin, 1967, pl. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Heidelberg B 160. S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 108, No. 379. (Plate 4).

fall. She is also depicted almost always with her hair crowned by a daidem or a circlet. Only rarely does she appear without it<sup>5</sup>.

As far as the myth itself is concerned we know from Plato's *Phaedrus* (229c—d) that there were at least two versions of the story current. In the most common one Boreas is so taken with the appearance of Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, that he seizes her from amongst her companions by the banks of the Ilissos river and flies back to his home with her, to a cave in Mount Haemus in Thrace<sup>6</sup>. Through this unconventional marriage Boreas became the father of Zetes and Calais, the Boreads', and of Cleopatra, who became the wife of Phineus. The Boreads had their own iconographic tradition referring to the help they afforded Phineus when he was being tormented by the Harpies<sup>7</sup>. In the Platonic dialogue Socrates goes on to mention another version of the story, in which he says that Oreithyia was on her way to sacrifice to Athena when Boreas carried her away. This happened somewhere along the Panathenaic way which passes the foot of the Areopagus<sup>8</sup>.

Although many of the vases depicting this scene do not give any indication of the location of the abduction there are some which give details which may be interpreted as doing so, rather than as merely space filling devices. In other words, when space filling was required to enhance the artistic effect motifs relevant to the story were used. The variation found in such motifs may reflect the varying versions of the story or even the differing methods of the painters searching for symbolic representations of the background. The literary references to the story which locate the abduction on the banks of the Ilissos river themselves vary in their descriptions of what Oreithyia and her companions were doing. Apollodorus, Plato and Pausanias, for example, specifically mention playing<sup>9</sup>, while Apollonius Rhodius states that they were dancing<sup>10</sup> and Choirilos, on the other hand, describes them gathering flowers<sup>11</sup>. In Naples and in Paris are vases indicating that they were playing with balls<sup>12</sup>, while in Basel and Aachen<sup>13</sup> there are vases where at least one of the girls is holding a flower, which implies that they were gathering flowers as Choirilos describes. Perhaps

<sup>5</sup> Such as Oxford 528: K. Schauenburg, *Göttergeliebte auf unteritalischen Vasen*, Antike und Abendland, x, Hamburg, 1961, p. 77. (Sphere of the Ixion Painter).

<sup>6</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 65.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus iii, 15, 2 and Pausanias i, 19, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Scholiast on Homer, *Odyssey* xiv, 533 quotes Akusilaos as the source for this version of this story; ὁ Βορέας ἀνεμος ἐρασθεὶς λαθῶν τοὺς βλέποντας καὶ φυλάσσοντας τὴν κόρην ἤρπασεν. . . . ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀκουσιλάου.

<sup>9</sup> παίζουσαν appears in all three texts.

<sup>10</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* i, 215.

<sup>11</sup> Scholiast on Ap. Rhod., *Argonautica* i, 212 writes; Χοίριλος δὲ ἀρπασθῆναι αὐτὴν ἄνθη ἀμέλγουσαν. . . .

<sup>12</sup> Naples 81849: Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 108 No. 376, p. 28, 5. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 401: *ibid.*, p. 108 No. 387.

<sup>13</sup> Aachen: Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 108 No. 383; Basel: *ibid.*, p. 108 No. 384.

the dancing version may be inferred in those cases where no other activity seems indicated.

There are also indications of the location of the abduction on several vases. On one, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London<sup>14</sup>, Boreas and Oreithya are depicted in the company of several young girls. One clutches in her hand a hydria and another hydria lies on its side elsewhere in the picture. This may indicate that the scene is set according to Akusilaos' version of the story, since water carriers are an integral part of the procession which celebrates Athena: we need look no further than the frieze of the Parthenon for a parallel. Another vase, once in the Sir William Hamilton collection<sup>15</sup>, illustrates the same theme in an abbreviated form. Boreas rushes after Oreithya, a water jug lies on its side under his flying legs and the two characters are otherwise totally alone.

The fuller scenes than this one can be divided into two groups. The first contains additional figures which represent Oreithya's companions and also one or two older men, while the distinguishing feature of the second is that it contains a reference to Athena, either in the shape of the goddess herself or in the shape of her altar. Athena makes an appearance on four vases by the Niobid Painter<sup>16</sup> but otherwise is not shown. The altar by itself appears on a hydria in Athens<sup>17</sup>, a volute krater<sup>18</sup> and a kalyx krater<sup>19</sup> by the Niobid Painter, a pelike by Hermonax<sup>20</sup>, a hydria by the Altamura Painter<sup>21</sup>, another hydria by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe<sup>22</sup>, a cup formerly in Munich<sup>23</sup>, a hydria by the Meleager Painter<sup>24</sup> and an Apulian volute krater<sup>25</sup>. Since the second iconography certainly indicates Akusilaos' version, presumably the first indicates that of the Ilissos river.

<sup>14</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, London: Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 109 No. 389, pl. 31, 1—2.

<sup>15</sup> W. Tischbein, *Sir William Hamilton Collection*, Naples, 1791, vol. 3, pl. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Basel BS 1906. 296: ARV<sup>2</sup> 606. 67; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, pl. 30, 2—4 Brunswick (Maine) 1908. 3: ARV<sup>2</sup> 606. 68; Para. 395; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, pl. 29, 3. One girl holds a dolphin, indicating that she is a Nereid. This is probably an allusion to Oreithya's lineage as given in *Odyssey* xviii, 48.

Lucerne Market: ARV<sup>2</sup> 606. 69; *Ars Antiqua Auktion* 2 (1960), No. 161, pl. 65.

Würzburg HA 123 (L 511): ARV<sup>2</sup> 604. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Athens 13119: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1656; CVA I III Ic pl. 17, 1. (Painter of the Yale Oinochoe).

<sup>18</sup> Ferrara 9355 (T. 11 C VP): ARV<sup>2</sup> 600. 14 & p. 1661; Para. 395.

<sup>19</sup> Boston 1972. 850: Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 107 No. 368, pl. 30, 5—6.

<sup>20</sup> Rome, Villa Giulia: ARV<sup>2</sup> 485. 33; Para. 379.

<sup>21</sup> Vatican 16553: ARV<sup>2</sup> 594. 61, E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1840—1858, pl. 152, 1—2.

<sup>22</sup> Warsaw 142359: ARV<sup>2</sup> 503 Manner of Painter of Yale Oinochoe 2; CVA pl. 29, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 107 No. 369.

<sup>24</sup> (Plate 9)

Naples 2912: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1412. 50; Jb. d. I. lxxi, Berlin, 1956, p. 116.

<sup>25</sup> BM 1931. 5—11. 1: JHS, 1931, pl. 4. Also there is an altar indicated on Compiègne 1072, CVA pl. 29.

One of the most interesting examples illustrating the abduction beside the river is to be found on a vase in Munich by the Oreithyia Painter<sup>26</sup>. Here the accompanying figures are not only named but one of them, Herse, is taking part in the action, by endeavouring to prevent the rape, by stretching out her hands to clasp Oreithyia's arm. This appears to have the effect, at least momentarily, of delaying Boreas, since he has, indeed, both his feet planted firmly on the ground. Herse, Aglauros and Pandrosos, all named, are three daughters of Kekrops, the legendary first king of Athens, and all appear on this vase. Oreithyia was the daughter of Erechtheus<sup>27</sup>, who is also depicted and named. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius who says that Kekrops was the father of Oreithyia, may have been visualizing a vase such as ours and imagining that the elder king would be the father of all four girls, not of only three of them. There is no other literary source for this scholiast's statement. Oreithyia's father is frequently included in these scenes (very often together with another man, presumably Kekrops), to the extent that, even on the Heidelberg sherd, we see Boreas running right, winged and with bare feet, a long beard, in a short, belted chiton, chasing after Oreithyia, who runs towards a king whose sceptre is just visible along the edge of the break.

The Munich vase and a companion one by the same painter in Berlin<sup>28</sup> are not only unusual because of their naming the people depicted and because of the more positive involvement in the plot of the usually subordinate characters, but also by the iconography of Boreas himself. On these vases Boreas' hair has a spiky, frozen, icicle look. Although we are familiar with the bushy, tousled look for Boreas, we are not accustomed to finding him with this type of coiffure. In terms of composition, the Munich vase seems more successful, since it allows us to appreciate fully the wild, storm-swept head. Although this spiky hair could be no more than an individual artist's conception of the cold North wind, there is precedent on other vases to suggest that the motif iconographically represented wind-gods in general.

The only example of a winged figure with spiky hair, about which any doubt has been expressed as to its representing a wind-god, is to be found in Naples<sup>29</sup>, on a skyphos by the Lewis Painter. Although some scholars consider it to be Zephyros, the West wind<sup>30</sup>, there are others who have expressed a doubt as to whether the figure portrayed is male or female<sup>31</sup>. If it were female it would represent Eos, the Dawn. I feel, however, that when this figure is placed beside the winged figure that

<sup>26</sup> Munich 2345: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 496. 2 & p. 1656; Para. 380; *CVA* 4 pl. 205—208.

<sup>27</sup> Apollodorus iii, 14, 2 (Kekrops); Apollodorus iii, 15, 1 (Erechtheus).

<sup>28</sup> (Plate 1)

Berlin F 2165: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 496. 1; Para. 380; Furtwängler-Reichold, *Griechische Vasen-malerei*, ii, Munich, 1904, p. 186, figs. 66—67.

<sup>29</sup> Naples 126057: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974. 24; Para. 435; HRW Smith, *Der Lewis Maler*, Leipzig, 1939, pl. 13 c-d, p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> H. Sichtermann, *Jb. d. I. lxxi*, Berlin, 1956, p. 119; P. E. Arias, *History of Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1962, p. 346; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 81 No. 51.

<sup>31</sup> J. Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974. 24; H. R. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



is to be found in Schwerin<sup>32</sup>, on another skyphos by the same painter, the doubt is completely resolved, since the undoubted femininity of the Schwerin figure shows, by contrast, that the Naples figure is intended to represent a male. The normally rendered hair of the female also contrasts sharply with the spiky hair of the Naples figure. Since the Schwerin figure is considered to represent Eos<sup>33</sup>, it is plain that the Naples figure must represent Zephyros, the West wind.

This means that there is no longer any possibility of spiky hair representing anything other than a wind-god<sup>34</sup>, and implies that the Oreithyia Painter, with his individual outlook borrowed this feature in order to emphasize Boreas' character.

Another vase which we should study carefully because it, too, shows remarkable attention to a detail of characterization, is a vase by the Berlin Painter<sup>35</sup>. In this painting Boreas has been given two faces, both of them bearded and moustached. Although this feature is not usually found in paintings of Boreas in particular, it was, in general, customary for the Greeks to express contrary states in one person by assigning two forms or two faces to him. We find Diodorus, for example, describing Dionysus as having two forms, (iv. 5, 3); διμορφον δ'αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ δύο Διονύσους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν καταπύγωνα . . . He continues by showing how other writers explain the epithet of διμορφος for Dionysus, by pointing out that he has two different effects upon men, that is to say, when a man gets drunk he may fall into one or other of two states of mind, either morose or merry.

Furthermore, Longpérier<sup>36</sup> adduces the explanation of the Palladium in Apollodorus to illustrate the dual nature of Pallas Athena<sup>37</sup>, Pallas representing the gentle side of her character, while Athena stands for the warlike aspect. Apollodorus states that the Palladium was a statue of Pallas made by Athena and wrapped in her aegis; he also states that the statue held a spear in her right hand and a distaff and spindle in her left. The Palladium was later revered as Pallas Athena, and it would seem that Apollodorus' spear and distaff are symbolic of the two aspects of Athena's nature. Longpérier quotes this passage in explanation of the so-called janiform female head on an Athenian coin, which, from his line drawing and description, may be another example of the coin in the Sale Catalogue of the collection of the late Clarence S. Bement of Philadelphia USA, No 1092<sup>38</sup>. He considers that this head is represented as janiform in order to emphasize these

<sup>32</sup> Schwerin 731: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974. 23; Smith, pl. 13 a-b.

<sup>33</sup> Exceptionally, S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 81 No. 52, places this vase in her list of Zephyros and Hyacinthos, implying that she considers both figures masculine.

<sup>34</sup> cf. P. E. Arias, op. cit. note 30.

<sup>35</sup> (Plate 5)

Berlin F 2186: *ARV*<sup>3</sup> 208. 150; op. cit. note 2.

<sup>36</sup> Ad. de Longpérier, *Revue Numismatique*, Blois, 1843, pp. 424—426.

<sup>37</sup> Apollodorus iii, 12, 3.

<sup>38</sup> Collection of Clarence S. Bement, Geneva, 1924, No. 1092.

two aspects of Athena's nature. He justifies his identification of this head as that of Athena, even though she is not wearing a helmet, by pointing out that an acknowledged Athena, on a vase in the Cabinet de Médailles<sup>39</sup>, is not wearing her customary helmet.

Having established that Athena can appear bare-headed, he describes an unpublished amphora in the Pinakothek of Munich, depicting an undoubted Athena, dressed in her aegis and with an owl at her feet. He describes this Athena as having a janiform head similar to those on the coins, and in this way seeks to justify his identification of the female janiform heads on the Athenian coins as Athena. B. V. Head<sup>40</sup> considers that it is difficult to explain these janiform heads, and it seems that Longperier's explanation has either been overlooked or not accepted. Since we are particularly interested in the symbolic representation of two natures by janiform heads, the amphora to which Longperier refers is of particular importance. Unfortunately we have not as yet been able to find any other reference to a vase of this description, there not being one in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* for Munich, nor is it mentioned in a description of the vases in the Pinakothek by O. Jahn, published in 1854. It would seem that this particular vase had left the Pinakothek between 1843, when Longperier wrote about it, and 1854, when the catalogue was compiled.

There are, however, certain other vases on which we see double-headed figures. These are of Argus although he, like Athene and Boreas, is usually represented normally. Argus was said to be of superhuman strength which he used to slay a fierce bull, which had ravaged Arcadia, a satyr who robbed and violated, a serpent Echidna which rendered the roads unsafe, and the murderers of Apis<sup>41</sup>. He is therefore cast in the role of a hero using his great strength to help others. Eventually, Hera appointed him the guardian of Io whom she had transformed into a cow. On a bell krater, by an artist of the Group of Polygnotus<sup>42</sup>, there is a representation of Hermes killing Argus at the command of Zeus, in order to rescue Io. The legend usually describes him as having a hundred eyes and the painter draws them all over Argus' body, but in addition he gives him two faces, one bearded and one beardless, under one petasos hat. A similar composition may be seen in Bonn on a fragment by the Painter of the Athens Dinos<sup>43</sup>. The concept of his being doubleheaded appears to have been known to the scholiast on Euripides' *Phoinissae*, 115, who writes τετράσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. Is it possible that Argus was

<sup>39</sup> Cabinet de Médailles 174: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black Figure Vase Painters*, Oxford, 1956, p. 315 Painter of Würzburg 252, no. 2, CVA Bibliothèque Nationale pl. 33, 3—7.

<sup>40</sup> B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, New and enlarged edition, London, 1977, pp. 529—531 & 550—551.

<sup>41</sup> Apollodorus II, 1, 2.

<sup>42</sup> (Plate 7 & 8)

Genoa 1145: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1054. 48, CVA pl. 8.

<sup>43</sup> (Plate 6)

Bonn 1216. 26—27: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1181. 16, CVA pl. 29, 9.

thought of as having two faces in order to be able to see with two of his eyes while the other two were asleep? But this would not explain why one face is bearded and the other beardless. This difference between the two aspects must surely be symbolic of contrary natures. Perhaps these two natures are the wild and barbaric aspect which would prevent Io from being released and the gentler aspect that could be lulled to sleep by Hermes' music. Moreover, his strength which had destroyed the evil creatures had its gentle aspect expressed by his care for their potential victims.

Returning to the Berlin Painter's conception of the dual character of Boreas, we can understand immediately the barbaric, the wild and the unknown in the nature of the North Wind, but we need to consider more carefully to discover the gentler side of his nature which is symbolically expressed as turned towards Oreithyia. Hesiod, in his *Works and Days* 547—553, described the chill dawn which heralds the arrival of the North wind. In the dawn the earth is covered by a damp mist which is good for the grain fields, this disperses leaving room for rain towards evening, followed by strong gusts of wind which blow all the clouds away, creating a crisp, cold but clear night. When Boreas is on his journeys the peasants must have been well aware of the shifting weather with its calmness in the morning and the violent gusts of hail and snow towards evening which in turn give way to clear skies. Theophrastus<sup>44</sup>, on the other hand, describes Boreas' role in more detail, telling how he collects the clouds into little pockets leaving the skies completely clear outside the mainstream of his blast. So, although the North wind brings on the rigours of winter, he also clears the heavy warmth of the south wind from the air, and brings in an invigorating stillness. These passages illustrate how the Greeks felt about the North wind and show that they considered there was more than one aspect to Boreas.

The Berlin Painter may even have had yet another aspect of the dual nature of Boreas in mind when he quite exceptionally adapted the usual iconography for this scene. A little later in his *de Ventis*, chapter 28, Theophrastus speaks of the phenomenon which occurs during the Dog-days when the Etesian winds blow from the north-west. This time of year is notoriously difficult for sailors and sometimes, Theophrastus says, the North wind blows back on itself, suddenly changing direction, and ships cannot carry on their course. This often happens around the Euripus channel, *καθάπερ καὶ περὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν ἐκ Χαλκίδος εἰς Ὀραπον, οὗς δὴ καλοῦσι παλιμβορέας*. So, it would have been quite logical for the painter to have thought that if Boreas is to seize Oreithyia and then fly home again to Thrace, then he must have another face which represents the *παλιμβορέας*.

Let us now compare the differences between the iconography of the two faces, both for Argus and for Boreas. In both representations there is the contrast between youth and maturity, expressed in Argus

<sup>44</sup> Theophrastus, *de Ventis*, 6.

by means of a bearded and a beardless face, and in Boreas by a longer, darker, more tousled beard and one that is shorter and lighter in colour, rendered in a thin glaze which is golden brown. It is this lighter beard which is turned to Oreithyia, keeping, the more mature face turned away. The difference between the youthful face of Argus and that of Boreas may be explained by the fact that Argus had to relinquish all his strength to succumb to Hermes' music and fall asleep, whereas Boreas was snatching his bride as a young but mature, and so bearded, man would, and this snatching in itself needed a combination of strength and gentleness, comparable with the strength with gentleness that was a characteristic of the North wind in the morning when the weather was calm.

Whence, we may ask, did the traditional hirsute Boreas arise? No examples of the Boreas and Oreithyia theme have been found on vases earlier than the red figure period. On black figure vases, however, the motif of a bearded, winged flying man in a short chiton does appear in the character of his sons, the Boreads. Probably the earliest representation of these appears on the plate by the Attic painter Lydos<sup>45</sup>. Their iconography is identical to that of the later pictures of their father Boreas. They fly in profile to the right, the nearer Boread almost eclipsing his brother, in chitons embellished with skins over the chest. There is, however, a cup in the Villa Giulia, Rome<sup>46</sup>, in the tondo of which are depicted Boreads who are naked except for their sword belts. We know that they are Boreads because they are fighting off the Harpies in accordance with the legend. This nakedness does not seem to become a regular feature of the Boreas iconography in Attica, although the Greeks in Magna Graecia did paint him in this way.

In view of the fact that no representation of Boreas has been found contemporary with the black figure pictures of the Boreads, but the earliest are red figure, Boreas being painted in exactly the same way as his sons had been, it seems likely that the Boreas and Oreithyia myth introduced the figure of Boreas for the first time and the Boread iconography was borrowed. In fact, perhaps one could say that the black figure iconography of the Boreads fighting off the Harpies disappeared due to the popularity of the Boreas theme, once Boreas had become a cult god in Athens.

Another interesting variation of the Boreas and Oreithyia iconography is to be found on a hydria from Capua<sup>47</sup> even though it is an example of the Campanian style from Magna Graecia. In this scene Oreithyia is not shown attempting to run away, but lifted up on Boreas' shoulder. Boreas is portrayed bearded and the energy he expended in snatching Oreithyia is symbolically represented by his scattering cult objects. This indicates that Boreas is abducting

<sup>45</sup> J. D. Beazley, *ABV* 112. 54.

<sup>46</sup> C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler*, Amsterdam, 1972, No. 122 pl. 41, 1; see also No. 190 pl. 60, 2.

<sup>47</sup> (Plate 10)

Capua 7565, White Face Group, CVA 1 iv pl. 14, 1—4.

Oreithya while she is on her way to sacrifice to Athena. This scene recalls the words of Nonnos in his *Dionysiaca* XXXIX, 188—193, where Erechtheus is calling upon his son-in-law Boreas to put to flight the Indian Deriades' ships, and during the prayer to the god, he reminds Boreas of his kinship and of his Attic bride who sat unshaken upon his unmoving shoulder, ἐξομένην ἀπὸ νῆακτον ἀκινήτω σέθεν ὄμφ. . .

This vase is particularly important because the same iconography appears on another hydria, that of the Meleager Painter<sup>48</sup>. As an Attic painter working in that part of the early fourth century which saw a rapid development towards enjoying the fussy and the ornate, he drew a picture full of little details, amongst them being more cult objects than we saw on the Capua hydria, but still recognizably the same scene. Since the Capua hydria is recognized as portraying Boreas, we must assume that the Meleager Painter was representing him also. However, the latter represented him without a beard. From this we must deduce that there were times when Boreas was shown beardless. This is an important conclusion to have reached since there are a number of other vases which could also be depicting Boreas and Oreithya now that it is possible to accept a beardless Boreas, because in all other respects the iconography fits in to the Boreas and Oreithya patterns.

One of these is a volute krater by the Niobid Painter<sup>49</sup> on which the scene as a whole is exactly paralleled to attested Boreas ones, since a god is catching hold of a girl and three other girls are running towards two sceptred kings. Either this represents Boreas and Oreithya, with Boreas beardless, or it represents another abduction scene, for which the Boreas iconography has been borrowed, the principal character being shown beardless as a sign that it is not Boreas, but a younger wind-god, such as Zephyros or Zetes. Although Beazley<sup>50</sup>, presumably rejecting the idea of a beardless Boreas, prefers the second alternative, there is nothing in this picture to identify positively the god as either of these two. In fact, there are no Attic examples of abduction scenes that can with complete certainty be ascribed to them, now that a beardless Boreas is a possibility. The only certain example of the myth of Zetes abducting Phoibe appears on the tondo of a cup in the Vatican<sup>51</sup>. This cup has inscribed in it Zetun and Phoipe and is of Etruscan workmanship.

In view of the lack of any positive identification of Zetes or Zephyros in Attic abduction scenes, I am more inclined to consider that the scenes under consideration represent Boreas and Oreithya, with the Capua hydria confirming the Meleager hydria as representing a beardless Boreas.

Another point to bear in mind is the special affection in which Boreas is held by the Athenians, which would explain why abduction scenes by a wind-god are more likely to represent Boreas than any other

<sup>48</sup> Naples 2912, see note 24.

<sup>49</sup> See note 18.

<sup>50</sup> ARV<sup>2</sup> 600. 14.

<sup>51</sup> Vatican G 112: J. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, Oxford, 1974, pl. 12.

god. In Herodotus VII, 189, this is explained quite clearly. An oracle advised the Athenians to pray to their γαμβρός ἐπίκουρος, their son-in-law and guardian, whom they decided must be Boreas. So they offered sacrifices to Boreas and Oreithyia, invoking them and praying for their assistance. Whereupon the North wind blew and drove the Persian fleet on to the rocks, for which act the Athenians erected a temple to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissos.

This storm had effectively reduced the strength of the great Persian fleet to such a level that the Athenians then had a fighting chance against their aggressors. This raised morale in Athens to such an extent that they were indeed successful in destroying the rest of the Persian fleet at Salamis, and retaining their freedom.

It was this concept of Boreas as the son-in-law of Athens, always ready to act on their behalf should any danger arise, as he had done on that occasion, which appears to have been the immediate stimulus for the Attic painters to take up the motif of Boreas<sup>52</sup>. This is confirmed by the dating of the akroteria on the temple of Apollo on Delos, built by the Athenians c. 420, and of that of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, now in Athens, dated c. 430<sup>53</sup>.

We have traced already the literary sources for some aspects of the iconography, but now we must take into consideration the point of view of the Athenians who introduced the scene on their vases and those who continued the tradition of painting their son-in-law, Boreas, and his bride, Oreithyia. This motif would become a symbol of Athenian superiority against all odds. Their patrons liked the vase painters to remind them of the recent past, through allegory and symbol<sup>54</sup>, and some of the unusual features of the Boreas paintings can be explained as referring allegorically to the special relationship of Boreas and Oreithyia to Athens.

In this connection I feel that the most important vases, iconographically, are those of the Oreithyia Painter and the Berlin Painter, emphasizing respectively the eternality of Athens and the duality of Boreas in their relationship. We have already seen that the Oreithyia Painter clearly named the people who were on his vases and that his iconography of three maidens and two kings in addition to the central characters continues on other vases, although sometimes in a degenerate form. The mythological relationship of Boreas as the son-in-law of Erechtheus, father of Oreithyia, has been extended, in the legend, to Boreas, son-in-law of Athens. This was due to the fact that Erechtheus could be considered to personify Athens since he was the king who had first introduced the worship of Athena to Athens, thus giving the city its name.

<sup>52</sup> P. E. Arias, op. cit., note 31.

<sup>53</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou, p. 109 Nos. 394 & 395 for full bibliography on these two pieces.

<sup>54</sup> S. Woodford, *More Light on Old Walls*, JHS, 1974, pp. 158—165.

In order to express more certainly that the scene was intended to be interpreted allegorically, it was felt necessary to add the figure of the first king of Athens, Kekrops. With Kekrops and Erechtheus there could be no doubt that the State was represented and not merely one particular king.

On the other hand, by painting Boreas as doubleheaded, the Berlin Painter has not only expressed the dual nature of the North wind as an elemental force of nature, but he is seeking to express his allegorical duality as the son-in-law of Athens, turning his gentle, loving face towards his bride (and Athens) and his strong, fierce visage towards her enemies<sup>55</sup>. No foe, however strong, can overpower the North wind and so Athens must reign supreme.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

ARV <sup>2</sup> :	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red Figure Vase Painters</i> , 2nd. edition, Oxford, 1963.
CVA:	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
Jb. d. I.:	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> .
JHS:	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
Kaempf-Dimitriadou:	S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, <i>Die Liebe der Götter in der Attischen Kunst des 5 Jahrhunderts v. Christ</i> , Basel, 1980.
Para.:	J. D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> , Oxford, 1971.
Smith:	H. R. W. Smith, <i>Der Lewis Maler</i> , Leipzig, 1939.

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<sup>55</sup> The similarities between Argus and Boreas may be noted here, since both are using their strength in helping the weak, by destroying their attackers.



Fig. 1







Fig. 3



Fig. 4



*Fig. 5*

*et. 1980*

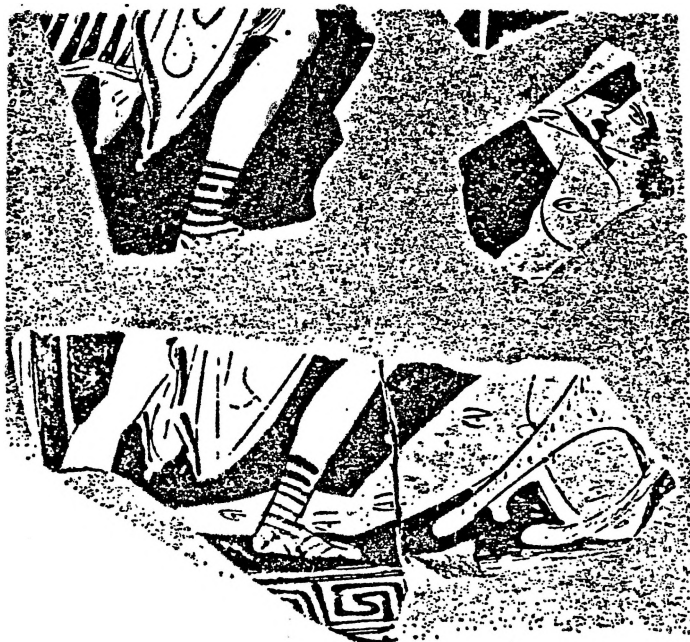


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

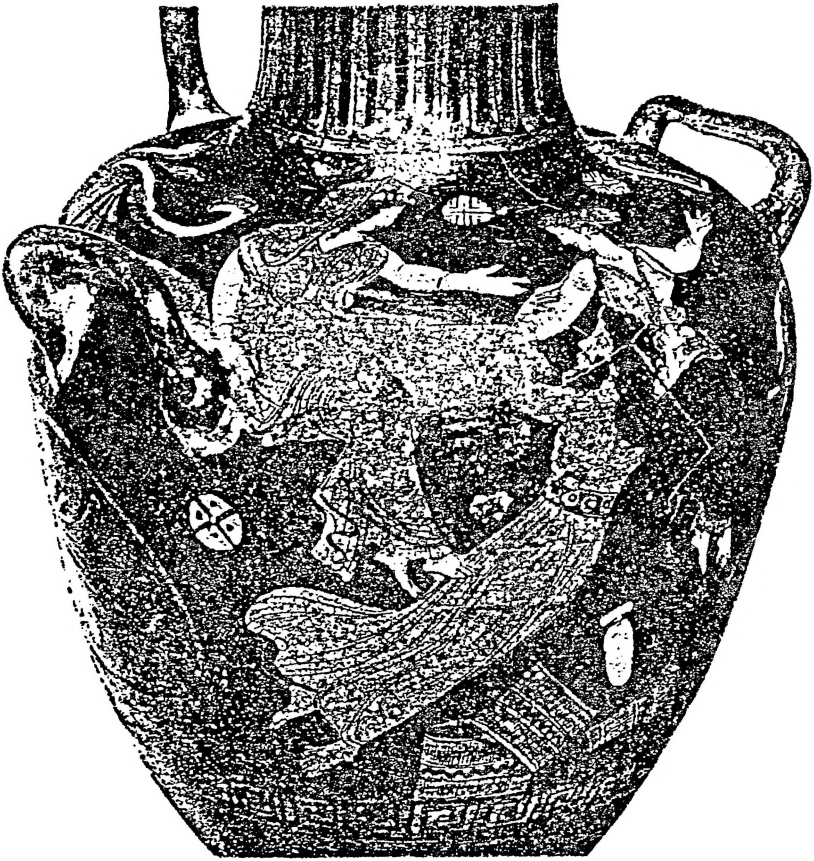


Fig. 10