

Monocrepis

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AMONG THE FIGURES in the Dionysiac scene which forms the main decoration of the great bronze krater from Derveni (securely dated by its archaeological context to the fourth century B.C., and apparently not late in it)¹ one stands out. The revel centres on a group of Ariadne seated, young Dionysus sitting beside her, one leg thrown across her lap in an attitude of surprisingly casual abandon. Beyond Ariadne swirl five maenads, the last faced in the dance by an ithyphallic satyr. So far all is regular, though not commonplace in the rendering. Behind Dionysus a dancing maenad holds a child slung over her shoulder by one foot and hanging down her back. This is most unusual; not unparalleled, but to the parallel we shall return. Opposite her, back to back with the satyr, dances a figure who has no place in normal representations of the *thiasos*: a man, not a satyr (he has no animal characteristics), rough hair and beard, carrying two short hunting-spears and wearing a short chiton and cloak, and—the oddest feature—a boot on the left foot, the right bare.²

This must, one would think, be one of those unwary mortals who resisted and offended Dionysus and were driven by him to madness and death.³ Owing to the survival of Euripides' *Bacchae*, Pentheus is the one we know best; but there is nothing in this figure to connect him with anything we hear about Pentheus. Another was Lycurgus, king of the Edonians in Thrace, whose story Aeschylus treated in a tetralogy, but that is lost and we do not know a great deal about it. There are several versions, considerably varied, of his sin and punish-

¹ Salonica, Museum. The definitive publication by Ch. Makaronas is awaited. Fine pictures of the vessel and its adjuncts after cleaning and restoration: *BCH* 87 (1963) pls.16–20, and remarks p.802. Other pictures: *BCH* 86 (1962) 793 figs.1–3 (the vase in the ground and before cleaning and restoration); *JHS Arch. Reports* 1961/2 15ff, fig.15 (before cleaning and restoration); K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Berlin 1967) 207 and fig.156. For further bibliography see Petsas in *Makedonia* 9 (1969) 142. See also next note.

² The maenad with the child can be seen on the right of Schefold, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.1), and of pl.16/17 in *BCH* 87 (1963); the male figure is just visible beyond her; better seen in *JHS Arch.Reports*, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.1). A parallel to the maenad: below p.45 with n.24.

³ Schefold, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.1): "Lycurgus or Pentheus."

ment. In one, known at least from the mid-fifth century,⁴ he killed his own son Dryas with an axe, believing in his god-sent madness that he was cutting down a vine. If the maenad on the krater with the child flung over her shoulder forms a real group with the wild man—they are isolated in the dance, facing each other, the man back to back with the satyr, the maenad with Dionysus—one could see in this an illustration of Lycurgus' story: the child dead, the mad king caught up in the revels. That he carries no axe is strongly against the interpretation. In almost all versions the axe is the instrument alike of sin and punishment. Even in the earliest story, told parenthetically by Homer,⁵ which differs substantially from any other, the *βουπλήξ* with which murderous Lycurgus smote the child-god's nurses, though often translated 'ox-goad', is more likely (as sometimes in later usage) a sacrificial pole-axe. Nevertheless there is one argument at least as strong in favour of the identification. An epigram in the *Greek Anthology* describes a bronze statue of Lycurgus, king of the Edonians, brandishing an axe madly over his head against a vine-stock; and it gives him the epithet *μονοκρήπις*, 'one-booted'.⁶

There are a good many brief accounts of Lycurgus' story or references to it, varying much in detail, and there are pictures of episodes from it, beginning in the fifth century.⁷ The only long account is given by Nonnos in his *Dionysiaka*.⁸ In this, Lycurgus attacks a nymph, Ambrosia, who appeals to Earth. The appeal is answered, the nymph changed into a vine which grows up about the madman and chokes him. This is also the most popular version in art. A composition found in many mosaics of the imperial period, but also in paintings and reliefs, shows the nymph down on her knees, the king swinging his axe above his head, and generally the vine already growing up about him a natural artistic compression which does not imply that the plant is

⁴ Shown on an Attic RF hydria of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C.: Cracow 1225, CVA Poland, fasc.2 pl.12,1; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928) 44ff (Nausicaa Painter); ARV 388 no.3 (related to the Nausicaa Painter); ARV² 1121 no.17 (Undetermined Later Mannerist). See also n.7 *infra* and p.44 with n.22.

⁵ *Il.* 6.130–40. Later use of *βουπλήξ* as sacrificial axe: *Anth.Pal.* 9.352.

⁶ *Anth.Pal.* 16.127; Bruneau, *op.cit.* (*infra* n.9) 406f.

⁷ The earliest is the vase above, n.4. On fourth-century and later representations, see Rapp in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*; Marbach in *RE s.v.*; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926) 63–79; L. Piotrowicz, "De Lycurgo insano in hydria Cracoviensi repraesentato," in *Stromata . . . C. Morawski* (Cracow 1908), the Cracow vase, pl.9; Beazley, *Vases in Poland* 45 n.3 with further refs.

⁸ 21.1ff; Bruneau, *op.cit.* (*infra* n.9) 419–24.

not thought of as the transmuted girl. Recently another mosaic has been found in a house on Delos, with the same composition but certainly datable to the second century B.C. It is published by Ph. Bruneau, in a basic study, in which the representations are listed and the literary sources collected and commented.⁹ On the epigram, Bruneau remarks that the epithet *μονοκρήπις* has been noticed by commentators but not explained. None of the other sources contains any such reference or implication, though as Bruneau points out, there might be a hint of a connection in a remark of Hyginus that Lycurgus cut off one of his own feet in mistake for the vines.¹⁰ One might possibly also note that in the composition of Lycurgus and Ambrosia the king's right foot, generally booted, is visible, the left most often hidden behind the nymph's body. In representations which show both feet, however, they are both booted, or sometimes both bare. The epigrammatist must nevertheless have had some grounds for using the word; that is, there must have been a version, in literature or art or both, in which Lycurgus wore only one boot; and this gives real substance to the suggestion that Lycurgus is the strange man drawn into the Dionysiac dance opposite a maenad brandishing a lifeless-seeming child.

There are other figures in Greek story who go with one foot shod, the other bare.¹¹ Jason arrived in Iolkos with a sandal on his right foot only, to fulfill an oracle; and though *κρηπίς* means properly a boot, and words like *μονοκάνδαλος* or *οιοπέδιλος* are used by various writers, Pindar and Lycophron use *μονοκρήπις*.¹² In the most familiar version he lost his left sandal in fording a river, but another account may imply that to go so was a custom of the Thessalian Magnetes among whom he had been living as a peasant.¹³ In the same way the Aetolians were said to go to war and hunting in one boot only, a habit re-

⁹ BCH 90 (1966) 391–427, with pl.V and figs.1–14. See also *supra*, nn.6 and 8, *infra* n.10.

¹⁰ *Fab.* 132. Servius, *ad Aen.* 3.14, says that he cut off his legs (plural); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.1, that after killing his son and before recovering his senses he cut off the child's extremities; see Bruneau, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.9) 404, 405, 407.

¹¹ See W. Deonna in *RHR* 112 (1935) 61ff; *Rev.Arch. de l'Est* 7 (1956) 156.

¹² Pind. *Pyth.* 4.75; Lycoph. 1310. Hyg. *Fab.* 12 uses *monocrepiis*. *μονοκάνδαλος*: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16; *οιοπέδιλος*: Ap.Rhod. 1.7; *μονοπέδιλος*: *arg.* Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* p.533,9 Keil (*Γένος Ἀπολλωνίου*, quoted by H. J. Rose ed., *Hygini Fabulae*² [Leiden 1963] 13); see Seliger in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* IASON.

¹³ So at least H. J. Rose (*A Handbook of Greek Mythology*⁴ [London 1950] 198 with n.57) interprets Pind. *Pyth.* 4.75, but it is not clear to me that this is correct.

ferred to by Euripides in his *Meleager*, and also it seems by Aristotle.¹⁴ In this context the practice is claimed to have the sound reason that the bare foot grips better on slippery ground. I should have supposed that both feet bare or both shod would have been more practical than the compromise; but, as Rose points out, Thucydides records that the Plataeans, breaking out from the siege in the winter of 428/7 B.C., shod the left foot only ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν—a contemporary record of men doing the best for themselves in mortal danger.¹⁵ Jason can have no place on the Derveni krater, but that it illustrates a story connected with the Aetolian or Thessalian practice must remain an alternative possibility.

One other work of art known to me needs mention in this connection. The youth, wasted almost to a skeleton, in the strange, fine little bronze statuette at Dumbarton Oaks, wears a sandal or laced shoe on his left foot, the bare right seeming swollen or deformed.¹⁶ The date as well as the meaning of this figure is uncertain. It has generally been felt, surely rightly, to be a Hellenistic conception, but two Greek inscriptions on the drapery are said to show letter forms of the first century, and the bronze is often called an imperial copy of an original from the second century B.C. The technique, however, of punched dots can be used for putting inscriptions on bronze at any time after its casting. The youth has a mantle wrapped round his legs, and this carries the inscriptions: on the lap, the name Eudamidas; along the hem in front, Perdik (there was never any more). It has been noted that a late antique poem describes how a youth Perdikkas wasted away for love of his mother; and that one Perdix was proverbial from the fifth century B.C. on for his bad leg or foot.¹⁷ It looks almost as though whoever put on the inscriptions—an owner? (Eudamidas?)—felt that the figure ought to represent one of these, but couldn't decide which. Whatever the actual date of the bronze, it was found at Soissons, where it was presumably taken in imperial times; and whether it is an imperial copy with contemporary inscriptions or an

¹⁴ Eur. *Meleager* (fr.534 Nauck) quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.18.2, who also cites Aristotle for the practice.

¹⁵ Thuc. 3.22.2; see Rose, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.13).

¹⁶ Published with full refs. and discussion by G. M. A. Richter in *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1956) no.17, pp.32ff and pl.14.

¹⁷ References for these stories given by Miss Richter, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.16).

'antique' with inscriptions added, I doubt if they can be taken as evidence for the Hellenistic creator's thought.

There is another man in Greek legend who wasted away, one punished like Lycurgus for axe-work which angered a deity: Erysichthon, a Thessalian who cut down a grove sacred to Demeter. She (with the cooperation of Dionysus) afflicted him with an insatiable hunger and thirst, so that he ate himself and his family out of house and home but could not stop himself wasting "like snow on the mountain, like a wax-doll in the sun, more still, down to the sinews; only tendons and bones were left the wretch."¹⁸ The story is told by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Demeter*, and by no earlier writer; but a lately found vase of the third quarter of the fifth century seems to illustrate it.¹⁹ A bearded man, naked, lifts an axe over his head to strike. In front of him is a tree (not a vine) and at a lower level a woman in a *stephane*, queen or goddess one would say, raising a hand in supplication or protest. The lower part of the vase is missing, but the difference in levels suggests that the woman is rising from the ground. It has been called Erysichthon and Demeter, and must surely illustrate this or some very closely related story. It cannot be Lycurgus; but the resemblance to the composition of him and Ambrosia is real, and the stories of the two god-defying axe-men are of the same kind and could have influenced each other. The man on the vase is bearded, but Callimachus' Erysichthon is young: it is father and mother, not wife and children, whom he involves in his ruin. On the vase both the man's legs are lost from half-way down the shins, so we cannot tell how he was shod if at all; but I find it very tempting to identify the wasted youth in the bronze as Erysichthon, and to see in the differentiated feet a further link with Lycurgus.

In the version of Jason's story in which he loses the sandal in the river, the accident is associated with the wrath of Hera;²⁰ but it is Jason's enemy Pelias she is angry with, not Jason himself—him indeed she favours. It would be far-fetched to imagine some subtle connection between going half-shod and the anger of an offended deity. In a much more straightforward way it can be a simple indication of the derangement through which the divine vengeance takes effect. There

¹⁸ Callim. *Hymn 6, to Demeter* 22–117; Dionysus' cooperation, 69ff; the lines quoted, 91ff.

¹⁹ RF pelike in Bonn: *Auction xiv Basle* (Basle 1954) pl.20.80; Beazley, ARV² 1661, foot; *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 448.

²⁰ Hyg. *Fab.* 13; see Rose, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.13) 291.

is a good parallel on another Attic vase of the mid-fifth century showing the madness of Salmoneus.²¹ He thought himself a greater Zeus, and hurled thunderbolts till Zeus struck him with the real thing. On the vase he stands in a posture which is a parody of that proper to the god: left arm extended forward, right back with the bolt; only he bends his body back and down, since it is up to heaven that he means to hurl it. He has bound his limbs and trunk with a surprising variety of fillets and wreaths, and also wears swordbelt and scabbard, the sword itself held inappropriately in the outstretched left hand. He is barefoot; but, while the right leg wears a greave, the left is unprotected, the other greave bound instead on the left arm.

This interesting conception is poorly drawn, in a style which goes more naturally with the very conventional character of the other figures on the vase. It is ascribed to the earlier phase of the 'Mannerist' workshop, in which such a contrast is not uncommon. Commenting on some later works of the same group (one of them the vase with Lycurgus attacking his son) Beazley speaks of the contrast between "interesting motives and lousy execution";²² and it seems clear that vase-painters of this circle were among those who borrowed most freely from the great wall-paintings of the time, though among the least fitted to make good use of such borrowings. There was a Salmoneus by Polygnotos of Thasos,²³ and that surely inspired the vase-painter's figure.

The misplacement of garments or gear as a sign of madness is an obvious visual image, which could well have its origin rather in sculpture or painting than in poetry. The one literary reference to Lycurgus as *μονοκρήπις* comes we saw in the description of a statue; and it seems likely that this was an artist's idea, occasionally repeated by other artists but never embodied in the poetic tradition.

I spoke of a parallel to the maenad with a child slung over her

²¹ RF column-krater, Chicago 89.16; Beazley, *ARV*² 585 no.29 (unidentified Earlier Mannerist); *AJA* 15 (1899) pl.4, whence Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*; *EAA* VI 1076 fig.1185.

²² *Vases in Poland* 45; see nn.4 and 7 *supra*. Beazley is speaking of the Cracow vase with Lycurgus and the Nausicaa Painter's name-piece, a neck-amphora in Munich (2322; *ARV*² 1107 no.2, with refs.). Works of similar character from the same workshop include *e.g.* the same painter's hydria in Berlin with an obscure subject sometimes called the Danaids (inv. 30928; *ARV*² 1109 no.38 with refs.); and an earlier hydria, nearer to the Salmoneus vase, with the Seven against Thebes (Basle, Borowski; G. M. A. Richter in *AJA* 74 (1970) 331f, pls. 79-82, figs.1-8).

²³ *Anth.Gr.* II 255.3 (Planud. III 30); J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen* (Leipzig 1868) 1064.

shoulder. This is on an Attic red-figured pyxis-lid of about 400 B.C.²⁴ The vase has been ascribed to the Meidias Painter, but is poorly drawn and in Beazley's later lists is relegated to his manner. The painter has been called a mannerist, but there is no connection with the Mannerist Workshop, though its latest productions are perhaps scarcely earlier than this.²⁵ Nonetheless the little vase shows the familiar combination of interesting motives with nearly worthless drawing. The subject is Dionysus and maenads; and not only the woman with the child seems hardly the invention of the hack who drew it. A pair tearing a kid and another seated with a tambourine were long ago noticed by Ludwig Curtius in his beautiful study *Pentheus* to be virtually repeated on a poorer pyxis of the same period; and he further saw that another maenad from the pyxis reappears on a neo-Attic relief.²⁶ The maenad with the child on the pyxis-lid is like enough to the one on the Derveni krater to make one think of a common source for the very unusual motive; and on the Curtius pyxis appears a male figure in short chiton carrying two spears, strikingly similar in pose to the wild man of the Derveni vessel.²⁷ The figure is much damaged, and one cannot say whether he was bearded, or booted on either foot or both; but again I should postulate a common original for the two figures.

The swirling draperies on the Derveni krater certainly derive in style from late fifth-century tradition; and that the composition is not entirely original is further demonstrated by the reappearance of the strikingly posed Ariadne and Dionysus on a much later work: a small two-sided relief in marble (an 'oscillum' if that is what they are) carved in the imperial age when the krater had long been in its

²⁴ London, B.M., E 775; *Cat. Vas.* iii pl.20; Beazley, ARV 833 no.14 (Meidias Painter); ARV² 1328 no.92 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); L. Curtius, *Pentheus* (88 *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1929) pl.12. The child has been doubtfully called Pentheus (*Cat.* 368), but this is surely not possible. See Curtius, *loc.cit.* 12f. He suggests that it is a stolen child, as in Eur. *Bacc.* 754. Without the evidence of the Derveni krater this is reasonable; but the parallel he cites from vase-painting is very different: a child comfortably seated on a maenad's shoulder, on a RF volute-krater of the last quarter of the fifth century in Bologna (283; Beazley, ARV² 1151, Dinos Painter no.1, with refs.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig.581).

²⁵ See ARV² 1106 and 1123–25. Meidias Painter a mannerist: G. Becatti, *Meidias: un manierista antico* (Florence 1947).

²⁶ The pyxis was then in a private collection in Heidelberg; not in Beazley. Curtius, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) pl.1 and figs.2–6 (maenads with goat, fig.4; seated maenad with tympanon, fig.5; neo-Attic relief in Venice, fig.16): see esp. pp.11f, 17.

²⁷ *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 8ff with pl.1 and fig.3.

grave.²⁸ The seated Dionysus on the London lid is different; but there too, behind the rather comic figure one sees, one senses a creation of some interest. There is a likeness to the youths at the tomb on the great contemporary white lekythoi of Group R, which have been convincingly argued to reflect conceptions of Parrhasios.²⁹

Curtius identified the man on the pyxis as Pentheus; but we have seen reason for thinking rather of Lycurgus for his counterpart from Derveni. On the pyxis he is isolated from the maenads by a column, and by another from a pair of figures, surely deities: a youth playing a lyre and a woman with her hand on his shoulder.³⁰ Curtius called them Apollo Ismenios and Artemis, possible as local divinities in a scene of Pentheus' death, especially if the columns which here isolate the sinner (in his palace, Curtius thought) were in the original a shrine enclosing the deities. So far as we know Apollo and Artemis have no place in a picture of Lycurgus. The seated Dionysus on the London lid is flanked by a seated woman playing a lyre and a standing one with her hand on his shoulder (one of them perhaps Ariadne); and one might argue that the painter of the pyxis has simply recombined the same elements, but I do not think this is likely.

In another place I have noticed the resemblance of a lion-rider on a fragment of a big Attic red-figured plate of about 400 B.C. and a pard-rider on a mosaic in Delos of the second century B.C., both Dionysiac; and postulated a common original in a painting of the later fifth century.³¹ On a great Attic red-figured volute-krater from Spina, of the last decades of the fifth century, the return of Hephaestus appears in a new and striking iconography, and a composition which suggests derivation from major painting;³² and pictures of Ariadne asleep,

²⁸ In private hands. I owe my knowledge of this important piece to Professor Bernard Ashmole, who showed me a photograph. Professor Ashmole had observed its relation to the Derveni krater.

²⁹ Parrhasian character of the lekythoi of Group R (Beazley, *ARV*² 1376 and 1383f): Rumpf in *AJA* 55 (1951) 1-12, figs.1-7; Bianchi Bandinelli in *Storicità dell'arte classica* (Florence 1950) 47-61, pls.31-35.

³⁰ Curtius, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 7f with pl.1 and fig.2.

³¹ *JHS* 85 (1965) 88f. RF plate-fragment: Boston 10.187; *ibid.* pl.22,2; Beazley, *ARV*² 1337 no.10 (near the Pronomos Painter) with refs. Mosaic from House of the Masks, Delos: *JHS loc.cit.* pl.22.1; *Délos XIV* (Paris 1933) pl.3.

³² Ferrara T 127; Beazley, *ARV*² 1171 no.1 (Polion) with refs.; fullest publication: S. Aurigemma, *Necropoli di Spina I* (Rome 1960) pls.1-16 (Hephaestus picture, pls.2-4, 6.1, 7.2, 8-10, 11.1); see also Beazley, "Spina e la ceramica greca," in *Spina e l'Etruria padana* (Supplement to *StEtr* 25, Florence 1959) 53f.

with Theseus slipping away or the descent of Dionysus and his crew, which appear on South Italian vases of the fourth century and on the walls of Roman houses, have often been thought to derive from late fifth-century paintings.³³ The recurrence of these seeming echoes, in Dionysiac art of very varied kinds and periods, from striking creations of that time strongly suggests the existence of some great influential work. Curtius thought of a sculptured frieze for the original of his Pentheus-scene, and wondered about a possible fifth-century ancestor for the choragic monument of Lysicrates.³⁴ From the widened range of echoes now noticed I would look rather for a pictorial source. In the later of the two temples of Dionysus by the theatre at Athens, Pausanias (1.20.3) saw pictures glorifying the god: Hephaestus brought back to Olympus; the punishment of Pentheus and that of Lycurgus; Ariadne asleep, Theseus taking ship and Dionysus arriving. The temple has long been thought to have been built about 420 B.C.,³⁵ but recent cleaning of the foundations by the Greek Archaeological Service has demonstrated that it belongs a century later, to the Lycurgan reconstruction of the precinct.³⁶ Pausanias, however, also records that the cult-statue of the god, in ivory and gold, was by Alkamenes, who worked in the later fifth century. What building housed it for its first hundred years we do not know: an earlier 'new temple', replaced by the Lycurgan? or the archaic temple? In any case it is very tempting to guess that the pictures Pausanias lists formed a single cycle, created at the same time as the statue to adorn whatever building it was placed in, and moved with it to the Lycurgan temple. Such a move would be quite possible if they were on panel, whether 'panel-pictures' as we normally use the term, or painted on panelling fastened to the wall, a regular method of wall-painting in Greece.³⁷ Such a

³³ E.g. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung* II (Munich 1923) 701f with figs.632 (vase-painting) and 640 (wall-painting). He and others also associate a wall-painting with the death of Pentheus (*ibid.* fig.641).

³⁴ Curtius, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 19.

³⁵ See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (London and New York 1950) 184, 207 fig.77, 209f nn.1 and 2.

³⁶ P. G. Kalligas in *Deltion* 18 (1963) Chron. 14f; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* (London and New York 1971) 537. I am most grateful to the editorial staff of GRBS for drawing my attention to the redating of this building and for the references.

³⁷ Synesius, *Epist.* 54 (Overbeck, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.23] no.1057) speaks of Polygnotos' paintings in the Stoa Poikile at Athens as panels. Wall-fragments probably from this building have nail-holes (some nails remaining) evidently for fixing a wooden framework: H. Thompson in *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 327ff, pl.103; L. Shoe Meritt in *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 249, pl.65.

cycle would make a natural source on which contemporary and later artists might have drawn for the works we have been considering. Ariadne was there, deserted by Theseus and found by Dionysus; and the Return of Hephaestus. The one-booted man and the maenad with the child, confronted on the Derveni krater, and their counterparts on the red-figured pyxis and pyxis-lid, would derive from the Punishment of Lycurgus; the Apollo and Artemis, if so they be, on the Curtius pyxis from that of Pentheus; the Dionysus and Ariadne on the krater and the 'oscillum', the Dionysus on the London pyxis-lid, Curtius' maenads and the riders on the plate and the mosaic, from one or another of the paintings in the cycle.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

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There are possible traces of a similar arrangement from the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi: J. Pouilloux, *Fouilles de Delphes II* (Paris 1960) 130, 137. The most complete remains of such a scheme are from the second-century Stoa of Attalos at Delphi: Roux in *BCH* 76 (1952) 182ff. The picture referred to by Pliny as a Polygnotos (*NH* 35.39; Overbeck, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.23] no.1063) "in which it is disputed whether the man with the shield is going up or down" must have been a fragment of a larger composition; and since it had been taken to Rome was presumably on panel. Kalligas, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.36) 15, mentions a later inscription (*IG II²* 995) which he thinks may refer to the sanctuary of Dionysus and which speaks of pictures being transferred from a temple to a stoa.