

# Greek Vases

in the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 4



*Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 5*

# Greek Vases

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in the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 4

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# The Minotaur in Malibu?

William R. Biers

A unique plastic vase only slightly over 10 centimeters high and in the form of a bust is in the collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Instead of a human head, a bull's head forms the upper portion of the vessel (figs. 1a–e). The bull is portrayed wearing an elaborately decorated garment—a chiton or short tunic—and should, then, presumably be identified as the Minotaur.

The vase was first brought to public notice in 1974, when it was in a private collection in Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> It is complete and well preserved, although with some restorations.<sup>2</sup> As with many plastic vessels of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., it was made in a two-piece mold comprising back and front, with the ears, horns, and the vessel's mouth added later. The overall form is similar to the numerous female bust-vases, traditionally said to come from Rhodes (and certainly at home in the general area of East Greece), in which the vase is shaped like a woman's head and shoulders down to below the level of the breasts, but often without indication of arms.<sup>3</sup> The vase appears almost cylindrical when seen from the side, with the bull's head and neck massive in proportion to the lower part of the bust. Some of the thickness of the head is explained by the placement of the aryballos-type mouth, which is set relatively low behind the horns, so that it is hardly visible from the front (figs. 1a–b). The hairy pelt on the neck is molded in thick, rounded ridges, a technique similar to the rendering of the hair on female bust-vases. The coroplast placed three raised ridges above the bull's left eye but

neglected to do the same over the right eye (figs. 1d–e). The pupils of the eyes are in relief, and black relief lines form the contour of the eyes themselves.

The molded vase is decorated in vase-painting technique with both added color and incision. The latter is used for the rendering of the forelock hair, the nostrils, the mouth, and a sixteen-pointed star design around the filling hole on the lip of the mouth.<sup>4</sup> The technique of incision on the forehead is distinctive: a fan-shaped area made up of a net of narrow, largely vertical incisions, many in lozenge-shaped enclosures.

The animal's hide and the garment are reserved in the reddish color of the clay. The underside of the bust is decorated with a double twelve-petaled rosette design executed in black glaze-paint, applied more thickly for one of the designs (fig. 1c). White is used for the white of the eyes (the pupils are black), and traces of added red can still be seen on the interior of the ears and in the nostrils. Red dots are painted between each point of the incised star design around the filling hole, and the edge of the lip is similarly decorated with red dots. The garment is decorated with a black strip down each side, perhaps representing decorative bands sewn over the seams<sup>5</sup> and along the neckline (figs. 1d–e). The strip at the throat is bordered by a line of black dots and over-painted with a white meander with red dots in each meander square. The black strip down the creature's right side is decorated with the same design, only bordered on both sides by black dots (fig. 1d). The left side

I would like to thank both Marion True of the J. Paul Getty Museum for permission and encouragement to publish this vase and particularly the staff of the Museum for allowing me to study the vase during a particularly busy period. The clear observations of Karen Manchester saved me from many blunders.

#### Abbreviations

- Brommer: F. Brommer, *Theseus: Die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1982).
- Higgins: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1959).
- Robertson: C. M. Robertson, "A Group of Plastic Vases," *JHS* 58 (1938), pp. 41–50.
- VPR: J. Ducat, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite*. Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 209 (Paris, 1966).
- Young: E. R. Young, "The Slaying of the Minotaur. Evidence

in Art and Literature for the Development of the Myth, 700–400 B.C." Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1972 (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1972).

1. H. Bloesch, ed., *Das Tier in der Antike: 400 Werke ägyptischer, griechischer, etruskischer und römischer Kunst aus privatem und öffentlichem Besitz* (Zurich, 1974), p. 46, no. 276, pl. 46.

2. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.213, gift of Leon Levy. Height: 10.4 cm, dimensions at base 5 x 4 cm. Fabric 5YR5/8 (yellowish red) (Munsell Soil Color Charts, 1975 edition, read by artificial light), slightly micaceous. Cracks down the right and left sides, perhaps along mold lines. Considerable restoration has been carried out on both horns, the vessel's mouth, and on portions of the body.

3. For these vases, see *VPR*, pp. 31–49.

4. The form of this design, but with a nine-pointed star, is illustrated in Higgins, p. 8, fig. 11.

5. Higgins, p. 16.



Figure 1a. Bull-headed plastic vase. Front. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.213.



Figure 1b. Back of bull-headed vase, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Underside of bull-headed vase, figure 1a.

of the bust, however, has traces of a white zigzag painted on the black strip, with red dots in each of the interstices (fig. 1c). This imbalance in the decoration is odd and parallels the contrasting treatment of the areas above the right and left eyes of the beast.

Over fifty years ago Martin Robertson assembled a group of plastic vases that were alike in fabric and method of decoration. This "Robertson's Group," as it is called, has not only held together throughout the years but has grown by a number of new members.<sup>6</sup> Characteristic of the vases of the group is a reddish well-prepared clay, black glaze-paint of good quality, and the use of dots and strokes of black glaze-paint in the decoration. Hansjörg Bloesch has already identified the Getty bull-vase as belonging to Robertson's Group on the basis of these criteria,<sup>7</sup> but additional evidence can be cited to solidify the identification. A duck-vase in New York (fig. 2), which belongs to the group, exhibits exactly the same style of incision as seen on the head of the bull-vase in Malibu.<sup>8</sup> In the New York example the incisions are used to indicate leg feathers, but the sim-

6. Robertson, pp. 41–50. For recent additions to the duck-vases in the Robertson's Group, see W. R. Biers, "The Dozing Duck: A Rare Plastic Vase," *Muse* 18 (1984), pp. 26–34.

7. See above (note 1).



Figure 1d. Right side of bull-headed vase, figure 1a.



Figure 1e. Left side of bull-headed vase, figure 1a.

ilarity in technique is such that the two vases might be considered as having been decorated by the same artist. Moreover, the rosette design on the underside of the Malibu figure (fig. 1c) is exactly paralleled by the same design in the same position on a boar's head that also belongs to the group.<sup>9</sup> The habit of painting a design on the flat resting surface of a protome or bust-shaped plastic vase is common in Robertson's Group.

A connection can also be made between the Getty vase and the large group of female bust-vases whose hair is rendered in a manner similar to that of the wrinkled hide of the Getty bull. East Greek plastic vases in the form of female busts have been divided by Jean Ducat into several groups, and his Group C 1 is closest to our vase in the shape of the bust and the treatment of the hair.<sup>10</sup> There is some variation within this group in the treatment of the bust portion of the vase: Often a himation is shown worn over the usual chiton, and in many cases either one or two arms are indicated. Most of these vases belong to the "Gorgonian Class" of plastic vases, following a classification established in a pioneering

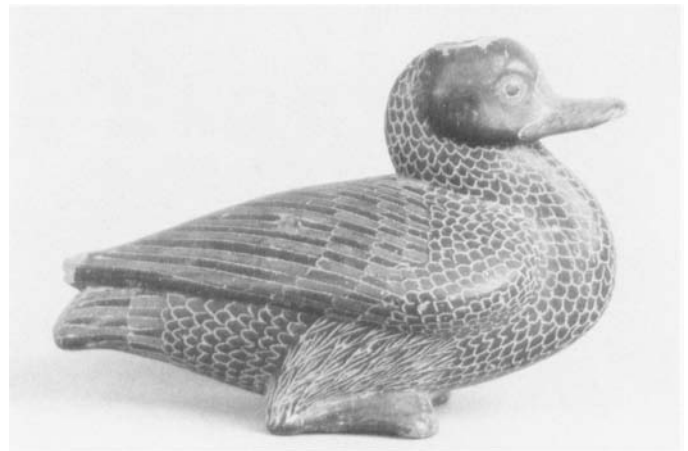


Figure 2. East Greek duck-vase. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.225.11, Rogers Fund, 1913. Photo, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

8. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.225.11, Rogers Fund, 1913. Robertson, p. 42, no. 6a. Thanks go to Joan Mertens for permission to illustrate this vase.

9. *VPR*, p. 149, no. 2; H. Bloesch, *Antike Kleinkunst in Winterthur*

(Winterthur, 1964), pl. 5, no. 16b. A boar's head in Würzburg, also belonging to Robertson's Group, has a similar but slightly more elaborate design on its base: Robertson, pl. V.5.

10. *VPR*, Séries "Normales," pp. 33–37.





Figure 3. Female bust-vase. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.2229. Photo, courtesy Walters Art Gallery.

work by M. I. Maximova in 1927.<sup>11</sup> These vases generally have a dark fabric and are decorated with added red and white. Only two vases in Ducat's classification show an alternative technique—Maximova's "Pomegranate Class," which has a whitish fabric and uses incision to a greater degree<sup>12</sup>—and these show the closest parallel to the Malibu vase in the treatment of the borders of the chiton. The bust vase in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 3) illustrates one of these.<sup>13</sup> The decoration at the throat and at the side seam is almost identical, except that the meander is incised rather than painted, and the red dots

of the Malibu vase are omitted.

No other plastic vases in the form of a bull's bust are known in Robertson's Group. Ducat lists only five bull-vases of this type overall, two of which have a simple filling hole in the forehead. The remaining three have the appropriate aryballos mouth but appear to differ significantly in its placement (between the horns) and in proportions and quality.<sup>14</sup>

The location of the workshop that produced Robertson's Group of plastic vases has always been a puzzle. Robertson first suggested a city in Etruria under Greek influence but later began to question an Italian attribution on the basis of finds from Lindos.<sup>15</sup> R. A. Higgins suggested an Ionian city in contact with Lydia, and Ducat argued strongly for a Rhodian origin.<sup>16</sup> However, the Rhodian origin of many East Greek plastic vases has been challenged, and those of Robertson's Group are no exception. Technical studies, only recently published, have suggested that at least two vases of the group are likely to have been made in Miletos.<sup>17</sup> It had also previously been reported that analysis had tentatively assigned the Gorgonian Group of plastic vases to Ephesos.<sup>18</sup> Our bull-vase has parallels to both the Gorgonian and the Pomegranate groups, as has been illustrated, and Ducat has in fact pointed out that the vases of Robertson's Group represent a synthesis of the characteristics of both these groups.<sup>19</sup>

The date of Robertson's Group is placed by Ducat in the period 600–580 B.C. He assigns a similar date to the female bust-vases of the Pomegranate Group that show similarities to the bull-vase in the treatment of the chiton, and Ducat's chronology has been upheld in a separate study of the chronology of the female bust-vases by Otfried von Vacano.<sup>20</sup>

A bull-headed figure depicted wearing what appears to be a chiton immediately brings to mind the Minotaur, whose appearance is known from the many representations of his struggle with Theseus.<sup>21</sup> The earliest repre-

11. M. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, vol. 1, M. Carsow, trans. (Paris, 1927), pp. 174–175.

12. For the Pomegranate Class, see Maximova (note 11), p. 173. For the two examples, *VPR*, p. 36, e, nos. 29, 30. Helmeted head-vases also exist in both techniques, see W. R. Biers, "A Helmeted Ionian," *JWalt* 42–43 (1984–1985), pp. 2–5.

13. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.2229. *JWalt* 24 (1961), pp. 42–44, figs. 4–5; *VPR*, p. 36, no. 30. I would like to thank Ellen Reeder Williams for permission to illustrate this vase.

14. *VPR*, p. 104, types G and H. Plastic vases in the form of bull protomes, rather than busts, are also known from East Greece, *VPR*, pp. 102–103.

15. Robertson, pp. 45–50, and *idem*, in same volume, p. 255.

16. Higgins, p. 32; *VPR*, pp. 158–160.

17. R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriote Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986), pp. 671–673.

18. R. H. Higgins, "Some East Greek Plastic Vases and Figurines," *Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (London, 1979), pp. 204–205.

19. *VPR*, p. 167.

20. For the dating of Robertson's Group, see *VPR*, pp. 159–160; for the female busts, see pp. 44–46, 168 and O. von Vacano, "Zur Chronologie der rhodischen Büstenvasen," *BjB* 176 (1976), p. 38 (B I a and b), p. 43.

21. A discussion of the representations of this Theseus myth in art and of the various bull-headed men in Greek art can be found in Young. See also Brommer, pp. 35–64.

22. Brommer, pl. 26.

23. For example, see the short garment worn by the Minotaur on the Olympia shield band reliefs: E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*. Olympische Forschungen, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1950), pp. 129–132. For illustrations of the major examples: Brommer, p. 41, figs. 5a–f.

sensation of the story still seems to be that on a Cycladic relief-amphora in Basel, dated to the second or third quarter of the seventh century, in which males and females in a line brandish stones at a hoofed, horselike creature, whose head is unfortunately broken away. Traces of his locks are preserved, however, and these look human, leading most scholars to conclude that this is a representation of the Minotaur.<sup>22</sup> If this odd scene does represent the Theseus and Minotaur story, evidently the Minotaur's iconography had not yet been established when the relief-amphora was made. His characteristic human-bodied, bull-headed shape does appear before the sixth century, and certainly by the sixth century he is often depicted wearing a short, belted chiton, whose edges are sometimes indicated by double lines, perhaps suggesting decoration.<sup>23</sup> The struggle with Theseus becomes extremely popular in Attic art in the sixth century but is comparatively rare elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> Examples from East Greece are difficult to find in the sixth century, although there may possibly have been an Archaic statuary group of a human grappling with a bull-headed individual, to judge from a hand grasping a horn found on Samos.<sup>25</sup> Farther to the east, architectural terracottas from Sardis and Gordion depicting a human fighting a bull-headed creature have generally been described as representations of Theseus and the Minotaur. However, George Hanfmann has argued that not all illustrations of bull-men fighting heroes need be specific representations of the Theseus myth, and he has suggested that a local legend is being illustrated, perhaps with the use of Greek or Lydian (in the case of the Gordion scene) iconographic models.<sup>26</sup> The fragments from Gordion, most likely of the second half of the sixth century, hold some interest in relationship to the Getty vase. A composite drawing of the scene (fig. 4)<sup>27</sup> shows a bearded and helmeted "Theseus" grasping the horn of the "Minotaur" with one hand while stabbing him with a crudely drawn sword. The bull-man wears a

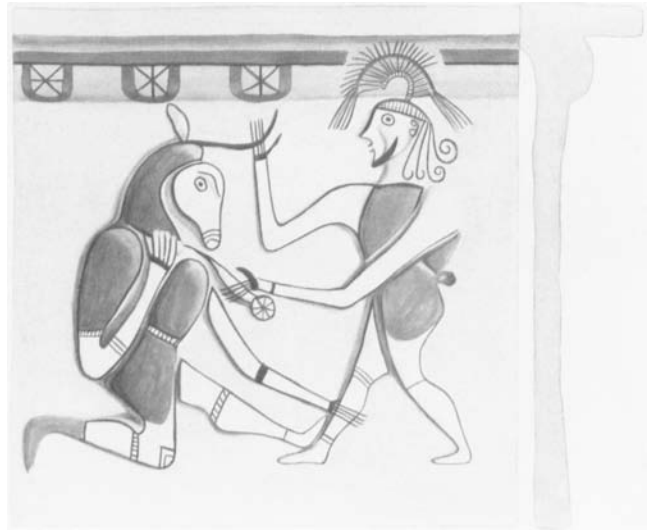


Figure 4. "Theseus and the Minotaur." Composite drawing by Marian H. Welker. Drawing courtesy Gordion Excavations, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

short-sleeved garment, thus relating him both to the mainland representations of dressed monsters and to the East Greek plastic vase in Malibu.

If there is room for doubt in the identification of scenes of humans fighting bull-headed monsters, the situation is even more difficult when it comes to interpreting the representation of a single bull-headed creature. There are a number of these in early Greek art, beginning in the eighth century and continuing through the sixth century in a variety of media and styles.<sup>28</sup> Generally, the farther away the representation is in time and space from the flowering of the myth in sixth-century Attica, the less likely scholars are to identify the single bull-man as the Minotaur. These creatures are generally considered by most students to be *Mischwesen* and classed with other hybrid monsters that show up in Archaic and earlier art.<sup>29</sup> Even in sixth-century Attic art,

24. According to Brommer, there are more than 320 Attic black-figure paintings on this theme alone. See his comments in "Herakles und Theseus auf Vasen in Malibu," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2. Occasional Papers on Antiquities*, 3 (Malibu, 1985), pp. 183–228.

25. Suggested by B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des Strengen Stils*. Samos, vol. 11 (Bonn, 1974), pp. 130–135, no. 64.

26. See G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Lydiaka I. Minotaur?" *HSCP* 63 (1958), pp. 65–68. Young, pp. 114–115 apparently accepts that these are representations of the Theseus and Minotaur battle. John Boardman's recent comment, "We hardly need reminding that all men with a lion need not be Herakles" ("Image and Politics in Sixth Century Athens," in H. A. G. Briijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* [Amsterdam, 1984], p. 241) can equally be taken to apply to the popular myth of Theseus and the Minotaur, especially outside Attica, where it was so

often represented in the sixth century. For discussions and illustrations of these architectural terracottas, see Å. Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (Lund, 1966), p. 70, pl. 37 (Sardis fragment); pp. 145–146, pls. 76–79. Åkerström's pl. 79 is figure 4 here.

27. Thanks go to Ellen Kohler for permission to illustrate the composite drawing by Marian H. Welker.

28. Young, pp. 85–91 treats all these various bull-men.

29. Some of the earliest bull-men appear in the eighth century as bronze figurines associated with tripods. There are also separate male figures, leading to the speculation that there may have been pairs of figures representing Theseus and his opponent. This of course touches on the larger question of whether or not specific myths were represented in the art of the Geometric period. See the comments of H.-V. Hermann, "Werkstätten geometrischer Bronzeplastik," *JdI* 79 (1964), pp. 57–59 n. 159; pp. 64–65. Young, pp. 85–86.



Figure 5. Male bust-vase. London, British Museum, 47.8–6.36. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

it is very difficult to find a representation of the Minotaur by himself; he seems to need Theseus to exist.<sup>30</sup>

A bull's head on what appears to be a woman's bust can also be seen as an odd combination of attributes not unknown in plastic vases, where the technique allows such experimentation by combining molded parts with hand-made or wheel-made attributes. Among Corinthian plastic vases, for example, the same stocky bird body can be used for birds, sirens, or strange lion-headed creatures by simply substituting different molded heads. In Robertson's Group a basic bird body

30. Brommer's exhaustive lists of representations of Theseus and the Minotaur show only a few examples of the monster represented without his opponent. Where he is shown alone, on the lips of sixth-century Attic cups, for instance, he is used as a decorative element and the myth is implied: F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed. (Marburg, 1973), pp. 226–243; idem, *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, vol. 2 (Marburg, 1974), pp. 19–22; Brommer, pp. 35–64.

31. For combinations in Corinthian plastics: J. Ducat, "Les vases plastiques corinthiens," *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 451, figs. 22–25. For combinations in Robertson's Group, Biers (note 6), p. 34 n. 15.

32. *VPR*, pp. 37–39 for the group of male vases. Our illustration is British Museum 47.8–6.36, Higgins, no. 1613. I would like to thank Susan Walker for permission to publish this photo. For the Cambridge vase, see R. V. Nicholls, "Recent Additions at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," *Archaeological Reports for 1961–1962* (Council of the

can be used for ducks, swans, owls, or cranes.<sup>31</sup> A further example of this practice can be seen in a small number of East Greek male bust-vases that combine a mustachioed head with a female bust. Figure 5 shows such an example in the British Museum. Another in Cambridge is simply a female bust with a mustache painted on, and there is a helmeted head combined with a female bust in New York. These odd combinations are often described as jokes.<sup>32</sup> Could the bull-headed bust in Malibu be seen simply as an artist's fancy, a unique creation designed to amuse, perhaps with the uneven decoration as a studied part of the wit?

If the plastic vase in Malibu is a representation of the Minotaur, then one might expect to be able to identify Theseus among contemporary East Greek plastic vases. There is nothing distinctive for Theseus among the numerous helmeted-head vases,<sup>33</sup> and the hero is generally shown bareheaded, at least in Attic art. The odd male bust-vases just mentioned, with their strange mixture of male and female attributes, do not appear to be good candidates for the young Theseus either.

It seems clear that it is difficult to identify Theseus at all in Archaic East Greek art. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to make any definite statement or to come to any specific conclusion on a subject so dimly perceived. The bull-headed plastic vase in Malibu remains unique. Does it represent the whim of its maker, or a mythological monster immediately recognizable to the buyer, even without its famous opponent, or does it represent some other strange creature, lost to us in the mists of time? It is, after all, a product of a rich, Archaic Greek civilization and as such is perhaps best thought of as representing the famous Minotaur from one of the most popular Greek myths of antiquity. One of the great cities of Asia Minor may yet produce a recognizable Theseus to go with the "Minotaur" in Malibu.

University of Missouri, Columbia

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Managing Committee of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1961), p. 50, no. 17, fig. 8. For the New York helmeted head, see *VPR*, pp. 47–48, pl. VII.1–3. For an opposite view to the possibility of potters' jokes, see E. Walter-Karydi, "Die Themen der ostionischen figürlichen Salbgefäße," *MJb* 36 (1985), pp. 7–16. This small group of male busts is not consistent within itself as to treatment of hair, which is the criterion often used for identification, nor as to representation of breasts. These inconsistencies make it unlikely that they represent any one individual, such as Theseus. Ducat suggested (*VPR*, p. 48) that perhaps the modeler of the New York helmeted vase was attempting to represent an Amazon, and a painter mistakenly added a mustache to go with the helmet. It would seem that these vases could do with more study.

33. *VPR*, pp. 7–29.

# Two Black-figure Neck-Amphorae in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Problems of Workshop and Iconography

H. A. Shapiro

The two vases that form the subject of this paper probably have stood side by side for more than two and a half millennia (figs. 1a–d, 2a–d). They were said to have been found together when they entered the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, and they remain together today in the J. Paul Getty Museum.<sup>1</sup> Quite possibly, they also traveled together in antiquity from Greece to Italy, where they were found, for they surely come from the same workshop, and several scholars have considered them the work of a single artist. But the problem of identifying that workshop has so far produced no community of opinion.

In their first publication, by Konrad Schauenburg,<sup>2</sup> the two amphorae were assigned to the Tyrrhenian Group, an Attic workshop making vases for export to Etruria from the second quarter until some time after the middle of the sixth century. In the year after their

first publication, the neck-amphorae went on view in New York, and in the accompanying checklist to the exhibition they were listed simply under “Attic Black-figure.”<sup>3</sup> A few years later Schauenburg again discussed and illustrated the two vases in the context of a broader discussion of Tyrrhenian and other Attic vases.<sup>4</sup> In 1976, however, Dietrich von Bothmer claimed the Kyknos amphora for a Euboean workshop, without further comment and without mentioning its companion.<sup>5</sup> By the time a selected catalogue of the Bareiss collection was published in 1983, both amphorae were attributed to Euboea and to the same hand.<sup>6</sup> The attribution of the Kyknos amphora to Euboea was apparently accepted by Frank Brommer,<sup>7</sup> and most recently the Judgment amphora was exhibited in Atlanta and catalogued as Euboean.<sup>8</sup> All publications have suggested a date of 570–560 B.C.

My thanks are due first to Marion True (Malibu), who encouraged me to pursue my interest in the two vases discussed here and provided excellent photographs. Robert Guy (Princeton) made several helpful comments on an earlier draft, and Dietrich von Bothmer (New York) kindly responded to my queries, but neither is responsible for the views presented here. My greatest debt is to Michalis Tiverios (Salonika), who literally watched this paper being written and generously shared his enormous knowledge of Attic black-figure in daily conversations. He is responsible for much that is right in this, but not for the mistakes. Finally, I wish to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn) for making possible my stay in Munich during which this paper was written.

## Abbreviations

- Boardman, *BSA* 1952: J. Boardman, “Pottery from Eretria,” *BSA* 47 (1952), pp. 1–48.
- Bothmer, *MMAJ* 1969: D. von Bothmer, “Euboean Black-figure in New York,” *MMAJ* 2 (1969), pp. 27–44.
- Canciani, *JdI* 1980: F. Canciani, “Eine neue Amphora aus Vulci und das Problem der pseudochalkidischen Vasen,” *JdI* 95 (1980), pp. 140–162.
- Rumpf, *CV*: A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927).
- Schauenburg, 1973: K. Schauenburg, “Parisurteil und Nessosabenteuer auf attischen Vasen hocharchaischer Zeit,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973), pp. 15–42.
- Tiverios, *Lydos*: M. A. Tiverios, *Ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργον* του (Athens, 1976).

1. Malibu 86.AE.53 (formerly S 80.AE.253) and 86.AE.52 (formerly S 80.AE.303). In this paper, the latter will be referred to for the sake of brevity as the Judgment amphora (after the principal scene on Side A, the Judgment of Paris), the former as the Kyknos amphora (after the scene of the combat of Herakles and Kyknos). Dimensions are given in *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983 (catalogue by J. Frel and M. True), no. 4 (the Judgment amphora) and checklist no. 19 (the Kyknos amphora). The Judgment amphora is also no. 18 in the checklist.

2. *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, Kunsthalle, 1968, A 12 (Judgment amphora) and A 13 (Kyknos amphora) (catalogue edited by H. May).

3. *Greek Vases and Modern Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. Bareiss*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969, no. 14 (Kyknos amphora) and no. 15 (Judgment amphora) (catalogue by D. von Bothmer and J. Bean).

4. Schauenburg, 1973, p. 22, figs. 22–23 (Judgment amphora) and pp. 26–27, figs. 33–36 (Kyknos amphora).

5. Review of H. Mommsen, *Der Affekter*, in *AJA* 80 (1976), p. 436.

6. Bareiss (note 1).

7. F. Brommer, “Herakles und Theseus auf Vasen in Malibu,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2. Occasional Papers on Antiquity*, 3 (1985), p. 205, fig. 26. The photo caption identifies the vase as “Euboeisch,” but there is no discussion of the attribution in the text.

8. *Poets and Heroes: Scenes of the Trojan War*, Atlanta, Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, 1986, no. 2 (catalogue by B. Wescoat).

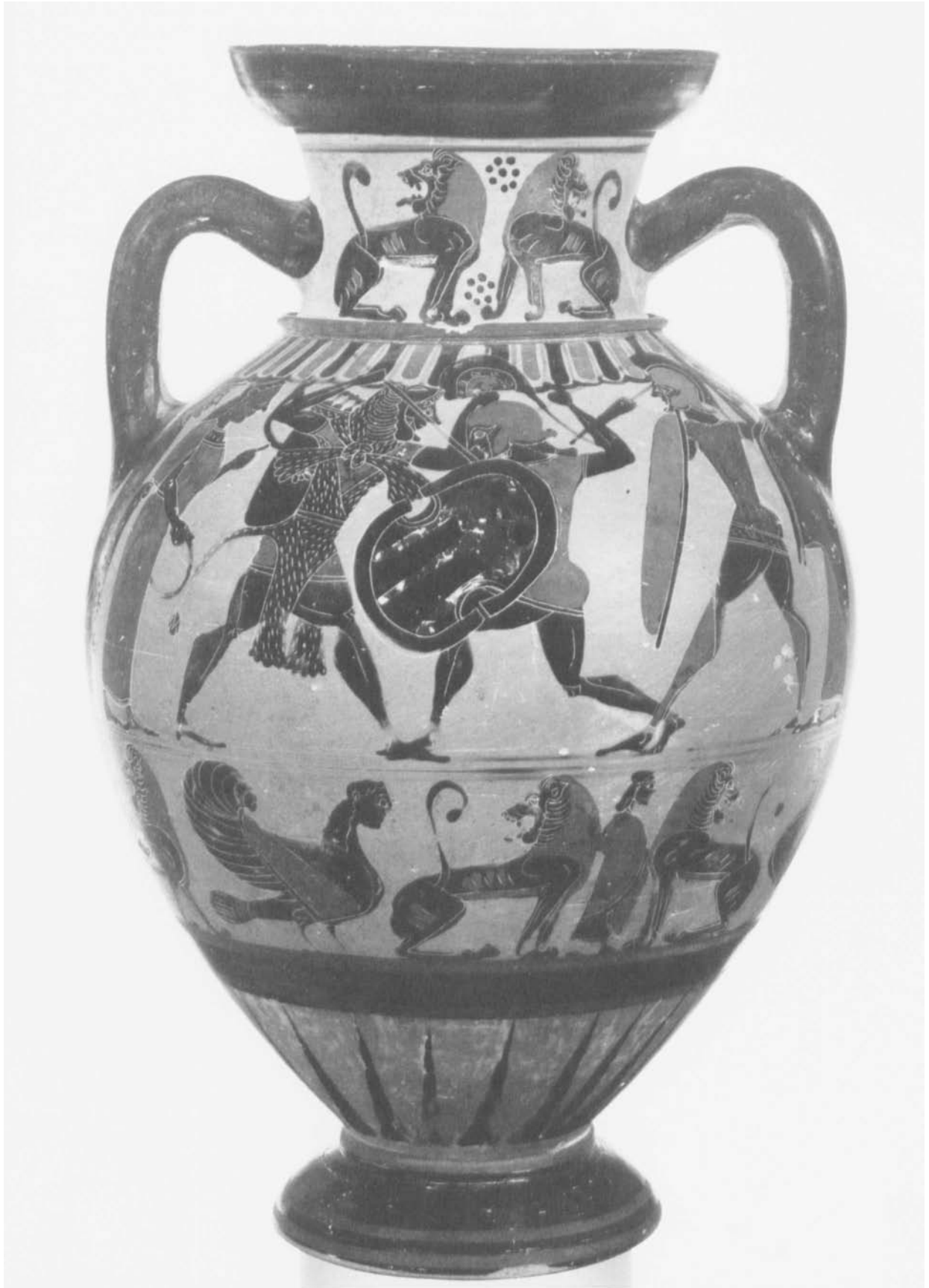


Figure 1a. Neck-amphora. Side A: Combat of Herakles and Kyknos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.53.

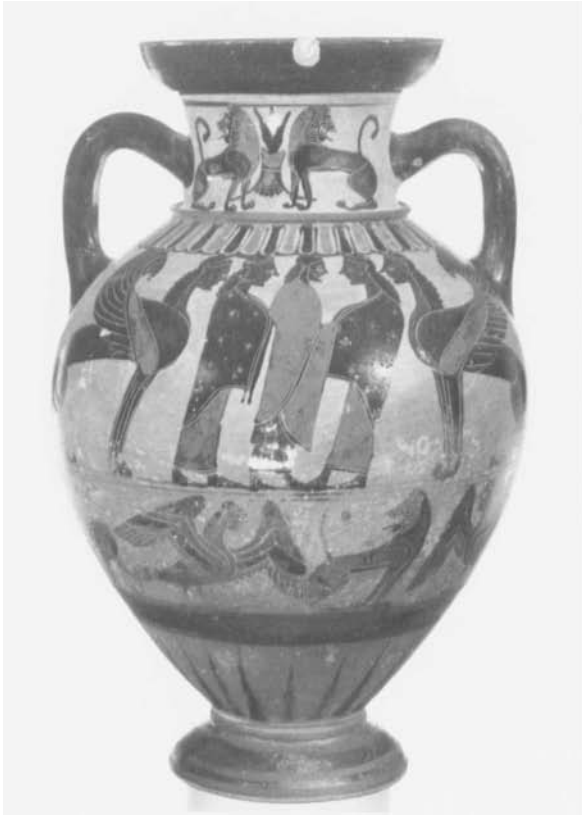


Figure 1b. Side B of figure 1a.

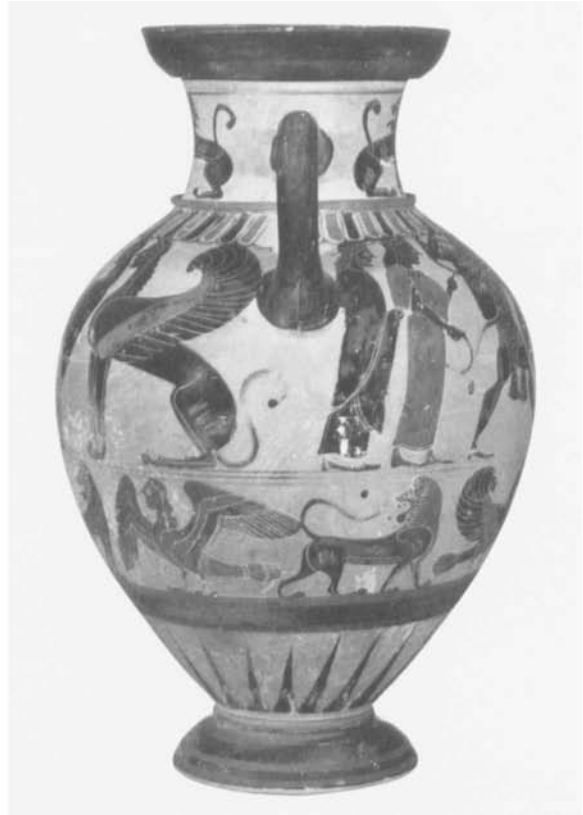


Figure 1c. Side B/A of figure 1a.

Much progress has been made in our understanding of pottery made in Eretria, on Euboea, in recent years, and our view of the "Tyrrhenian" Group has been refined, through the painter attributions of Dietrich von Bothmer,<sup>9</sup> and modified, especially by the recent work of Thomas H. Carpenter.<sup>10</sup> It is our purpose here to reopen the question of the Getty neck-amphorae and to argue that they are indeed Attic, but not of the Tyrrhenian Group. Rather, they come from a workshop that shared many characteristics with the Tyrrhenians, but had several distinctive artistic personalities of its own: the workshop of Lydos. We may start with a close description of the two vases, beginning with those features common to both.

#### SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

The shapes of the two neck-amphorae are virtually identical: ovoid, with the center of gravity falling well

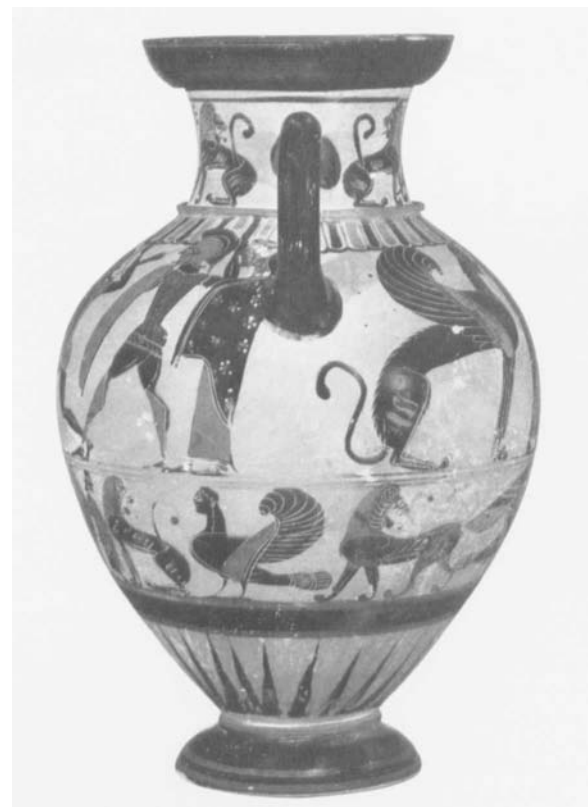


Figure 1d. Side A/B of figure 1a.

9. D. von Bothmer, "The Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Vases," *AJA* 48 (1944), pp. 161–170; "Six Hydriai," *AntK* 12 (1969). Cf. also K. Schauenburg, "Zwei neue Tyrrhenische Amphoren," *AA*, 1962, pp. 58–70.

10. "On the Dating of the Tyrrhenian Group," *OJA* 2 (1983), pp. 279–293; "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance," *OJA* 3 (1984), pp. 45–56.

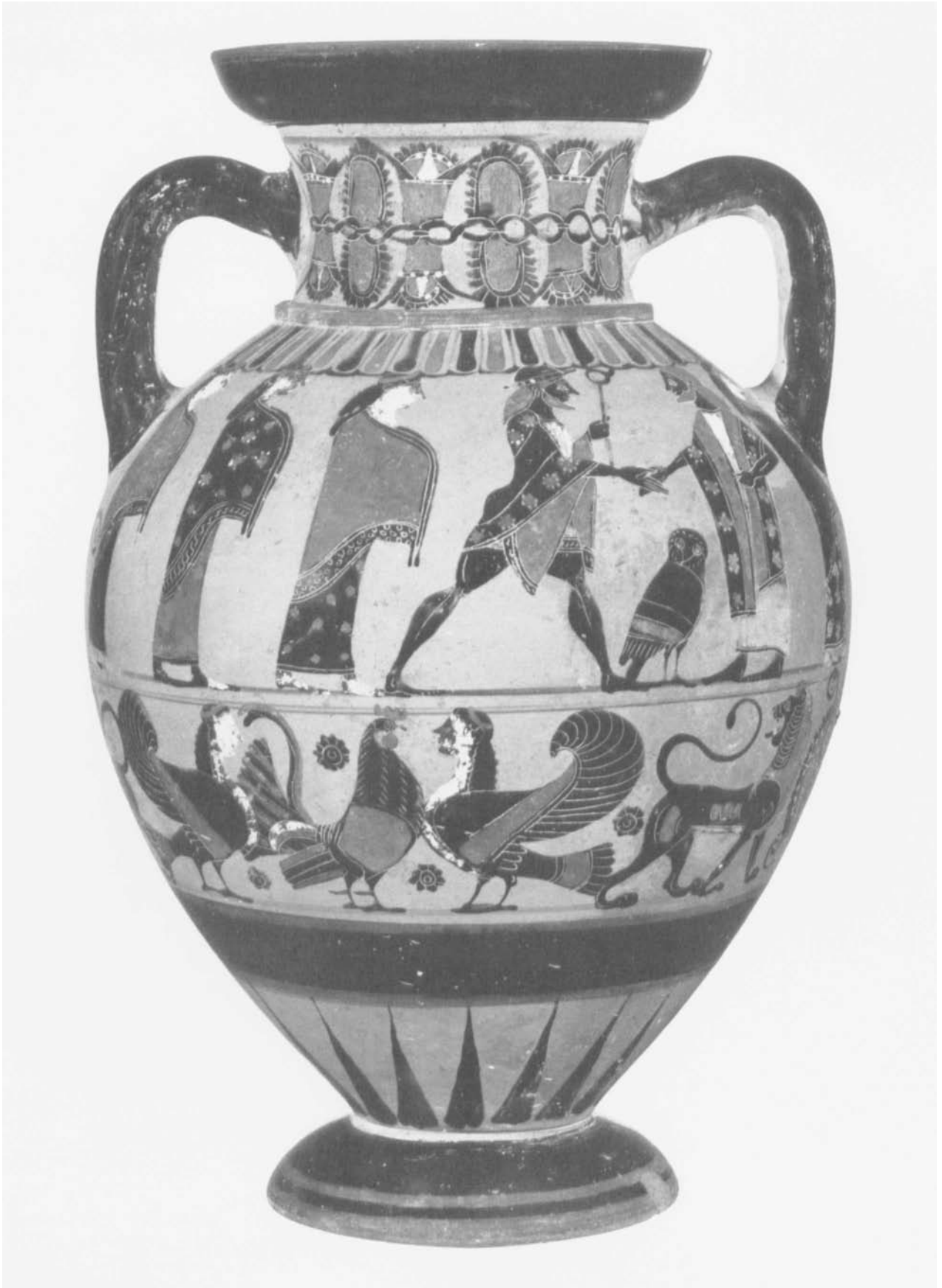


Figure 2a. Neck-amphora. Side A: Judgment of Paris. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.52.

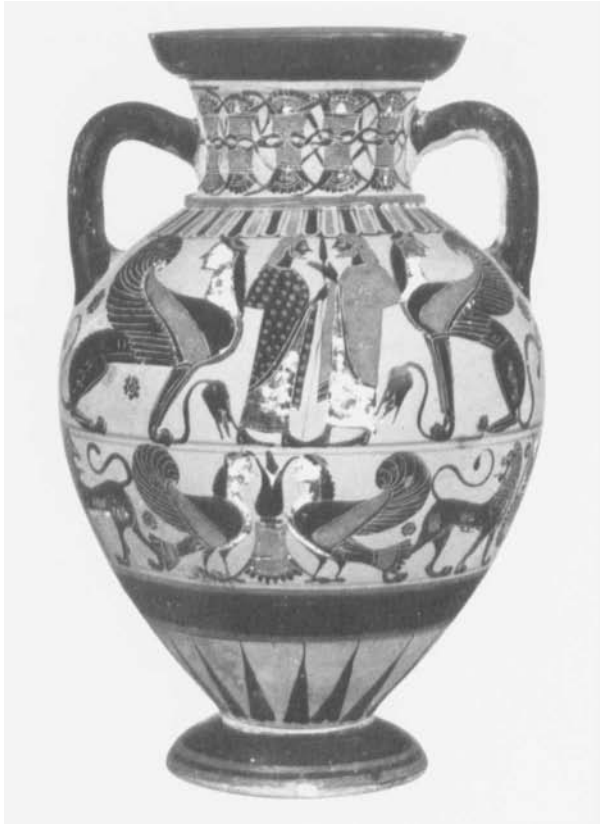


Figure 2b. Side B of figure 2a.

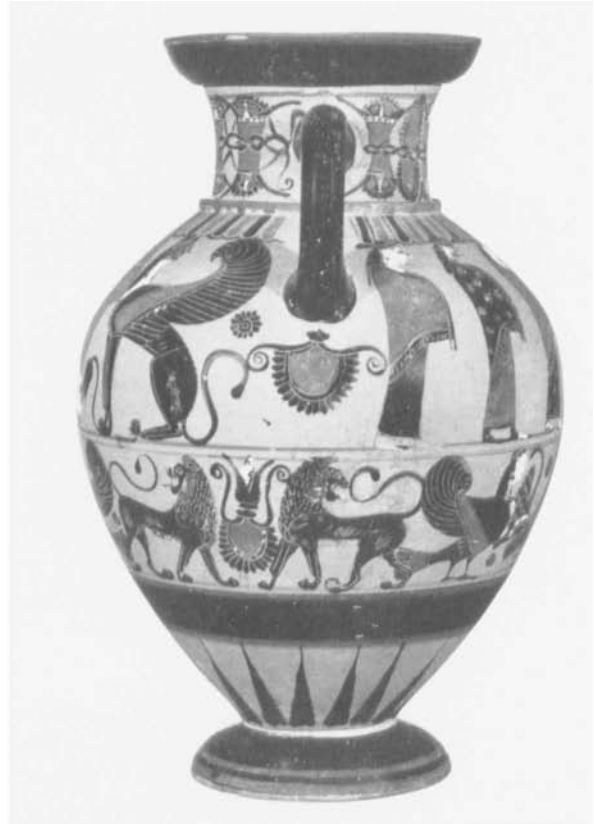


Figure 2c. Side B/A of figure 2a.

below the handle roots, giving them a sturdy but pleasingly rounded appearance. Below an echinus mouth, the neck is relatively broad. The handles are round and reserved on the underside. A fillet marks the juncture between neck and shoulder, and another ring separates the body from the echinus foot.

Also common to both amphorae is the articulation of the surface, even if most of the details of ornament are different. Above the principal figure panel is a row of tongues, alternating red and black. The figures stand on a red groundline, and slightly below, a second line marks the top of the animal frieze. Beneath the animals, a black band is framed above and below with red. Above the foot is a ray pattern, and near the outer edge of the foot itself is a reserved band.

The ovoid neck-amphora was an extremely popular form in Attic workshops throughout the second quarter of the sixth century. It is especially characteristic of “Tyrrhenians,” but by no means limited to them, nor did it originate in the “Tyrrhenian” workshop.<sup>11</sup> Lydos

11. Beazley attributed a fragment by Sophilos to an ovoid neck-amphora: Oxford G 128.20; *ABV* 38.4; G. Bakir, *Sophilos* (Mainz, 1981), pl. 65, fig. 127. In the period circa 570–560, it is the favorite shape of, for example, the Camtar Painter: *ABV* 84; *Paralipomena*, p. 31; D. von Bothmer, “The Camtar Painter,” *AntK* 2 (1959), pp. 5–9.

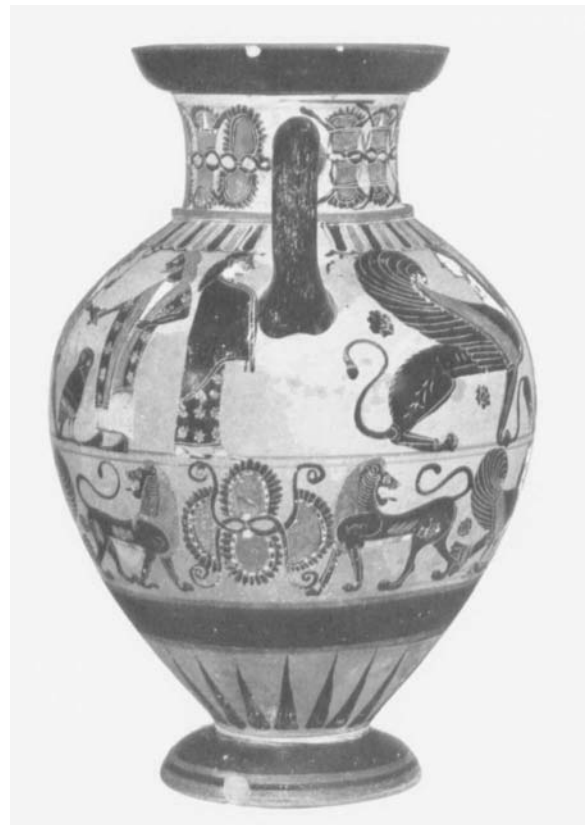


Figure 2d. Side A/B of figure 2a.





Figure 3a. Neck-amphora by Lydos. Side A. Florence 70995. Photos, courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana, Gabinetto Fotografico.



Figure 3b. Side B of figure 3a.



Figure 3c. Side B/A of figure 3a.

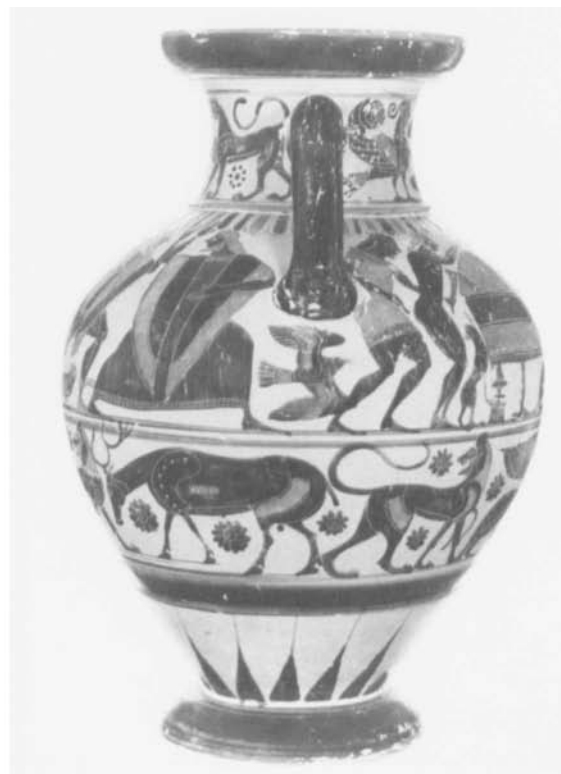


Figure 3d. Side A/B of figure 3a.



Figure 4a. Neck-amphora. Side A. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5964, gift of Eugene Holman. Photos, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

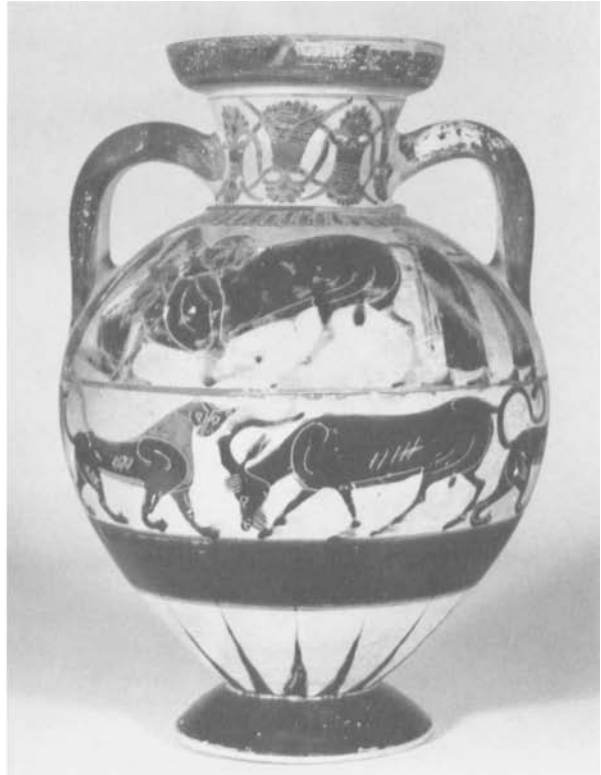


Figure 4b. Side B of figure 4a.

decorated several ovoid neck-amphorae early in his career (figs. 3a–d),<sup>12</sup> but by the mid-sixth century the shape was already going out of fashion in Attica. After this time, only a few old-fashioned artists tried to revive it, most notably the Affecter.<sup>13</sup> The shape was also imitated outside Attica, perhaps above all by workshops catering to an Etruscan clientele, who, on the evidence of the “Tyrrhenians,” were inordinately fond of it.<sup>14</sup>

The articulation of the Getty neck-amphorae—the fairly tall figure-zone extending to below the middle of the vase, and a single animal frieze beneath—is not at all characteristic of the “Tyrrhenians.” These generally have more elongated proportions, to accommodate two or more rows of animals, and the figure-frieze is narrower, sometimes extending only slightly below the handle-roots.<sup>15</sup> An early example of the arrangement on our amphora is found on a vase in New York dated circa 570

(figs. 4a–b), which, as Beazley wrote, “bears some resemblance to the work of the Ptoon Painter.”<sup>16</sup> Here the neck is pinched, giving the body a squatter, more bulbous look, and the disparity between figural and animal frieze is not so pronounced. On the Getty amphorae, which are at least ten years later, the animal band has become more clearly subsidiary, while the slight elongation of the vase itself also increases the size of the main figure panel.

Among vases contemporary with the Getty amphorae, several come extremely close in shape, proportions, size, and relationship of the figural and animal friezes. The finest and most ambitious of these is the amphora in Florence attributed by Beazley to Lydos (figs. 3a–d), except for the animal frieze, which he considered “definitely not Lydan.”<sup>17</sup> On the two other ovoid neck-amphorae attributed to him, Lydos did not follow the

12. *ABV* 110,30–32. We shall return to each of these vases below.

13. H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Mainz, 1975), esp. pp. 8–9.

14. Canciani, *JdI* 1980, p. 146. Almost all pseudo-Chalkidian vases are of this form, but they are probably not earlier than about 530 B.C. (cf. Canciani, p. 154).

15. Some good examples are illustrated by Schauenburg, 1973, pp. 18–19, 21, 24–25, 30–31, 34–37. Schauenburg, 1973, p. 38 n. 4 lists six “Tyrrhenians” with one animal frieze beneath the main scene.

16. New York 5964; *Paralipomena*, p. 31; *CVA* New York 4, pls. 1–2.

17. Florence 70995; *ABV* 110,32; Tiverios, *Lydos*, pls. 22–23. Beazley hesitated over the vase and wrote cautiously, “The chief pictures, and the animals on the neck are thoroughly Lydan and seem to be by Lydos himself . . .” The attribution to Lydos is accepted by Tiverios, *Lydos*, pp. 36–38.



Figure 5. Fragmentary neck-amphora by Lydos. Side B. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 10634. Photo, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris.

same scheme, but omitted the animal frieze (fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> His close “companion,” the Painter of Vatican 309, however, used it twice, on his name vase (fig. 6)<sup>19</sup> and on another vase, in the Villa Giulia (fig. 7).<sup>20</sup> An amphora in Munich (figs. 8a–b), which Beazley considered very close to early Lydos, also belongs here.<sup>21</sup> The only significant difference among these vases is the treatment of the neck, sometimes with animals (the Florence, Villa Giulia, and Munich amphorae), sometimes only lotus and palmette (the name vase of the Painter of Vatican 309). The two Getty amphorae, which also differ from one another in this respect, though otherwise they are so similar, seem to confirm the flexibility in the handling of neck ornament in this period.<sup>22</sup>

#### THE KYKNOS AMPHORA

Let us now take a closer look at each of the Getty vases, starting with the Kyknos amphora (figs. 1a–d).

18. Louvre E 868, *ABV* 110,30, Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 3; Louvre C 10634, *ABV* 110,31, *CVA* Louvre 12, pl. 127.

19. Vatican 309; *ABV* 121,7; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, fasc. 4 (Rome, 1925–1939), pl. 31.

20. *ABV* 121,6; *JbBerlMus* 1 (1959), pp. 15–17.

21. Munich 1435; *ABV* 114,1; *CVA* Munich 7, pl. 325. Robert Guy has suggested to me that the two Getty neck-amphorae may be by the same hand as this vase.

22. Lydos himself used a lotus-palmette on the neck of one ovoid neck-amphora (Louvre E 868, above [note 18]). The neck of the other is lost.

23. Above (note 21).

24. Above (note 17). Lydos’ “old-fashioned companion,” the Painter of Louvre F 6, uses this dot cluster, too, e.g., on the column-krater Oxford 190; *ABV* 124,16; *CVA* Oxford 2, pl. 12.4. It occurs at least twice in the work of painters a little earlier than Lydos, on the name vase of the Omaha Painter (below [note 87]; fig. 17a) and on a

Each side of the neck is occupied by a pair of antithetical lions, their heads averted. Front and back are distinguished only by the filling ornament: on Side A, two dot clusters, consisting of a single dot surrounded by a circle of six or seven dots; on Side B, an inverted lotus and palmette. The lion motif in this position is most unusual, and the only close parallel I am aware of for such neck ornament is on the Munich amphora close to Lydos, where the two lions are somewhat further apart and a sphinx has been squeezed in between (figs. 8a–b).<sup>23</sup> The dot clusters are similar to those on the neck of Side A on Lydos’ Florence amphora (fig. 3a), where they fill the spaces among two panthers and a flying Siren.<sup>24</sup> Dietrich von Bothmer has called attention to the prevalence of the dot patterns on Euboean vases,<sup>25</sup> but these do not have quite the same arrangement as that used by Lydos, his circle, and the painter of the Kyknos amphora.<sup>26</sup> The lotus between lions on Side B of the Kyknos amphora (fig. 1b) does remind one of a neck-amphora proposed tentatively as Eretrian by Darrell Amyx and later, with more conviction, by Bothmer, which has panthers instead of lions and has moved the group from the neck to the body.<sup>27</sup>

The animal frieze on the Kyknos amphora is composed of lions and Sirens, mostly in alternation, except for a remarkable group of a little man between two antithetical lions (fig. 1a). There is no other filling ornament, such as the rosettes and palmettes and lotus buds on Lydos’ amphora in Florence (figs. 3a–d). The most distinctive feature is the little man, who recalls the extraordinary *lekanis* in Palermo, which Beazley considered close to Lydos’ early work and grouped with the neck-amphora in Munich (figs. 8a–b).<sup>28</sup> Two elaborate zones on the lid of this *lekanis* include anywhere from one to five figures sandwiched between sphinxes and lions. Some of the human figures, as Christoph Clairmont pointed out, appear to be excerpted from a Judgment of Paris, but others are purely decorative.<sup>29</sup> Lydos’ compan-

neck-amphora related to the Painter of Akropolis 606: *Antichità della Collezione Guarini* (Galatina, 1984), pl. 29 and p. 39 (L. Todisco). The vase was found at San Donato, near Taranto. Yet another example is an unpublished cup from Sindos brought to my attention by M. Tiverios.

25. Review of J. J. Pollitt and S. M. Burke, eds., *Greek Vases at Yale*, in *ArtB* 58 (1976), p. 614. Cf. Bothmer, *MMAJ*, 1969, p. 30.

26. On the shoulder of the Euboean *lekythos* at Yale (Bothmer, *MMAJ*, 1969, p. 40), two of the clusters are in the form of a square, the third of a circle without the central dot. The Lydan pattern does appear on the hydria in Manchester (*AJA* 48 [1944], p. 253) that Beazley made the name vase of his (Attic) Atalanta Group (*ABV* 91, below, 3); Bothmer, *MMAJ*, 1969, p. 30, would now assign it to Euboea.

27. Boston 13.75; D. A. Amyx, “The Gorgon Hydria from Eretria,” *AJA* 45 (1941), p. 69 n. 38; Bothmer, *MMAJ*, 1969, p. 31.

28. Palermo (no inventory number); *ABV* 114,2; A. Rumpf, *Saknides* (Leipzig, 1937), pl. 6.

29. C. Clairmont, in Beazley, *ABV* 115.

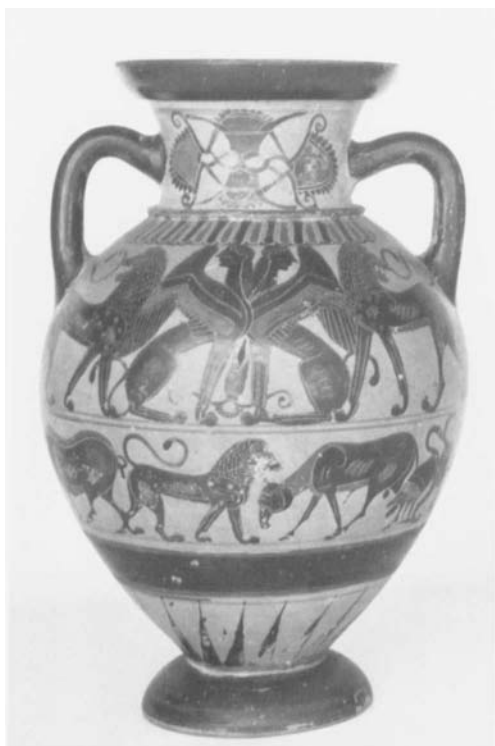


Figure 6. Neck-amphora. Name vase of the Painter of Vatican 309. Side A. Photo, courtesy Musei Vaticani.



Figure 7. Neck-amphora by the Painter of Vatican 309. Side A. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia. Photo, DAI, Rome.



Figure 8a. Neck-amphora. Side A. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 1435. Photos, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.

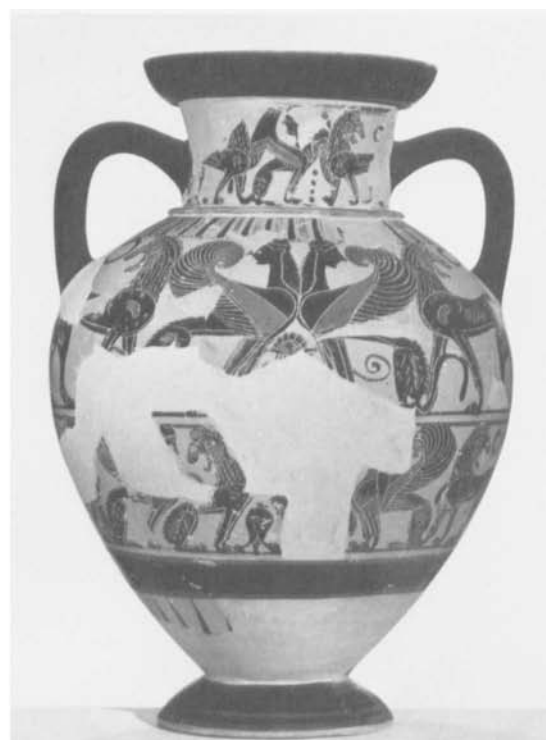


Figure 8b. Side B of figure 8a.



Figure 9. Neck-amphora by the Painter of London B 76. Side A. Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, 52.148. Photo, DAI, Rome.



Figure 10. Amphora signed by Lydos. Side B. Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 29. Photo, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris.

ion, the Painter of Louvre F 6, used a similar composition, a youth in long mantle between antithetical sphinxes, as the principal scene on one of his neck-amphorae,<sup>30</sup> and the Painter of Vatican 309 put this group on the neck of his Villa Giulia amphora (fig. 7).

30. Munich 1446; *ABV* 128,84; *CVA* Munich 7, pl. 327.1–2. A further link between this vase and the Kyknos amphora is the dot cluster between the lions' legs on the reverse.

31. For full lists, cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*<sup>3</sup> (Marburg, 1973), pp. 102–107. On the iconography, see F. Vian, "Le combat d'Héraklès et de Kyknos d'après les documents figurés du VI<sup>e</sup> et du V<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REA* 47 (1945), pp. 5–32, and, most recently, H. A. Shapiro, "Herakles and Kyknos," *AJA* 88 (1984), pp. 523–529, with earlier references.

32. Taranto 52.148; *Paralipomena*, p. 33,13 bis; *ASAtene* 33–34 (1955–1956), p. 34, fig. 34 (top left). On this vase, cf. also E. Paribeni, in *Lavinium*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1975), p. 378, who dates it circa 570. On the painter, see now the comments of H.-P. Isler, "Un' idria del Pittore di Londra B 76 con il riscatto di Ettore," *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 15 (1986), pp. 102–108.

#### THE COMBAT OF HERAKLES AND KYKNOS

Herakles' duel with Kyknos occurs on well over a hundred Attic vases, as well as on about half a dozen non-Attic ones, from the second quarter of the sixth century to the early years of the fifth.<sup>31</sup> The Getty

33. Louvre F 29; *ABV* 109,21; Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 18.

34. Cf. Brommer (note 7), p. 203. Though Athena often fights vigorously alongside Herakles, an unarmed Athena is not unknown in later Kyknos scenes: e.g., the neck-amphora Worcester 1966.63; *Attic Vase-Painting in New England Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1972, no. 19 (catalogue by D. M. Buitron).

35. On this figure, which occurs in a half dozen other Kyknos scenes, cf. Shapiro (note 31), p. 527, with n. 55. On the Getty amphora, Brommer (note 7), p. 205 wanted to call her Aphrodite, on the analogy of Euphronios' Kyknos krater in the Hunt collection, where the goddess is present behind Ares (and labeled): J. E. Tompkins, ed., *Wealth of the Ancient World*, Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, 1983, no. 6 (catalogue entry by J. Cody). But on earlier vases, this woman is sometimes elderly and cannot be Aphrodite, as Martin Robertson had pointed out: "Euphronios at the Getty,"

amphora, which, as I believe, should be dated circa 560 or slightly after, must be reckoned as one of the very earliest versions. The only ones that could plausibly be a little older (though there are, of course, no absolute dates in this period, and relative dating on the basis of style can be hazardous, when differences are less than a decade) are an ovoid neck-amphora by the Painter of London B 76 (fig. 9)<sup>32</sup> and Lydos' signed amphora in Paris (fig. 10), one of his very earliest works.<sup>33</sup> The Taranto amphora (fig. 9) has a number of interesting resemblances to that in Malibu. The woman behind Herakles, whom we must take to be Athena, is on both vases curiously not characterized in any way as a martial goddess, but holds only a simple wreath.<sup>34</sup> On the Taranto vase, she is balanced by a woman standing behind Kyknos and gesturing as if in distress, probably to be identified as his wife or mother.<sup>35</sup> She recurs on the Getty amphora, behind Ares, as a "penguin woman," her arms hidden beneath her cloak (fig. 1d). The fuller scene on the Getty amphora, with four subsidiary figures instead of two, can be explained in part by the broader proportions of the vase and the fact that the figure zone stretches all the way from one handle to the other, whereas on the Taranto vase it is a much narrower, framed rectangle. It is the Taranto amphora that is rather eccentric in terms of the later iconographic tradition of Herakles and Kyknos, in which Ares is nearly indispensable, while "Pelopeia" seldom appears. The painter seems simply to have adapted the basic scheme of a fight with two women onlookers, which he had used for the anonymous combat on another neck-amphora, in London.<sup>36</sup> For the Taranto amphora, Beazley even hesitated over the identification as Kyknos, preferring to call the subject "Herakles in battle," but the new Getty amphora, with its almost identical, unarmed Athena, confirms the identification of the vase in Taranto as an early, pre-canonical version of the Kyknos story.<sup>37</sup>

There are, to be sure, other striking differences be-

tween these two scenes. On the Getty amphora, all three combatants fight with a spear, while on the Taranto vase only Kyknos has a spear, and Herakles dispatches him with a sword. In fact there is no consistency in the choice of Herakles' weapon on later Kyknos vases, though the spears on the Getty amphora suggest a familiarity with the best-known Archaic literary version of the story, the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*.<sup>38</sup> Another feature may also point to the same poetic source: the Boeotian shield carried by Kyknos, bearing as insigne a large white tripod. In the *Aspis*, Kyknos is said to have preyed upon pilgrims making their way to Delphi (478–480), and Herakles opposes him at the instance of Apollo (68–69). This is the earliest Kyknos vase that displays the tripod prominently as a shield device. Its prevalence in later Kyknos scenes does suggest a deliberate reference to Delphi, though of course the same device occurs in many other contexts as well.<sup>39</sup>

In general, then, the version on the Getty amphora fits comfortably within the Attic iconography of Herakles and Kyknos. Unusual is the presence of Hermes at the extreme left (fig. 1c).<sup>40</sup> Clearly his main compositional function is to maintain symmetry among the figures and the alternating arrangement of onlookers by gender. Non-Attic Kyknos scenes always depart in some significant way from the conventions of Attic iconography. So, for example, a Corinthian fragment depicts part of the sanctuary where the combat took place, a detail that may also derive from the *Aspis* but that had no influence in Attica.<sup>41</sup> On a Euboean lekythos at Yale, the combatants are flanked by four anonymous onlookers, two draped men and two nude youths (one of whom does not even look on, but turns away).<sup>42</sup> Attic Kyknos scenes never have extraneous "filler" figures; all the "extras" have some involvement in the narrative. A "Chalkidian" amphora in Munich (on which Herakles' and Kyknos' names are both inscribed) gives only the monomachy (fig. 11), with no other figures at all, a scheme also attested in Attic black-figure.<sup>43</sup> The "Chalkidian"

*GettyMusJ* 9 (1981), p. 34. She is most conveniently named Pelopeia, Kyknos' mother (Apollodoros 2.77).

36. London 977-21.2; *ABV* 86,8; *CVA* British Museum 3, pl. 35.1.

37. On the variant traditions of the myth, see now R. Janko, "The Shield of Heracles and the Legend of Cycnus," *CQ* 36 (1986), pp. 38–59.

38. Cf. J. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter's cup in London," *GettyMusJ* 1 (1974), p. 8 and, more generally, on the influence of the *Aspis* on Attic vase-painters, Shapiro (note 31), pp. 524–527.

39. Cf. H. A. Shapiro, "Herakles, Kyknos and Delphi," in H. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1985), pp. 271–273. On the tripod as shield device, see A. Vaerst, "Griechische Schildzeichen vom 8. bis zum ausgehenden 6. Jh." (Ph.D. diss., Salzburg, 1980), pp. 486–500 and, for Kyknos, p. 320.

40. For Hermes behind Athena in a scene of Herakles and Kyknos,

cf. the hydria in the Manner of the Antimenes Painter, Naples 2777, *ABV* 276,3; *CVA* Naples 1, pl. 39.3.

41. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3410, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), p. 330, fig. 45 bis.

42. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913.110, J. J. Pollitt and S. M. Burke, *Greek Vases at Yale*, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1975, no. 31 (catalogue entry by J. Blanchard)—there considered Attic; for the reattribution to Euboea, cf. Bothmer *MMAJ* 1969, p. 614 and now J. P. Uhlenbrock, ed., *Herakles: Passage of the Hero through a Thousand Years of Classical Art*, Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, 1986, p. 101 (catalogue entry by H. A. Shapiro).

43. Munich 592, most recently illustrated and discussed by R. Lullies, "Bemerkungen zu den 'chalkidischen' Bauchamphoren," *RA*, 1982, p. 47, figs. 1–2.



Figure 11. "Chalkidian" amphora. Side A. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 592. Photo, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.



Figure 12. Neck-amphora. Side A. San Antonio Museum of Art 86-134G[32], gift of Gilbert Denman, Jr. Photo, courtesy the San Antonio Museum Association, Texas.

artist portrays Herakles armed as a hoplite, as the literary sources might lead us to expect, while on Attic vases he invariably wears the lion-skin, so powerful was this artistic convention among Attic vase-painters.<sup>44</sup>

We may add to the growing list of Kyknos scenes in non-Attic black-figure an unusual neck-amphora recently acquired by the San Antonio Museum of Art (fig. 12).<sup>45</sup> The ovoid form is not far from that of the Getty amphorae and others from the workshop of Lydos, but other differences are great. Most noticeably, the figure panel is quite narrow, leaving large black-glaze segments in the handle areas. This trait occurs most notably on several so-called pseudo-Chalkidian neck-amphorae,

such as the one in Vulci recently published by Fulvio Canciani.<sup>46</sup> The figure style of the San Antonio amphora is reminiscent of "Tyrrhenian" vases, but other elements argue against this attribution, such as the absence of animals and the band of palmettes beneath the figure panel. The motif of Kyknos collapsing rather awkwardly and looking back toward Herakles, who charges at him with drawn sword, somewhat recalls the combat on the "Chalkidian" amphora in Munich (fig. 11), with one curious difference. Apart from his helmet, the San Antonio Kyknos is entirely (and implausibly) nude. This is also quite foreign to the Attic iconography of Kyknos and makes one suspect that the vase may have

44. Cf. Boardman (note 38), p. 8.

45. San Antonio Museum Association inv. 86-134G[32], published here with the kind permission of Carlos Picón. The reverse shows a frontal quadriga.

46. Canciani, *JdI* 1980, p. 141, figs. 1-2. For other examples among "Chalkidian" vases, cf. Rumpf, *CV*, pls. 97-101.

47. Heidelberg 5715; R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in*

*der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964), pp. 1-10 and pls. 1-5.

48. Cf. Janko (note 37), pp. 48-50.

49. For a good recent summary of views on this problem, cf. Lullies (note 43), pp. 53-56 and the bibliography collected by Canciani, *JdI*, 1980, p. 147 n. 15.

50. Louvre C 10634 (note 18).

51. Above (note 21).

originated in a workshop in Etruria that knew the subject from imported Attic and other vases, but created its own variation. A good parallel might be the Pontic amphora in Heidelberg, which seems to contain an echo of the Kyknos myth, but in a version that an Athenian viewer would have been hard-pressed to recognize.<sup>47</sup> The San Antonio amphora also willfully ignores the Attic tradition by omitting Athena, who otherwise always seconds Herakles when Ares supports his son Kyknos. Interestingly, the new amphora thereby illustrates, whether intentionally or not, better than any Attic vase, an early version of the Kyknos story that was so famous that it became proverbial: When Herakles first confronted Kyknos, the hero had to back away because Ares opposed him too, and not even Herakles could go against two at once: οὔτε Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς δύο. This version seems to have originated with the poet Stesichoros, a native of Himera, on the north shore of Sicily.<sup>48</sup> This is not far from Rhegion, which now seems to be the best candidate for the home of “Chalkidian” vases,<sup>49</sup> and the Munich “Chalkidian” amphora does indeed render the monomachy of Herakles and Kyknos much as Stesichoros would have described it. Is it too farfetched to think that a painter in northern Italy might have chosen to depict the earlier episode in the Stesichorean version, when Herakles went against two at once? Kyknos’ nudity would then suggest not simply that he is vulnerable, but that he is protected by his divine father. Though his situation looks precarious indeed and Herakles’ onslaught fearsome, it may be significant that he has not been wounded like the Kyknos on the Munich amphora, who bleeds profusely.

The reverse of the Getty Kyknos amphora (fig. 1b) presents a quiet gathering common on Attic vases of this period, combining humans and monsters in intimate but not very meaningful proximity. Here a bearded man stands between nearly identical “penguin women,” and the threesome is surrounded by a pair of sphinxes. These seem almost to be eavesdropping on the conversation, their pointy noses virtually pressing against the ladies’ long hair. Again the best parallels are in the work of Lydos and his companions, for example the reverse of Lydos’ early neck-amphora in the Louvre (fig. 5).<sup>50</sup> The sphinxes there, however, are a different breed, more bestial, less elegant, and they turn their

heads away. But there is one remarkably similar detail, in the mantles of the male figures: an incised volute to indicate where the fabric is rolled up over the concealed right hand. On side A of the Munich amphora, which has so many other similarities with the Getty vases (fig. 8a),<sup>51</sup> four “penguin” women stand in a row between inturned sphinxes.

The scene of Herakles and Kyknos on the Getty amphora, aside from supporting the Attic origin of the vase, may also help to localize it in a workshop. First, it confirms our suspicion that the amphora and its companion should not be placed in the “Tyrrhenian” workshop, despite the many elements that they share with the “Tyrrhenians,” for the subject of Kyknos did not interest the painters of “Tyrrhenian” vases and is not found once in their work. Rather, the subject leads us once again to the workshop of Lydos, where we have already found the closest parallels for shape and ornament. In the years around the mid-sixth century, when depictions of this myth were still relatively few, Lydos himself was clearly instrumental in promoting it and shaping its iconography. His earlier version, on the Louvre amphora (fig. 10),<sup>52</sup> is probably a little earlier than the Getty amphora; about 550 he painted a more ambitious version on a plate to be dedicated on the Akropolis.<sup>53</sup> Then, near the end of his career, he created what might be termed the “definitive” version, on the beautiful oinochoe potted by Kolchos and now in East Berlin.<sup>54</sup> Also attributable to Lydos’ workshop are a fragmentary krater found on Delos and a remarkable fragment from an amphora, in Cortona.<sup>55</sup> The latter is linked to the early work of Lydos by the tall neck (now mostly lost), which on the Cortona amphora bore a figured frieze. The style is also close to Lydos’, but more exuberant, less refined. This vase should join the Louvre, Taranto (fig. 9), and Getty amphorae, as well as a cup related to the C Painter,<sup>56</sup> as the earliest preserved Attic versions of Herakles and Kyknos.

Within this group, two distinct iconographical traditions can be discerned. On his Louvre amphora (fig. 10), Lydos introduced the majestic central figure of Zeus striding between his two sons in combat. He repeated this figure on his Akropolis plate and on the Kolchos oinochoe, and it exerted a strong influence on the many painters who took up the story in the last third of the century.<sup>57</sup> The Cortona fragment also includes Zeus,

52. Louvre 29 (note 33).

53. Akropolis 2410, *ABV* 111,10; Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 82.

54. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F1732, *ABV* 110,37; Tiverios, *Lydos*, pls. 57–58.

55. Delos 593, *ABV* 122,22; C. Dugas, *Fouilles de Délos*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1935), pl. 44. The Cortona amphora: E. Paribeni, “Un gruppo di frammenti attici a figure nere da Cortona,” *StEtr* 40 (1972),

pp. 394–395 and pl. 66a.

56. Basel BS 428, *ABV* 60,6; *CVA* Basel 1, pl. 25.8.

57. Akropolis plate: above (note 53); Kolchos oinochoe: above (note 54). In the generation after Lydos the subject is most popular in the workshop of the Antimenes Painter: cf. Shapiro (note 31).



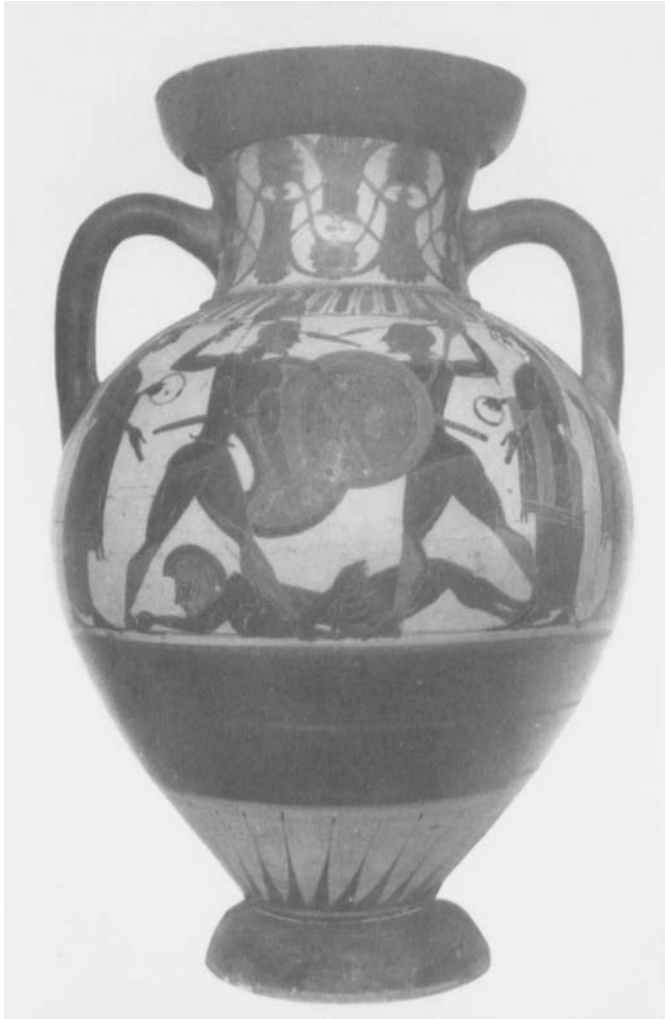


Figure 13. Neck-amphora. Side A. Boulogne, Musée Communal, 104. Photo, Devos, Boulogne.

though not in the middle, as elsewhere, but moving up behind Herakles. The somewhat chaotic composition that results stands in roughly the same relationship to Lydos' neatly symmetrical ones as the energetic draughtsmanship stands to Lydos' typical finesse.

The Getty amphora does not have the figure of Zeus at all (fig. 1a). Instead, the combat is in full swing, the two protagonists closed in battle, so that there is no

58. Euboean (note 42); Chalkidian (fig. 11; above [note 43]). The influence of the monomachy is well illustrated by the Amasis Painter's amphora, Louvre F 36; *ABV* 150,6; *The Amasis Painter and his World*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985, no. 81 (catalogue by D. von Bothmer). In his second version of the Kyknos myth, on the new tripod-pyxis from Aegina (M. Ohly, in *Amasis Painter*, p. 236), the Amasis Painter does include Zeus. Here Herakles grasps the base of Kyknos' helmet crest, the same motif we find on the Getty amphora.

59. Cf. Shapiro (note 31), p. 526; cf. Janko (note 37), p. 55.

60. E.g., New York 64.11.13, *Paralipomena*, p. 71; *CVA* New York 4, pl. 52.1 and 4.

61. Cf. Canciani, *JdI*, 1980, p. 152, with several examples.

62. Samos 1184, *ABV* 26,27; *AthMitt* 54 (1929), pl. 4.

room for an intervening god. The amphora in Taranto (fig. 9) and the cup in Basel follow a similar scheme, which is then echoed on a few later vases, including the non-Attic examples we have considered.<sup>58</sup> The poet of the *Aspis* nowhere mentions Zeus' intervention in the fight between Herakles and Kyknos, and there is no evidence that Stesichoros did in his now lost poem either.<sup>59</sup> It seems quite possible that the god's appearance is a bold artistic innovation of Lydos himself. The painter of the Getty amphora, however, adheres to a more old-fashioned formula for depicting single combat witnessed by several onlookers (as on the amphora in Taranto, fig. 9) while showing his familiarity with the recently popularized myth by putting Ares behind Kyknos.

#### THE JUDGMENT AMPHORA

Turning to the second amphora in Malibu (figs. 2a–d), we find that, while the overall scheme of decoration corresponds closely with that of the Kyknos amphora, there are significant and unexpected differences at every turn. Most strikingly, the treatment of the neck is entirely different: vegetal ornament instead of the lions of the Kyknos amphora. Obverse and reverse of the neck are also distinguished from each other, the former subtler and more complex. It has a festoon of alternating lotus and palmette, with six elements in all, while Side B has only a lotus chain comprising five elements. On both sides the elements are relatively broad, densely packed, and carefully drawn. I am not aware of an exact parallel for either arrangement. The unusual "figure-of-eight" palmettes on Side A are rare in Attica, limited primarily to neck-amphorae of the Botkin Class.<sup>60</sup> Otherwise they occur especially in "Chalkidian" and "pseudo-Chalkidian."<sup>61</sup> The origin of the pattern on Side A may lie in the elaborate floral ornament of the Komast Group. A cup by the KX Painter in Samos, for example, has a similar oval palmette between lotuses, only the whole is enriched by much incision, and the horizontal chain linking the elements is doubled.<sup>62</sup>

The animal frieze on the Judgment amphora shares

63. E.g., the neck-amphora Munich 1449; *CVA* Munich 7, pl. 328.4 (compared by E. Kunze-Götte, p. 32, with Akropolis 606 and dated circa 570 or slightly later). Here one of the men is unbearded, and on the other side of the vase a similar youth with spear stands opposite a woman. A slightly later neck-amphora, also in Munich, has, on both sides, two bearded men with spears: Munich 1448, *ABV* 88; *CVA* Munich 7, pl. 329.2–3. Beazley calls it "a rough piece near the Painter of London B 76."

64. Louvre C 10634 (above [note 18]).

65. This also occurs on the recently discovered column-krater in Polygyros assigned by Tiverios to the Painter of Louvre F 6: Tiverios (below [note 73]), pl. 12 (here fig. 15).

66. Boulogne 104 (previously unpublished); discussed by Both-

some features with that on its companion—notably the predominance of Sirens and lions—but in detail it is rather different. Here the lions are relegated to the side areas, and, with a generally keener sense of symmetry, a pair of facing creatures occupies the exact center of each face. The principal side is once again slightly enhanced, by the unexpected substitution of a cock for one of the Sirens. The meeting of two Sirens on Side B seems to echo, at the subhuman level, the meeting of two bearded gentlemen just above, and one is tempted to view the breast-to-breast encounter of male and female birds on Side A as a subtle parody of the impending encounter between the Trojan prince and the eager goddesses.

The reverse of the Judgment amphora (fig. 2b) presents a lively conversation between two men in chitons and long mantles, one of them holding a spear. They are flanked by two large sphinxes, which avert their heads, unlike their nosy counterparts on the Kyknos amphora (fig. 1b). The motif of men with spears goes back to vases of the early second quarter of the century, in the neighborhood of the Painter of London B 76 and the Painter of Akropolis 606.<sup>63</sup> Removing the spear and beards, Lydos has the same combination of two men between antithetical sphinxes on one of his early ovoid neck-amphorae in the Louvre (fig. 5).<sup>64</sup> These sphinxes and those on the Judgment amphora even share an unusual decorative feature: a large lotus bud on a long, winding stem, which seems to grow out of the creature's front paws.<sup>65</sup>

An even closer parallel for the whole composition on the reverse of the Judgment amphora is a neck-amphora in Boulogne, which Bothmer has proposed to assign to Euboea.<sup>66</sup> Two bearded men between sphinxes each hold a spear. Their garments are rather less elaborate than on the Getty amphora, and their hair is short and caplike instead of long with flowing locks. The front of the Boulogne amphora shows a duel over a fallen warrior, watched by women and men, a composition that, as Bothmer notes, is thoroughly Attic, except for the women's garments (fig. 13). If indeed Euboean, the vase is unusually fine and unusually dependent on its Attic

models. For the scene on the reverse, the Getty amphora could have been one such model.

#### THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

When we turn to the principal scene on the Judgment amphora in Malibu, some of the same observations about workshop and choice of subject matter made in regard to Herakles and Kyknos apply. Though the story was inordinately popular with Attic vase-painters throughout the sixth century, it did not interest the painters of "Tyrrhenian" vases: only one example is known.<sup>67</sup> Nor is the Judgment much of a subject for non-Attic art in the sixth century, even though the very earliest representations of the myth, back in the seventh century, are found outside Athens, on the Corinthian Chigi Vase<sup>68</sup> and on an ivory comb from Sparta.<sup>69</sup> On two "Chalkidian" examples, the departure from Attic tradition that is most immediately obvious is that the procession moves from right to left,<sup>70</sup> since on Archaic Attic vases the direction is invariably from left to right. A single Boeotian example is also right to left,<sup>71</sup> suggesting that these non-Attic artists were perhaps inspired directly from early Peloponnesian models; on both the Chigi Vase and the Laconian ivory comb the direction is right to left. The one certain Eretrian version, on the other hand, from about 550, follows the Attic model in this respect, as in many others (fig. 14).<sup>72</sup> The artist does, however, show his originality in characterizing the three goddesses with greater variety than his Athenian contemporaries. Their garments are quite different from one another, and the forward-most holds what looks like a scepter, presumably designating her as Hera. Most interestingly, Paris holds out a spear, parallel with Hermes' kerykeion. As an attribute the spear does not really suit Paris, either as shepherd or as Trojan prince, and it is never given him by the more thoughtful Attic painters. But this very motif—Paris with spear and Hermes with kerykeion facing each other—does occur in the work of the Painter of Louvre F 6, in less careful versions of the Judgment (fig. 15), and these must be the Eretrian painter's source.<sup>73</sup>

mer, *MMAJ*, 1969, pp. 28–30. I thank François Lissarrague for his help in obtaining a photograph.

67. Once Havana, Lagunillas collection, *Paralipomena*, p. 39 (there said to be destroyed); Basel, Münzen und Medaillen, sale 16 (1956), no. 86. The ovoid neck-amphora in a private collection published by Schauenburg, 1973, pp. 15–16, has many similarities to "Tyrrhenian" vases but does not in his opinion belong to the group.

68. E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), p. 243, fig. 229.

69. R. Hampe, "Das Parisurteil auf dem Elfenbeinkamm aus Sparta," in R. Lullies, ed., *Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 77–86.

70. Amphora, Taranto 65, Rumpf, *CV*, pls. 114–115; hydria, Bonn

464 A, Rumpf, *CV*, pl. 134.

71. Kantharos, Würzburg 466, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1932), pl. 134.

72. The Judgment appears on the neck of the great Eretrian "Wedding Amphora," Athens 1004; Boardman, *BSA*, 1952, pp. 32–35 and pl. 9; for details of the neck, cf. *BICS* 6 (1959), pl. 2. A second candidate for a Euboean Judgment of Paris is a hydria recently on the Basel market, Münzen und Medaillen, sale 51 (1975), no. 118. Herbert A. Cahn considered it Attic and near the Painter of London B 76, but John Boardman, in *Gnomon* 49 (1977), p. 430, assigns it to Euboea. The bulls and dot-circles on the neck do recall Euboean ornament.

73. Especially the column-krater in Polygyro recently published by M. A. Tiverios, Προβλήματα της μελανομορφής ἀπικτης



Figure 14. Detail of Eretrian neck-amphora. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1004. Photo, DAI, Athens.



Figure 15. Column-krater by the Painter of Louvre F 6. Side A. Polygyro, Archaeological Museum, 235. Photo, courtesy M. Tiverios.

The Judgment of Paris is one of the few subjects from the epic cycle that Attic vase-painters were already repeating with some frequency in the second quarter of the sixth century. The Painter of London B 76, for example, whom we had occasion to deal with because of his early version of Herakles and Kyknos (fig. 9),<sup>74</sup> returned to the subject of the Judgment half a dozen times.<sup>75</sup>

Around the middle of the century it is in the workshop of Lydos that the Judgment of Paris is most popular. Lydos himself painted four or five versions of the subject in the early years of his career, circa 560–550, one of them on the ovoid neck-amphora in Florence, which offers so many parallels with both Getty amphorae in shape and ornament (fig. 3a).<sup>76</sup> In these same years several of Lydos' companions also took up the subject.<sup>77</sup> But by the middle of the century, interestingly, the Judgment seems to have gone out of vogue—the rather static composition perhaps considered old-fashioned compared to the “action scenes” now in favor—to be revived some twenty to thirty years later, by the Antimenes Painter.<sup>78</sup> The leading artists of the third quarter of the century—the Amasis Painter, Exekias, Group E, the Princeton Painter—all seem to avoid the subject entirely. A date for the Getty amphora in the period circa 560 or slightly after thus places it at the time of the subject's greatest popularity among early Attic vase-painters.

Irmgard Raab has recently collected all the known representations of the Judgment of Paris and arranged them according to different schemata. In Attic black-figure there are two principal types: In one, Paris waits calmly to greet Hermes and the three goddesses, while in the other he turns to flee, as if terrified by the sudden appearance of the dread Olympians and by the prospect of the choice he will have to make. Raab regards the latter type as a purely Attic invention, and it is numerically the more frequent, while the former may be bor-



Figure 16. Fragment. Athens, Akropolis, 1174 (from Graef and Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1, pl. 67).

rowed from Corinthian art, where it occurs already on the Chigi Vase.<sup>79</sup>

The Getty amphora belongs, of course, to the first, more unusual group and adds an ever more unusual detail—that Paris greets Hermes with a handshake. This is paralleled on only one later version of the Judgment, on a fragment from the Akropolis (fig. 16).<sup>80</sup> Whether the type with Paris greeting his guests, rather than running away from them, was ultimately of Corinthian origin or not, it was certainly familiar to Attic painters of the second quarter of the sixth century. The Ptoon Painter and the Painter of London B 76 each use it once,<sup>81</sup> though the latter elsewhere prefers the “Attic” type with Paris fleeing.<sup>82</sup> Once again, the painter of the Getty amphora shows a conservatism in his iconography compared with the innovative and more up-to-date Lydos. We noticed this in connection with Herakles and Kyknos, where the Getty amphora does not add the central figure of Zeus, but sticks to the old scheme of duel with onlookers. So, too, here, for the Judgment of

κεραμικῆς (Thessaloniki, 1981), pls. 1–19, esp. pl. 7. On the basis of this vase, Tiverios identifies the same subject on the Painter of Louvre F 6's lebes gamikos, Houston 34.129; *ABV* 125.32; Tiverios (this note), pl. 28. Beazley did not have a full description of the vase, and H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West*, Houston, Institute of the Arts, Rice University, 1970, p. 351, mistook the figure of Hermes for a female. On other vases of the same workshop Beazley recognized what he called a “deheroized version of Paris, Hermes, and the Goddesses” (*ABV* 115) or “the Judgment of Paris deheroized” (*ABV* 130).

74. Cf. above, pp. 20–21 and note 30.

75. *ABV* 86.12–13; 87.16.21.23; *Paralipomena*, p. 33.16 bis; and possibly *ABV* 87.15.

76. Above (note 17). The others by Lydos are: the column-krater, London 1948.10-15.1, *ABV* 108.8, Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 8a, here fig. 18; the fragmentary plate, Florence 102a, *ABV* 111.45, Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 71a; an unpublished loutrophoros in Athens, *Paralipomena*, p. 45 (cf. below [note 95]); and probably the fragment of a column-krater, Athens,

Akropolis, 637, *ABV* 115.1, Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 73a. Of the latter Beazley wrote, “may be by the painter himself,” and Tiverios, p. 114 n. 149, argues for the attribution to Lydos.

77. *ABV* 118, bottom; 119, top.

78. *ABV* 268.32; 269.33; 271.76–78. Cf. the mythological index in *ABV* 727.

79. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1972), p. 21. Cf. also the earlier iconographical study of Ch. W. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zurich, 1952) and, now, *LIMC*, vol. 1, pp. 498–500, s.v. Alexandros (R. Hampe).

80. Akr. 1174, B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1925), pl. 67. On the motif of the handshake, cf. K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 79 (1964), p. 128.

81. Ptoon Painter: *ABV* 84, top, 3; Painter of London B 76: *ABV* 87.16.

82. E.g., *ABV* 86.13 (now Copenhagen 13440, *Paralipomena*, 32); *ABV* 87.21.



Figure 17a. Neck-amphora. Name vase of the Omaha Painter. Side A. Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, 1963.480, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Woods, Jr. Photos, courtesy Joslyn Art Museum.

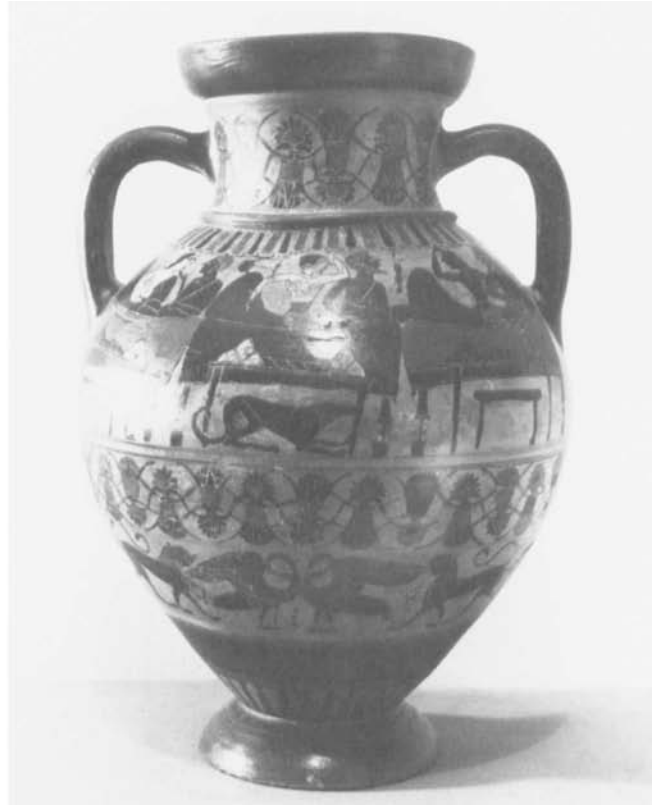


Figure 17b. Side B of figure 17a.

Paris, the painter emphatically rejects the figure of Paris fleeing, which with Lydos will win out as the Attic version par excellence, even adding the detail of the proffered handshake, as if to say, this is what we would expect of any well-bred prince.

Nevertheless, there are details here that unquestionably show a familiarity with Lydos' work, most conspicuously the owl between Hermes and Paris. The owl is almost something of a trademark of Lydos and his companions: twice Lydos placed it between the outstretched legs of Hermes in scenes of the Judgment of Paris (fig. 3a).<sup>83</sup> Schauenburg assumed that the owl alludes to the presence of Athena, even though it is not anywhere near her.<sup>84</sup> Following this line of argument we would have to suppose that the owl between Theseus' legs on a later amphora by Lydos refers to his Athenian origin.<sup>85</sup>

But it becomes more difficult to explain the owl as anything more than a decorative filler when it appears in a non-narrative scene, as on the Munich amphora close to the early Lydos (fig. 8a).<sup>86</sup> There were in fact two owls here, but only a tiny bit of the one at the left is preserved.

Lydos himself may not have been the first to use this owl, fond as he was of it. A recently published early neck-amphora in Omaha has an owl between the outstretched legs of a nude Greek who attacks a falling Amazon (fig. 17a).<sup>87</sup> Bothmer connected this vase with one in Paris<sup>88</sup> and christened the artist the Omaha Painter, and in *Paralipomena* Beazley added him to his chapter on "Nearchos and Others."<sup>89</sup> The symposium on the reverse of the Omaha vase (fig. 17b) links it with both the early amphora in New York (fig. 4a)<sup>90</sup> and Lydos' amphora in Florence (fig. 3b),<sup>91</sup> and chronologi-

83. The Florence amphora (above [note 17]) and the fragments Akr. 637 (above [note 6]). On owls in black-figure, see the recent comments of J. Chamay and D. von Bothmer, in *AntK* 30 (1987), pp. 59, 64.

84. Schauenburg, 1973, p. 26.

85. Taranto, *ABV* 109,26; Tiverios, *Lydos*, pl. 28a.

86. Munich 1435 (above [note 20]).

87. Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, 1963.480; *Paralipomena*, p. 34; W. G. Moon and L. Berge, *Attic Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979), no. 25; *CVA Omaha* 1, pls. 10–11.

88. Louvre E 861, *Paralipomena*, p. 33; P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1976), p. 295,



Figure 18. Column-krater by Lydos. Side A. London, British Museum, 1948.10-15.1. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

cally it should be intermediary between those two. Interestingly, the animal frieze on Side A (fig. 17a) contains a dot-cluster of the type on the Getty Kyknos amphora (fig. 1a) and, as we have seen, taken up by the Lydan workshop (fig. 3a). We may have in the Omaha Painter a slightly older contemporary of Lydos, who exerted an important influence on him.<sup>92</sup>

Indeed, interpreting the owl as an attribute of Athena would violate the spirit of early Archaic scenes of the Judgment of Paris, which consistently and resolutely refuse to distinguish among the three contestants in dress or attribute. As in Lydan and other contemporary versions, the goddesses on the Getty amphora are rendered as “penguin women,” the only *variatio* consisting in the alternating colors and patterns of their garments.

One seemingly incidental detail on the amphora in

Malibu also provides an interesting link with the work of Lydos; the “extra” woman who stands behind Paris, facing the handle (fig. 2d). As Schauenburg has observed, the presence of such extraneous figures is extremely rare in scenes of the Judgment of Paris, though commonplace in certain other heroic subjects.<sup>93</sup> A notable exception is Lydos, who several times puts “extras” in scenes of the Judgment: on the neck-amphora in Florence (fig. 3c), a man and woman in conversation behind the last of the goddesses; on his column-krater in London, a threesome—two men and a woman—also at the left (fig. 18);<sup>94</sup> and, on the unpublished loutrophoros from the Akropolis, again a man and woman.<sup>95</sup> As in the matter of the owl, it may be noted that the painter of the Getty amphora, although clearly inspired by Lydos, is not a slavish imitator. He could have put his owl

figs. 152–153. Cf., however, below (note 92).

89. *Paralipomena*, pp. 33–34, to *ABV* 91.

90. Above (note 16).

91. Above (note 17).

92. A. Steiner, in *CVA Omaha* 1, p. 7, reports that Bothmer now believes the painter’s name vase may be Euboean. On the reassignment

of Attic vases to Euboea, see also below (note 97).

93. Schauenburg, 1973, p. 25.

94. London 1948.10-15.1, above (note 76).

95. Above (note 76). A tiny picture of this vase appears in a “group photo” of loutrophoroi from the sanctuary of Nymphe, in J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971),

between Hermes' legs, as Lydos did—there is plenty of room there—but he gave it a more prominent and dignified place, and the creature itself is much taller and stouter than Lydos' owls. Likewise, he had room for only one “extra” and wisely shifted her to the right, lest she be confused with the contestants.

#### CONCLUSIONS

We may now try to summarize the results of this investigation of the two Getty neck-amphorae. First, however, it is important to stress that for such singular and exceptional vases we are not likely to find definitive answers, especially in the matter of attribution. When confronted with works of such fine and distinctive draughtsmanship, our first impulse is to assume that they must be accommodated within the oeuvre of some known master. But a glance through the pages of Beazley's *ABV* and *ARV<sup>2</sup>* quickly reveals how many of the finest and most unusual vases remain orphans, or members of extremely small families—not to mention all the vases that Beazley did not include in his lists at all for this very reason. It is, of course, hard to believe that a man of considerable talent and excellent training only decorated one or two vases in his life, and almost as hard to believe that he decorated five hundred, of which, due to the vicissitudes of ancient history and modern archaeology, only one or two survive. Some may think Beazley was overly cautious in discerning subtle differences among similar styles and that it would be more economical to consider several related hands as aspects of a single artistic personality. But in a world of relatively few named painters and masses of anonymous ones, there is little to be gained by economizing, and Beazley's method often has the advantage of emphasizing the uniqueness and integrity of each vase, something far more important than adding one more item to the putative list of works by a (usually) anonymous artist. It is in this spirit that I would also prefer to leave the question of attribution open, as well as to be more cautious than earlier writers about assigning both of the

Getty amphorae to the same hand.

But before considering the question of hands, it is more important to locate our amphorae in the right general area within the great framework of black-figure vase-painting created by Beazley and others. First, our analysis suggests that both amphorae fit comfortably into the mainstream development of Attic black-figure in the second quarter of the sixth century. Much progress has been made in the last few decades in isolating non-Attic workshops in the sixth century that drew inspiration from Athens and perhaps even employed artists trained there. Especially indebted to Attic black-figure are the workshops active at Eretria and perhaps elsewhere on Euboea, now much better known thanks to excavation<sup>96</sup> and to clay analysis,<sup>97</sup> as well as to the careful studies of John Boardman, A. D. Ure, and Dietrich von Bothmer.<sup>98</sup> But there may also be a danger that we too quickly say “Euboean” when an ostensibly Attic vase looks not quite right, instead of allowing for the variety, even eccentricities of Attic painters in this formative period.<sup>99</sup>

The second quarter of the sixth century must have been a time of immense activity and no little turmoil in the Athenian Kerameikos. The sudden and insatiable demand for Attic vases in Etruria, starting about the time of the François Vase, along with a growing market in Magna Graecia and elsewhere, gave rise to many new workshops within a decade or two. Some were probably small and short-lived, because they could not compete with a large, well-organized operation like the Lydan workshop or that of the C Painter. One workshop that arose and prospered in response to the Etruscan market was the “Tyrrhenian.” Originally thought to have been made in Etruria because of their provenance, “Tyrrhenian” vases were long ago recognized as Attic. Yet they still suffer a stigma, as if they were not quite “full-blooded” Athenian, or were at any rate something apart. Carpenter refers to the “Tyrrhenian” Group as a “side-stream” and notes that Beazley, in his magisterial *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, does not mention the “Tyrrhenians” once.<sup>100</sup> Yet the “Tyrrhenian” workshop,

p. 363, fig. 466 (top row center). Beazley, in *Paralipomena*, does not say where the two “extras” are, but Michalis Tiverios, who also drew this illustration to my attention, tells me they are around the back, under the vertical handle. Tiverios (note 73), pp. 25–28, shows that these “extras” at the Judgment of Paris were borrowed by the Painter of Louvre F 6 from Lydos (figs. 15, 18), but they do not occur outside the workshop. The only exception is an amphora in a private collection published by Schauenburg, 1973, p. 16, fig. 3.

96. Cf. J.–P. Descoeudres, “Ausgewählte eretrische Keramik aus dem siebten und sechsten Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *AntK* 11 (1968), pp. 102–105.

97. J. Boardman and F. Schweizer, “Clay Analysis of Archaic Greek Pottery,” *BSA* 68 (1973), pp. 267–283, esp. p. 273 on Euboean; R.E. Jones et al., *Greek and Cypriot Pottery* (Athens, 1986), pp.

pp. 631–636.

98. Modern scholarship starts with John Boardman's seminal article, *BSA*, 1952, and its follow-up, “Early Euboean Pottery and History,” *BSA* 52 (1957), pp. 1–29. Of A. D. Ure's many studies, the most recent is “Observations on Euboean Black-figure,” *BSA* 68 (1973), pp. 25–31. Bothmer, *MMAJ*, 1969, p. 28, with n. 4, collects literature up to that time. Before Boardman, pioneering work was done by Darrell Amyx in a Berkeley dissertation, which is unpublished except for a brief article (above [note 27]).

99. It is worth noting that Beazley was especially cautious about reattributing vases to Euboea. In *Paralipomena*, p. 50,5, for example, he notes Ure's suggestion that the hydria in Reading, listed in *ABV* 121,5 as being by the Painter of Vatican 309, is Eretrian. But rather than accepting this outright, he says only, “This is perhaps not by the

however specialized it may have been, surely stood side by side with others in the potters' quarter,<sup>101</sup> and it is unthinkable that potters and painters and influences did not occasionally move back and forth and around.<sup>102</sup> Hence it is not so astonishing that an unusual vase like the amphora Florence 70995, whose figure work Beazley attributed to Lydos (figs. 3a–d), should have so many other features in common with the “Tyrrhenians” that Karl Schefold could describe it as a “Tyrrhenische Amphora des Lydos.”<sup>103</sup>

But even if some of the distinctions may become fuzzy around the edges, most “Tyrrhenian” vases are very distinctive, and we can certainly isolate a core: ovoid neck-amphorae of elongated proportions with multiple animal friezes and a narrow figure panel at the level of the handles. Thanks to the work of Dietrich von Bothmer, we can even identify almost a dozen different hands on “Tyrrhenian” vases.<sup>104</sup> The two Getty amphorae clearly do not belong to this core, either in their overall configuration or in their figure style, though many of the animals and other ornamental details would be at home on a “Tyrrhenian” vase.

Of Athenian painters who were established before the middle of the sixth century, the two who remained active and consistently productive the longest were Lydos and the Amasis Painter. The latter did not have many close associates who have been identified, whereas Lydos had several, among whose large output Beazley often found it hard to differentiate.<sup>105</sup> Collaboration on a single vase, as on the Florence amphora whose figures, but not the animals, Beazley considered Lydan (figs. 3a–d), was perhaps more frequent than is usually thought. It is easy to imagine a situation within a large and busy workshop in which one painter specialized in animals while another, more gifted, did complex narrative scenes.

In trying to situate the two Getty amphorae, we have found the closest parallels for details of ornament and iconography in the Lydan workshop, though the artist has a distinctive style and personality that is not that of

Lydos. Nor is it the style of Lydos' more prolific companions, the Painter of Vatican 309 (figs. 6, 7) or the Painter of Louvre F 6 (fig. 15), for he has a finer, more meticulous hand than either of them, especially in his use of incision. He is lavish in his use of white and red, something he observed in the “Tyrrhenian” workshop. In his choice of mythological subjects—the Judgment of Paris and Herakles fighting Kyknos—he was very much in the Athenian mainstream. In these years it was Lydos who did more than anyone else to popularize these two subjects and to establish their iconography for the next generation. The “Tyrrhenian” painters, notorious for their eccentric iconography, were not interested in either subject, and the few non-Attic adaptations under Attic influence come some ten to thirty years later.

In his interpretation of these same mythological scenes, our painter shows his considerable independence from the dominating influence of Lydos. His noble, striding Hermes and the resolute handshake with Paris produce a very different effect from the semi-comic tone of Lydan Judgments, while his Kyknos scene emphasizes the immediacy of single combat by omitting the figure of Zeus in the middle. Both scenes have links with an older artist, the Painter of London B 76 (fig. 9). Though conservative in his iconography, in his figure style the painter is anything but. Rather, he shows considerably more sophistication than the very early Lydos, whose line is often unsteady and the proportions a little odd. The Getty amphorae are the work of a mature artist, sure of his technique, not of a man at the beginning of his career. As his conservative iconography also suggests, he should be regarded as an older contemporary of Lydos, who was in his prime when Lydos was starting out. Hence a date for these vases of about 560, possibly a little later but certainly no earlier, seems most appropriate.

Finally, the question whether both amphorae are the work of a single hand. The question is perhaps not so urgent, since we have not succeeded in identifying his hand on other vases, despite the many affinities with

painter himself.” At present, casual reattribution of vases to Euboea is very much in fashion, but should wherever possible be tested against scientific evidence. Jones (note 97), p. 635, writing of an Attic vase that had been reassigned to Euboea but was confirmed as Attic by clay analysis, calls it “a fair warning against the application of trivial stylistic criteria.” Perhaps the pendulum will one day swing back to the situation of 1941, when Darrell Amyx, the first serious student of Eretrian black-figure, wrote, “Of the numerous pieces attributed to the ware by various scholars, nearly all may now easily be recognized as Attic, thanks to recent gains in our knowledge of Attic b.–f.” (above [note 27], p. 69 n. 38). A recent review of the whole problem is that of Tiverios (note 73), pp. 102–106. As he points out, it is likely that some Attic painters worked in Eretria and that some Eretrian painters received their training in Athens.

100. Carpenter (note 10), p. 279.

101. In his second study, Carpenter proposes to locate the “Tyrrhenian” workshop outside Athens, perhaps in northern Attica: “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance,” *OJA* 3 (1984), pp. 45–56.

102. This point is particularly emphasized by M. A. Tiverios, “Οἱ ‘τυρρηνικοί’ (ἀττικῶν) ἀμφορεῖς. Ἡ σχέση τους με τοὺς ‘ποντιακοὺς’ (ἐτρουσκικοὺς) καὶ τὸν Νικοσθένη,” *ArchEph* 1976 (1977), pp. 47–48.

103. *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (Munich, 1964), pl. 67b.

104. Bothmer (note 9). Many of Bothmer's attributions of “Tyrrhenian” vases are recorded in *Paralipomena*, pp. 36–42.

105. Cf. his comments in *ABV* 114.



Lydos and his large circle. The many superficial similarities between the two vases, as well as their reported provenance, are certainly an a priori argument for common authorship, and in the figure panels there is no difficulty in seeing the style and temperament of a single artist. His very precise hand, along with his fondness for decorative detail (e.g., on garments) and for much white and red, are unmistakable.<sup>106</sup> When we compare the animal friezes and ornament, however, differences seem to outweigh similarities. The radically different treatment of the neck is not in itself an obstacle, since we have noted that other artists, including Lydos himself, did not have a single pattern that they invariably repeated. It is rather in two other respects that the difference is striking: the drawing of the animals and the use of filling ornament, which is largely absent from the Kyknos amphora, but quite prevalent on the Judgment amphora. The latter has a large palmette under one handle (fig. 2c) and, though the area below the other handle is undecorated, a little lower, in the animal frieze, is an especially elaborate configuration of palmette with side-palmettes

with long tendrils (fig. 2d). Furthermore, there are small rosettes scattered throughout the animal frieze and a large inverted lotus-palmette between lions with their heads averted, a more elaborate and finely drawn version of the motif on the neck of the Kyknos amphora's reverse (fig. 1b).

The same love of ornamental detail carries over to the animals on the Judgment amphora. Two of the lions there have lavish use of incision for the manes (fig. 2c), and all the lions' tails have considerably more swing than on the Kyknos amphora. We may, then, be dealing with two—or even three—different hands on these two vases, as on Lydos' amphora in Florence (figs. 3a–d). But in spite of any differences in the subsidiary friezes, the artistic personality responsible for all the figure panels is a distinctive one. He helps to provide new links among several of his better (or longer) known contemporaries in the Athenian Kerameikos and at the same time enriches the remarkable variety of style and iconography that is the hallmark of his age.

Stevens Institute of Technology  
Hoboken, New Jersey

106. The Kyknos amphora has unfortunately lost much of its added white in recent years. The photographs reproduced in Schauenburg, 1973, pp. 26–27, figs. 33–36, show much more preserved.

# Giants at the Getty—Again

Mary B. Moore

In *Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum 2* (1985), the volume in honor of Dietrich von Bothmer, I published a fragmentary Tyrrhenian dinos by the Kyllenios Painter that depicts in its main zone a Gigantomachy.<sup>1</sup> Below that is a band of lotus-palmette festoon and then a frieze of animals. In the article, I tried to show in a reconstruction drawing how I thought the fragments fitted into the composition of both the Gigantomachy and the animal frieze. Since that article was published, the Getty Museum has acquired several more fragments of both the figural and the ornamental zones and in the case of one fragment, already known to me, joined it to another. Some of the new fragments confirm the suggested composition, others offer new possibilities, and two create problems that still await solutions. In view of this and the importance of the dinos for Attic black figure, I thought it worthwhile to present these new fragments and to show how they have modified the composition. In adding the new fragments to the old drawing, I have not attempted to fill in all of each figure, as I did before, but have simply sketched in a partial contour or outline. I shall begin with the two fragments of the animal frieze, then proceed to the Gigantomachy.<sup>2</sup>

The first fragment, 85.AE.194.D, joins 81.AE.211.A.11 (fragment *k* in my 1985 article) and now preserves the rib cage, most of the left foreleg, and part of the left hind leg of the boar facing to the left (figs. 1a–b). In the first drawing, these legs should have been closer to one another. The second fragment from the animal frieze, 81.AE.211.A.45 (figs. 2a–b), shows the belly, part of the rib cage, and the start of the hindquarters of the panther on 81.AE.211.A.6 (fragment *f*). Accessory red articulates the rib cage of each animal.

Turning now to the Gigantomachy: 81.AE.211.A.34 joins 81.AE.211.A.14 and 15 (fragments *n* and *o*), the group of Zeus and Polybotes (figs. 3a–b). The new frag-

ment shows more of the giant's round shield, and the device on it seems to be a finely incised eagle flying to the left and painted white. Below and to the left, seen in profile, is the rest of the round shield that protects the giant already felled by Zeus. The empty space between the shield rim and the lower right of the fragments indicates that the name of this giant will either have to be shortened or the position of the first letter will have to be changed. I have opted for the former. Most important for the composition in this area are the five snake's heads on the left of the fragment just at the break, for they indicate that the rim of Zeus' shield was fringed with snakes, just as it is on Louvre E 732, the unattributed ovoid neck-amphora useful for reconstructing Zeus' helmet on our dinos as having a double crest.<sup>3</sup>

Other fragments, 85.AE.194.C, E, and I (joining 81.AE.211.A.5 [fragment *e*] and 81.AE.211.A.17 [fragment *q*]) augment the figure of Dionysos and the two giants behind him: one who has fallen on his face and one who attacks to the left (figs. 4a–b). 85.AE.194.C and E show the rest of the legs of the fallen giant, except for the heel of his left foot. His calves are protected by red greaves. To the right of his feet is the right leg from the knee down (also greaved) of the giant who strides to the left and whose left leg appears just above the thigh of his fallen companion. The ungreaved leg in the background belongs to Dionysos, who appears to the right of these giants. In the upper right is one foreleg and the head of his pantherskin. Joining break-to-break is 85.AE.194.I, which gives the left foreleg and ear of the pelt and part of the left leg of Dionysos. The right break of this small fragment joins 81.AE.211.A.17 (fragment *q*) and preserves most of the tail of the panther who attacks Dionysos' opponent, as well as the end of this giant's shield seen in profile and painted white. 85.AE.194.E gives more of the lotus-palmette festoon.

1. M. B. Moore, "Giants at the Getty," *Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum*, 2. Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 3 (1985), pp. 21–40. I wish to thank Marion True for inviting me to publish the new fragments as well as to study them at the Getty Museum and for being helpful in so many ways. If ever there was a case of going back to the drawing board, this is surely one of them, but the pleasure has been all mine.

2. Since their publication in *Greek Vases 2*, the individual fragments have been renumbered making the letter I assigned to each one obsolete. To avoid confusion, in this article I shall cite the new number, but put the old letter in parentheses. The reader may find it helpful to have the earlier article at hand while reading the present one.

3. Paris, Louvre E 732 (*Greek Vases 2*, p. 39, fig. 21).

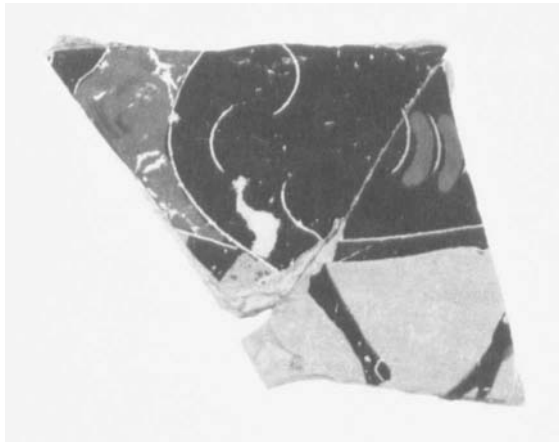


Figure 1a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.11 (top) and 85.AE.194.D (bottom).

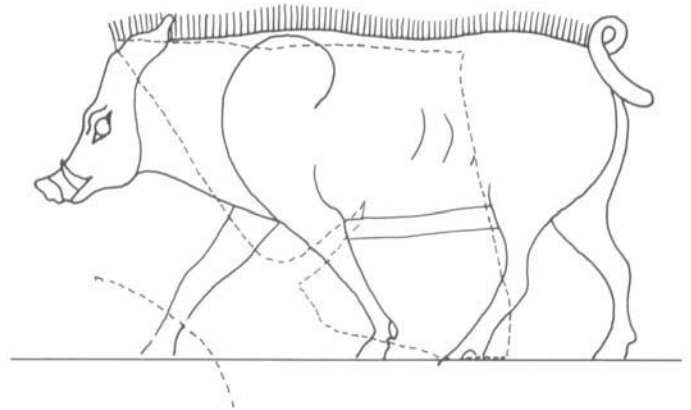


Figure 1b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 1a.



Figure 2a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.6 and 81.AE.211.A.45 (lower left).

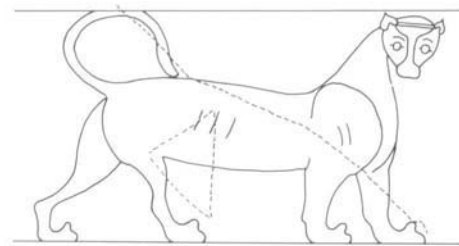


Figure 2b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 2a.

The next fragment, 85.AE.194.G, preserves the crest and crest support of Apollo's helmet as well as more of the tongue pattern on the shoulder at the junction of the neck (figs. 5a–b). It joins 81.AE.211.A.20 (fragment *t*).

85.AE.194.F (figs. 6a–b) is a nonjoining fragment, which preserves the helmeted head of Euphorbos, whose left elbow and greaved calves appear on 81.AE.211.A.21 (fragment *u*). His helmet, painted red, is a low-crested Corinthian one. At the top of the fragment is more of his round shield, seen in profile. The glaze and incision between the rim of his shield and the top of his helmet crest represent the fingers and thumb of his right hand clenched round the shield grip. It may be that his left hand held the shaft of the object below the Boeotian shield, though it is not clear why he holds his shield with his right hand. At the right break, above the helmet crest, are traces of red belonging to the initial letter of his name. Below Euphorbos' face is part of a palmette from the ornamental band separating the two figural scenes.

We may turn now to the two fragments that create problems rather than solve them. The first is

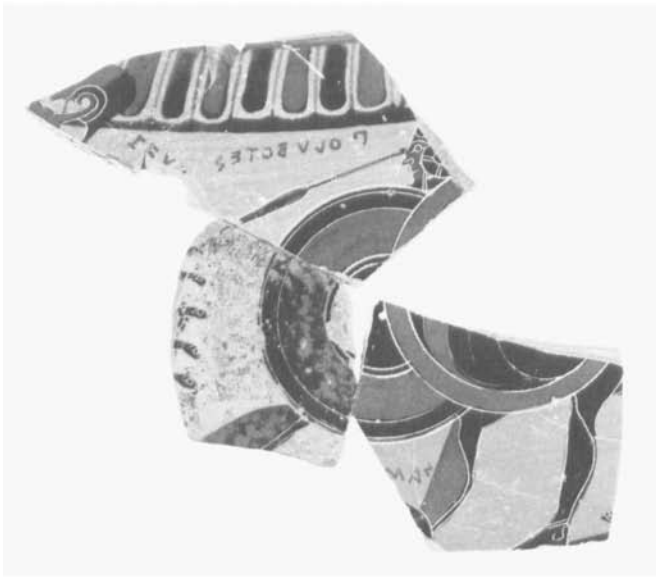


Figure 3a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.14 (top), 81.AE.211.A.15 (bottom), and 81.AE.211.A.34.

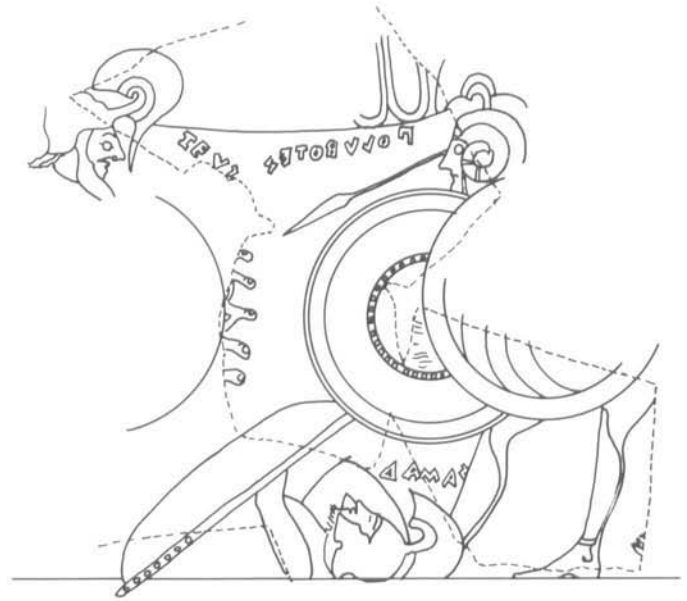


Figure 3b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 3a.

85.AE.194.H, which joins 81.AE.211.A.26 (fragment *v*) (figs. 7a–b). It preserves the forehead and part of the hair of Euboios, who has fallen face downward, as well as more of his round shield seen from the inside and his left hand gripping his spear, making clear that his left arm was not bent backward as I had previously thought. The shaft of the spear and the interior of the shield are painted red. The red of the spear overlaps the thumb, but it is unclear what the position of the giant's arm was. Round the edge of the shield's rim are dots. On the far right of the fragment is the left heel and ankle and above it to the left the lower border of the long chiton of a figure striding to the right. Since the flesh is black, this figure ought to be male and herein lies the problem. First of all, giants do not wear long garments. Secondly, given the place in the composition occupied by this figure, he must be the opponent of Athena whose name ends in ]ΑΟΛ. Athena appears on the far left of 81.AE.211.A.13 (fragment *m*), or so I thought in the earlier version of this reconstruction (see below for a new identification). Given the space allowed in this part of the composition, the goddess' shield would have to overlap this opponent considerably. Although a striding figure fits fairly well in this part of the composition, the identity of this giant is difficult to determine, and there does not seem to be a parallel for his garment. Even though it is well known that the Tyrrhenian painters often deviated boldly from the conventions governing mythological compositions and offered up imaginative versions of their own, this would be rather a lame ex-

planation for what takes place in this important part of the composition.

Our last fragment, 81.AE.211.A.23 (fragment *w*) is also problematic (figs. 6a and 8). In the *Greek Vases 2* article, I suggested that this fragment and 81.AE.211.A.24 (fragment *x*) belonged near one another, but I was unable to tell for sure where they belonged in the composition. Since that publication, 81.AE.211.A.23 was seen to join 81.AE.211.A.21 (fragment *u*). It preserves the right forearm and hand with spear of the giant whose name begins with ΟΡΑ [. To the right is part of the forearm and hand of a woman holding a sword (the white of her flesh has flaked); then come parts of four snakes growing out of a red object that probably should be an aegis, though it is still unclear to me exactly how it was draped. While the identification of the sword has been clarified, the rest of the fragment only raises questions. The presence of the snakes suggests that this figure ought to be Athena, and while Zeus, Herakles, and Athena normally fight as a triad in the big Gigantomachies, it is not unthinkable that Athena could fight somewhat apart from the others. Having her fight with a sword instead of the spear is unusual, but may be paralleled on the ovoid neck-amphora in the Louvre that was helpful for reconstructing Zeus' helmet as one with a double crest.<sup>4</sup> If this figure is Athena, she must be striding past the giant on 81.AE.211.A.22 (fragment *v*) (fig. 7), who stumbles to-

4. See above (note 3).



Figure 4a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.5 (far left), 81.AE.211.A.17 (top right), and 85.AE.194.C, E, and I (center left to right).

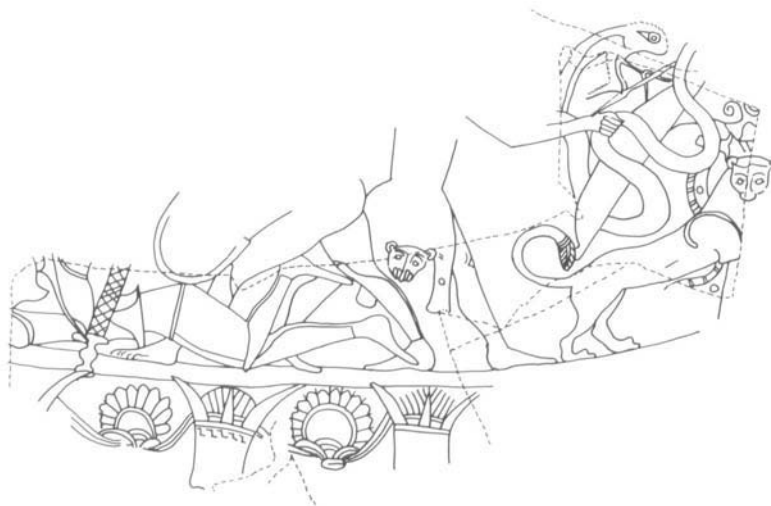


Figure 4b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 4a.

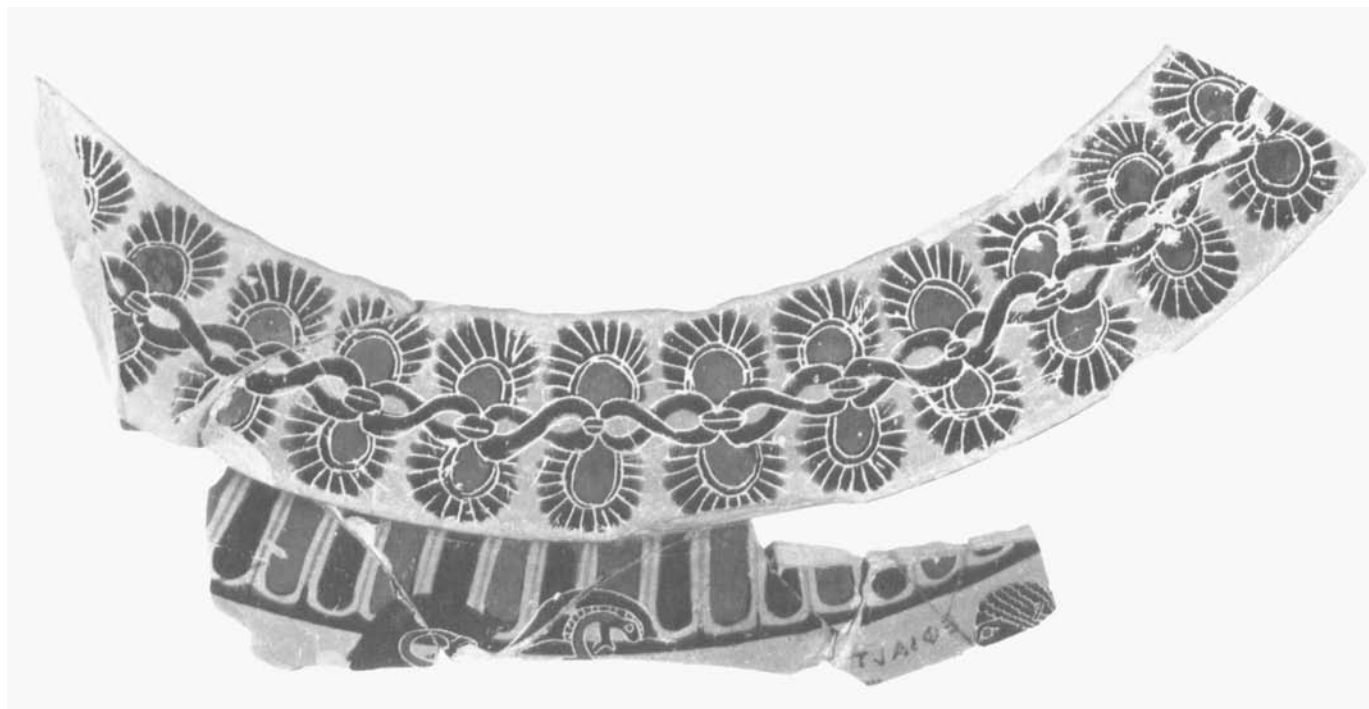


Figure 5a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.20 and 85.AE.194.G (bottom left).

ward Euboios, and her opponent should be coming toward this giant. The problem with this interpretation seems to be that the legs of the goddess' opponent should appear somewhere against the clay background above and below Euboios' torso or his left calf, but there are no traces of a figure in these places (figs. 7a–b). Also eluding interpretation is the object covered with added red that appears above the goddess' arm. Perhaps it is a helmet crest. In any case, if we want to identify this goddess as Athena, another name will have to be given to the goddess behind Herakles, who fights the giant named ]ΑΟΛ. So far, the only female Olympian besides Athena who appears in this Gigantomachy is Artemis on 81.AE.211.A.20 (fragment *t*) (figs. 5a–b). This leaves as possibilities Demeter, Aphrodite, and Hera. Demeter is not yet accounted for in any representation of this battle, though she may have appeared on the Pergamon Altar, for there is an inscription naming a giant called Erysichthon whom Kallimachos tells us was an opponent of Demeter.<sup>5</sup> Aphrodite appears in the Gigantomachy painted by Lydos on his famous fragmentary dinos found in the Akropolis excavations.<sup>6</sup> Here, her

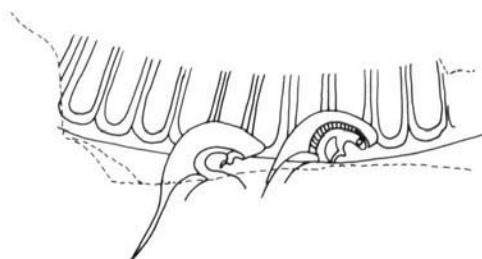


Figure 5b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 5a.

identification is made certain by an inscription written on the background next to her face. She may also have taken part in the Gigantomachy on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, only here her presence is completely conjectural.<sup>7</sup> By process of elimination, I would suggest that the goddess opposite ]ΑΟΛ is Hera. Hera's presence is accounted for in the Gigantomachy by Lydos, and here she fights directly behind Zeus' chariot.<sup>8</sup> She may have appeared on the fragmentary kantharos by Nearchos, Akropolis 612,<sup>9</sup> but one cannot be completely certain. On the Siphnian frieze, she ap-

5. Kallimachos, *Hymn VI*, 25–70; M. B. Moore, "The Gigantomachy of the Siphnian Treasury: Reconstruction of the three Lacunae," *BCH*, Suppl. 4, *Etudes Delphiques* (1977), p. 324 n. 70.

6. Athens, Akropolis, 607, *ABV* 1071; M. Tiverios, 'Ο Λυδός και τὸ ἔργο του (Athens, 1976), pl. 48α; M. B. Moore, "Lydos and the

Gigantomachy," *AJA* 83 (1979), pl. 12, fig. 5.

7. *BCH*, Suppl. 4, *Etudes Delphiques* (1977), pp. 314–316.

8. Akropolis 607 (note 6); Tiverios (note 6), pl. 48β; *AJA* 83 (1979), p. 82, pl. 11, fig. 2 and ills. 1–2.

9. *ABV* 83,3.



Figure 6a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.21 and 81.AE.211.A.23 (right) and 85.AE.194.F (bottom left).

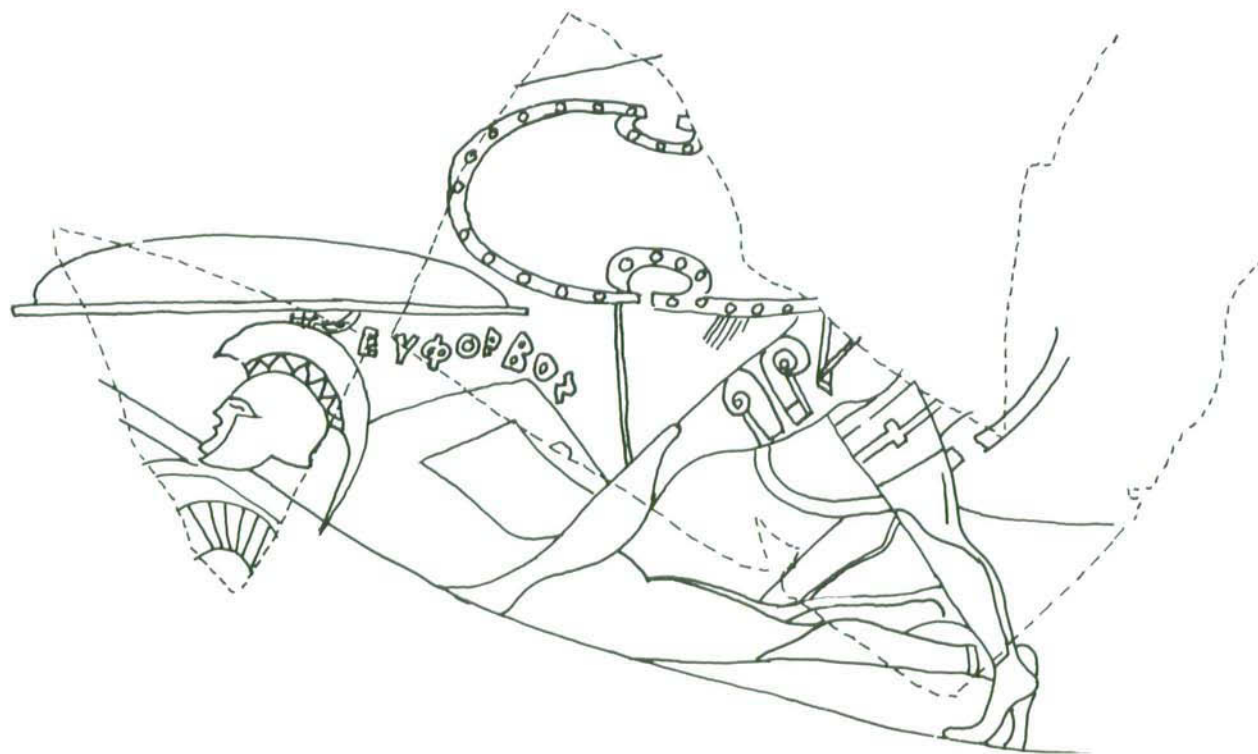


Figure 6b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 6a.

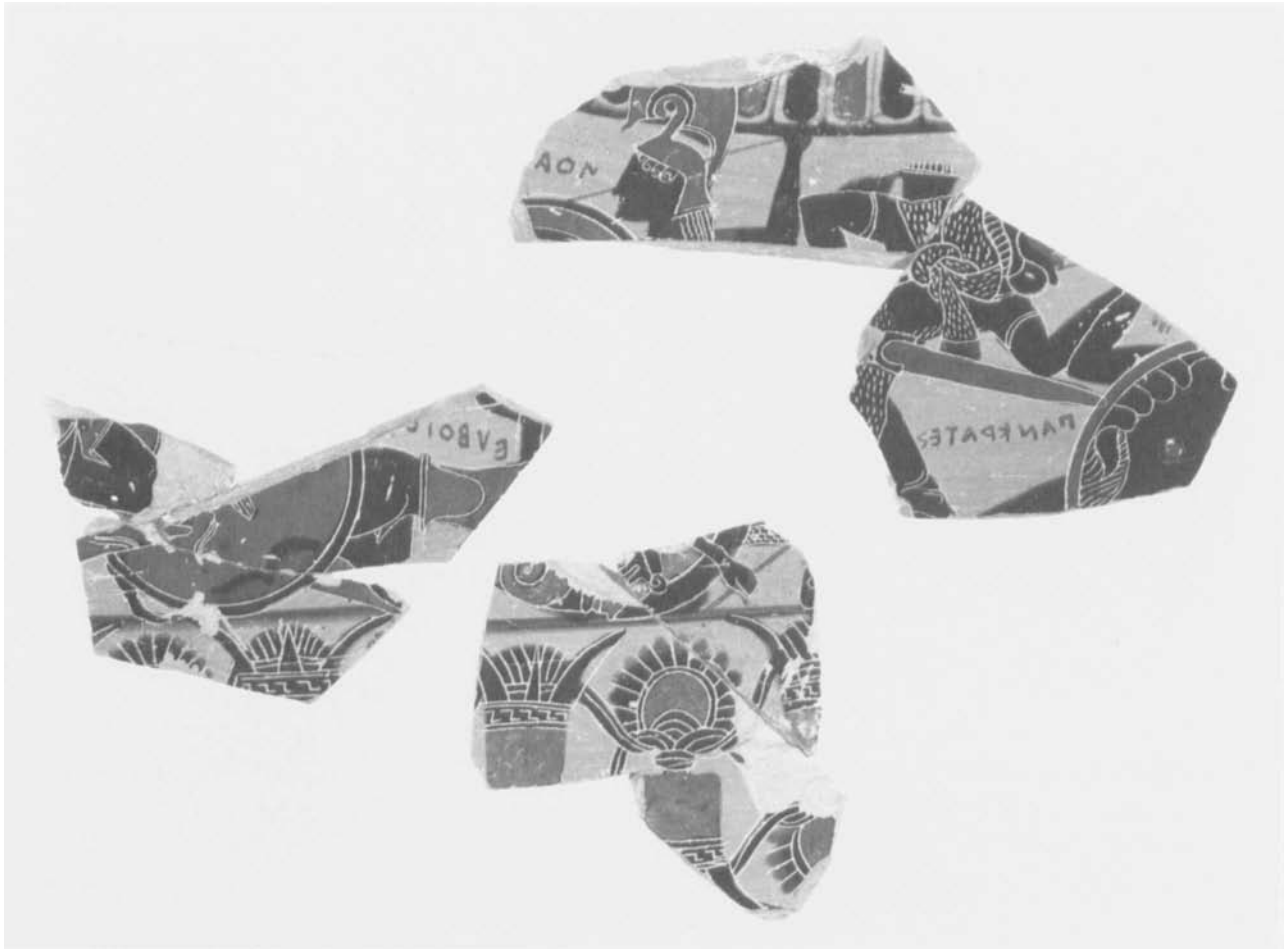


Figure 7a. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.22 (left fragment), 81.AE.211.A.26 (bottom of lower right fragment), 85.AE.194.H (top of lower right fragment), and 81.AE.211.A.13 (top right fragment).

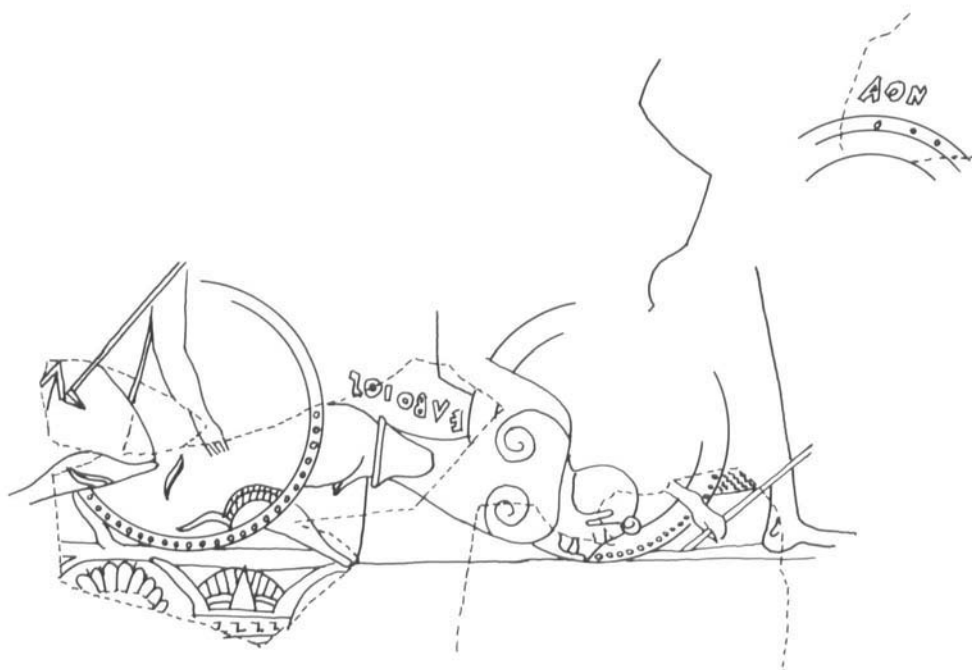


Figure 7b. Reconstruction drawing of figure 7a.



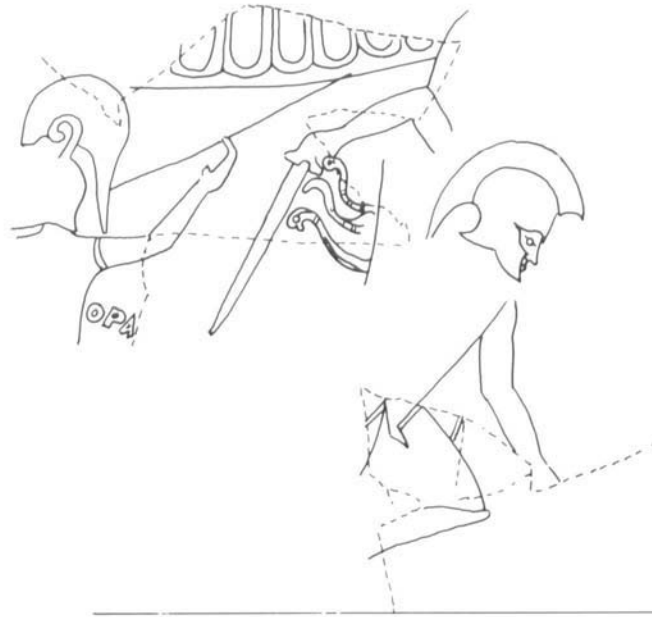


Figure 8. Reconstruction drawing of Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211.A.23 (top center) and 81.AE.211.A.22 (bottom center).

pears near Zeus' chariot, stumbling toward a giant who tries to crawl away.<sup>10</sup> Identifying the goddess in question on the dinos as Hera seems to make the most sense in view of her participation near Zeus in at least two other Gigantomachies.

Thus, a few more pieces of this three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle have found their places, and one can only hope that in the not too distant future, new pieces will come to light and help to fill in the rest of the gaps.

Hunter College  
New York

10. Slab C, *BCH*, Suppl. 4, *Etudes Delphiques* (1977), p. 313 and fig. 1B.

# East Greek Influences in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting and Some Laconian Trails

B. B. Shefton

The period under review here, the middle and the third quarters of the sixth century B.C., saw considerable upheaval on the eastern shores of the Aegean by reason of the arrival of the Persians after their capture of the Lydian kingdom in 547/546 B.C. We know from literary sources that it even led to the wholesale migration of entire communities, and the diaspora of East Greek artists is often and plausibly associated with these events.<sup>1</sup> Whether this irruption into a previously settled state affected the currents of influence, artistic or others, across the Aegean in both directions is by no means clear. Indeed its effect in this respect may have been largely masked by the continuing independence and flourishing of East Greek centers such as Samos, the island that at this very time experienced heights of pros-

perity under the rule of Polykrates.

This brings us straightaway to one of the difficulties encountered in the assessment of influence emanating from the East. Though we can often identify the style that influenced this or that feature of Attic art, we are not necessarily able to place this style geographically. In other words, we do not, or did not until very recently, know whence precisely a particular influence emanated, even in cases where we can identify the carrier. "East Greek" is even now a rather amorphous blanket term covering too vague an area to be really useful, however indispensable it may be. On this point, however, progress is being made through clay analyses, which look as though they will allow decisive place attribution of fabrics and thereby to a large extent also of styles.<sup>2</sup>

Two of the three pieces published here for the first time are in the J. Paul Getty Museum. I am deeply indebted to the curatorial authorities there, particularly to Marion True, for permission to work on them. For the third cup, in Osborne House, Isle of Wight, I am similarly beholden to the Royal Household, particularly the Assistant Comptroller and to the Surveyor of the Queen's Works of Art, for ready access and full facilities accorded to me. For allowing me to consult them for photographs and other help, I am especially grateful to Adriana Calinescu (Bloomington, Indiana), Nicolas Coldstream (London), Reynold Higgins (Godalming), Vassos Karageorghis (Nicosia), Norbert Kunisch (Bochum), Maria Antonietta Rizzo (Rome, Villa Giulia), Thomas Schäfer (Athens), Klaus Stähler (Münster/Westf.), Veronica Tatton-Brown (London), Nancy Thomas (Los Angeles), and Michael Vickers (Oxford). On the Phoenician bowls, I had the advantage of being able to consult Gioacchino Falsone (Palermo), to whom I am much indebted.

This article is based upon the paper given at the Amasis Painter Symposium at Malibu in March 1986, which was held in connection with the exhibition then opening at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. I am truly grateful to the organizers of the symposium for the original invitation. I also had the good fortune of being able to attend to the final stages of the paper in the congenial surroundings of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center, and I deeply appreciate the help and encouragement I enjoyed from all sides. Dorothy Osaki of the Antiquities department of the Museum put order into my manuscript and prepared it for publication. To her, my particular thanks.

## Abbreviations

Centre Bérard 1978: *Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident*. Centre Jean Bérard, Institut Français de Naples, 6–7 juillet, 1976 (Paris and Naples, 1978).

Cook, *Fikellura*: R. M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery," *BSA* 34

(1933–1934), pp. 1–98.

Jackson: D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases*. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper 13 (London, 1976).

Kunze, *Kleinmeister*: E. Kunze, "Ionische Kleinmeister," *AthMitt* 59 (1934), pp. 81–122.

Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*: E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart, 1931).

Markoe, *Bowls*: G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*. University of California Publications, Classical Studies, vol. 26 (Berkeley, 1985).

Shefton: B. B. Shefton, "Three Laconian Vase-Painters," *BSA* 49 (1954), pp. 299–310.

Stibbe: C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam and London, 1972).

Walter, *Samos*: H. Walter, *Frühe Samische Gefässe: Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe*. Samos, vol. 5 (Bonn, 1968).

Walter-Karydi, *Samos*: E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe*. Samos, vol. 6, part 1 (Bonn, 1973).

1. For example, J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (Mainz, 1984), p. 160; cf. also J. Boardman, *JHS* 78 (1958), p. 12. In general, for these East Greek migrant vase-painters, see also M. Martelli Cristofani, *Prospettiva* (Siena) 27 (October 1981), pp. 2–14; eadem, *Centre Bérard* 1978, pp. 192–194.

2. Recent work is extensively summarized in R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies*. *BSA*, Fitch Laboratory, Occasional Paper 1 (1986), pp. 288–290 (Samos), p. 309



Figure 1a. Samian Little-Master cup by the Osborne House Painter. Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.57.



Figure 1b. Underside, side B of cup, figure 1a.

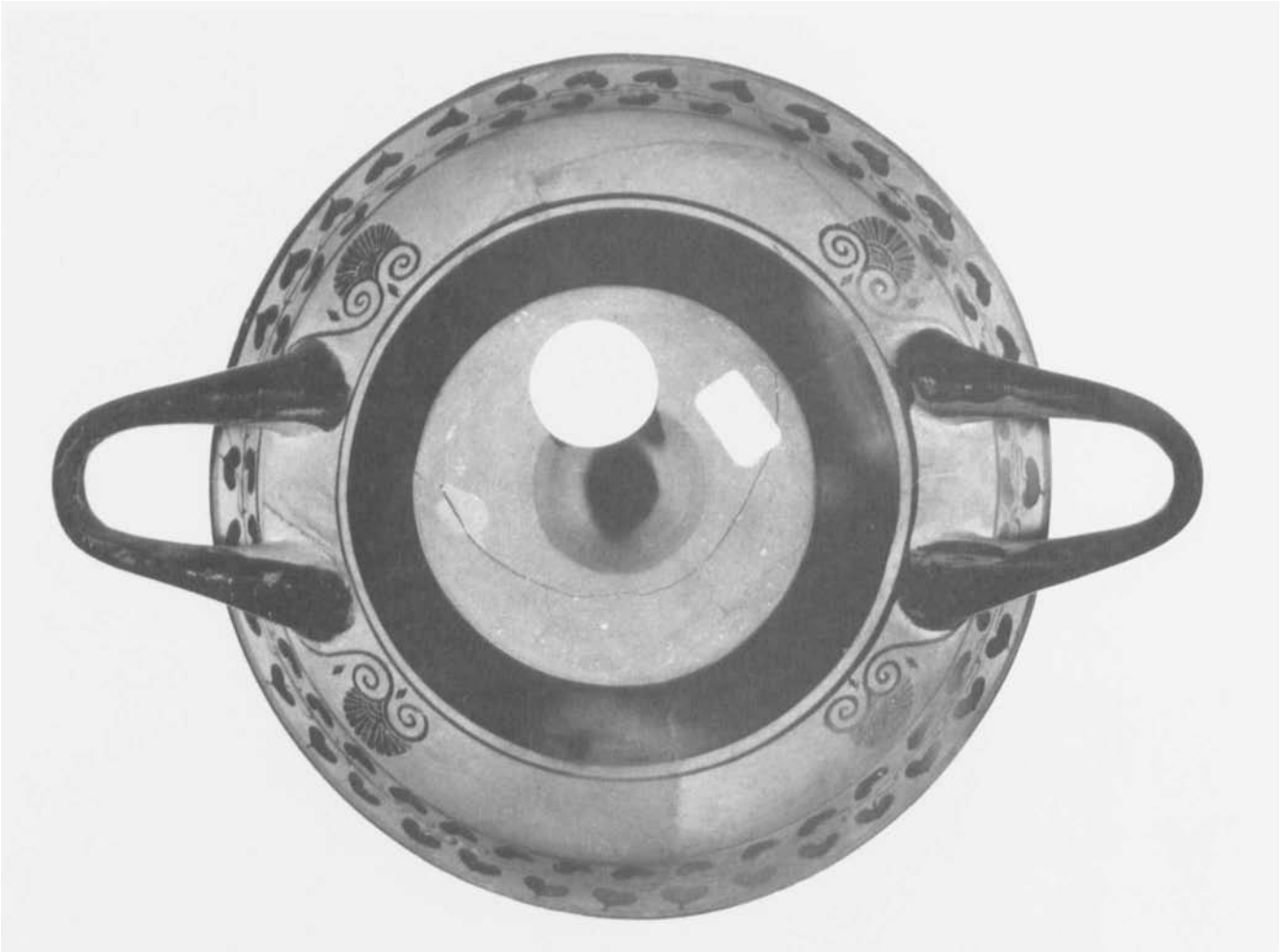


Figure 1c. Bottom of cup, figure 1a.

At a time when prevailing opinion gave primacy in the artistic development during the seventh and sixth centuries to Ionia and to the East Greek world in general, searching out East Greek influences upon continental Greek centers was a particularly attractive endeavor to buttress such assumptions. Through the influential work of Humfry Payne and Andreas Rumpf the role of the Greek mainland was then, however, put into the foreground as the generative force in Greek art, and consequently tracking down East Greek elements came to be seen as less rewarding. More recently again reaction against these views is in turn perhaps leading toward a more balanced position. Certainly a perceptive and intelligent study has attempted not long ago to bring the East Greek influence to our attention again

(Miletos), pp. 665–666 (archaeological conclusions). Pierre Dupont's work in Lyons is of particular relevance; cf. his early report, in *Centre Bérard* 1978, pp. 290–297, and esp. the results embodied in *Dacia* 27 (1983), pp. 19–44, esp. p. 33 (Samos for fine cups), and p. 34 (“apart from a proportion of local imitations all the Fikellura imported to

with a number of telling observations and arguments.”<sup>3</sup>

It is perhaps at this stage worthwhile illustrating through some new material the kind of mutual borrowing of shapes and motifs that went on at that time between centers in East Greece and those on the Greek mainland. This will allow the undoubted East Greek influence on Attica to be seen in a wider context, as part of a mutual commerce in ideas passing across the Aegean in both directions. The important centers at that time were Attica, East Greece—particularly perhaps Samos—and Laconia. Interestingly enough the role of Corinth was much less evident by then.

Three cups shall provide the basis for our discourse: Two of them are East Greek, more precisely Samian, and decorated by the same hand; the third one is Attic.

Istros—and Naucratis—turned out when tested to originate in Miletus”). Some of the individual results will be quoted where applicable, in the lists below, pp. 52–53.

3. Jackson.



Figure 1d. Detail of handle palmette of cup, figure 1a.

Of these, only the first cup has previously been made partially known; the other two are entirely unpublished and we are grateful to the owners for their permission to present them here. Each of these will, I trust, contribute in a different way to illustrating the active inter-relationship between various areas on both sides of the Aegean.

The two East Greek cups first. They are so-called Ionian Little-Master cups of a kind that ever since they were first identified tended to be assigned to Samos, an attribution that has now been confirmed by clay analysis.<sup>4</sup> The appearance of the clay is close to Attic; there is fine and subtle pottery work and no use of slip. The

4. Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pp. 81–122 (fundamental); cf. also Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pp. 24–26. For assignment to Samos: Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pp. 118, 121. Clay analysis: see Dupont (note 2).

5. For cup (here figs. 20a–b), see below (note 79); for Miletos, see Dupont, *Dacia* (note 2).

6. Malibu 86.AE.57. H: 9.0 cm (bowl: 4.7 cm, foot: 4.3 cm); diameter at lip: 14.2 cm (including handles: 19.2 cm); diameter of footplate: 6.1 cm (see p. 52, no. 3 for bibliography). *Incision* widely used for handle-palmette, for plumage and contour of the birds, and for contouring the elements of the central rosette inside. The outer petals are bounded by an incised circle, which was probably compass-drawn, even though the pivot point at the center is no longer discernible, as

technique of painting in some examples resembles that of Fikellura in that the linear details are indicated by reserve, not incision. Other examples, however, do use incision, our two cups among them. There is, incidentally, at least one fine cup, found in the Heraion at Samos, which is entirely Fikellura and therefore, as clay analysis has now shown, likely to have been made in Miletos.<sup>5</sup> It has the characteristic slip and uses the reserved-line technique. This exceptional piece with elaborate figural decoration inside and outside was presumably produced as a challenge to what was going on at Samos; even a limited amount of incision was permitted on this one, which was to trump any Samian work!

We begin with the cup in Malibu, formerly in the Walter and Molly Bareiss collection<sup>6</sup> (figs. 1a–h). The shape and the outside decoration are very much like those of an Attic lip-cup of the smaller kind, and no doubt the shape, including that of the foot, and the details are derived from such cups. There are some features that make one think of rather earlier types of Attic cups, linked to Sianas, on which we are liable to find an ivy wreath on the lip (though on our cup the sinuous stalk, the white dots along the straight branch, and the amplitude of the leaf are very East Greek!). The handle-palmette with its use of incision likewise looks early in Attic terms (fig. 1d).

A cup in Oxford, once in the Spencer-Churchill collection, by the C Painter<sup>7</sup>—surprisingly enough not a Siana, but in shape almost a canonical lip-cup—has both the wreath on the lip and a palmette not unlike ours. It may be worth noting that the enthusiastic use of convolutions for the base of our palmette is specifically East Greek and not in this measure often found in Attic.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the regulation reserved narrow band, the rest of the bowl of the Oxford cup is entirely black, as we might expect. On the Malibu cup, however, we have at the base of the bowl a zone of short rays in close formation sprouting from the stem of the foot, topped rather in the manner of Fikellura by a band of short bars, dark and light in turn (fig. 1b). The general scheme may have been suggested by Attic Siana cups, which

this portion of the rosette is modern restoration. *Additional color* appears to be used for alternate fronds of the palmette and extensively to set off the different parts of the birds' bodies, plumages, and extremities. It is not now easy to describe the nature of this yellow-brown coloring, but it seems to be the result of the application of a pigment rather than the firing. White is used additionally for the lower body of a proportion of the birds and also for the upper part of their legs (as on the Alexandria fragment, see below [note 57] with our fig. 13b). White also for dots along the ivy branch, though much of this has faded. Reddish-brown clay, finely levigated. No discernible mica. The cup was found in Etruria (previous owner's information).

7. *ABV* 57,112. *Paralipomena*, p. 23; L. Burn and R. Glynn, comps.,



Figure 1e. Interior of cup, figure 1a.

tend to have rays and tongues near the base of their bowl. These are, however, by no means the only possible source for this feature.<sup>9</sup> Altogether the Attic influences—and these are the predominant ones on the outside of the cup—suggest a date before the middle of the century rather than after.

The interior of the bowl (fig. 1e) shows a central rosette pattern surrounded by the same “Fikellura-type”

band of short bars, dark and light in turn, as we found above the rays on the outside. The rest of the bowl is black until the offset lip, which features a progression of water birds prancing along “a kind of shore to this pool of the ‘wine-dark sea.’ Thus the water birds that parade around it in various stances are a pleasant, but natural conceit,” to quote from the apt description in the first full reproduction of the interior of the cup.<sup>10</sup> The birds

Beazley *Addenda* (Oxford, 1982), p. 5; (R. Blatter, *AA*, 1973, p. 69, fig. 2—profile view); description: J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932), p. 182.

8. Cf. Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, p. 107. Note also the lozenge between palmette and stalk and again below the volute on our cup. The latter recurs on the cup in Riehen, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 48.427, where the palmette is close to ours.

9. For the bars, see Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 71, fig. 10.5. But they are not confined to Fikellura. Apart from our (Samian) cup, note the bars below the rays on the stems of the three face-kantharoi from Chiusi, presumably Samian products, too. (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1529, nos. 2, 4, 5); see E. Paribeni, *Prospettiva* 5 (April 1976), p. 53, figs. 2–3 (Florence); Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 57.482–483 (East Berlin). The pertinence of

these feet has in all three cases been doubted (M. Martelli Cristofani, *Centre Bérard* 1978, p. 191 n. 130; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 102 n. 81). One has to assume that the doubts and even condemnation are justified, yet one may be permitted to wonder how it came about that the restorer in the last century managed to provide feet with so “correct” a decoration, whose appropriateness he could not have known.

For possible Laconian precedents to the rays on the bottom of the cup bowl, see below (note 54).

10. *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983, p. 10 (catalogue by M. True). Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, p. 97, took the same water birds on the Alexandria fragment from Naukratis (here fig. 13 and note 57) to be of an Egyptian

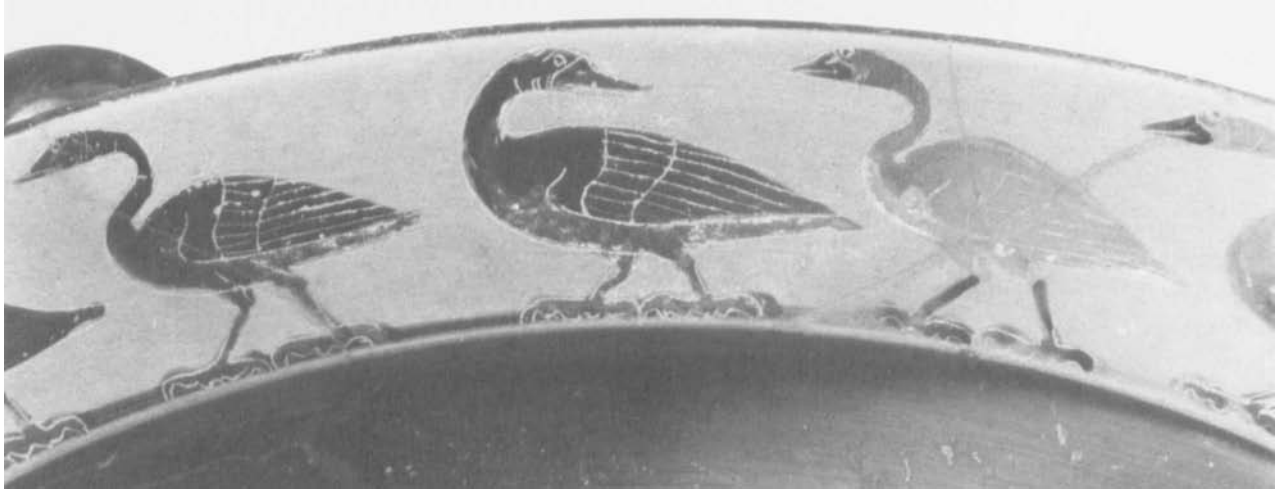


Figure 1f. Detail of interior rim of cup, figure 1a.

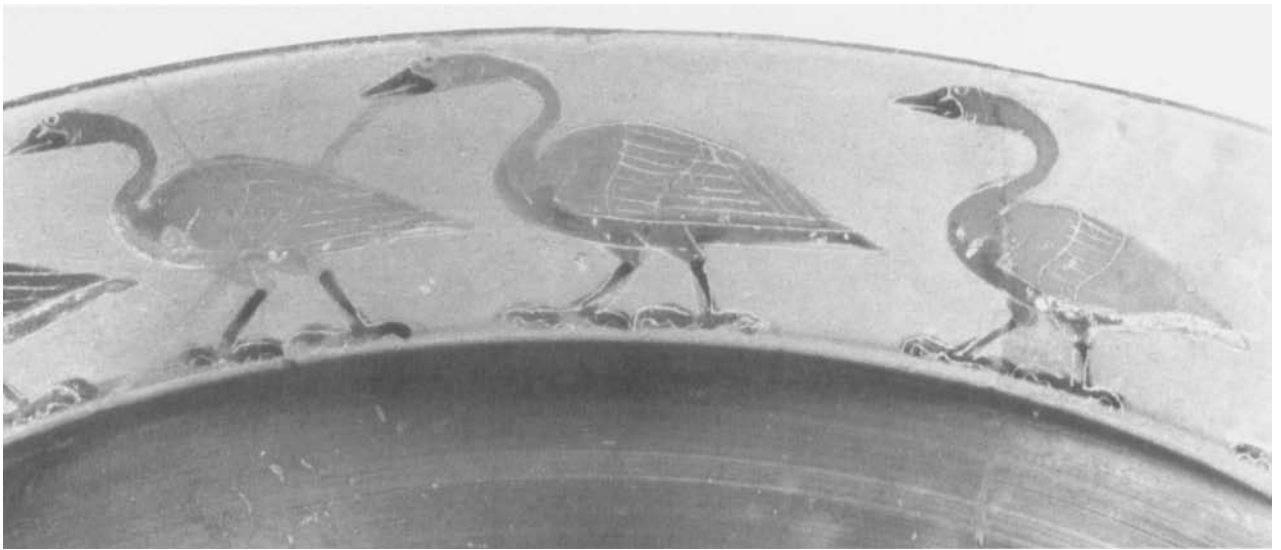


Figure 1g. Detail of interior rim of cup, figure 1a.



Figure 1h. Detail of interior rim of cup, figure 1a.

have their plumage and claws rendered in fine incision and there is some enhancement in white (figs. 1f–h). All this is in the tradition of East Greek plastic figure vases,<sup>11</sup> which no doubt provided the model for details of stylization, for this way of rendering birds had no previous history in East Greek vase-painting.

It is the central medallion (fig. 1e), which must attract our special interest, for it presents us with a rosette motif that, while it is not often found in Greek art, has a story to it of considerable interest, one that has only partially been explored by previous investigators.<sup>12</sup>

That the motif is of Near Eastern origin is universally acknowledged, and I can do no better than quote the late Richard Barnett's commentary on the Phoenician and Syrian ivory lids and panels from Nimrud, dating to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.: ". . . a networking of intersecting circles . . . , a geometric pattern, the laying out of which by means of compass was well understood in Western Asia from an early date, since it formed the subject of a mathematical problem on a clay tablet of the old Babylonian period. It appears on Assyrian reliefs of the eighth century depicting carpets, on Phoenician bowls, and on Greek reflections of Near Eastern art"<sup>13</sup> (fig. 2). What this "network of intersecting circles" produced is a profusion of rosettes where each petal serves two units, with the result that any one rosette, when plucked out of the net, not only has its complement of six petals radiating from the hub, but is circumscribed

breed, noting particularly the white breast and the white down covering the upper part of the legs. This point, made of course in ignorance of the birds' heads (which are missing on the Alexandria fragment), has not been taken up by commentators of either the Malibu cup or the Boston face-kantharos (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 55.480, here figs. 14a–b) where the bird friezes are identical in kind.

11. J. Ducat, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite* (Paris, 1966), pl. 12.3–4; cf. also A. P. Kozloff, ed., *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1981, no. 99 (with bibliography—Jennifer Neils).

12. Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pp. 123–127; P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art* (1944; Oxford, 1969), p. 73 n. 2; J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 84–86; M. Lerner-de Wilde, *Zirkelornamentik in der Kunst der Latènezeit* (Munich, 1977), pp. 65–67.

13. R. D. Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*. British Museum (1957; London, 1975), p. 64 (extended net pattern within circle and on flat panel). Other examples: *La Terra tra i Due Fiumi*, Turin and other cities, 1985–1987, no. 177, fig. p. 405 = Baghdad, Iraq Museum, from Nimrud. Carved ivory tusk with figural decoration on its sides (under its cut base, an extended net pattern circumscribed by oval-shaped frame; here fig. 2. "8th century B.C."), apparently not published before. J. W. and G. M. Crawfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (London, 1938), p. 41, pl. 21.8 (extended net pattern "first half of ninth century B.C."). The latter examples from Samaria are the earliest ones known to me, if indeed their early date can still be maintained; cf. I. J. Winter, *AJA* 80 (1976), p. 203; *Iraq* 43 (1981), pp. 123–125; B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion* (Hamburg, 1966), p. 68 with n. 353. For the pattern on metal and pottery bowls, see note 15. For carpets and the like, see note 43; cf. also note 15 on (e) for earliest occurrence.

by six more.<sup>14</sup> Such a configuration also shaped the voids between the petals into an autonomous and visually equivalent pattern of spherical triangles, a feature often emphasized by stippling or other surface treatment of the area. All this is clearly illustrated by the Phoenician bronze bowl N 49 from Nimrud in London, which by permission of the British Museum's Trustees and the kindness of Dr. J. E. Curtis of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, is reproduced here<sup>15</sup> (fig. 3). Near Eastern specialists date the bowl to the eighth century.

Clearly, the sudden appearance of such a pattern in the repertoire of Greek ornaments from the eighth century onward is unlikely to be sheer coincidence, but rather due to exposure to Near Eastern prototypes. There is indeed, as we shall see, some reason to believe that among the carriers of the motif to the Greek world were precisely the Phoenician bowls, of which we have just seen an example. On the whole, however, the Greek repertoire used the net patterns only very rarely, in contrast to the Near Eastern paradigm exemplified here, in addition to the Nimrud bowl just cited, by works in Baghdad (fig. 2; note 13), Los Angeles (fig. 4; note 15, item e), and, at one remove, in Nicosia (fig. 5; note 15, end). Unlike the Near East, Greek practice preferred the individual unit, albeit with the circumference of the six additional petals, thereby indicating its original setting as part of a net. It is perhaps not without interest to note

14. The construction of this compass-created pattern, though in fact extremely basic and elementary, has fascinated the modern geometric archaeologist, too; thus E. Reisinger, *Jdl* 31 (1916), p. 289; Boardman (note 12), p. 86 n. 3; B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (London and New York, 1971), p. 215; cf. also Lerner-de Wilde (note 12), pp. 16–18; E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order*, Ninth Wrightsman Lectures, New York University, Institute of Fine Art (Oxford, 1979), p. 69.

15. A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Niniveh*, second series (London, 1853), pl. 62A, whence Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, fig. 15. B. Borell, *Attisch Geometrische Schalen* (Mainz, 1978), p. 75, Or. 29. Here as (a) Other Phoenician bowls with the pattern; (b) London N 15, Layard (this note), pl. 61A; Borell (this note), p. 75, Or. 27, picture also in S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1968), p. 69, fig. 18; see below p. 50; (c) Louvre AO 20135 from Idalion, Cyprus; Borell (this note), p. 77, Or. 69. H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abt. 2, vol. 8 (Munich, 1985), no. 431, pl. 39. Markoe, *Bowls*, pp. 242–243 (ill.); (d) Sibari, Calabria, from Francavilla Maritima, see below (note 35); (e) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Ancient Near East Department, M 76.97.385. G. Markoe, ed., *Ancient Bronzes, Ceramics, and Seals: The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection of Ancient Near Eastern, Central Asiatic and European Art, Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation* (Los Angeles, 1981), p. 249, no. 1311 ("Phoenician. Second half eighth century B.C."): three-hub net pattern within circle, stippled voids; here fig. 4; (f) London 91420, from Nimrud; Borell (this note), p. 76, Or. 50 bis; R. Barnett, *BMQ* 32 (1967–1968), pls. 57–59a; idem, *RivStudFenici* 2 (1974), p. 21, fig. 2, pl. 2; cf. also the remarks *ibid.* pp. 21–22. This is a unique piece in that it has a single six-petaled rosette as center ornament with the



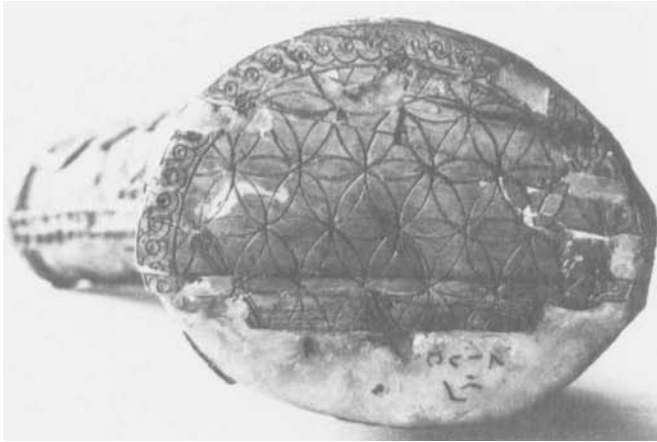


Figure 2. Carved ivory tusk from Nimrud. Design under cut base. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, 79508-7ND.6A/6B (from *La Terra tra i Due Fiumi*, p. 405, no. 177).

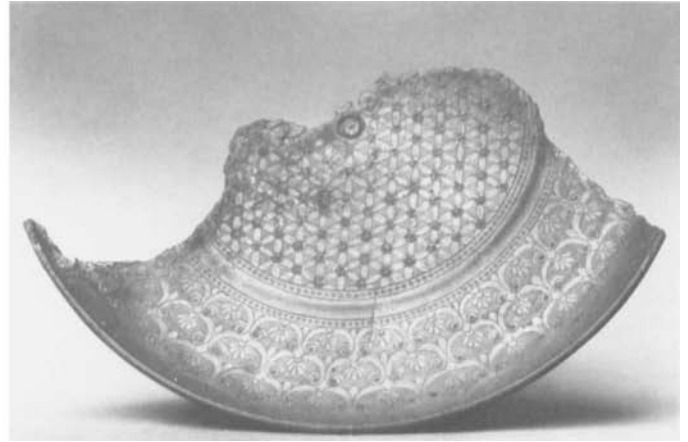


Figure 3. Phoenician bronze bowl from Nimrud. Interior. London, British Museum, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, N 49. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

that the few occurrences of the extended net pattern in the Near Eastern manner are either very early in the history of the motif in the Aegean or concentrated at a particular period of the sixth century in East Greece. Of that, however, more presently.

The most common occurrence of the rosette as an individual unit is as a shield device, where it is, of course, just one unit. Here it has a long career from the early seventh century to the second half of the sixth, with a special concentration in the second and third quarters of the sixth century in Attic black-figure.<sup>16</sup> In Olympia, in fact, a miniature bronze shield with the simple six-petaled rosette (without the additional circumference petals that make up the special character of our rosette) has survived, though it would not be easy to assign a close date to it.<sup>17</sup> As a central tondo device

spherical triangular voids picked out by stippling. The outer corona of petals is, however, omitted and, unlike the Greek central ornament of this type (as on the Malibu cup), the rosette floats unhugged within a much wider circle.

We append a striking Cypriot adaptation on the Bichrome IV clay bowl, Nicosia B 1962 (fig. 5), which has on its underside the net pattern (five hubs within a circle), P. Dikaios, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, 3rd ed. (Nicosia, 1961), p. 83, pl. 15.3; M. Yon, *Manuel de céramique chypriote*, vol. 1 (Lyons, 1976), p. 187 with fig. 71b. As a seventh-century piece it is appreciably later than its Phoenician models, and the pattern is in fact garbled and disorganized—there is a supernumerary pair of petals to each rosette! For further examples of the pattern in phoenicianizing Cypriot, see below (note 44).

This is also the place to point to some Phrygian and post-Phrygian period pottery fragments from Boghazköy, published in K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy, Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt* (Berlin, 1935), p. 59, pl. 14.6 (single unit within circle; hatching for the voids = H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* [Berlin, 1942], fig. 1064); pl. 18.2 (three hubs within circle; hatching for voids); pl. 18.1 (similar pattern?); pl. 18.4 (degenerate; several units?). The net pattern suggests a Near Eastern source ultimately.

within a circular area, it is otherwise rarer than we might have expected. Sixth-century examples (apart from the East Greek ones, among them the Malibu cup) are few indeed. For Attica we can cite the early sixth-century lekanoïd bowl with cup handles, once attributed by Beazley to the Panther Painter, but eliminated from his later list;<sup>18</sup> and a little later, there is the striking plate, Copenhagen ABC 1017, which had been assigned to Corinthian by Knud Friis Johansen and Emil Kunze, but now is claimed for Attic by Denise Callipolitis-Feytmans.<sup>19</sup> In both cases, the motif is the central device of a tondo.

It is the eighth and the seventh centuries, however, that should claim our special attention, for there we approach the time when the motif made the transition from the Near East to the Greek world; therefore, each

16. From the Painter of Akropolis 606, *ABV* 81.5 (Tübingen) to the Swing Painter, *Paralipomena*, p. 133, no. 18 ter, dated by E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (Mainz, 1982), no. 54, pl. 57, to circa 525–520 (p. 57). More in Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, p. 123 n. 186; also, Jacobsthal (note 12), p. 73 n. 2. Add, e.g., the black-figure fragments (hydria?) from Cyrene (Demeter sanctuary), D. White, *Expedition 17.4* (1975), p. 10, fig. 3—shield device, early; the kantharos, P. Courbin, *BCH* 76 (1952), pls. 16–17, very early; amphora fragment from Ampurias, J.-J. Jully, *RBPhil* 54 (1976), pp. 25–51, pls. 3–4 (“3rd quarter sixth century”); black-figure lekythos, circa 520 B.C., Reggio, Calabria, from Caulonia necropolis.

17. A. Furtwängler, *Olympia*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1890), pl. 62.1005.

18. *ABV* 18.6; not in the reconstituted list in *Paralipomena*, pp. 11–12. Full publication, Basel, Münzen und Medaillen, Sale 40, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (December 13, 1969), no. 57.

19. D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les plats attiques à figures noires* (Paris, 1974), pp. 67–69, pl. 16 below. *CVA Copenhagen* 2, pl. 92.2; cf. Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pp. 123–124 (“Corinthian”); H. Payne, *JHS* 47 (1927), p. 158 (“perhaps Attic”). For more instances on rather minor plates during the period, see Callipolitis-Feytmans, pp. 169–170 n. 2, p. 183, and index p. 498 (“étoile de pétales encadrée de pétales”).

example deserves scrutiny. The earliest occurrence known to me is on the underside of a Middle Geometric Attic pyxis from the Kerameikos, that is to say sometime in the second quarter of the eighth century.<sup>20</sup> Even though that period saw particularly lively contacts between Attica and the Near East and would therefore provide a plausible scenario for transference,<sup>21</sup> the possibility, advocated by Bernhard Schweitzer, that we have here a case of Mycenaean survival cannot be dismissed out of hand.<sup>22</sup> Certainly it is a surprisingly early occurrence of the motif in its full canonical manifestation. Another somewhat later eighth-century example is provided by the Cretan shield relief from the Idaean Cave, where our rosette appears as the central device on the omphalos. These bronze shields are considered to be of local workmanship for local cult use, but under strong Near Eastern influence.<sup>23</sup>

Other eighth-century occurrences tend to be uncanonical in some way or other. There is a Late Geometric krater in Rhodes, where the motif consists of a quatrefoil rosette with half-leaves on four sides of the metope.<sup>24</sup> At the very end of the century, we have from a votive deposit in the Heraion at Samos a terracotta tray with our motif on the bottom surface, but as an eight-petaled device and therefore rather different in appearance from what we have come to expect.<sup>25</sup>

For the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century, Crete provides a pithos lid “shaped like a tin helmet” of possibly Late Geometric or more probably Early Orientalizing date. Here our rosette forms the centerpiece in a series of concentric zones descending the side of the lid.<sup>26</sup> More interesting perhaps are the two Cretan seventh-century flat trays with relief pattern that Kunze drew attention to when discussing our pattern. Though its rosette is not quite canonical—it lacks

20. K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, vol. 5, part 1 (Berlin, 1954), p. 276 (inv. 795), pl. 65; cf. J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), p. 26 (“MG II”).

21. Coldstream (note 20), p. 349, as against P. J. Riis, *Sukas*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1970), p. 163, who rather soft-pedals on the Attic links.

22. Schweitzer (note 14), p. 34 with figs. 11b and e.

23. Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, p. 18, no. 27, pl. 34. Cf. Rolley, *Greek Minor Arts: The Bronzes* (Leiden, 1967), fig. 161. For the eighth-century dating, cf. apart from Kunze: *Dädalische Kunst*, Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1970, pp. 16–18 (article by J. Boardman); also idem, *The Greeks Overseas* (London, 1980), pp. 58–60; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977), pp. 287–288.

24. *ClRh* 4 (1931), p. 345, fig. 381 (Kameiros, Checraci Gr. 200); cf. Coldstream (note 20), p. 274.

25. R. Eilmann, *AthMitt* 58 (1933), p. 110, Beilage 33.2. Walter, *Samos*, pp. 28–30, fig. 16, pl. 18.105; cf. Coldstream (note 23), p. 254 with fig. 82b (reverse side).

26. H. Payne, *BSA* 29 (1927–1928), p. 246, no. 60 bis, figs. 34, 41, pls. 8–9. I owe help with the dating of this and other Cretan material to Nicolas Coldstream.



Figure 4. Phoenician bronze bowl, second half of eighth century B.C. Interior. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.76.97.385, The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection of Ancient Near Eastern and Central Asian Art. Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation. Photo, courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Figure 5. Cypriot Bichrome IV bowl. Design on bottom underside. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, B 1962. Photo, courtesy Cyprus Museum.

the peripheral petals—the fragment from Knossos shows that the ornament here was part of an extended circular net pattern. The other tray, from near Mirabello, has inserted into an area of crescents an extract from an extended rosette net quite in the Near Eastern manner,<sup>27</sup> and there can be little doubt about the nature of the model in both these instances.

It is time now to return to the Greek mainland and consider the pair of gigantic Boeotian bow fibulae of bronze, now in West Berlin, but once in Paul Arndt's collection in Munich. They have been dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>28</sup> Intriguingly, we see here our rosette as a circular motif indeed, but as part of a larger complex of three hubs across each way. It is a net, therefore, but one that is encompassed in a circle. Kunze rightly saw that this exactly repeats the Phoenician bronze bowl from Nimrud, British Museum N 15.<sup>29</sup> There the central tondo, within a large central star pattern, is formed by our motif. The rest of the bowl is filled with concentric animal friezes interrupted by janiform “herms” or rather “mummies.” This particular one comes from Nimrud and will not have given the impetus to Greek work, but a sister piece presumably from the same workshop did reach the Greek world, having been found in Olympia.<sup>30</sup> Its central medallion is practically identical to the one from Nimrud, but the inner tondo, which should have shown our motif, was in this instance left unworked. It is, however, entirely likely that another companion piece was one of the carriers that brought or reinforced knowledge of and taste for the rosette pattern to the Greek world. Reverting to the Boeotian pair of fibulae in Berlin, we might recall at this stage that the matching pair of bow fibulae in

London (from Thebes?) has a design which, too, was taken from Near Eastern art, though here the obvious prototype is on ivory dishes from Megiddo,<sup>31</sup> which are substantially earlier, reaching back into the Late Bronze Age. However, that gap may be apparent rather than real and due to chance of survival.

For Attica, we should recall for this period the proto-Attic terracotta votive shield of the first half of the seventh century that shows our rosette as a single unit in full canonical form.<sup>32</sup> Sparta, too, provides an example on the well-known ivory relief depicting a ship full of warriors, where the rosette serves as shield device. Its date is put toward the end of the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>33</sup>

Attica, Boeotia, Sparta, Crete—these with the addition of some uncanonical strays from Rhodes and Samos—are the areas that seem to produce the earliest Greek occurrences of our motif in the eighth and seventh centuries. Is it just by chance that these areas correspond more or less broadly to the distribution of the Phoenician metal bowls during that same period in the Greek world?<sup>34</sup> Of course, the point cannot be pressed too far. Neither is the correspondence total, nor do we know what other luxury imports from the Near East reached the same areas without surviving. However, the general point is valid. The areas that had adopted the Near Eastern rosette pattern are by and large those that we know from other evidence to have been recipients of luxury imports from the eastern Mediterranean.

A word still on the early occurrences of the motif in Italy. The earliest is well outside the Etruscan area, but, of course, along Phoenician trade routes to the West. I refer to the bowl in Sibari, from Francavilla Maritima, which has been dated to the second half of the eighth

27. Knossos: P. Orsi, *AJA* (Second Series) 1 (1897), p. 261, fig. 9. Mirabello: J. P. Droop, *BSA* 12 (1905–1906), p. 35, figs. 15–16.

28. E. Reisinger, *JdI* 31 (1916), pp. 289–290, pls. 17–18 (drawing); U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen, and N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, 1968), pp. 28–29, pl. 6. R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien* (Athens, 1936), pls. 4–5; cf. also Schweitzer (note 14), pp. 215–216; Coldstream (note 23), p. 206 with fig. 66c.

29. See above (note 15), (b).

30. Furtwängler (note 17), p. 141, col. 1, pl. 52, bottom row, left and center; Borell (note 15), p. 78, Or. 96; Markoe, *Bowls*, pp. 204 (G3), 316–319 (ill.); Moscati (note 15), p. 73, fig. 22. The correspondence with the Nimrud bowl, London N 15, was already noted by I. Ström, *Problems Concerning the Origins and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense, 1971), p. 118 with n. 211, and before by H. Frankfort (below [note 43]), pp. 198–199.

31. London fibulae and the Megiddo ivories: Schweitzer (note 14), pp. 213–214, figs. 125–126 with p. 334 n. 62. Similar pattern on seventh-century Etruscan silver cista from Praeneste (tomba Castellani): *Civiltà del Lazio Primitivo*, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 1976, p. 218, no. 1, pl. 44c. Ivory disc, T. J. Dunbabin, ed., *Perachora*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1962), pl. 186, A 198. Megiddo ivories: G. Loud, *The*

*Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), pl. 29.151.

32. D. Burr (Thompson), *Hesperia* 2 (1933), p. 612, no. 287, fig. 79.

33. R. M. Dawkins, ed., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper 5 (London, 1929), pp. 214–215, pls. 109–110; J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 83 (Arch. no. 31), pl. 10d—drawing; E.-L. I. Marangou, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Bein-schnitzereien* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 83–90, fig. 68 (photograph; shield device invisible).

34. Distribution maps in Borell (note 15), p. 80, fig. 12; Markoe, *Bowls*, end map. For Athens, a sizable group of Late Geometric deep cups is held to have been influenced by these Phoenician metal bowls; Schweitzer (note 14), p. 52; Borell (note 15), *passim*.

35. P. Zancani Montuoro, *AttiMGrecia* 11–12 (1970–1971), pp. 9–33, pl. 8 (drawing); Borell (note 15), p. 78, Or. 102; Markoe, *Bowls*, pp. 161–162, 232 (ill.), 143–144. R. D. Barnett, *RivStudFenici* 2 (1974), pp. 22–23 called it a “local, perhaps Sicilian-Phoenician variant of the one-handled bowl,” but he never to my knowledge expanded on this. In fact, the handle is evidently a later “local” addition, though apparently of Near Eastern origin, too. Unlike the other Phoenician bowls, this one is lipped like the ones from Mesopotamia; cf. R. W. Hamilton, *Iraq* 28 (1966), pp. 1–17. There seems no good reason not to accept this piece

century.<sup>35</sup> Here the central roundel consists of a circular net of rosettes with five hubs across each way, therefore, larger than the Nimrud bowl, London N 15, which has three hubs. The rest is filled with concentric zones of animals and egyptianizing motifs. In this area of South Italy, however, no reflections of this imported influence are as yet discernible. The situation is otherwise in Etruria. Here, during the seventh century, there are numerous examples of the motif, always to my knowledge as single units, never as part of a net. This observation may have some relevance to the question of where and how the Etruscans obtained their knowledge of this pattern. Against what one would be inclined to assume on general grounds, namely that the influence came directly through Near Eastern imports, it is arguable that the knowledge came via Greek works, which, as we have seen, tended to avoid the net pattern and confine the use to the single unit.

The Etruscan examples have been collected and commented upon by Kunze and Jacobsthal (above [note 12]), and only very few additions need be made. It is, however, worth looking at them again as a whole, noting their distribution in time and place. We begin with the guilloche-framed rosettes along the side cladding of the chariot in the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri and the corner rosettes placed on the head platform of the bronze bed from the same grave. Cerveteri too is the find place of the puzzling perfume bottle of dark steatite-like stone, with gold-leaf enhancement, from the tomba degli Alari of the Banditaccia cemetery, dated in the later second half of the seventh century. Its neck is formed by a woman's head with a polos and long Hathor tresses. The piece is generally considered to be a Near Eastern import, "chiaramente orientale per materia, forma ed ele-

as a genuine Near Eastern import; cf. also the description and analysis in G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien* (Leiden, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 311–312; vol. 2, catalogue no. 1265. The very early date for the grave group advocated in the original publication is now lowered to Late Geometric, as Juliette de La Genière tells me.

36. Cerveteri: *Regolini-Galassi tomb*. Chariot: Helbig<sup>4</sup> vol. 1, under no. 670; O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie* (Stockholm, 1895–1910), pl. 339.13; L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi* (Vatican City, 1947), pl. 25.227; J. Swaddling, ed., *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum* (London, 1986), p. 428, fig. 15 (details, H. Salskov Roberts). Contrast the Etruscan guilloche-framed single rosette with the Nimrud ivory tusk similarly framed but with the oriental net pattern (here fig. 2). Bronze bed: Helbig<sup>4</sup> vol. 1, no. 672; Montelius (this note), pl. 336.15; Pareti (this note), pl. 30 top. *Steatite-like stone bottle*: Fully illustrated only by A. Rathje, in K. Ascani et al., eds., *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup Septuagenarii* (Odense, 1976), pp. 10–19, figs. 1–4; eadem, in D. and F. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans* (London, 1979), pp. 171–174, fig. 11.1–3. The rosette, being carved here, lacks precision. A curving band snakes behind the petals, as it does behind the pendant arcs along the side of the vessel. For the tomb, see G. Ricci, *MonAnt* 42 (1955), cols. 329–345. Helbig<sup>4</sup>, vol. 3, no. 2592 (Dohrn/Parlasca). Quotation from M. Santangelo, *Musei e*

menti decorativi" says Maria Santangelo, speaking for many. Yet despite the exotic material (which could have been imported unworked, as ivory was), the case is not as conclusive as this statement implies, and arguments can be deployed for Italian workmanship, admittedly of oriental inspiration. The presence on the underside of our motif as a single large unit, covering the whole of the available space, if anything, speaks against oriental production. Since the other decorative elements too are quite at home in orientализing Etruria, I am inclined to consider seriously an Italic origin for the piece.

Further north but still along the coastal stretch we find our rosette in Marsiliana d'Albegna and in Vetulonia. From Marsiliana we have the well-known ivory pyxis from the Circolo degli Avori. Its underside has the crisply engraved rosette of our type covering the whole of the resting surface. Here again the date is mid-seventh century. From Vetulonia we have the hoplite stele for Avele Feluske, equipped with Corinthian helmet and a shield with our device, quite in the Greek manner. The stele is dated midway in the second half of the seventh century.<sup>36</sup>

Rather further inland, but still within the ambit of Vulci, along the Fiora Valley, is Sovana, where the now lost Tyszkiewicz bronze bowl was found. This bowl has been assigned to a variety of production centers, but persuasively been argued by Friedrich Hiller to be Etruscan work. A date in the third quarter of the seventh century seems likely enough. Here our rosette is again the central motif of the internal display surface, which in turn is surrounded by a fringe of insubstantial tongues onto which six griffin protomes are grafted in surprisingly inorganic junction.<sup>37</sup>

Turning to Etruria Interna we have to cite two in-

*monumenti etruschi* (Novara, 1960), p. 149. *Marsiliana d'Albegna*: A. Minto, *Marsiliana d'Albegna* (Florence, 1921), p. 223, fig. 14c; F. Nicosia, in *Etrusker in der Toskana*, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1987, no. 1.213 (pp. 158–160, fig. 213—after restoration, with important discussion). The suggestion by Markoe, *Bowls*, p. 141 that the pyxis may be Phoenician or Syrian import founders on the numerous specifically Etruscan features of the piece, among which we may also number the presence of the single rosette rather than the net pattern. *Vetulonia stele*: G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. 59.1.

37. *MarbWinckProg* 1963, pp. 27–32—with reproduction. Primary publication: W. Froehner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz* (Munich, 1892), p. 13, pl. 15 ("from Sovana, of bronze. Diameter: 24 cm"); Paris, Salle Drouot, (sale June 8–10, 1898), no. 144—no illustration (W. Froehner). Henceforth: "lost." The error in Luschey and Beazley (see below, this note) that the bowl is of silver may be due to a confusion with the *silver* Phoenician bowl from Pontecagnano, also once in the Tyszkiewicz collection (Drouot, 1898, sale 220), and now in Paris, Petit Palais; cf. Markoe, *Bowls*, p. 198 E 10.

For other stylistic attributions, *East Greek*: Furtwängler (note 17), p. 142 (no. 883); W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), p. 68, pl. 18b; F. Villard, *MonPiot* 48 (1956), p. 37 n. 1 (with survey of

stances, both of which fall near enough within the same timespan as the ones from coastal Etruria. The first occurrence is on the lid of the bronze amphora with engraved decoration now in West Berlin. The piece, long known only from the drawing in Montelius, has now been illustrated in a collective photograph. It is reported to come from Chiusi and is usually considered to have been produced there during the second half of the seventh century. Here on the lid our motif is the center piece surrounded by a frieze of palmettes linked by interlacing arcs. Finally, again from the area surrounding Lake Trasimene, we have the stele from Monte Guandolo at the border between Perugia and Cortona, and now in the museum at Perugia. Here in the combat scene between two warriors our rosette serves as shield device of one of them in the Greek manner.<sup>38</sup>

It seems then that both in the coastal and in the inland areas of Etruria the currency of our motif was restricted to the middle and the second half of the seventh century, probably introduced through Greek models rather than through any direct Near Eastern influence.

It is time now to return to the Malibu cup, which has been the starting point of our survey. We have already observed that our motif does not appear to have a solid tradition in East Greece. The very early examples from Rhodes and Samos were uncanonical. From the full seventh century, Kunze was only able to cite the ivory pinhead from Kameiros in the British Museum,<sup>39</sup> and subsequent finds have not, as far as I am aware, modified this picture. In view of the rich Near Eastern imports to the sanctuaries at Ephesos, Samos, and Lindos, this may seem rather surprising.<sup>40</sup> Then suddenly in the mid-sixth century, a spate of instances can be observed, apparently centered on Samos or Miletos. More than that even. At this time, the use on the mainland, virtually confined to Attica, is essentially as a shield device. Not so on Samos. Here we have it as a central tondo decoration (as on our Malibu cup) and, most surprising of all, as a net pattern, quite in the Phoenician manner and virtually unprecedented in Aegean lands. Once noted, this phenomenon deserves looking into.

previous opinions); E. Walter-Karydi, in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei*. *AntK*, Beiheft 7 (1970), p. 16 "Aeolian." *Corinthian*: Froehner (this note); Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pp. 111, 282—addenda; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), p. 271 n. 1; H. Lushey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode, 1939), pp. 36 n. 240, 140 n. 786; F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1950), pp. 424–425, 528 n. 530, fig. 30; J. D. Beazley, *AntK* 4 (1961), p. 61; H. V. Herrmann, *OlForsch*, vol. 11, part 2 (Berlin, 1979), p. 129 n. 31. See now also M. Martelli Cristofani, *Centre Bérard* 1978, pp. 168–170 ("Etruscan").

38. *Bronze amphora*: West Berlin, inv. Misc. 7031. H: 61.7 cm. The piece, published in drawings in Montelius (above [note 36]), pl. 228.1, was subsequently lost sight of, considered "lost" or even as figment of

Let us briefly survey the relevant material. First, the rosette as single unit serving as tondo motif:

1. Cup. Samos, Heraion, North Gate no. 131. H. P. Isler, in *Centre Bérard* 1978, p. 79 (e variant), pl. 37, figs. 26–28; idem, *Samos*, vol. 4 (Bonn, 1978), p. 94, no. 131, pls. 48–49, Beilage 1—"mid-sixth century." Note that the rosette is eight-petaled, but the general appearance is entirely canonical. The inside of the bowl with its animal frieze and the zone of "skittles" surrounding the central tondo reminds one of some of the Phoenician bowls, but this may be coincidence. The cup is slipped and has its linear details in reserved technique. Light brown clay, micaceous. Should be Fikellura, i.e., Milesian.

2. Cup. Histria; fragmentary. Rosette is eight-petaled, as in (1). Main zone of inside wall consists of interlaced pomegranates. P. Alexandrescu, *Histria*, vol. 4 (Bucharest and Paris, 1978), no. 199, pl. 20 "mid-sixth century—Fikellura." Central fragment only: E. Condurachi, *Histria*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1954), p. 403, fig. 273; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, no. 325, pl. 39, p. 47, fig. 80. P. Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983), p. 34 (clay analysis: Miletos).

3. Cup. Etruria. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.57, ex-Bareiss no. 208. Here figs. 1a–h, see above (note 6). *Bareiss* (see note 10), p. 10 (inside of cup), p. 69, no. 22 ("circa 530 B.C."). E. Langlotz, *Studien zur Nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975), p. 193 n. 78, pl. 67, fig. 8 (part of inside of lip); cf. also K. Schauenburg, in *Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei*, *AntK*, Beiheft 7 (1970), p. 35 n. 26. Presumably Samian.

(1) and (2) are stemless cups with ring foot. For these, cf. Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, p. 117 n. 2; Cook, *Fikellura*, pp. 44–46, p. 58, fig. 7, Group W, "end of the first half of the sixth century." (3) is a stemmed cup on the model of the Attic Little-Master cup.

We turn now to the rosette-net patterns. These are not the limited net circles that we have met both on Phoenician bowls and on the Berlin Boeotian fibulae, but nets with infinite lateral spread. Hence, they appear on the

confusion. It has now reemerged, and a small picture is in W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Antikenmuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke*. Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin, 1988), p. 200.1. For the lid, however, Montelius remains the only published source. For bibliography on this amphora, cf. also I. Ström, in Swaddling (above [note 36]), p. 56 n. 9. It is usually discussed in connection with the closely related Cannicella bronze amphora in Florence from Orvieto, thus: Cl. Laviosa, in *Nuove letture di monumenti etrusche*. Soprintendenza all'Antichità d'Etruria (Florence, 1971), pp. 53–59, pls. 17–20. Camporeale, in *Aspetti e problemi dell'Etruria Interna*. VIII<sup>o</sup> Convegno Nazionale di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Florence, 1974), pp. 117–118. Ample photographic coverage with discussion in F. Johansen, *Reliefs en*

outsides of vessels (except for no. 8 below).

The pieces are listed by shape:

1. Oinochoe. Naukratis; fragmentary. London 1949.5-16.18; 1949.5-16.16; 88.6-1.556b; 88.6-1.556c; and other fragments not showing our motif. R. M. Cook, *CVA British Museum 8*, pl. 9 (Great Britain 575), fig. 4. Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, no. 43, pl. 3 (better picture). Fikellura (Miletos).

2. Oinochoe. Histria V 1225; fragmentary. P. Alexandrescu, *Histria*, vol. 4 (1978), no. 188, pl. 20; cf. R. M. Cook, *CVA British Museum 8*, p. 3, no. U 9, "mid-sixth century." Fikellura. P. Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983), p. 34 (clay analysis: Miletos).

3. Oinochoe. Pantikapaion; fragmentary. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, M-1120, M-63, and more, fragments from 1963 season. N. A. Sidorova, *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia Izobrazitelnykh Iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 110-111, no. 1, fig. 1 (whence here fig. 6), "mid-sixth century." Fikellura (Miletos).

4. Oinochoe. Samos; fragmentary. Mentioned in Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 43 (no. U 2). Fikellura (Miletos).

5. Aryballos. No provenance. Bochum University S 1030 (fig. 7). N. Kunisch, *AA*, 1972, pp. 553-567; idem, *Antiken der Sammlung J. C. und M. Funcke* (Bochum, 1977), no. 56; H. C. Eberthäuser and M. Waltz, *Vasen-Bronzen-Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums* (Munich, 1981), p. 102, fig. 120; I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst* (Munich, 1983), p. 25, fig. 17. Fikellura (Miletos).

6. Krater. Taranto; fragmentary. Whereabouts unknown (fig. 8); cf., however, below, this page. Considered by its publisher (who had not seen the fragment) to be Rhodian; cf., however, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 106 n. 149 ("Laconian with use of Samian motive." This seems unlikely, but is not impossible). E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik* (Athens, 1938), p. 68, fig. 7. The picture there suggests the presence of slip, partly rubbed off.

7. Cup (stemless with ring foot). Naukratis. London

*bronze d'Etrurie* (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 1971), pls. 38-40. Of these only Laviosa has published pictures after the cleaning consequent upon the inundation disaster. A picture in the cleaned state, which has revealed many new details, also in M. Pallottino, et al., *Rasenna. Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* (Milan, 1986), fig. 492. Detail before cleaning also in Swaddling (above [note 36]), p. 428, fig. 14 (Salskov Roberts). The animal friezes allow dating and placement of this amphora—late seventh century. The Berlin amphora must be of similar date. *Monte Gualandro stele*: Giglioli (above [note 36]), pl. 59. 4.

39. D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (London, 1908), pl. 31.5. Actually the device as a single unit is current on small-sized ivory discs quite widely and in areas where it is not otherwise found. Thus in

88.6-1.556z. R. M. Cook, *CVA British Museum 8*, pl. 14 (Great Britain 581), fig. 3. Outside pattern. Inside: bitch. Idem, *Fikellura*, p. 45 (no. W 6), pl. 1a-c (a is upside down), "about 560-550 B.C." Fikellura (Miletos).

8. Stemmed cup. No provenance. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 83.39 (fig. 9). Ionian Little-Master cup, though the shape is more like that of a conventional "Ionian cup" with high foot. Inside roundel: two komasts (incision). Inner lip: continuous net of three-quarter rosettes of our type. I am most grateful to Adriana Calinescu, Curator of Ancient Art at Indiana University Art Museum, for bringing the cup to my attention and allowing me to illustrate it here. Her publication of the cup is in *Indiana University Art Museum Bulletin* 2.2 (1986) ("Recent Acquisitions"). The date should be in the second quarter of the century. Presumably Samian.

To these eight East Greek examples, an Attic singleton has to be added; a piece which, I have little doubt, was directly inspired by such Samian or Milesian prototypes as the Bochum aryballos, number 5 in our list here.

9. Attic black-figured "oon" fragment. From the Kerameikos cemetery. Athens, Kerameikos Museum. R. Lullies, *JdI* 61-62 (1946-1947), pp. 64-65, pl. 13, no. 43 ("second half of sixth century").

Except for number 8, each of these vases has the rosette net on the outside surface. A further piece may have to be placed here: P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art* (1944; Oxford, 1969), p. 73 n. 2—"fragment in Scheurleer collection, the Hague." Dr. Robert Lusingh Scheurleer very kindly tells me that the fragment is not now in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, and that he has no knowledge of its whereabouts. Jacobsthal could hardly have had in mind our number 6, which immediately precedes it in his list?

What this survey of the material of the middle decades of the sixth century has revealed for Samos above all is truly remarkable. Whereas the list of tondo devices, which includes our Malibu cup, is not particularly large, that of the extended net pattern is. There was, one sus-

addition to Rhodes also in Gordion (disc as furniture decoration, Megaron 3; later eighth-century context, unpublished. Information kindly supplied by Elizabeth Simpson, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Perachora (Dunbabin [note 31], pl. 186, A 222—disc; pls. 183-185, A 134, A 155, A 157—central device on ivory spectacle fibulae; seventh-century "Protocorinthian strata"; perhaps local manufacture, *ibid.* p. 433—J. M. Stubbings).

40. For an analysis of "foreign" imports and dedications at selected Greek sanctuaries, including Samos, during the eighth and much of the seventh centuries, see I. Kilian-Dirlmeyer, *RGZM* 32 (1985), pp. 235ff.

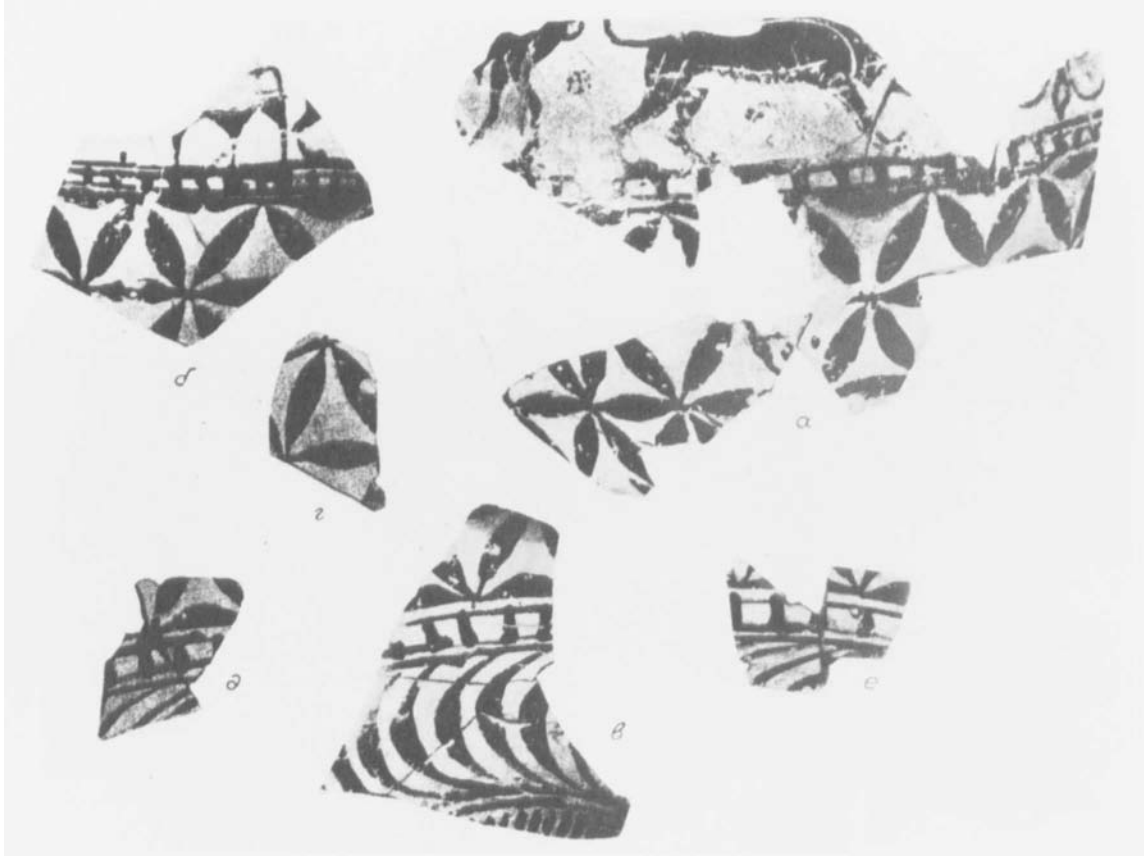


Figure 6. Fikellura oinochoe fragments from Pantikapaion. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, M-1120+ (from *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Muzeiya Izobrazitelnykh Iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina*, vol. 4 [1968], pp. 110–111, fig. 1).

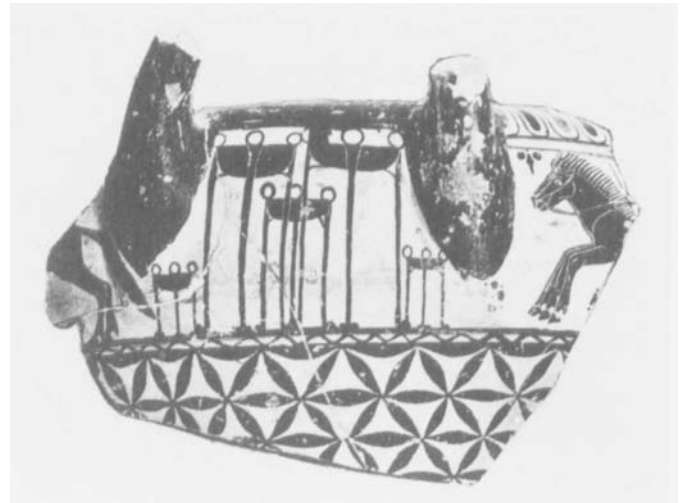


Figure 7. Left, Fikellura aryballos. Bochum, Archaeological Institute of the University, S 1030. Photo, courtesy Archaeological Institute of the Ruhr University.

Figure 8. Above, Krater fragment. From Taranto, present whereabouts unknown (from E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik* [Athens, 1938], fig. 7).



Figure 9. Ionian Little-Master cup. Interior. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 83.39. Photo, courtesy Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, Michael Cavanaugh and Kevin Montague.

pects, something before the middle of the sixth century, presumably in Miletos or Samos, which engaged the attention of one or more artists, who for a short while adopted the pattern and influenced their colleagues to do likewise. Thereafter, the pattern lapsed into obscurity<sup>41</sup>

41. There are some few classical occurrences, such as the late fifth-century bronze sieves (single unit, perforation pattern) from Ugento, Apulia, and from Youroukler, Turgovishte, Bulgaria (Lo Porto, *AttiMGrecia* 11–12 [1970–1971], pl. 51D–E, p. 126, no. 10; I. Velkov, *BIABulg* 5 [1928–1929], p. 41, fig. 52). Rather interesting is the presence of our pattern as an extended net covering the belly all the way round on the fragmentary early Celtic spouted bronze flagon from Eygenbilzen, now in Brussels, probably of late fifth-century date, see Jacobsthal (note 12), p. 202, no. 390, pls. 194.390, 266.144. Flagons of this kind, as the more famous pieces in Reinheim and Waldalgesheim show, were decorated with most intricate compass-drawn extended patterns (ibid., pp. 73, 81), and likely enough the creation of ours on the Eygenbilzen flagon was quite independent of any Mediterranean or Near Eastern model; cf. also Lenerz-de Wilde (note 12), pp. 99, 117 (Somme-Bionne).

42. E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompei*, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1938), pls. 28.1 (“carpet,” extended net pattern), 33.4 (net pattern within circle), 44.6 (central tondo, net pattern within circle); R. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Painting and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933), no. 10 (Carthage; extended net pattern); F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1978), no. 24 (Utica; extended net pattern); S. Adhami

until it experienced a renaissance on black-and-white floor mosaics of the early Roman empire,<sup>42</sup> harking back, if one may put it that way, to its similar use in Assyrian palaces in the early first millennium.<sup>43</sup>

It is, of course, pure speculation to suggest that what

and S. Anamali, *Mosaïques de l’Albanie* (Tirana, 1975), p. 17 below (Apollonia Illyrica; three-hub net pattern within circle); C. Balmalle et al., *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine* (Paris, 1985), pls. 45c (single unit in a series), 241c (single unit in central roundel), 391e–g (extended net pattern)—all in France.

Presumably the pattern was a Roman reinvention. If there was any influence from the past, it is perhaps, in view of the extensive use of the net pattern, more likely to have come from the Near East than from the Greek world. We note in this respect the facade of the Parthian-period palace at Assur, W. Andrae and H. Lenze, *Die Partherstadt Assur* (Leipzig, 1933), pl. 15d–f, 14 (reconstruction of net pattern).

43. Barnett (note 13), quoted on p. 47; cf. also, Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pp. 126–127. Assyrian floor slabs: H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum* (Paris, 1928), pl. 56 (“carpet,” extended net pattern) from Kuyunjik; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 103, fig. 40 (“carpet,” extended net pattern) from Khorsabad. For the extended net pattern as cladding on the sides of ceremonial war chariots, see B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965), pl. 27.4 (seventh century); W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient* (Berlin, 1975), pl. 239 (chariot of Assurbanipal, seventh century).



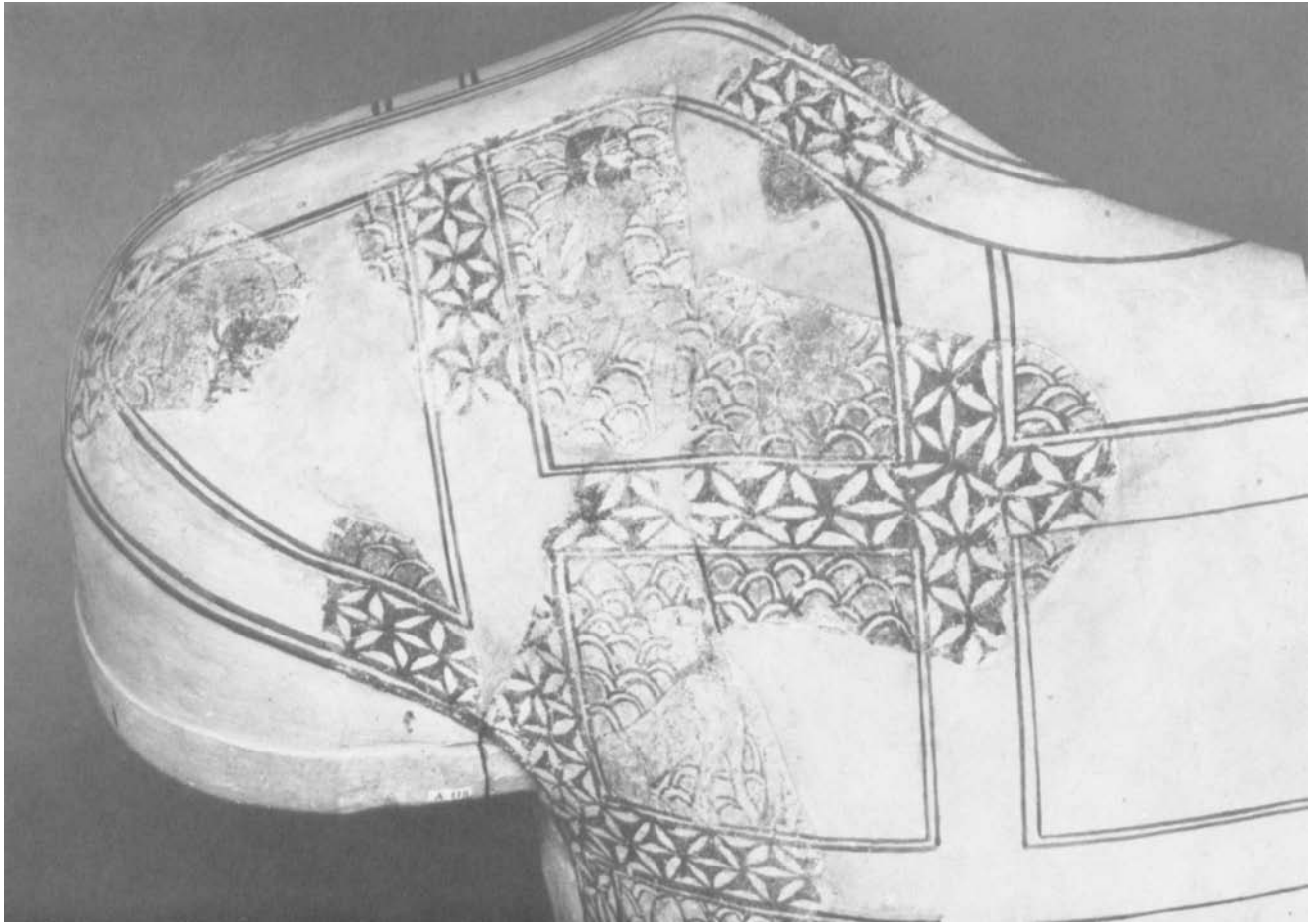


Figure 10. Cypriot terracotta torso. From Salamis. Bichrome V. London, British Museum, A 107–113. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

sparked off the interest was a display, available in the Samian Heraion or at Didyma, of Phoenician or phoenicianizing work dedicated in the sanctuary. Here the fact that there was so strong and for the Greek world unparalleled a stress on the net pattern suggests that Near Eastern or Cypriot objects, perhaps textiles, may in fact

44. The piece figured here as representative of such Cypriot phoenicianizing textiles is the well-known terracotta torso from the Tumba site near Salamis (perhaps still of seventh-century date, as Veronica Tatton-Brown suggests to me), H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), A 107–113, fig. 4; H. Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen, 1951), figs. 69–70; Veronica Wilson (Tatton-Brown), in *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et Archéologie*, Lyons Colloquium 1978 (Paris, 1980), p. 62 with fig. 7, p. 67 (discussion); V. Karageorghis and J. des Gagniers, *La céramique chypriote de style figuré* (Rome, 1974), pp. 114–115; see *ibid.*, pp. 131–133, and 138–140 for similar pieces from Kazafani (Kyrenia district), on which also Dikaios (note 15), p. 88. Whether they represent linen corslets (the Kazafani ones wear a baldric and dagger fitting; cf. also S. Törnquist, *MedelhavsmusB* 6 [1972], p. 16) or special ceremonial vestments (as on the limestone statue in New York of the advanced sixth century, J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, no. 1267), they or rather the real thing may well have been visible in Greek sanctuaries, especially East Greek ones with their massive imports of Cypriot terracottas and

have set off this temporary fashion (fig. 10).<sup>44</sup> It is, of course, also possible that we have here a delayed effect of the Kolaios dedications at Samos of Western Phoenician finery or luxury objects from Tartessos. Though the Kolaios dedications had by the middle of the sixth century largely been swept away or covered already, some

stone sculpture; thus: (in analogy) Amasis' linen corslet at Lindos and one intended for Sparta (Lindian Temple Chronicle C 36 XXIX; Hdt. II.182, II.47); cf. also J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 2 (London, 1898), p. 243, on I.21,7; for elaborately worked Cypriot textiles: at Delphi (Ath. II.48b), at Tegea (Paus. VIII.5,3), at Rhodes (Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 34,684c “work of Helikon”); see for all this still E. Buschor's Munich dissertation of 1912, *Beiträge zur griechischen Textilkunst*, pp. 45–50; also F. von Lorentz, *RömMitt* 52 (1937), pp. 211–212.

In addition to the terracotta torsos we find our rosette pattern in single row, laterally extended, on several Bichrome V vases, thus: Karageorghis and des Gagniers (this note), pp. 84–88 (Nicosia 1951/XI-27/1 and London C 839), pp. 127–139 (Nicosia B 333); D. Morris, *The Art of Ancient Cyprus* (Oxford, 1985), pl. 275; cf. also above (note 15, end) as net pattern on Bichrome IV bowl, here fig. 5.

45. B. B. Shefton, in H. G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen*. Madrider Beiträge, vol. 8 (Mainz, 1982), p. 344; references to the literature, to which add now: H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von*

of them were still available for Herodotos to report on in the fifth century.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps some ivories survived the clean-up in the third quarter of the seventh century. Certainly, the western Phoenician products of the southern Iberian peninsula did use our rosette both as single units and as net pattern, as we know from Andalusian finds of ivories; we also know that some of those reached the Heraion at Samos,<sup>46</sup> but beyond that we cannot even speculate. All in all, however, bearing in mind the evidence we have actually at our disposal, Cypriot ornamental fabrics (in turn dependent upon Phoenician inspiration) seem the most likely source.

The Malibu cup then represents an intriguing amalgam of Attic influence in the shaping of the vessel and in certain of the decorative details on the outside. The inside, however, is essentially East Greek in that it adopts as tondo device a Near Eastern pattern, which had temporarily, around the middle of the sixth century, for reasons we can only surmise, achieved a fashionable appeal in Samos. The figure-zone on the inside lip, too, is something we really only encounter on "Ionian" Little-Master cups and would not expect to find anywhere else. Here the cups elaborate on the conventional line-fill often encountered on "Ionian cups" of the ordinary type,<sup>47</sup> some of which may well precede the sophisticated "Little-Master cup." Nearest are the internal lip friezes on Laconian cups, which are frequently, particularly in works by the Arkesilas and the Naukratis painters, decorated with vegetal friezes of several kinds.<sup>48</sup> It is quite conceivable that those who first developed the "style" of the "Ionian" Little-Master cup lifted the idea off these Laconian cups. But of Laconian influence more presently.

The second East Greek cup is in Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. This house, built between 1845 and 1848 to Italianate designs inspired by the prince consort Albert,<sup>49</sup> and a favorite residence of Queen Victoria until



Figure 11. Ionian cup. Exterior. Osborne House, Cowes, Isle of Wight. Photo, author.

her death there, has on its grounds the so-called Swiss Cottage in which there were deposited the acquisitions and memorabilia collected by several of the royal princes during their youthful voyages to the Mediterranean in the late '50s and early '60s of the last century. Particularly noteworthy are the gatherings by the then Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) in Rhodes during May 1862.<sup>50</sup> Our cup, however, came to Osborne House through the prince's younger brother, Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in 1859.<sup>51</sup> It was no doubt acquired during Prince Alfred's first extended tour of duty that year, at the age of 15, as midshipman on HMS *Euryalus*, which took him via Gibraltar to Morocco, Malta, Tunis (Carthage), Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Rhodes. He was in Rhodes in late April 1859, and we know from C. T. Newton's account that he visited the excavations at Knidos and Halikarnassos as well as Kos.<sup>52</sup> There is no precise indication where our cup or a second one (fig. 11) was acquired, but Rhodes is as likely a place as any. The cup has a handwritten label: "Duke of Edinburgh '59."

*Samos* (Athens, 1981), pp. 88–90 (on ship base, without, however, mention of Buschor's Kolaios hypothesis).

46. For the pattern: M. E. Aubet, *Marfiles fenicios del Bajo Guadalquivir*, vol. 1 (Valladolid, 1979), p. 23 (CN 8), p. 30 (extended net pattern on comb), p. 32 (commentary), pl. 4 from Cruz del Negro; *ibid.*, vol. 2 (Valladolid, 1980), pp. 29, 37 (A 22) single units, pl. 7 (from Acebuchal). For these ivories in Samos, see above all B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *MadrMitt* 7 (1966), pp. 89–108; in general, also M. E. Aubet, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 9 (1982), pp. 15–70.

47. See below (note 87).

48. Thus, on the Arkesilas cup itself, Shefton, p. 301, no. 16; Stibbe, p. 279, no. 194, pl. 61; or on the Louvre banqueting cup by the Naukratis Painter, Shefton, p. 303, no. 2; Stibbe, p. 270, no. 13, pl. 6. But these two are not the only Laconian painters to have used this way of decorating the inner lip of their cups.

49. See, e.g., W. Ames, *Prince Albert and Victorian Taste* (New York, 1968), pp. 61–71, figs. 12–13.

50. Cf. R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 2nd ed. (London,

1980), pl. 20D; R. Laffineur, *L'orfèvrerie rhodienne orientalisante* (Paris, 1978), p. 212 n. 1. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Higgins for communicating to me his findings in the correspondence between Biliotti and Newton, and to Dr. Brian Cook for allowing me access to this correspondence at the British Museum.

51. Born 1844, pursued a naval career; married the grand duchess Marie of Russia, only daughter of Czar Alexander II, in 1874; died 1900 in Coburg as duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (accession 1893). Mr. E. A. Sibbick, until recently curator of the Swiss Cottage Museum at Osborne House, not only briefed me on various details of the prince's life and career, but also very generously supplied me with valuable notes on his tutor (the later Sir) John Cowell, first appointed in April 1856, who would have accompanied the prince during the 1859 cruise. An officer in the Royal Engineers, Cowell later became Master of the Queen's Household and subsequently Governor of Windsor Castle until his death in 1894 at the age of 72.

52. C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. 2 (London, 1865), p. 264 (there he also speaks of purchases of Turkish



Figure 12a. Samian Little-Master cup by the Osborne House Painter. Side A. Osborne House, Cowes, Isle of Wight. Photos, author.



Figure 12b. Underside, side B of cup, figure 12a.



Figure 12c. Interior of cup, figure 12a.



Figure 12d. Tondo of cup, figure 12a.

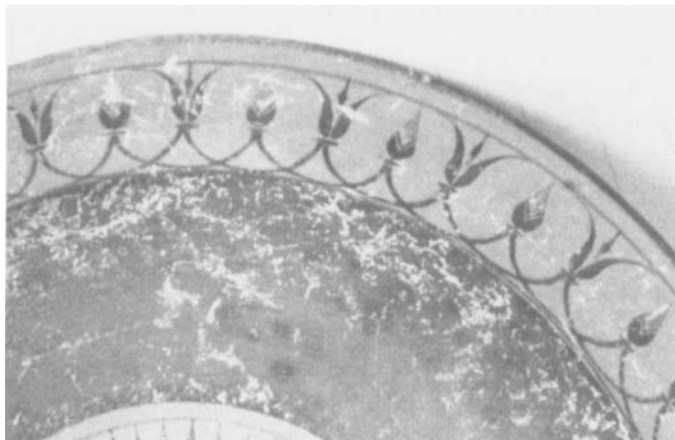


Figure 12e. Detail of internal lip frieze of cup, figure 12a.

The cup<sup>53</sup> (figs. 12a–e) has the stouter stem of a Laconian cup rather than that of an Attic Little-Master, and the shape as a whole is closer to Laconian than to Attic. The decorative scheme has many Laconian elements, too, particularly such as are found on the work of the

embroidery made by the prince at Bodrum). I owe this reference to Dr. Higgins, who has prepared an account of the classical antiquities at Osborne House, which he generously allowed me to consult. There is also the earlier report by C. C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, *AJA* 60 (1956), pp. 339–340, which needs amendment, though, on a number of points (see below [note 53]).

53. Dimensions (taken from a profile drawing): H: 10.7 cm; diameter: (at lip) 15 cm, (including handles) 19.5 cm; diameter of footsole: 6.5 cm. Deep bowl (H: 6.4 cm) on relatively short stem and foot (H: 4.3 cm). Intact, apart from the broken-off stem, which has been neatly reattached. Reddish clay, finely levigated, no perceptible mica. Limited use of incision inside the cup (floral frieze on lip; see below [note 56]; central ornament in roundel). Purple for top of the buds on the inner lip frieze and on the joining bars between the palmette cradles in the central tondo. White dots along the straight ivy branch on the outer lip.

Having first seen and photographed the cup in 1960, I was able to reexamine it in November 1986 with the generous help of Mr. John Paton, who is responsible for the monuments at Osborne House and to whom I am greatly indebted for most courteous and hospitable reception.

The second East Greek cup (fig. 11) also bears the label: “Duke of Edinburgh 1859” and will probably have been acquired on the same occasion. It is of the simpler kind, with an olive branch along the lip, the stalk being spotted with white dots; cf. *CVA* Munich 6, pl. 294.1. The foot is missing.

These two pieces are mentioned as “two Laconian cups” by Vermeule and Bothmer (note 52), p. 340, a judgment that had to be based on inadequate photographic documentation, but one that was nonetheless sufficient to reveal the Laconian features to be detailed below.

54. This last feature was already recognized by Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, p. 97 when he published the Alexandria fragment (which on its outside is a replica, as far as it goes, of our cup), see below (note 57), with our fig. 13. Among the Laconian comparanda, we may note the fragmentary cup by the Naukratis Painter in Samos (see below [note 65], with our figs. 16a–b). Occasionally, we find this bar below the buds and flowers in Fikellura, too, thus on the fine amphora fragments in

Naukratis Painter especially, though not exclusively. Such elements include the rays on the upper part of the stem and probably also the ones at the bottom of the bowl. The same can certainly be maintained about the interlacing lotus-bud frieze of the handle-zone with the characteristic bar immediately below the bud<sup>54</sup> (figs. 12a–b). True enough the stalks on Laconian bud friezes are usually simple inverted arcs rather than interlacing; yet enough examples of interlacing can be found to make the derivation entirely convincing, even if the majority of Laconian examples alternate the closed bud with one that has open petals on the sides.<sup>55</sup> The lip, though, with its dense wreath of ivy leaves on sinuously bending stalks, which grow out of a branch peppered with white dots, is pure East Greek, more so than the more loosely spread ivy on the Malibu cup.

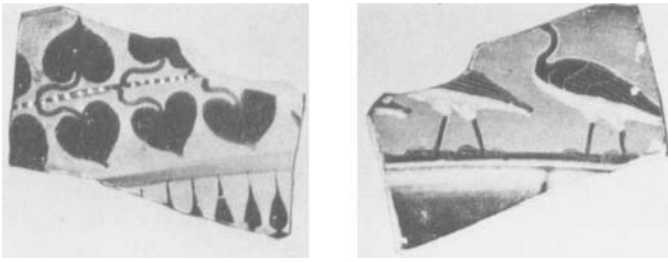
The inside is no less interesting. The floral frieze on the lip (fig. 12e) is rather refined East Greek,<sup>56</sup> and here too we are perhaps to think of a bed of flowers surrounding a pool of water. East Greek also is the decoration of the central roundel with its quartet of volute cradles (or “cup spirals,” as Jacobsthal called them), each enclos-

Samos, E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik in Attika, Lakonien und Ostgriechenland* (Athens, 1938), pp. 26–27, fig. 6; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, no. 145, p. 38, fig. 35, pl. 16, where incidentally, the flowers are hardly distinguishable from those on the lip-frieze of our cup. Laconian comparanda for the other features: *Rays on the stem*, Munich 382 by the Naukratis Painter, *CVA* Munich 6, pl. 289.1; profile drawing with ornament in Stibbe, p. 24, fig. 11. *Rays on the bottom of bowl*, Munich 384, by the Naukratis Painter, *CVA* Munich 6, pl. 289.4; Shefton, p. 305, fig. 3; (Stibbe assigned the piece to the painter’s manner); also, London B 4, the Naukratis Painter’s name piece, Shefton, pl. 52a. These features are not confined to the Naukratis Painter nor indeed to Laconian. Thus, the rays on the stem are found in Attic, too, though quite rarely and rather later in the century; two cups related to the Lysippides Painter have them: Berlin 800 (*Paralipomena*, p. 117), and Toledo, Ohio, 63.25 (*JdI* 86 [1971], pp. 81–84, figs. 1–6, and p. 98, fig. 22); the Toledo cup is also in *CVA* Toledo 1, pl. 35.2. The rays are likewise found on several of the Perizoma Group of kyathoi (*ABV*, p. 346; *Paralipomena*, p. 158); cf. J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1939), pl. 19.58; also, F. Gilotta, in *Civiltà degli Etruschi* (note 37), pp. 204, 206 (fig. 7.7 9.). On most of these tall stems, the rays are placed rather further down. Finally, see above (note 9) (East Greek).

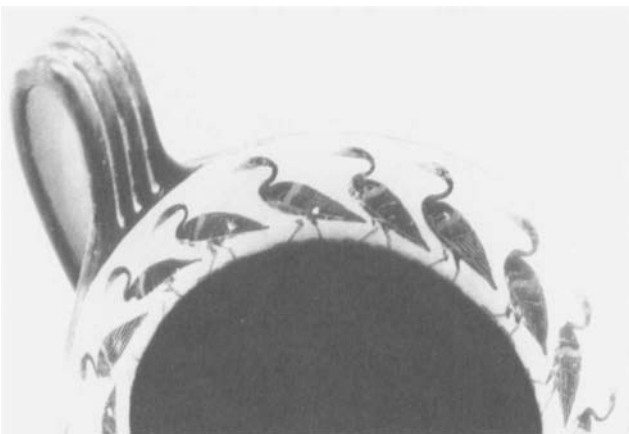
55. Thus, here fig. 16b (see below [note 65]) by the Naukratis Painter; also, fragment in Samos, probably by the Naukratis Painter, Shefton, p. 304, no. 5 (second list); Stibbe, p. 270, no. 22, pl. 11.3. For the lotus buds and their variants in the painter’s work, see the tables, Stibbe, pp. 55–56.

It is interesting to reflect that in 1934 Kunze (*Kleinmeister*, p. 97) could still express surprise at Laconian elements on an Ionian Little-Master cup fragment—“eher unerwartet”! Here Arthur Lane’s work, which appeared at practically the same time (*BSA* 34 [1933–1934]) made a great deal of difference, and on pp. 185–186 he sketched out almost all the important points to be made over East Greek receptiveness to Laconian influence; see also below (note 80, beginning).

56. Double line incision on buds and the flower leaves. The identical convention on the Fikellura amphora fragments in Samos (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, no. 145) has been noted already, see above (note 54).



Figures 13a–b. Fragment of Samian Little-Master cup by the Osborne House Painter. From Naukratis. Left: exterior. Right: interior. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 17154 (from E. Kunze, *AthMitt* 59 [1934], pl. 7.2).



Figures 14a–b. Samian face-kantharos by the Osborne House Painter. *Top*, side A. *Bottom*, interior rim. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.925. Photos, courtesy Museum of Fine Arts.

ing a palmette (figs. 12c–d). Noteworthy is the careful way in which the volute cradles are tied together with pronounced triple bars emphasized with incision and touches of purple. The surrounding zone of rather thin interlacing lotus buds is again derived from Laconian but is perhaps too attenuated to keep the pristine character of the corresponding frieze on the handle-zone outside, though even there the buds are more refined, denatured than the coarser, fleshier Laconian prototypes.

It may seem surprising, but it is very likely that the Osborne House cup is by the same hand as the Malibu one, despite the differences in shape. These, of course, are largely dependent upon the model chosen by the potter: Laconian for this cup, Attic for the one in Malibu. A glance at a fragment from Naukratis in the

57. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 17154; Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pp. 94, no. 9, 97, pl. 7.2, whence our figs. 13a–b; also, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 49442, with pp. 24, 129, no. 442; very fine incision contours the birds' bodies. On these, see also above (note 10).

58. Apart from the three cups in Malibu, Osborne House, and Alexandria, the face-kantharos in Boston, with the inner lip-frieze of water birds (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 55480 [here figs. 14a–b]) can be assigned to the same hand as a later work. The birds are like the ones in Malibu and in Alexandria, with the same incised details, apart from the claws, which on the Boston piece are only in added red; also the contours of the birds are not there outlined in incision, as they are on the two cups (information kindly communicated by Michael Padgett of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Whether this takes with it the other face-kantharoi with the dolphin friezes, I dare not say. It is not improbable, especially since they have been shown to be all taken from the same mold (E. Walter-Karydi, *CVA Munich 6*, on pl. 295). They would then be late works, from about 540 B.C. or even a little after (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 30 “in the thirties”). The dolphin kantharoi may take with them also the cup fragment from Samos, K 1384 (*ibid.*, pl. 49443), which has rays on the outside bowl rather like those on the Osborne House cup. The available illustration is, however, insufficient for a reasoned determination. We would then on a maximal count have the following list for the Osborne House Painter:

*Cups:*

- (1) Osborne House, probably from Rhodes (see above [note 53]; figs. 12a–e).
- (2) Malibu, “from Etruria” (see above [note 6]; figs. 1a–h).
- (3) Alexandria, from Naukratis (see above [note 57]; figs. 13a–b).

*Face-kantharoi:*

- (4) Boston 98.925, “bought in Rome” Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 55480 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1529, no. 1), figs. 14a–b.
- (5) Munich 2014, from Vulci, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 56484; *CVA Munich 6*, pls. 295–296.1–2 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1529, no. 3).

I have insufficient details about the other dolphin-decorated face-kantharoi and, as I observed already, for the Samos dolphin cup fragment. The attribution of the face-kantharoi would imply a long career for the Osborne House Painter, ranging over three decades, granted that the early date suggested for the cup is sustainable. Where then is the output one is entitled to expect from such an extended period of activity?

All these, with the exception of the two new pieces in Malibu and Osborne House, are assigned by Walter-Karydi to her Ram Painter, whose floruit is, however, later and whose work has to be separated from that of the Osborne House Painter, see below (note 62).

Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (figs. 13a–b), first published by Kunze,<sup>57</sup> shows a cup with the outside exactly like the Osborne House cup (lip and handle-zone), whereas the inside lip-zone has the frieze of water birds we know from the Malibu cup. The fragment links the two intact cups most fortunately. I cannot at present say that I know other pieces that can, with absolute confidence, be assigned to the same hand apart from the well-known face-kantharos in Boston, which also has a procession of birds<sup>58</sup> (figs. 14a–b).

If one had to distinguish in the dating between the two cups, the Osborne House one may be slightly earlier than the one in Malibu, so perhaps nearer to 560 than to 550 B.C.

It is the central medallion again (fig. 12d) that calls for

59. A. *Crete*: West Berlin F 35, lekythos of globular shape: Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch (note 28), p. 42, pl. 35; *Dädalische Kunst* (note 23), pp. 113–114 (E 3), pl. 51b–d; S. Wide, *AthMitt* 22 (1897), pl. 6 (drawing of all sides). First half seventh century B.C.
- B. *Cyclades*: Plate: C. Dugas, *Exploration de Délos*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1928), pl. 5.31.
- C. (?) *Etruscan*: Louvre, bronze bowl, from Tarquinia, late seventh century: Fr. Villard, *MonPiot* 48 (1956), pp. 25–28, 37–38, pl. 5b (“East Greek, Rhodian”; so also E. Akurgal, *Art of Greece: Its Origins* [New York, 1968], p. 217); contra F. Hiller, *MarbWinckProg*, 1963, pp. 32–35 (“Etruscan”). I do not know the piece apart from the illustrations, which are insufficient for a conclusive opinion.

As decoration of seals and other small objects, it is also found outside the East Greek sphere; cf. some material in the list, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pp. 105–106 n. 145.

60. Some examples (all East Greek):

*Seventh-century dinoi* (exterior device at bottom of bowl):

- Samos: Walter, *Samos*, p. 124, no. 560 with ref. to illustrations.
- Knossos, Medical School site. Rhodian.
- Göttingen: Walter, *Samos*, pl. 131, no. 631.

*Plates*:

- London, Euphorbos Plate: Walter, *Samos*, pl. 129, no. 623 (inner backing of shield).
- Rome, Villa Giulia: Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 60, fig. 127, no. 651; M. Martelli Cristofani, in *Centre Bérard* 1978, pl. 78, fig. 14.

*Votive shield—clay*:

- Izmir, from Old Smyrna, end of seventh century: E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna*, vol. 1 (Ankara, 1983), pl. 109b.

*Jewels and small objects*:

- Ephesos gold and ivory ornaments: Hogarth (note 39), pls. 4.31, 8.11 and 23–26, 9.33–36 and 41–47; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 105 n. 145.

*Sixth-century plates* (central inner medallion):

- London, from Naukratis: Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 99.730.
- Palermo, from Selinus: Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 120.981 (p. 85, fig. 156—attempted reconstruction).
- Cerveteri, from Cerveteri. East Greek plastic vase, right

further comment. Its motif is quintessentially East Greek, even though it is occasionally found also in other parts of the Greek world.<sup>59</sup> In East Greece it can be traced back at least to the mid-seventh century, and from then it runs continuously into the sixth, and on rustic, old-fashioned work even into the fifth century.<sup>60</sup> By the middle of the sixth century, the small circle that formed the central element of the quartet of volutes had been enriched to form a kind of quatrefoil star device. So we have it on the Osborne House cup and so also on a close repeat of the interior design done perhaps a generation later on fragments found on Samos and first published by Ernst Homann-Wedeking (fig. 15). These come from a remarkable piece,<sup>61</sup> highly assimilated to the Attic lip-cup, with magnificent animal fights on the

leg, sandaled, ornament on calf (no center pattern). Early sixth century. Is this *Centre Bérard* 1978, p. 206, no. 16 (which, however, is called there *left leg*)—Martelli Cristofani?

Up to here the center of the ornament was formed by a small circle, which in the following examples is replaced by a quatrefoil star pattern. A variety of shapes are now so decorated, but not apparently plates any more.

- New York 66.11.27, silver alabastron (bottom outside): D. von Bothmer, in H. de Meulenaere and L. Limme, eds., *Artibus Aegypti. Festschrift B. V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983), p. 21, fig. 59.; in part, also, idem, “A Greek and Roman Treasury,” *BMAA*, Summer 1984, no. 45. The pattern is residual and the piece perhaps rather later than is suggested by the present place in this list.

l. Osborne House cup (figs. 12c–d).

m. Samos, Fikellura amphora: Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 12.108, p. 42, fig. 57 (reconstruction of ornament); Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 18 K 3 (“early second half of sixth century”); G. P. Schaus, *BSA* 81 (1986), pp. 253–254, no. 11, pl. 13f.—“Altenburg Painter.”

n. Athens, cup fragments from Samos, K 1383 (see below [note 61] with fig. 15).

o. Delphi, from Delphi. Gold sheet probably from chrysephantine figure. No center pattern in ornament. *BCH* 63 (1939), p. 102, no. 42, pl. 32 middle.

*Fifth-century Klazomenian sarcophagi* (references to R. M. Cook, *Klazomenian Sarcophagi* [Mainz, 1986]):

- Izmir 512: Cook, pl. 34.1–2, p. 29 (F 16) (“510–500 B.C.”), star pattern in center.
- Cambridge GR7.1902: Cook, pl. 97 top, p. 62 (H 5); p. 64 (“450 B.C.”); star pattern center.

Paul Jacobsthal (*JHS* 71 [1951], pp. 89ff. with list [B] on pp. 94–95) called the ornament, with or without the palmette, “cup spiral” and set it in a wider context. He too stressed the East Greek and more particularly the Island character of the pattern. His list and mine complement each other; cf. also Fr. Villard, *MonPiot* 48 (1956), pp. 37–38.

61. Athens, fragments from Samos (Heraion) K 1383 and K 1419 + K 1956, Homann-Wedeking (note 54), p. 26, figs. 4–5; Å. Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (Lund, 1966), p. 58, fig. 18.2 (tondo ornament), p. 210, fig. 68 (lip fragments). All these publications as well as our fig. 15 lack the additional fragment K 1956 (bull’s body). H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum* (Munich, 1965), p. 73, figs. 73–74 (“circa 550 B.C.”); idem, *Das Heraion von Samos* (Munich, 1976), p. 101, fig. 94 (“540–530 B.C.”); Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 129, no. 440, p. 70, fig. 70 (reconstruction of ornament), pl. 49.440—“Ram Painter.” There

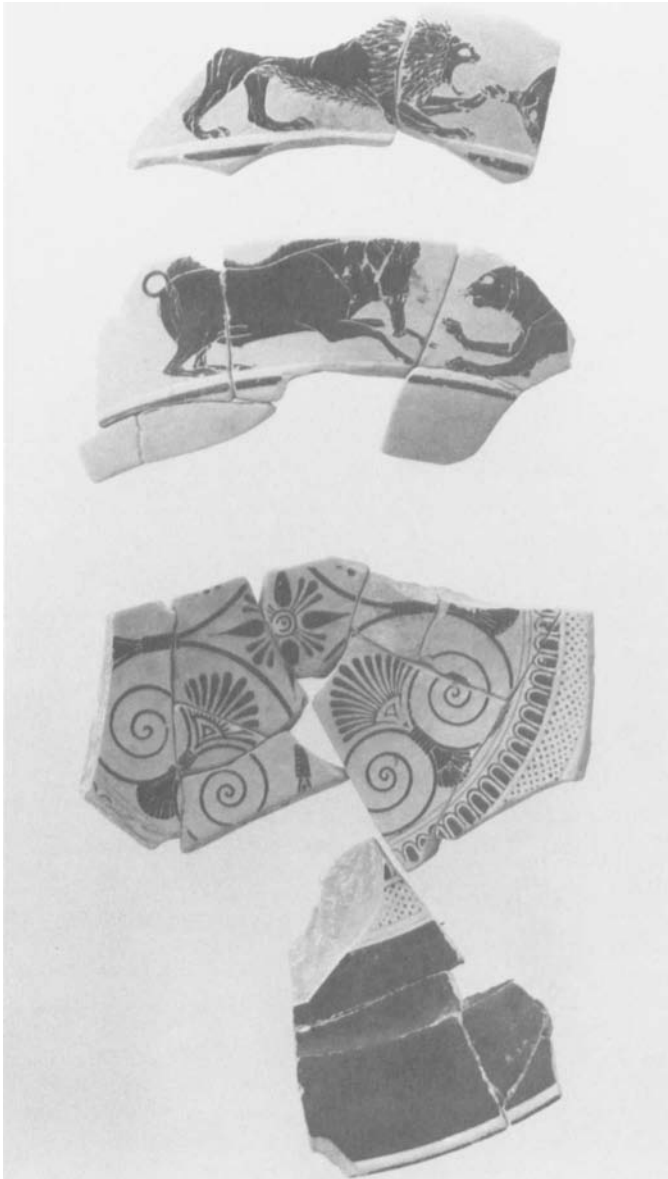


Figure 15. Fragmentary Samian Little-Master cup by the Ram Painter. Top: exterior. Bottom: interior. From Samos, K 1383 and K 1419. Athens, National Museum. Photo, courtesy DAI, Athens (neg. Samos 2223).

outside lip, which incidentally allow it to be linked to a number of other fine but fragmentary cups of apparently similar shape.<sup>62</sup> That the ornamental structure is so very close to that of the Osborne House cup (down to the multiple bonds linking the volute cradles), though on a much larger scale—the tondo fills the bowl completely—is surely due to the fact that the quartet of volutes with their palmettes was so characteristic of Samian ornamental grammar.

These palmettes are worth looking at more carefully. They are of the characteristic type described by Kunze when he analyzed the East Greek features of the Ionian Little-Master cup in Vienna: “Ihr zerfaserter Fächer legt sich um einen durchbrochenen Kern und dieser substanzlosen Bildung entsprechen die zahlreichen Einrollungen der Voluten.”<sup>63</sup> This absence of volume in the palmette (plucked asunder into thin fronds and its core opened up into voids) is found often in East Greek, especially Fikellura of the time,<sup>64</sup> but had been quite alien to Attic and to mainland practice. And yet this palmette suddenly begins to appear both on certain Laconian products and on examples of Attic, particularly in the work of the Amasis Painter. These features, I have no doubt, come from Ionia and are a direct influence upon Laconian and Attic, reversing the better recognized flow in the opposite direction.

First to Laconian. Two examples only need be cited. First, the fragments of a cup by the Naukratis Painter from Samos, initially published by Homann-Wedeking (figs. 16a–b). Here, instead of the palmette types normal for the painter, we have the characteristic East Greek one

has been some difference in the date assigned to the cup by various investigators. “Not much after 550 B.C.” has been proposed by Åkerström and by Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (note 60), p. 100 n. 31. This high date can hardly be sustained. The type of lion led W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford, 1960), p. 76, to think of Caeretan hydriai, especially the one once in Berlin, thus implying a date in the 520s, a chronology that would agree well enough with Walter-Karydi’s placing of her Ram Painter (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pp. 24–25 and here, see below [note 62]). Compare also J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (London, 1968), pp. 132–134, pl. 31 (Aristoteiches Group, East Greek; very late sixth century B.C.) where the lions are of similar physique and demeanor. Note also Boardman’s down-dating (*ibid.*, p. 134) into the last quarter century of the clay revetments for which Åkerström had claimed a date in the third quarter, and with which he had compared our Samos cup fragments. Again Hemelrijk (note 1), p. 153, dates the Berlin Caeretan hydria (no. 8), which Brown brought into the argument, to the end of the sixth century.

62. Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pp. 24–25, 30, collects a number of pieces including our cup, Samos K 1383, and attributes them to one hand, her Ram Painter, named after the picture on a Samos fragment. The core of these attributions is surely valid, but she boldly extends them to include the earlier works (as far as they were known to her) that we have assigned to the Osborne House Painter, see above (note 58). I find it hard to follow her in this and prefer, at present, to keep the two apart while recognizing links between them.

The Ram Painter’s activity would then lie within the 20s of the sixth



Figure 16a. Laconian cup fragments by the Naukratis Painter. From Samos, K 1188. Exterior (from E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenormentik* [Athens, 1938], fig. 12).

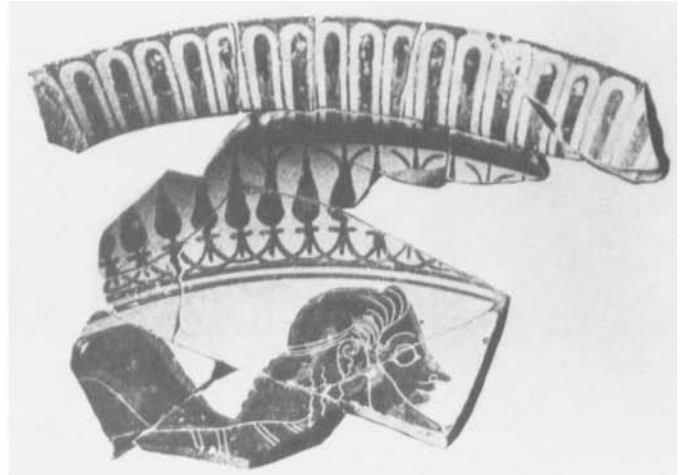


Figure 16b. Interior fragments of cup, figure 16a (from E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenormentik* [Athens, 1938], fig. 11).

as described just now. More doubtfully, the tongues of the handle-zone of the cup, too, may have East Greek connections.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, a fragment of a cup, again by the Naukratis Painter, of unknown whereabouts and published by Conrad Stibbe, has exactly the same East Greek palmette, this time extended into a more elaborate complex.<sup>66</sup> We witness here an intensive current of influence flowing both ways across the Aegean between Samos and Laconia in the decade or so before the middle of the sixth century. That this is particularly tied to the person of the Naukratis Painter is most interesting but

century, and it would comprise the following (all unspecified references are to Walter-Karydi, *Samos*): p. 129, no. 439 (riders), no. 440 (see above [note 61], our fig. 15), no. 441 (rams confronting; also, Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pl. 6.3), p. 131, no. 498 (handle fragments with pattern related to that on her no. 440). Nos. 439–441 are on her pl. 49; no. 498 on pl. 61. All the pieces are from Samos, except no. 445, which comes from Naukratis. To these F. Boitani Visentini, *Centre Bérard* 1978, p. 219 adds fragments of a kantharos (?) from Gravisca, the emporion of Tarquinia, *ibid.*, pl. 91.8 (= *NSc*, 1971, p. 253, fig. 71—fewer fragments). As far as can be judged from the pictures, which are not very clear, the attribution is convincing enough, though the piece may turn out to be by his less skillful companion, the painter of the Naukratis fragments, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 50.445 (= Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pl. 7.1) in Alexandria (*ibid.*, pp. 25–26). The lip cup fragment from the same site, *ibid.*, pl. 91.7 (= *NSc*, 1971, p. 252, fig. 69.3) belongs to Walter-Karydi's and Kunze's Lion Painter (*Samos*, p. 24), whose work is a good bit earlier.

63. Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, p. 107, on the cup in Vienna (Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 52.447).

64. Amphora, London B 117, now Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 88.683. Amphora fragments, Samos, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 12.60. Amphora fragments from Berezan, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 87.639. All these are Fikellura. Much closer still to the palmettes of the Osborne House cup: "Rhodian" plastic vase from Cerveteri in the shape of a left leg, M. Moretti, *MonAnt* 42 (1955), col. 1120, no. 30(1), fig. 16; M. A. Rizzo, in *Civiltà* (note 37), p. 207, 6b, p. 210 (ill.) top left

not altogether surprising as that painter more than any of the other Laconian artists revealed in the richness of ornament of pattern, which after all was the special strength of East Greek, Ionian art—a case of elective affinity, if ever there was one. These connections do indeed stir up certain chronological problems, particularly for Laconian; but this is perhaps not the place to pursue them in detail.

We turn now to Attic. The same East Greek palmettes occur about the middle of the century and actually quite a bit later in the work of several Attic vase-painters.

("590–580 B.C.").

65. Homann-Wedeking (note 54), figs. 11–12, whence here figs. 16a–b; Shefton, p. 304, no. 6 (second list); Stibbe, p. 270, no. 10, pl. 5.3 (present state of fragments), p. 59, fig. 8 (drawing of palmette). The East Greek character of the frieze of tongues is, however, quite problematical. The prime "East Greek" example of this frieze, the cup from Tocra, J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra*, vol. 1 (London, 1986), pl. 47.821 (datable perhaps to the late 70s or early 60s of the century; cf. also Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 100.838 "Chios") has now through clay analysis been shown to be most likely of Boeotian origin (Jones [note 2], p. 704). In any case, the style of the cup and its sister pieces by the same hand is strongly corinthianizing—so perhaps it is the work of a Corinthian immigrant to Boeotia. For the frieze, cf. also P. Alexandrescu, *Histria*, vol. 4 (Bucharest, 1978), pl. 70.774 ("East Greek, imitating Attic").

66. Stibbe, p. 270, no. 11, pl. 5.5. Palmette drawn in Stibbe, p. 59, fig. 9; he also refers there to the palmette on the fragmentary Tocra cup, Boardman and Hayes (note 65), pl. 61.91; also by the Naukratis Painter, a cup that both Stibbe and I agree on placing in the middle 60s of the century.

More puzzling is the palmette that is characteristic of much of the Boreads Painter's work, e.g., his Boreads cups in Rome, Samos, and Malibu (Stibbe, pl. 41.39). Here the East Greek palmette has been transmuted into a strange idiosyncrasy.



Lydos used them for his oinochoe in East Berlin signed by Kolchos as potter.<sup>67</sup> Another artist who evidently had a liking for these insubstantial palmettes is the Princeton Painter, whose neck-amphorae in London, Paris, and Leningrad show the influence, albeit a little garbled, of the East Greek palmette and even the volute complex with the quatrefoil star device in between.<sup>68</sup> We are, in all these cases, in the '40s of the sixth century. It is, however, the Amasis Painter, who shows in a number of his works these East Greek features in their most unadulterated form.

On two of the three neck-amphorae of the “shouldered model” straddling the Amasis Painter’s middle and late periods (*ABV* 152,25–27) the palmette ornament below the handle shows this profound East Greek influence; it would also have shown it on the third one, Boston 01.8026, *Amasis Painter* (see note 69), no. 24, were it not that the handle ornament on this one was replaced by the figure of Dionysos! The amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Amasis Painter*, no. 23) has this palmette no less than five times under each handle, only the large up-pointing bunch on either side of the handle-root being more Attic. If we turn to the Boston amphora, a late piece, *Amasis Painter*, no. 25, we again observe the same East Greek palmette, this time used boldly even for the large lateral pair. More than that we note the pronounced bonds, doubled and even tripled, which here and on the Paris amphora secure the volutes to each other. These are quite un-Attic, but are however seen as single ties on the Princeton Painter’s amphora in Leningrad, which we already had occasion to adduce as the carrier of the East Greek palmette and volute complex with even the star motif in the center. The Amasis Painter also used the East Greek palmette below the handle-root on a number of his oinochoai shape III, the so-called chous. The catalogue, *Amasis Painter*, gives

67. *ABV* 110,37, “late mannered”; but see *Paralipomena*, p. 48, “perhaps a close imitation.” Conveniently now in J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974), fig. 68.

68. London: *ABV* 297,1 (good side view now: Jackson, p. 28, fig. 15); Louvre: *ibid.*, p. 298, no. 2; Leningrad: *Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 1 bis, K. S. Gorbunova, *Chernofigurnye atticheskie vazy v Ermitazhe* (Leningrad, 1983), no. 14 (side view: *ibid.*, p. 31, showing quatrefoil star pattern in center). The influence of the East Greek palmette in Attic black-figure of the second half of the century was, however, quite pervasive and can readily be spotted by looking, for example, at P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (Berlin, 1927), pl. 22a (Exekias), pl. 22b (Painter of London B 213), pl. 30b (Painter of Louvre F 117, Nikosthenic), pl. 39d (neck-amphora, London B 260). See also many of the skyphoi of Ure’s Class A 1, e.g., E. Rohde, *AA*, 1955, cols. 109–110, figs. 10–11 (*Paralipomena*, p. 84, no. 15). Most of these tend to be more like the palmettes seen on the Princeton Painter’s work than the refined version of the Amasis Painter, which really is very close to the original model.

Postscript: Add to the list of the Princeton Painter’s East Greek type

a good picture of the one in Oxford (ex-Spencer-Churchill, no. 36, p. 161), but several more oinochoai (and ones earlier in his career) have it as well, among them one in the Louvre that may be the earliest instance of the reception into Attic of this palmette.<sup>69</sup>

Returning to the neck-amphorae of the shouldered type, we recall that D. A. Jackson, in his study of East Greek influence on Attic vases, pointed out that the row of inverted small triangles under the handles (a kind of euthynteria) is taken over from Fikellura and appears here on all three of the Amasis Painter’s neck-amphorae of the shouldered model, the ones we have just discussed. The triangles also appear on almost all of the amphorae of the Botkin Class, which indeed have the additional Fikellura feature of a frieze of upstanding rays running round the outside of the lip.<sup>70</sup> The Botkin Class amphorae do not, however, show the East Greek palmette, though they do tie some of their volutes together with multiple bars quite in the East Greek fashion.

The two cups in Malibu and in Osborne House, respectively, which we have discussed here, are obviously of great importance, for surely they stand early in the series of “Ionian” Little-Master cups, even if they are not the very earliest. Yet, in the work of their creator, the Osborne House Painter as I would like to call him, we are still at a stage when the various impulses that went into the making of a new school are clearly discernible. It seems natural enough that when Samos entered this new market, the makers should look to the most successful producers of stemmed cups at the time in the Greek world, namely Attica and Laconia, particularly when, in the case of Sparta, we bear in mind the volume of Laconian cup imports found in the Samian Heraion. We have, however, noted that there is no slavish copying, but judicious adaptation and everywhere a strong and unmistakably East Greek compo-

palmettes, the neck-amphora in Geneva, *AntK* 30 (1987), pl. 7 (quatrefoil star device within the volute complex) with Bothmer’s comments, *ibid.*, pp. 63, 67.

69. For this, A. J. Clark, *MMAJ* 15 (1980), pp. 35–51; for the palmettes, *ibid.*, pp. 44–46; for the Louvre chous, *ibid.*, p. 40, fig. 14. It is dated by Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and other institutions, September 1985–April 1986, pp. 157–158, to shortly after the middle of the sixth century.

70. Jackson, pp. 26, 31 (“euthynteria”), 32 (Fikellura rays). Amphorae of the Botkin Class are now conveniently in *Amasis Painter* (note 69), p. 127, figs. 76–79. Add now for the Leningrad amphora (ex-Botkin) Gorbunova (note 68), no. 18 (side view there on p. 37).

71. Jackson, chapter 2, esp. pp. 13–23.

72. For the Louvre chous, see above (note 69); for the wider adoption in Attic, see above (note 68). Consider also the Amasis Painter’s cups in the Vatican and in Oxford (*Amasis Painter* [note 69], nos. 62, 63; for the ornament best perhaps J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 51 [1931], p. 273, fig. 15, pl. 11). These cups are very late—Bothmer puts them about

nent—nowhere more so than in the choice of tondo devices—which indeed contributes greatly to the special charm of these delicate and graceful products, of which, alas, only a very small proportion can have survived, judging by their rarity in relation to the substantial period during which they were evidently produced.

What about the reverse? Why should Sparta and Athens take up elements from East Greece? Were there not strong and well-matured local traditions that had evolved without much in the way of impulses from across the Aegean? This is, of course, begging the question—and as far as the Attic amphora is concerned, the recent work by D. A. Jackson has reminded us again that we cannot take such generalizations for granted.<sup>71</sup> If we recall what we have learnt just now about the migration of the East Greek palmette to the Greek mainland, it is perhaps worth noting that while in Laconia its adoption by the Naukratis Painter precedes the Persian takeover of the Anatolian coastline by an appreciable margin, that may not have been the case in Attica. Here even the earliest occurrence, that on the Louvre oinochoe (chous) by the Amasis Painter, may already have come after the conquest of Lydia. Certainly its wider adoption in Attic comes subsequently and is best represented in the Amasis Painter's maturing middle period and in his latest works.<sup>72</sup> At the beginning of his career, we should remind ourselves, there is no evidence of East Greek influence.

I should like, as postscript to these observations, to conclude with a brief look at a remarkable Attic Type A cup in Malibu, which gives us a rare if not unique example of an East Greek figural composition taken over *in toto* on an Attic black-figured vase.

The cup, Malibu 82.AE.120 (figs. 17a–c),<sup>73</sup> which can be dated to about 530–520 B.C., has minimal decoration

520–515 B.C. (*Amasis Painter*, no. 62). Here, too, the palmettes are influenced by the East Greek type. It is interesting in this context to note the double (and triple) bars, which we have come to know so well on the Samian Little-Master cups and also on some earlier work by the Amasis Painter, where in every case they served to bond together volutes (see above, pages 59–60, 64). Here on the cups, however, the bars are functionless, and the ones below the flowers remind one in fact of the laconizing bar below the buds on the handle-zone of the Osborne House cup (see above, p. 59).

For the late conversion of the Amasis Painter to East Greek tendencies, see Jackson, pp. 33–34.

73. Very fragmentary. Foot entirely missing, taking with it most of the central portion of the Gorgoneion. The present foot is a modern re-creation. H of bowl: circa 4.5 cm; diameter at lip: 18.2 cm; including handles: 23.2 cm; diameter of Gorgoneion: 6.7 cm. Purple for alternate rows of hair and for the tongue of the Gorgoneion, for every third dolphin, and for the iris of the eye of the outside wall device. White for teeth of the Gorgoneion and for the white of the eye on the outside wall.

on its outside apart from the multi-colored pupil, the white of the eye, and the brows, forehead markings, and nose, these being executed in very thin lines. The handles are flanked by a rising tendril on either side, starting from a down-pointing lotus flower (which was capped by an up-pointing palmette, now lost) under the handle and terminating above in a scroll. The bowl, therefore, has a very light-colored aspect. This light appearance and the thin lines in which the decoration is executed remind one a little of the cups by the Amasis Painter in the Vatican, in Oxford, and in Florence (*Amasis Painter* [see note 69], nos. 62, 63 and fig. 114). They cannot be far apart in date. Again, a cup in Schloss Fasanerie (fig. 18) is very close to the Malibu cup both in the handle ornament and in the Gorgoneion in the roundel as well as in the light appearance of its outside aspect.<sup>74</sup>

It is the internal decoration of the Malibu cup (fig. 17c) that once again invites our special attention. In the center, a very fragmentary Gorgoneion of some size and evident quality is framed by a zone of lozenges arranged in a reticulate pattern of a kind that is familiar from Fikellura vases of the time.<sup>75</sup> Around this ring, in turn, there is a circular frieze of dolphins in a tightly packed formation, all striving toward the center. Then follows a broad belt of unrelieved black until we reach a reserved zone just below the lip edge, which is filled with an ivy wreath skirting the edge along its way round.

Let us consider the dolphins crowding around the central Gorgoneion. In principle the composition reminds one of a well-known earlier lip-cup in Tarquinia, whose central medallion of Herakles wrestling with Triton is framed by a circle of nereids engaged in a dance. A similar organization of the cup interior is found on a work by the C Painter from the rich Tomb 2 of the Marmaro cemetery in Ialysos (fig. 19),<sup>76</sup> where the central medallion is surrounded by dolphins speeding ele-

74. Adolphseck (Schloss Fasanerie), inv. 29, cup "of special shape and technique," F. Brommer, *CVA Schloss Fasanerie* 1, pls. 22.5, 23, 24.1; also J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975), fig. 19 for handle ornament—near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 159, no. 1—second list). Both the Gorgoneion (as inside roundel) and the handle ornament (here fig. 18) are very comparable indeed to the Malibu cup—they may in fact turn out to be by the same hand. Beazley felt himself reminded of the palmettes on the Amasis Painter's cups referred to in our text, while Brommer (this note), p. 17 aptly recalls the outside ornament on the East Greek cup, here see below (note 82), fig. 21a. This nexus is not without significance in view of what is said here about these cups for quite independent reasons.

75. For example, Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 79, no. 19, p. 48 (Y 13), pl. 15b—amphoriskos in Athens, from Aegina; other side in: *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979, no. 124.

76. J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932), p. 178, fig. 14; P. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, (London, 1962),



Figure 17a. Attic black-figure eye-cup (modern foot). Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 82.AE.120.



Figure 17b. Bottom of cup, figure 17a.



Figure 17c. Interior of cup, figure 17a.



Figure 18. Attic cup near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman. Underside and handle. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasenerie, inv. 29 (from *CVA Schloss Fasenerie 1* [Munich, 1956], pl. 241).



Figure 19. Attic black-figure cup by the C Painter. From Rhodes. Interior. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum (from *CIRh 8* [1936], p. 72, fig. 58).

gantly in a circle round Triton, very much as the nereids do on the Tarquinia cup. The Malibu cup, on the other hand, differs profoundly in this respect, for the dolphins, instead of swimming round the central Gorgoneion, converge upon it in a centripetal movement. In this the artist departs from Attic precedence and conforms closely to East Greek practice.

The fiction that the dolphins are frolicking within the

pool of the cup had found a specifically East Greek formulation during the middle of the sixth century in just this ring of centripetal dolphins, a formulation no doubt inspired by the Fikellura liking for crescent friezes;<sup>77</sup> for animated crescents these dolphins are, and as such the pattern fits perfectly into a lively East Greek tradition. It was, however, alien to contemporary Attic, which hardly ever found a satisfactory way of fitting a school

pls. XIV and 49; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), p. 81, pl. 21 (the report in the latter and in another recent publication that Beazley had, at one time, connected the cup with the potter Xenokles is based upon a misreading of Beazley's text). For the lalyos cup, see *ABV* 52,16; *CIRh 8* (1936), pp. 71–74, figs. 57–60 (whence our fig. 19).

77. Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 73.

78. Kleitias cup, *ABV* 78,13; now Boardman (note 67), fig. 108.2; J. D. Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, rev. ed., D. von Bothmer and M. B. Moore, eds. (Berkeley, 1986), pl. 44.1–3. For the motive, *ibid.*, p. 48 (= 1st ed. [Berkeley, 1951], p. 52); cf. also, M. I. Davies, in W. Childs, ed., *Athens Comes of Age: From Solon to Salamis* (Princeton, 1978), p. 95. The composition of the central roundel can, in fact, be understood as a variation of what was to become the Attic way of using dolphins in a tondo. Here they are arranged into something of a catherine wheel or whirligig as they eddy within a pool or rather “within a round harbour”—Beazley. The remarkable Siana cup in the Villa Giulia, on the other hand (Simon [note 76], pl. 61), where one of the dolphins has turned into a professional flute player, *phorbeia* and all, is nearer to the Attic norm, as far as the composition is concerned. All three dolphins proceed in the same direction, perhaps in the open sea rather than in a harbor (as Erika Simon prefers to think). The few remaining Attic roundel compositions are on a vastly

lower key and tend to be distinctly pedestrian, thus: Hermitage, Gorbunova (note 68), no. 9; Basel, *Münzen und Medaillen*, sale 16 (June 30, 1956), no. 103.

The dolphins of the Exekias cup in Munich are not of direct relevance here, but we may notice how Exekias skillfully modifies the norm (also found on the Demarateion) by which the natural curve of the dolphins hugs the curvature of the roundel frame. Not so here. Each time, the dolphin deliberately moves counter to this curve, creating no unison, but rather counterpoint.

There are actually a few Attic examples of centripetal dolphins, but they are not so much a round of crescents as a whirligig. Thus on phialai in Six's technique, which may in fact betray East Greek influence, Boardman (note 67), pp. 178–179, fig. 314—Vienna; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1933), pl. 86.1202. The whirligig can be thought of as a symbol of speed, fittingly here, seeing that the dolphin was considered the speediest thing alive (Pliny, *HN IX.7.20*); cf. Simon (note 76), p. 95, on pl. 95. Note also the underside of the foot of a large Little-Master cup from the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina, A. Greifenhagen, *JdI* 86 (1971), pp. 90, 100, fig. 24.

79. Kunze, *Kleinmeister*, pp. 118 n. 1, 122 bottom postscript (“Nachtrag”), Beilage 11, 1–2 (upside down!), Beilage 10, 3–4; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pp. 22, 127, no. 335, pl. 40 (“mid-sixth century”); cf.

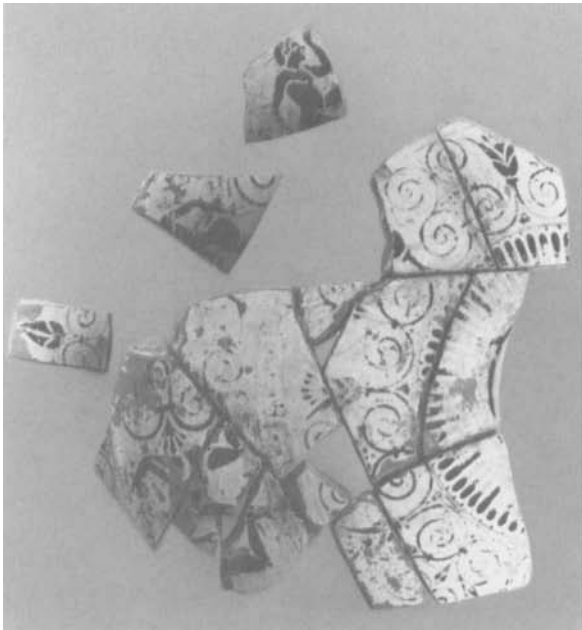


Figure 20a. Fikellura cup fragments. From the Heraion at Samos. Exterior. Photo, courtesy DAI, Athens (neg. Samos 1998).



Figure 20b. Interior of cup, figure 20a. Photo, courtesy DAI, Athens (neg. Samos 1997).

of dolphins into the small tondo of the Attic cup. Kleitias, in his cup in West Berlin (from Gordion), succeeded in the attempt, but he was alone in this. Other contemporary Attic attempts amount to hardly more than the equivalent of an indifferent shield device.<sup>78</sup>

The Malibu cup then shows a deliberate decision by a painter in Athens to adopt an East Greek solution for the inside decoration of the cup, and to demonstrate

this, we need look no further than the earlier, mid-sixth century fragments of a cup from the Heraion at Samos in Fikellura technique<sup>79</sup> to which we have already referred at the beginning of this paper (figs. 20a–b). Here, too, there is a central Gorgoneion (the only one on a Fikellura vase), which is encircled by a whole legion of winged sprites copied (once again) very closely from a Laconian cup by the Naukratis Painter.<sup>80</sup> These, in turn,

also, Cook, *Fikellura*, p. 46, x no. 1 (“middle of third quarter of century”). A much later date for the cup, within the last quarter of the century, has recently been advocated by G. P. Schaus, *BSA* 81 (1986), pp. 287–288. He assigns it to his Painter of the Running Satyrs, *ibid.*, p. 271, no. 64; p. 282 (shape); pl. 16.3 and 5. This does seem disturbingly late and will require further argument.

80. This was noticed straightaway by E. A. Lane, *BSA* 34 (1933–1934), p. 185 n. 7, and the point was repeated by Stibbe, p. 46 n. 1. The obvious models are cups such as the name piece, London B 4, from Naukratis, Shefton, pl. 53c, or, since we are thinking of Fikellura, the cup in Samos, which is geographically closer to Miletos, Stibbe, pl. 131. For the winged creatures on the cup, cf. now also H. Lushey, in *Praestant Interna. Festschrift U. Hausmann* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 299–300.

We know, of course, that the Naukratis Painter was not the only Laconian vase-painter to have been copied in East Greece. The Boreads Painter, too, had his fans as was noticed by Lane (this note), pp. 185–186, and by J. Boardman, *BSA* 51 (1956), p. 61 n. 1. The fragments are all from one cup (Lane [this note], pl. 36e; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 54.466). Other Samian fragments, on the top half of Walter-Karydi, pl. 54, show in their ornament obvious influence by other Laconian painters (if indeed they are Samian and not misidentified Laconian originals), including the Arkesilas Painter and his suc-

cessors, more especially Lane’s Rider Painter, charitably resuscitated by Rolley and Stibbe. As far as the Samian Little-Master cups were concerned, apparently only the ornamental bands of Laconian cups were copied. The Chiot painters, on the other hand, copied figure-work as well as ornamental friezes, but only one hand seems to have been at work (cf. Boardman, *loc. cit.*).

Here are some comparisons to justify the specific link of these Chiot pieces with the Boreads Painter’s figure-work. The Chiot cup from Naukratis, Oxford G. 133, 2 and 6 (sphinx), Stibbe, pl. 60.2–3, both inside and outside (faultily poised; better in J. Boardman and C. E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson, eds., *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion in Chios, 1984* [Oxford, 1986], p. 256, fig. 3), can be compared with the cup by the Boreads Painter in Samos, Stibbe, pl. 36.1–2 (Siren). For the Chiot chalice fragment from Naukratis, Cambridge G. 39 (likely to be by the same hand as the Oxford cup), see now also Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (this note), p. 254 n. 12, fig. 4. This might almost be said to copy, with sides reversed, the Boreads Painter’s London cup from Naukratis, Stibbe, pl. 49.11. The tail feathers on the Cambridge fragment, of whatever the monster was, are on the right. Again, the way the silhouette of the far human leg barely protrudes from behind the hither one is characteristic of the Boreads Painter’s formula for “pairs.” For the Chiot fragment in Berlin, nothing need be added to Lane’s observations, *loc. cit.*, p. 186.



Figure 21a. East Greek footless cup. Side A. Westphalia, private collection. Photos, courtesy R. Stupperich.



Figure 21b. Interior of cup, figure 21a.

I take this opportunity to make some further observations on several Laconian vase-painters. Reverting to the Boreads Painter, I accept that the evidence accrued since 1954 has done nothing to support my view that his work is an early stage of the Arkesilas Painter's output, though the links between the two remain uncannily close. It is right therefore to separate the two, and I follow Stibbe in adopting the name first suggested by Paola Pelagatti (*BCH* 82 [1958], p. 493). More of the Boreads Painter's work has become known recently, notably the two reasonably complete cups in Malibu (one of them, *Bareiss* [note 10], p. 68, no. 16, now published by C. Hoyt-Grimes, in *Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 [1986], pp. 28–34) and several fragments from places as diverse as Amathous—J. P. Thalmann, in E. Gjerstad et al., *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery Found in Cyprus* (Stockholm, 1977), p. 81, pl. 18.9–10, and Cyrene—G. Schaus, *The East Greek, Island and Laconian Pottery: The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene Libya*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1985), nos. 155–157, pl. 9, of which I consider no. 155 alone as certain. This fragment is illustrated upside down; furthermore, it does not show “remains of a floral motif with some added purple” (Schaus), but remains of a woman's leg to right, shod in high boots; remains of a wing that may belong to a monster lying in the exergue portion of the roundel rather than attached to a boot? Perhaps from a Gorgon; cf. Stibbe, pl. 48.2. Mention should also be made of the publication of hitherto unknown fragments from Naukratis in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, M. S. Venit, *AJA* 89 (1985), pp. 395–396, nos. 13, 18, 19.

As to the Arkesilas Painter: To the corpus of his work established by Arthur Lane, Paola Pelagatti, and Erika Diehl and taken over by myself and by Conrad Stibbe, add the remarkable cup from Cerveteri

are surrounded by the packed shoal of dolphins converging upon the center, precisely as we find them on the Malibu cup. The Samos cup, being fully Fikellura in technique, is likely to have been made in Miletos rather than Samos, but from Samos there is a fragment, probably of a locally produced Little-Master cup, that preserves virtually the same motif.<sup>81</sup> Its date is likely to be not too far off that of the Fikellura cup. Later, toward the end of the century, we have the same dolphin decoration used once again on the remarkable footless cup Type A at one

with Typhon (Bufolareccia, Tomb 999), Stibbe, p. 288, no. 341 (“Typhon Painter”). Good pictures in M. Moretti, *Cerveteri* (Novara, 1977), fig. 74, and in M. Cristofani, *The Etruscans: A New Investigation* (London, 1979), p. 67; both these are in color, which for this cup is quite important. M. A. Rizzo, in Cristofani, *Civiltà* (note 37), p. 211, no. 9.2 with apt commentary, p. 210 (ill.). The body-snake combination of Typhon is the one that was to be used also for the Gorgons serving as handles on the Peloponnesian bronze volute-kraters. The fragment in the Antiquario Forense (Stibbe, no. 343) should also be his.

As to the third piece attributed by Stibbe to his (nonexistent) Typhon Painter, the cup from Bisenzio in the Villa Giulia (capture of Silenos; Stibbe, no. 342), it is best left where I put it in the first instance, as Manner of the Arkesilas Painter, near the Sparta demon cup (Shefton, p. 302, no. 5). The fragment from Cyrene, Schaus (this note), pl. 9.158 (poised askew) should be by the Arkesilas Painter, too, as Schaus thinks, but I cannot be quite certain.

It is unfortunate that Stibbe in his careful and lovingly elaborate study abandoned a sensible organization of his “Minor Painters.” His division divorced dim practitioners, who plied their trade under the shadow of the several important workshops, from their proper attachments, dignified them with names, sometimes rather cheaply (when a name is given to a hand without so much as a second work having been attributed to it), and left them to flounder alone in a spuriously autonomous existence. This method does little to further our understanding of Laconian vase-painting. Among his “Major Painters,” too, the Rider Painter has had his importance vastly inflated, though I realize now that I should not have allowed him, who had been identified by Lane, to be submerged anonymously under the Manner of the Arkesilas Painter and his successors, where he obviously belongs.

Now that the Typhon Painter has gone, only one new personality of substance has emerged. It is Stibbe's contribution to have identified him as the Chimaira Painter (Stibbe, p. 289), who together with the author of the fine Taranto cup with the nymph Cyrene and the lion (Shefton, p. 308; Stibbe, p. 289, no. 358) is the last producer of sophisticated Laconian. Under the strong challenge and influence of Attic black-figure, there was a sudden upsurge in quality of Laconian vase-painting, with a deliberate harking back to the three or four classic Laconian vase-painters of the preceding generation or so (among whom, be it repeated, the Rider Painter cannot claim a place), particularly the Naukratis and the Hunt painters (cf. Shefton, p. 289).

Since Stibbe's work, fragments of more cups by the Chimaira Painter have turned up and I, therefore, append a new list of his works, which also in some other respects slightly modifies Stibbe's. Works in Stibbe's list are referred to by his numbers only. Behind each entry, the name of the original author of the attribution taken over appears in brackets where applicable. This was Beazley's practice, which one would wish to have seen adopted in Stibbe's work, too.

1. *Shahhat* (Cyrene), from Demeter sanctuary. Schaus (this note), pl. 13.221. Apparently porthole composition recalling the fashion of the Hunt Painter, as noted by Schaus.
2. *Athens*, National Archaeological Museum, 13910. Shefton,

time in Berlin and now in private hands in Westphalia (figs. 21a–b).<sup>82</sup> The piece is considered by those who have studied it first-hand to be East Greek<sup>83</sup> and placed within the third quarter of the sixth century, a contemporary perhaps of the Munich cup by Exekias, to whose interpretation it is, of course, relevant since the decoration of the Westphalia cup has along the inner lip edge one of the two earliest indisputable representations of the myth, known from the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos, of the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian pirates

p. 306, no. 6, “manner of Naucratis Painter”; Stibbe, p. 274, no. 103 “manner of Naucratis Painter; his succession”; cf. also, *ibid.*, p. 85 about links with the Chimaira Painter. As to the enigmatic subject, Stibbe’s suggestion (p. 84, “Priam, ransom of Hector”) ignores the “helper’s” right hand clasped around the neck of “Priam,” which suggests constraint rather than assistance.

Therefore, Philoktetes after all?

3. *Aegina*, inv. 856, from town site. Gorgon. H. Walter, ed., *Alt-Ägina*, vol. 2, part 1 (Mainz, 1982), pl. 8.115 [W. Felten].
4. *Heidelberg*, University, 30, from Boeotia. Chimaira. Stibbe, no. 352 [Stibbe].
5. *Grand Rapids, Michigan*. Lion. Stibbe, no. 354 [Stibbe].
6. *Cambridge, Mass.*, Fogg Art Museum, 1964.8. Cock. Stibbe, no. 355 [Stibbe].
7. *Sparta*. Lakaina. Stibbe, no. 355 [Stibbe].

I am less confident about Stibbe’s attribution of the well-known cup in Kassel (his no. 353) and prefer for the time being to leave it where I had put it (Manner of Naucratis Painter no. 5) while recognizing its closeness to the Chimaira Painter, whose work it may well turn out to be. For dating, cf. Shefton, p. 310; Stibbe, p. 190.

The attribution of the Laconian from the Heraion on Samos, admirably published by Stibbe, pp. 203–267, had been made by me many years previously during brief but intensive visits to the site in 1954 and in 1957. All the fragments were sorted by me into trays according to painters and their workshops, documented in photography according to my groupings, and deposited in the excavation store. The statement in Stibbe, p. 203 n. 2, amounts to a total puzzle and is only intelligible if, in the years between 1957 and 1968, the contents of the various trays were hopelessly jumbled up. Buschor at the time wanted me to publish the material, but I found it impossible to obtain clearance from Homann-Wedeking who had a longstanding claim on the material since before the war.

81. Samos K 1384, Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, pl. 49.443, p. 129, no. 443. See above (note 58).

82. E. Rohde, *AA*, 1955, pp. 102–111 (“540–530”); Jackson, pp. 68–70, fig. 33; H. P. Isler, *Quaderni Ticinesi, Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 6 (1977), p. 24; Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 29 with fig. 28, p. 130, no. 476, pl. 53; *Griechische Vasen aus westfälischen Sammlungen*, Münster/Westf., 1984 (B. Korzus and K. Stähler, eds.), no. 87 with bibl. (R. Stupperich: “soon after the middle of century”).

83. I note, however, the rather noncommittal statement by A. Greifenhagen, *JdI* 86 (1971), p. 90. It is possible, though, that he had no opportunity to see the cup in the original.

84. Walter-Karydi, *Samos*, p. 102 n. 77, aptly compares the Attic cups in the “Group of Camirus Palmettes” (*ABV*, p. 215), which are nearer the end of the century. The footlessness of the shape can also be paralleled in Attic of that time, both in red-figure and in black-glaze; cf. B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 12, part 1 (Princeton, 1970), pp. 98–99 (beveled foot; “from end of sixth century to 480 B.C.”); red-figured examples, *loc. cit.*, n. 1 to which Brian Sparkes, whom I consulted on this shape, adds the possible stemless cup by Oltos in Odessa (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 67, no. 137).

into dolphins. Nearer the center and following a belt of black, the Westphalia cup again has a ring of massed dolphins straining inward toward the tondo, which this time is formed by a running warrior. The early date assigned to the cup can, however, hardly be maintained, though down-dating it nearer the end of the century<sup>84</sup> will not, of course, affect its importance for the study of the myth nor its relevance to the Exekias cup.<sup>85</sup>

The Malibu cup fits well enough into the chronological span covered by the East Greek examples just

85. The cup has gained additional interest since the publication of the Etruscan black-figured hydria now in Toledo, Ohio, *CVA Toledo* 2, pl. 90 (“510–500 B.C.”); previously (“in private collection”): H. C. Ebertshäuser and M. Waltz, *Vasen, Bronzen, Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums* (Munich, 1981), p. 139, fig. 159 (“circa 500 B.C.”). The piece, attributed by Cedric Boulter and Kurt Luckner, the authors of the *CVA fascicule*, to the Micali Painter or his workshop, has now been assigned to one of his followers, the Painter of Vatican 238 (J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* [Oxford 1947], p. 16) by T. Rasmussen and N. J. Spivey, *Prospettiva*, 44 (January 1986), pp. 2–8 (with an overcautious view on the interpretation of the East Greek cup); also: N. J. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and His Followers* (Oxford, 1987), p. 43, no. 3.

The Greek cup and the Etruscan hydria are very close to each other in date, and it would be hazardous, if not pointless, to claim priority for one or the other. What is worth noting, though, is the difference in the treatment of the composition. The Westphalian cup has its frieze of metamorphosed dolphins rather in the East Greek manner, as a crescent-inspired, centripetal frieze. Not so the Etruscan hydria, and here the difference in the way the picture is constructed is only partially due to the different shape of the area to be decorated. Another factor, one may suspect, is Attic influence used here to extremely telling effect. Certainly, the steep dive of the men-dolphins chimes in well enough with the idea of panic-stricken pirates precipitating themselves into the waves, but it is also remarkably like the Attic way of depicting a shoal of dolphins over an extended surface. In most cases, the dolphins are set out in a closely serried row, suspended perpendicularly as though by their tails, with no feel for the situation, which is that they are just about to reenter the water after their leap into the air. This entirely unfortunate formula appears first on the peculiar proto-“chalice-krater,” Louvre CA 2988 (*CVA Louvre* 12, pl. 193), which reminded Beazley of Nicosthenic work (*Development*, p. 107 n. 44). There follow the column-krater in Cerveteri, from Tomb 429, Monte Abatone (battle scenes); the dinos in Copenhagen (*CVA Copenhagen* 3, pl. 124); and the dinoid in Vienna (Masner, no. 236; Isler [note 82], p. 26, fig. 3); cf. also B. B. Shefton, *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 21 (1971), p. 109. In all these, the friezes are on the inside wall of the neck. The same scheme is also found on handle-zones of band-cups and the like; thus, *CVA Cambridge* 2, pl. 21 (G. B. 500), 22 (rather broad band, perhaps skyphos rather than cup); Alexandrescu (note 65), pl. 42.392; Walter, *Alt-Ägina* (note 80), p. 30, pl. 7.224, where, however, the scheme is modified and the dolphins’ leap more adequately represented. It is against these Attic dolphin pictures that the Etruscan black-figure picture can be measured and its merits assessed. It is part of a tradition that was to encompass also the dado frieze of the Tarquinia Tomba del Letto Funebre and later the bronze krater from the Curunas Tomb 1 in Tuscania (S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* [London, 1985], no. 162).

We might in this respect note that this Attic manner is not to my knowledge found in East Greek vases of corresponding shapes, where we can cite the dinoid in Zurich University (Isler [note 82], p. 21, fig. 1; also, *Das Tier in der Antike*, Zurich, Archäologisches Institut, 1974, pl. 32.197) and, as equivalent to the Attic band-cup, the East



quoted. Whether, however, so unique an adoption on an Attic cup suggests that the painter himself was an East Greek immigrant working in Athens is a question that can hardly be answered at present. The possibility is, of course, there, and the identification of further work by the same hand may in due course provide a more solid base for further inquiry.<sup>86</sup>

A final word on the placement of the ivy wreath inside the lip edge of the Malibu cup. This practice is quite alien to Attic. On the outside it is, of course, common enough at the time of the Malibu cup on skyphoi and mixing bowls of various descriptions. Not so, however, on the inside. Yet clearly a feeling that the inside of a cup should have a light-colored center alternating with a dark wall surface and then again a light (offset) lip is precisely what informs the decorative scheme of the common Ionian cups that are found by the hundreds on sites especially in East Greece and in Italy.<sup>87</sup> This, too, was the scheme adopted with some modification on the sophisticated Little-Master cups decorated by the Osborne House Painter, as we called him. The lip left reserved provided the space for a narrow decorative frieze,

whether birds or flowers or even dolphins. Transpose the scheme to the continuous curve of a cup Type A, atticize the floral motifs into the ivy branch, and you have precisely what we find on the Malibu cup. This lip-zone can thus be entirely understood within the East Greek tradition. There were indeed by this time Attic cups with internal figure friezes along the lip; but theirs were a recent fashion without any past tradition. They depended in the first instance upon the practice that grew up sometime in the third quarter of the century of using the inner neck surface of kraters (especially volute- and column-kraters) and dinoi as placement for ships, especially warships, making their way across the waves of the sea (so indicated) above the level of the mixed wine contained in the expanding belly of the bowl.<sup>88</sup> From there, the idea found its way into cups Type A as well, where, of course, it was not very suitable as the ships, in the absence of an offset, were likely to be submerged in the liquid! The idea has nothing East Greek about it and has to be kept well away from what we see on the Malibu cup.<sup>89</sup>

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Newcastle upon Tyne

Greek cup in Bochum. N. Kunisch, *Antiken der Sammlung J. C. und M. Funcke: Die zweite Stiftung* (Bochum, 1980), pp. 22–23, no. 169. There is none of the Attic rigidity in these delightfully frolicking dolphins, to which there are all too few matches in Attic, at any rate until the splendid mounted dolphins on the Norbert Schimmel psykter by Oltos (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1622, no. 7 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 326; L. Burn and R. Glynn, comps., *Beazley Addenda* [Oxford, 1982], p. 80).

Addendum: Some of the Attic material is now listed in M. B. Moore and M. Z. Pease Philippides, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 23 (Princeton, 1986), pp. 263–264, no. 1353.

86. Compare above (note 74).

87. *CVA* Munich 6, pl. 294; *CVA* Gela 2, pp. 5–7, on pl. 35 (M. Martelli Cristofani); *Centre Bérard* 1978, pp. 123–130 (P. G. Guzzo); *ibid.*, pp. 163–166, 195–204 (M. Martelli Cristofani). That many of the cups in the West are likely to be local imitations does not, of course, affect this issue.

88. On dinoi and dinoids, apart from Morrison and Williams (note 33), pls. 14, 16–18, 21, see esp. *CVA* Boston 2, pp. 9–10 (M. Truac and D. von Bothmer); H. Williams, in W. G. Moon and L. Berge, eds., *Greek Vase-Paintings in Midwestern Collections*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1979, no. 37. More references in *Aspects of Ancient Greece*, Allentown Art Museum, 1979, no. 24.

89. On these Attic cups with inner lip-friezes, see K. Schauenburg, in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei. AntK*, Beiheft 7 (1970), pp. 33–46, esp. p. 45 (list A)—ship friezes. In tondo: Gorgoneion.

It is interesting to reflect that the Chalkidian Phineus cup in Würzburg, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1932), no. 164; E. Simon et al., *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), pp. 84–85, pls. 18–19, which in its inner frieze derives from these Attic cups, is a step further away from the original conception as found on the neck of the Attic kraters and dinoi. The choppy waves above which the Harpies are making their getaway are not an integral part of the general black (sea) of the bowl, but are separated from it by a reserved area and dividing base-line. The arrangement reminds one of Attic cups from quite late in the sixth century, such as Florence 3889 (Schauenburg [this note], p. 34 n. 17, pl. 15.1). Attic cups like it must have served as the immediate model for the Phineus cup, for here, too, the frieze is sharply separated from the black background (as against the “ship cups,” *ibid.*, pls. 12–13).

It is worth pointing out, too, that the Phineus cup (uniquely, as far as I am aware, among Chalkidian) adopts the East Greek palmette above the nose on side A of the cup, the side where the central area is cruelly worn away and, therefore, never illustrated (not even in Langlotz [this note]) apart from the drawing in the text of FR, vol. 1, p. 219 (top picture, whence Jackson, p. 64, fig. 30). Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*), as one might expect, was alive to its special status—“eine Palmette, deren offener Blattfächer zu beachten ist.” It is a feature in line with other East Greek elements in the Phineus Painter’s work, a late but noticeable ripple of the East Greek diaspora.

# Oddities of Very Early Red-figure and a New Fragment at the Getty

Beth Cohen

While it may have begun merely as another experiment in the 520s B.C.,<sup>1</sup> within a generation red-figure boldly dominated production in the Attic pottery industry.<sup>2</sup> This technique, essentially the reverse of common black-figure, allowed a vase's *background* to be covered with metallic black glaze, forms to be *reserved* in the bright reddish-orange local clay, and details to be *painted*, rather than incised.<sup>3</sup> The new ware could be fired, with no special precautions, right next to the old, in the three-stage process already employed by established black-figure workshops. Red-figure, therefore, was commercially viable from the start. The introduction of the all-important methodological inversion often is credited to a particular artist, known as the Andokides Painter.<sup>4</sup> Significantly, a straight line may be drawn from this master's monumental vase-paintings to the later Archaic red-figure of Euphronios and the Pioneer Group and, in the early fifth century, of the Kleophrades and Berlin painters.

Alongside the mainstream, certain miniaturists of *black-figure* orientation, contemporary with the Andokides Painter, also practiced the new technique. Their efforts preceded those of such fine bilingual artists as Oltos and Epiktetos, and a handful of their slight red-

figure works, mostly singletons and dead ends, have been preserved. Our knowledge of this periphery has been enriched in recent years by vases in American collections, e.g., a red-figured oinochoe of black-figure shape in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (see fig. 7), and a bilingual eye-cup in the Joseph Veach Noble Collection, Tampa Museum of Art (see fig. 3). Now a tiny fragment of very early red-figured pottery in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (fig. 1) helps focus the image of such rare hybrid oddities more sharply by prompting a fresh look at figure style, iconography, and vase-shape during the infancy of the new technique.

The Getty fragment, inv. 77.AE.7, itself composed of four smaller, joining pieces, measures only 3.7 cm in its longest dimension. Of quite delicate fabric, it undoubtedly belonged to a drinking vessel, the specific shape of which shall be of central concern later. The fragment's initial attraction for the viewer is the bit of red-figure vase-painting preserved on its convex exterior surface: part of the upper torso and head of a bearded male. That this red figure must date from the experimental opening phase of the new technique is made clear by the following elements of its execution:<sup>5</sup> Neither contour stripe nor relief line crisps the edge of the reserved silhouette;

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## Abbreviations

- ABFV*: J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (New York, 1974).  
*ARFV*: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975).  
*Bilingual*: B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters* (New York, 1978).  
*GPP*: R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1972).  
Greifenhagen: A. Greifenhagen, "Mastoi," in U. Höckmann and A. Krug, eds., *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz, 1977), pp. 133–137.  
Mertens: J. R. Mertens, *Attic White-ground: Its Development on Shapes Other than Lekythoi* (New York, 1977).

1. Experiments in vase-painting technique included outline, white-figure, Six's technique, white-ground, and coral-red glaze; on these see: *ABFV*, pp. 106, 178; *Bilingual*, pp. 262–263, 153, 155–156, 45–46, 199–203, 513–519; D. Williams, *Greek Vases* (London, 1985), pp. 35–37; *GPP*, pp. 169–170; J. Six, "Vases Polychromes sur fond noir de la période archaïque," *GazArch* 13 (1888), pp. 193–210; I. Wehgartner,

*Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik, Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung* (Mainz, 1983), pp. 5–9; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 9–11, 116–117; Mertens, pp. 13–14, 30–40; B. Cohen, "Observations on Coral-red," *Marsyas* 15 (1970–1971), pp. 1–12. For polychromy on terracotta plaques, see A. Greifenhagen, "Fragmente eines rotfigurigen Pinax," in L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze, eds., *Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities, Otto J. Brendel in Memoriam* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 43–48; *Bilingual*, pp. 226–229.

2. *GPP*, pp. 162, 164–169; *ABFV*, p. 113.  
3. J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965), pp. 51, 54–58, 60–61, 72–81, 84–85; *GPP*, p. 161; D. von Bothmer, "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter," *BMAA* 24 (1965–1966), pp. 205–206; *ABFV*, p. 103.  
4. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3–5, 1617; *Bilingual*, pp. 105–193, 245–252; Bothmer (note 3), pp. 207–208. Cf. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 2; *ABFV*, p. 105; *ARFV*, pp. 15–17; Williams (note 1), p. 36.

5. An incrustation on the surface of the Getty fragment, which, according to Jiří Frel, restorers have been unable to remove, mars the reserve of the red figure's flesh.

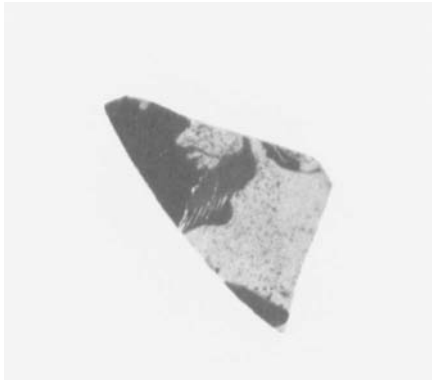


Figure 1. Red-figured fragment of drinking vessel. Exterior. Actual size. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.7.

dilute glaze alone has been applied around the profile, resulting in smudged imprecision; inner anatomical markings, e.g., the collar bone, apparently have been omitted; incision, rather than reserve, is used to delineate individual locks in the Getty figure's long hair, as well as to mark the wavy line at the upper contour of the beard and for the series of strokes indicating hairs along its lower border; finally, the bright purple-red of the beard is painted over black glaze, as in black-figure, rather than over reserve.

Although this little figure is as simple as can be, his physiognomy is as distinctive as the technique in which it is delineated. The large nose and protruding lips bring to mind the Archaic rendering of half-wild creatures: satyrs, the horsetailed male followers of the god Dionysos, and the horse-bodied tribe of Centaurs.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the Getty fragment preserves neither telltale lower body, nor enough of the head to show the ear. Was the latter rounded, hence human, or pointed, hence

6. On satyrs, see below (esp. notes 21–22). On Centaurs, see P. V. C. Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art: The Archaic Period* (Berlin, 1912); the earliest red-figure Centaur known to me appears on New York 1974.114, see *Bilingual* pp. 510–511, pl. 124 and here fig. 7 (unfortunately, most of his face is missing).

7. *ABV* 146,21; *Development* (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 67–68; P. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, B. Shefton, trans. (London, 1962), pp. 301–302, pl. 16; Cohen (note 1), pp. 2–3; E. Simon and M. and A. Hirmer, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), p. 86, pl. 24; D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influences on Attic Vases* (London, 1976), pp. 68–70; K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich, 1978), pp. 70–71.

8. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1617; for a full discussion of the Budapest cup: J. G. Szilágyi, “Une coupe du peintre d’Andokidès,” *BullMusHong* 28 (1966), pp. 13–29 and *Bilingual*, pp. 249–253, pl. 48. As on black-figured cups, in addition, a Gorgoneion appears on its interior.

9. A fragmentary red-figured chalice with subsidiary decoration in black-figure has been preserved, Athens, Akropolis, 726; see

equine? Are the facial features coarse because this figure is subhuman and/or because the vase-painter's hand was unsteady? Given the scant remains, questions such as these may never be answered definitively. By turning to relevant comparanda, however, certain suggestions can be made about the red-figured Getty fragment as well as about its context—the earliest phase of the new technique.

Suitability of subject decoration for shape function was not necessarily the norm in Attic vase-painting, yet Exekias, the potter and painter of the prototypical black-figured eye-cup of type A (Munich 2044, circa 530 B.C.) set Dionysos asail upon a coral-red sea within the bowl. The mast of the god's dolphin-prowed craft serves to stake wondrous grapevines laden with heavy bunches.<sup>7</sup> As we shall see, such special iconographic associations of the drinking vessel with the god and the fruit of the vine appear to have been translated into red-figure in the workshop of the potter Andokides, and several initial artisans of the new technique were moved to invoke the power of wine in their painted work when decorating vases designed for serving or consuming the potent liquid.

First place among early red-figure examples of drinking vessels belongs to Budapest 51.28 (fig. 2). This eye-cup, evidently a product of Andokides' shop, appears to have been decorated by the Andokides Painter himself. Curiously, it retains a standard black-figured eye-cup scheme, with grapevines growing between handles and eyes, instead of the palmettes that are canonical in this location on red-figured exteriors.<sup>8</sup> A single figure inhabits the space between the eyes on each side of this cup. On the reverse a running maenad carries vines, while on the obverse a male, bearded and naked, half-sits, half-reclines—his specific identity is now somewhat enigmatic. One red fillet binds his hair; another is draped over his shoulder. The tiny seat beneath him is

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 5, no. 5; *Bilingual*, pp. 509–510; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1933), p. 57, pl. 56. Cf. D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens* (Malibu, 1985), no. 62, pp. 223–225 for the Amasis Painter's komast balancing a “chalice-shaped cup” on Vatican 369A (*ABV* 15787) and the evidence for ceramic chalices.

10. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1617; cf. Szilágyi (note 8), pp. 15–16.

11. For the bilingual amphora Munich 2301: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, no. 8; *ABV* 255,3; *Bilingual*, p. 182 n. 197, pp. 183–185, 90–92; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* (Munich, 1953), pls. 2–7. Cf. in black-figure: London B 302, Manner of the Lysipides Painter, *ABV* 261,40; *Development*, pl. 36.1 and in red-figure: Munich 2302, by Psiax, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 6, no. 1; *CVA* Munich 4, pl. 1.

12. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, no. 5; W. Technau, “Eine Amphora des Andokidesmalers in der Sammlung des Conte Faina zu Orvieto,” in *Corolla Ludwíg Curtius* (Stuttgart, 1937), vol. 1, p. 139; vol. 2, pl. 46.2.

13. C. Houser, *Dionysos and His Circle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979),



Figure 2.. Detail of red-figured exterior of eye-cup attributed to the Andokides Painter. Side A. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 51.28 (from *Bilingual*, pl. 48.2).

outlined in red. His left hand, extended to the ground, provides further support. For comfort's sake, he has removed his himation, which hangs above him, neatly folded on a hook. The season must be late summer, and the heat still intense, for heavy, ripe bunches of grapes hang from the cup's handle-vines. The red figure clasps his own drinking vessel by its foot in the palm of his right hand. The height of its stem suggests a shape metallic in conception—perhaps a chalice rather than a common skyphos.<sup>9</sup> This wine-vessel must be filled to the brim. The man's lips reach toward it, and its rim seems equally drawn to them.

To John D. Beazley the Budapest drinker was Herakles rather than Dionysos.<sup>10</sup> This interpretation brings to mind representations of Herakles reclining as banqueter.<sup>11</sup> The eye-cup figure's short hair might indicate that he is indeed the athletic hero, if only the Andokides Painter's Dionysos on the amphora in Orvieto, Faina 64, did not sport the same coiffure: delicate bangs fringing a

cap of black hair, dotted with red curls.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the Budapest drinker's total nudity would be unseemly for an image of the god of wine this early in Greek art.<sup>13</sup> His distinctive drinking vessel, in fact, might count against his being either mythological figure. In the Archaic period Dionysos usually is represented with a rhyton or a kantharos (especially in red-figure)<sup>14</sup> and Herakles with a phiale or, on occasion, a kantharos as well.<sup>15</sup> While neither identification—hero or deity—can be proved absolutely, nor ruled out entirely, a third possibility has been overlooked: The Budapest drinker might be a mortal man.<sup>16</sup>

The fragmentary male figure in Malibu (fig. 1) has much in common with the Budapest drinker. Each has a large nose, a thin mustache, and a short red beard with incised contours. Each has protruding lips. Those of the drinker are purposely pursed, but a similar functional intent need not be ascribed to those of the Getty figure.<sup>17</sup> Significantly, the preserved portion of the coiffure

p. 12. See also T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-figure Vase Painting* (Oxford, 1986) and A. Henrichs, "Myth Visualized: Dionysos and His Circle in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting," in M. True, ed., *The Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 95–96.

14. Ibid. e.g., with rhyton: New York 31.11.11 by Lydos, *ABV* 108.5; *BMMA*, 31 (1972), no. 7; Munich 2044 (above [note 7]). With kantharos: New York 17.230.5, *Development*, pls. 24–25; London B 210 by Exekias, *ABV* 144.7, Arias and Hirmer (note 7), pl. 65; New York 63.11.6 by the Andokides Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1617, no. 2 bis, *BMMA*, 24 (1966), fig. 4; Munich 2344 by the Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 182, no. 6, Lullies and Hirmer (note 11), pls. 38–39. See also Carpenter (note 13), pp. 117–118.

15. With phiale: London 1902.12–18, *ABFV*, fig. 246. With kantharos: Munich 2648 by Douris, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 441, no. 185; Lullies and Hirmer (note 11), pl. 88. See Carpenter (note 13), pp. 98, 111–114, 117. For Herakles with phiale and Dionysos with kantharos, feasting together, see London E 66 by the Clinic Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 808, no. 2;

*ARFV*, fig. 376.

16. Cf. the black-figured skyphos, Heidelberg, University Museum, 277, *Paralipomena*, p. 93.2; *ABFV*, fig. 182; for its interpretation as "the drunkard alone in the vineyard," see J. Boardman, "A Curious Eye Cup," *AA*, 1976, p. 284. Cf., for Greek and maenad appearing on opposite sides of the same vase, Psiax' alabastron, Karlsruhe 242 (B 120), *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 7, no. 4; *Bilingual*, pl. 39.1–2.

17. The open mouth and protruding lips of the Getty red figure appear to be a sign of animation and, perhaps, excitement; however, no teeth are indicated, any false suggestion of which is due to the incrustation (see above, note 5). Teeth are rare in early red-figure, where they usually signify bestiality, e.g., on the Centaur, New York 1974.11.4 (here fig. 7), and/or pain, e.g., on Antaios, Louvre G 103, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 14, no. 2; Arias and Hirmer (note 7), pl. 108, or death, e.g., on Sarpedon, New York 1972.11.10, *BMMA*, 31 (1972), no. 15.



Figure 3. Fragment of bilingual eye-cup. Side A. Tampa Museum of Art, 86.49, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, Tampa, Florida (from *Bilingual*, pl. 53.3).

of the Getty figure—long locks, separated one from the other by incision—not only differs from the short hair of the Budapest drinker but is not known elsewhere in the Andokides Painter's oeuvre. The Budapest cup, although a minor work of the Andokides Painter, displays a certain refinement in the drawing of its lively, slightly awkward figures, as well as a certain maturity in the handling of red-figure technique,<sup>18</sup> which are missing on the Getty fragment. The Getty's example of early red-figure cannot be by the great master, but it is not far from his hand.

A partially preserved eye-cup in the Joseph Veach Noble Collection, Tampa Museum of Art (fig. 3), bears a similar relationship to the oeuvre of the Andokides Painter. Its decoration is bilingual: the old technique, black-figure, has been employed for the tondo on the cup's interior and the new one for its exterior.<sup>19</sup> Our concern must be the little red figures between the large eyes. The obverse is best preserved: A satyr extends an oinochoe to pour wine for Dionysos.<sup>20</sup> The reclining deity must have held not only the extant vine, but a drinking vessel as well. In physiognomy and technique of drawing these early red figures, like the Budapest drinker, have much in common with the Getty one, e.g., protruding lips, thin mustaches, and red beards (the color applied over black) with incised borders. The No-

ble cup also provides a parallel for the handling of long hair—incision separating the locks at their roots. Several other details of the drawing, however, suggest that the Getty fragment is not by the Noble master either. The profiles of heads on the Noble cup have more compact and rounded features. Here beards sprout directly below lower lips, whereas on the Getty fragment a space has been left between lip and beard. Mustache meets beard in a simple arc on the Noble cup, but in a curve like half of a compound bow on the Getty fragment.

The painter of the Noble cup differentiates facial-type of satyr from that of god; the former's jutting nose contrasts with the latter's straight *classical* profile (fig. 3). The face of the Getty figure closely resembles that of the Noble satyr. Could he have been another satyr serving wine to an early red-figure Dionysos? While it may be tempting, at first glance, to brand him as a beast, he need not have been one. In late Archaic vase-painting, for example, satyrs commonly have rounded *pug* noses rather than long, pointed ones.<sup>21</sup> Significantly, dots cover the body of the Noble satyr, an indication of hair. Hair on the chest of the Centaur on the New York oinochoe (see fig. 7) is painted in dilute glaze.<sup>22</sup> That the Getty red figure has neither dots nor markings in dilute to show body hair might be a further indication that he was *fully* human in form.

Beazley placed the Noble cup near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman, and here the closest parallels for the Getty fragment are to be found. He attributed two works to the artist's own hand, both fragmentary eye-cups of fine fabric, abnormal in ornament.<sup>23</sup> They appear to be the earliest of the vessels in the new technique discussed here; in fact, their little red figures resemble black-figure miniatures. Certain features of style and ornament recall the black-figure work of the Amasis Painter, others foretell the bilingual work of Psiax.<sup>24</sup> Preliminary sketch lines, impressed into the clay, are used extensively on the Painter of the Vatican Horseman's name piece—a distinctive, technical trait shared by the Getty fragment.<sup>25</sup> The second eye-cup by this peculiar little master was put together by Beazley from fragments at present dispersed between the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome; the Astarita Collection

18. Szilágyi (note 8), pp. 14–16, 21–22, 28–29.

19. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 159–160, 1617; *Bilingual*, pp. 263–272 and pl. 53.3–5.

20. Of the reverse, only a single fragment, with satyr-head and vine, remains, but the scene should have been similar, *Bilingual*, pl. 53.5.

21. E.g., on New York 63.11.6 (above, note 14); Munich 2302 (above, note 11); London E 3 by Epiktetos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 70, no. 3, Schefold (note 7), figs. 74–75. In black-figure, cf. satyrs by the Amasis Painter, e.g., on Würzburg 265, *ABV* 151.22; Bothmer (note 9), no. 19. Earlier Archaic satyrs have pointed noses, cf. New York 31.11.11 (above, note 14).

22. *Bilingual*, pp. 256–266, for hair on satyrs and Centaurs in early red-figure and contemporary black-figure.

23. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 159–160 and 159, nos. 1–2; 37, nos. (ii) 2–3; *Bilingual*, pls. 50–52.

24. *Bilingual*, pp. 256–262, see also pp. 266–272. Comparable in these aspects as well is the Mildenberg bilingual cup, A. P. Kozloff, ed., *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection* (Cleveland, 1981), no. 102, pp. 121–123. Now, having seen this cup, I recognize its importance as a transitional piece; cf. *Bilingual*, pp. 301–302. For experimental aspects of the black-figure technique of the Amasis

of the Vatican; and the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The cup corresponds iconographically to those drinking vessels that have been our special concern. The Rome and Vatican portions give the artist's characteristic, albeit unusual, ornamental flowers (instead of palmettes) at the cup-handles, parts of the eye-cup eyes, and the lower half of each of the pair of Dionysoi, seated on campstools, in the central spaces on opposite sides of the cup's exterior.<sup>26</sup> The Astarita fragment also shows the bottom of a kantharos held in the god's extended left hand. The heretofore unpublished fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles (ex-Froehner) (fig. 4) is the most important of all.<sup>27</sup> As Beazley noted, it joins Astarita 247 and preserves not only part of the left-hand large eye and brow, but the upper half of the god, the handle of his kantharos, and the rear portion of his stool.

This Dionysos is a distinctive character, immediately recognizable as a very early red figure. Neither contour stripe, nor true relief line appear on the Cabinet des Médailles fragment. Thick black drawing lines, applied with a brush, outline the god's right arm and hand, the rear of his torso, and the shoulder closure of his himation. This garment is pulled tightly around the simple form of the red figure's body; its end, draped over his back, falls in imprecisely drawn, but very straight folds. His right arm bends upward tensely, forming a sharp angle at the elbow. Between himation and crook of elbow the background accidentally was not filled in with black glaze. The long black locks of Dionysos' hair, although wavy, are spiky rather than undulating. In sum, the drawing suggests the painstaking labor of a craftsman intense at an unfamiliar task.

This embryonic form of red-figure technique brings to mind the Getty fragment (fig. 1). The type and handling of Dionysos' head likewise recall that of the Getty red figure. The god's eye is too large for the size of his head. The vase-painter carefully left a reserved spot within the black of the iris for the pupil. Dionysos' head is encircled by a wreath, simply indicated by red dots, and the upper border of his hair is incised. As on the Getty figure, the upper border of his luxuriant beard is incised. Along its lower border individual hairs are

Painter and their relationship to red-figure, see J. R. Mertens, "The Amasis Painter: Artist and Tradition," in M. True, ed., *The Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 168–182.

25. For preliminary sketches, see Noble (note 3), pp. 50, 85 and figs. 191–193; G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery: An Investigation of the Technique of Black-figured and Red-figured Athenian Vases* (New Haven, 1923), pp. 38–39; on their special importance in red-figure and the Andokides Painter: Bothmer (note 3), p. 205 and Szilágyi (note 8), p. 21.

26. Dionysoi seated on campstools also occur on black-figured eye-



Figure 4. Red-figured fragment of eye-cup attributed to the Painter of the Vatican Horseman. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, ex-Froehner, Bibliothèque Nationale. Photo, courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale.

picked out by incision, not only against the black ground but also against the reserve of his body. The Cabinet des Médailles deity's mustache is given careful definition: the outline of its long, upward-curving end, which overlaps his beard, is incised. The Getty figure's mustache stops just short of his beard, also a special feature. On both heads a bit of the chin beneath the lower lip is left free of hair.

Examining the profile-types of the Noble and Cabinet des Médailles Dionysoi (figs. 3–4) has a special relevance here. Whereas the fine nose of the former continues the line of his brow, the protruding nose of the latter is long and pointed. The physiognomy of the Cabinet des Médailles Dionysos strengthens the evidence suggesting that the long-nosed Getty figure need not be a beast from Greek mythology. It is also noteworthy that the god's ear is placed rather high, because such an ear of human type could well have appeared, above the break, on the Getty figure's head. Comparison with the Cabi-

cus, not necessarily earlier in date, e.g., Hamburg 1922.119, *ABV* 209.2, *CVA* Hamburg 1, pl. 1; Villa Giulia 773, *ABV* 381.298, *Dedalo* 3 (1922), p. 73; Chicago, University of Chicago, *ABV* 632.1, *AJA* 47 (1943), p. 399, fig. 15A, *ABFV*, fig. 290.1; see also Louvre C 10451, *ABV* 653.1, *CVA* Louvre 10, pl. 117.6 and Louvre C 10456, *ABV* 653.2, *CVA* Louvre 10, pl. 119.2.

27. I am grateful to Irène Aghion for permission to study vases in the Cabinet des Médailles and to Michel Amandry for help in the storeroom.



Figure 5. Red-figured fragment of lip-cup near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman. Interior of lip. London, British Museum, E 134.2. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

net des Médailles Dionysos, on the other hand, indicates that the humble figure on the Getty fragment is neither divine nor heroic.

Beazley also placed a very early red figure in London “near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman.”<sup>28</sup> This little fellow is preserved on a lip-cup fragment in the British Museum, E 134.2 (fig. 5), which is the surprising final example in the great scholar’s fundamental study, “Little-Master Cups.”<sup>29</sup> The London figure is still a beardless youth. He reclines on the inner edge of the offset lip.

28. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 159, no. 2.

29. *JHS* 52 (1932), pp. 203–204. For London E 134.2, see also M. Venit, “Painted Pottery from the Greek Mainland found in Egypt, 650–450 B.C.” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1982), pp. 144, 504, pl. 250, no. C 56; *Bilingual*, pp. 255–256, pl. 50.1 and Williams (note 1), p. 36, fig. 42; (my thanks go to Dyfri Williams for providing a print of his fig. 42, reproduced here as fig. 5).

30. Elsewhere in red-figure, patterns on metal phialai are drawn in a more clearly three-dimensional manner, cf. the fragmentary panel-amphora in Taranto and Reggio by the Andokides Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, no. 6; 1617; *Bilingual*, pl. 33.1–2; Berlin 2278 by the Sosias Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 21, no. 1; Schefold (note 7), figs. 42–43; and London E 66

His legs extend toward the left, but he looks back toward the right. His profile is especially delicate. Like the bearded Dionysos by the Painter of the Vatican Horseman (fig. 4), however, he has an outsized eye. Incision defines not only his hair-contour but his wreath as well. His upper torso, drawn in front view, is nude: his himation has been let down to his waist and is wrapped neatly around the lower part of his body. He holds a phiale in his right hand. This vessel, normally used for drinking only in a heroic or divine context, is drawn

(above [note 15]). On the phiale and its metal prototypes, see G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), pp. 29–30; see also M. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes* (St. Lucia, 1984), pp. 116–117. For a complete run of preserved phialai, see D. von Bothmer, “A Greek and Roman Treasury,” *BMAA*, 42 (1984), p. 21, esp. no. 12, 1981.11.13, p. 26, and nos. 20–21, 68.11.64 and 1970.11.16. See *ARFV*, p. 60 for relationships between the crafts of potting and metalworking.

31. J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932), p. 204. For the omission of couches in symposia to enhance the shape of the cup’s bowl, cf. interior: Oxford 1974.344 (black-figured eye-cup), J. Boardman, *AA*, 1976, pp. 281, 283, fig. 5, p. 284; exterior: Berlin 2298, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 364, no. 52, *ARFV*, fig.

with a black outline upon the reserve of his flesh, and its surface is dotted with black glaze, perhaps to indicate hammered bosses in a precious, metal object.<sup>30</sup> The figure's left arm, outstretched to the right, rests upon a cushion; the left hand is missing. The awkward simplification of the body-contour resembles the handling of the Cabinet des Médailles Dionysos. Another similarity is that no relief line was employed for either figure. Phiale and cushion suffice to identify the figure on the London fragment as a symposiast. The vase-painter, taking clever advantage of the articulation of the potted shape, has omitted a couch. The London red figure must have been a young member of a drinking party that "ran right round the inside of the rim."<sup>31</sup>

Comparing the Getty mature male (fig. 1) with the London youth (fig. 5) helps to reveal an error in the anatomy of the former. The union of the Getty figure's head with his body, concealed beneath his beard, is impossible: the edge of the neck aligns with the tip of the chin.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, in terms of both physiognomy and technical execution, the Getty fragment once again displays kinship with the red-figure style of the Painter of the Vatican Horseman. The preserved portion of the Getty figure is virtually a mirror image of the pose of the London youth. A bit of reserve at the lower edge of the Getty fragment may indicate that the figure's left arm and hand were extended across his body, perhaps to hold a drinking vessel.

These two red figures may be related in a curious way by the very sherds of pottery on which they survive. As a lip-cup fragment, London E 134.2 is a unique piece. The lip-cup, popular in the middle third of the sixth century B.C., was a black-figured shape, which normally bore decoration on its reserved exterior and frequently, in addition, on a tondo reserved at the center of its bowl's black-glazed interior.<sup>33</sup> The British Museum fragment's unprecedented adornment in the new technique appears in an equally unprecedented location—on the inner surface of the cup's offset lip.<sup>34</sup> London E 134.2 brings to mind the earliest red-figure depiction of a pottery shop Beazley knew, on Akropolis 166 by the

Euergides Painter. The occasion represented is extraordinary in that Athena looks on while a vase-painter decorates a cup.

A strange thing is that the cup shown here is not like a red-figured cup at all: it looks like black-figured kylikes of the 'Little Master' type, a form almost obsolete by the time this vase was painted. The Euergides Painter may never have handled such kylikes, but evidently he liked the shape.<sup>35</sup>

This pretty scene must hark back to the formative stage of red-figure when for some artists, especially miniaturists, boundaries between the old and new in both painting technique and vase-shape were not yet so distinct.

Although, in both style and technical execution, the bearded red figure at the Getty is a close kin to the London youth, he, unfortunately, could not have been one of the lost drinkers in this lip-cup's symposion. As we have seen, the red-figure youth resides on the concave interior surface of his cup's lip, but the Getty figure appears on the convex exterior of his Attic fragment. Furthermore, whereas preserved red figures comparable to the Getty one decorate cups, the fragment on which he himself survives must have come from another type of vessel. Its curving profile, which preserves a small segment of the rim, suggests a deep, yet delicate form. Since its concave inner surface is black, the fragment surely came from an open shape, with an interior visible to the user and readily covered with glaze by the maker. A glazed interior, furthermore, obviously prevented absorption of liquid by the porous clay. Significantly, the most suitable candidates for the shape appear to be vessels that, like the lip-cup, normally were decorated in *black-figure*.

The first possibility, a mastos, was described by Gisela Richter and Marjorie Milne as a "cup in the shape of a woman's breast;" it ends in a nipple at the bottom.<sup>36</sup> Mastoi had a particular currency at the time of very early red-figure. Several scholars have noted links in potting and/or painting among the heretofore published, preserved specimens—all of which are either black-figured or glazed black.<sup>37</sup> The fine, small model in

305. For the black-figure tradition of decorated zones, see K. Schauenburg, "Zu attisch-schwarzfigurigen Schalen mit Innenfriesen," *AntK*, Beiheft 7 (1970), pp. 33–46.

32. A short vertical line beneath the Cabinet des Médailles Dionysos' beard (fig. 4) appears to begin the front outline of his neck; if extended upward it would end too close to the tip of his chin. For anatomical distortions in overlapped forms, cf. the wrestlers by the Andokides Painter on Berlin 2159, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, no. 1; *Bilingual*, p. 142 and n. 106, pl. 25.3.

33. Beazley (note 31), p. 168; F. Villard, "L'évolution des coupes attiques à figures noires," *REA* 48 (1946), pp. 162–166; *Development*, p. 53; *ABFV*, p. 59.

34. Beazley (note 31), p. 203 and *Bilingual*, p. 256; London E 134.2 also may have been decorated in black-figure in the normal location(s) and, hence, could have been a bilingual vase.

35. J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London, 1946), p. 8, pl. 1.3; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 92, no. 64; *ARFV*, fig. 101.

36. Richter and Milne (note 30), p. 30. See also Greifenhagen, pp. 133–136, and Kanowski (note 30), pp. 104–106.

37. J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford, 1928), p. 4; D. von Bothmer, review of *ABFV*, *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975), p. 122; Greifenhagen, pp. 134–135.



Würzburg, with which John Boardman illustrated the class, is the name piece of the Mastos Painter, a black-figure follower of the Lysippides Painter, the collaborator of the Andokides Painter.<sup>38</sup> Psiax, a bilingual master of early red-figure, who sometimes worked in Andokides' shop, was especially fond of the shape. All examples attributed to his hand are decorated in *black-figure*.<sup>39</sup>

A pair of disparate handles is the norm for the shape in black-figure; would the equivalent have been found on a red-figured model?<sup>40</sup> Adolf Greifenhagen likened mastoi to other vases ending in a point which were designed to rest on stands,<sup>41</sup> but their unusual handles may suggest something further about how such cups were used and stored. In order to drink most comfortably from its deep bowl, one must hold the mastos like a mug, by the vertical strap handle. The mastos could have been hung on a wall when not in use, suspended by the horizontal cup-handle. These distinctive handles, therefore, should have been characteristic of the nipples form regardless of the technique of decoration. For flat-bottomed or footed versions, however, disparate handles are not essential.<sup>42</sup>

When a breast-shaped cup has a flat resting surface, it is called a mastoid. Mastoids need not have handles and, generally, are characterized by a flaring offset lip. The earliest black-figured model, decorated by the Amasis Painter, is special: it has vertical handles and a foot.<sup>43</sup> The standard shape is found in early red-figure; examples near Psiax and Oltos and by the Chelis Painter have been preserved.<sup>44</sup> In the final decades of the sixth century another type of drinking vessel, which evolved from the mastos, the skyphos of the Pistias Class M, was popular. Normally decorated in black-figure, it has been considered Amasean in derivation. Its breast-shaped bowl curves inward at the bottom, terminating in a fillet and a foot. On this shape the handles are horizontal.<sup>45</sup>

The contour of the Getty fragment follows a contin-

uous curve; it has no offset. The combined evidence of profile and early date suggest this rim fragment could well have belonged to a mastos—the only known red-figured one!<sup>46</sup> Another odd red-figure work, however, introduces a note of caution regarding the nature of the shape. Although called a mastos by Beazley, an *unlipped* breast-shaped cup in the National Museum, Athens (fig. 6), apparently must have been fitted with a foot rather than a nipple, for a section of a fillet is preserved at the bottom of its bowl.<sup>47</sup> The Athens cup, while its profile does resemble that of a mastos, technically had to have been either a special mastoid or a very early Pistian skyphos (decorated exceptionally in *red-figure*). Unfortunately, its handles are not preserved. Its decoration in the new technique, however, is among the first extant. Composite monsters, a sphinx, and a siren, related stylistically to the monumental work on amphora panels by the Andokides Painter, stand between gigantic flowers, which grow in the spaces between the (lost) handles. Lumbering beasts in an exotic setting recall the red-figured oinochoe of black-figure shape, New York 1974.11.4 (fig. 7). The Getty fragment's miniature red-figure appears to be aligned aesthetically more closely with black-figured works than with such early Andocidean products. On the other hand, whereas black-figured mastoi generally bear either black lines or bands of ornament near the upper edges of their reserved exteriors,<sup>48</sup> the ground of the red-figured vessel in Athens (fig. 6) is glazed black right up to the rim; and the Getty fragment shares the latter's lack of special articulation in this location. Strictly speaking, given the tiny preserved portion, it is impossible to tell whether the Getty vessel had a foot instead of a nipple and, thereby, whether it could have been a special mastoid or Pistian skyphos rather than a true mastos.

Iconographically, more often than not, mastos/mastoid decoration was related to the vessel's function as a wine cup. This feature brings to mind another black-figure shape contemporary with early red-figure—

38. *ABFV*, pp. 105, 188, fig. 167; *ABV* 262,45; below (note 53).

39. J. R. Mertens, "Some New Vases by Psiax," *AntK* 22 (1979), pp. 22–30, pls. 9–10; one, pl. 9.5–6, is in black-figure on white-ground. For another white-ground mastos, Munich 2003, see Mertens, pp. 87–88, pl. 12.3 and Scheffold (note 7), fig. 124.

40. Bothmer (note 37), p. 122.

41. Greifenhagen, p. 133.

42. The latest black-figured mastos, Munich 2003 (above [note 39]), dated by Mertens, p. 87, to 510–500 B.C., which "has the handles of a normal skyphos" (Bothmer [note 37], p. 122), probably was influenced by the Pistias Class (below [note 45]).

43. Louvre F 70, *ABV* 156,76; see Bothmer (note 9), no. 53, pp. 198–199. See, in general, *ABFV*, p. 188 and fig. 274 and on the latest mastoids, Mertens, p. 89.

44. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 275.64, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 9,

H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter* (Berkeley, 1929), pl. 6; Louvre C 10783, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 69; formerly Lausanne, private collection, Geneva market, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1626, no. 3. The greatest popularity of the mastoid was for black-figure work of poor quality in the early fifth century B.C., e.g.: *ABV* 557,449–560,512 for the Haimon Group; *ABV* 648,238–649,246 for the Leafless Group. *ABFV*, pp. 149, 188; Mertens, pp. 88–89 on white-ground examples.

45. *ABV* 627–628; on Amasean derivation, see Mertens, pp. 89–90 and pl. 13, Wehgartner (note 1), p. 8; for the shape, see *ABFV*, p. 151 and fig. 294. Dietrich von Bothmer has brought to my attention an early black-figure model, New York, private collection, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, L.1982.27.7, in which links between the skyphos of the Pistias Class M and the mastos still are readily apparent in both shape and decoration.

46. On the subject of early red-figure pictures on black-figure



Figure 6. Red-figured mastoid. Side A. Athens, National Museum (from Dunbabin, *Perachora*, vol. 2, pl. 145, top right).



Figure 7. Red-figured oinochoe. Front. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.11.4, Arthur Darby Nock Fund in Memory of Gisela M. A. Richter, 1974. Photo, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the kyathos, designed, with a single strap handle, for use as a wine dipper.<sup>49</sup> Incidentally, a lone early example in the new technique exists. It was decorated by the bilingual painter Oltos.<sup>50</sup> In kyathos decoration, large eyes, recalling those on cups, are common.<sup>51</sup> As we have

shapes, see Beazley (note 37), p. 11, pl. 3.1–2 (oinochoai by the Goluchow Painter: Warsaw 14263, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 10, no. 1 and Warsaw 142308, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 10, no. 2) and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 5 (the neck-amphora, Boston 03.790, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 11, no. 2(β)); illustrated in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. 3 [Oxford, 1963], suppl. pl. 18.1).

47. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 5, no. 6; on its correct shape: Mertens (note 39), p. 23 n. 17 (H. Payne and T. J. Dunbabin, eds., *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*, vol. 2 [Oxford, 1962], p. 351); and on its decoration, see *Bilingual*, pp. 510–511, pl. 123.1–4.

48. E.g., black lines: London B 375, Richter and Milne (note 30), fig. 182; ivy: New York 1975.11.6, *AntK* 22 (1979), pl. 10.5–6; crenellation: Swiss private collection, *AntK* 22 (1979), pl. 10.1–4; net pattern: Munich 2003 (above, note 39).

seen, eye-cups furnish the best red-figure parallels for our fragment in both style and possible subject. While large eyes or even large palmettes (the norm on skyphoi of the Pistias Class M) do occur on the black-figured mastos,<sup>52</sup> the picture field often is filled entirely by fig-

49. Richter and Milne (note 30), pp. 30–31; Kanowski (note 30), pp. 72–75, see also M. Eisman, “Attic Kyathos Painters” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. 1–8, 11–14, 33, a shape, based on Etruscan models, intended for export and manufactured in the workshop of Nikosthenes.

50. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 54, no. 8; Eisman (note 49), pp. 57–58, 74–76; *Bilingual*, pl. 71.4 and pp. 338–339.

51. Eisman (note 49), pp. 31, 36–40. For a white-ground eye-kyathos by Psiax, Würzburg 436, *ABV* 294.16; Mertens, pp. 37–38 and pl. 34. For the meaning of eyes on vases, see Jackson (note 7), pp. 67–68, and G. Ferrari, “Eye-Cup,” *RA*, fasc. 1 (1986), pp. 11–20.

52. Large eyes: London B 376, Greifenhagen, p. 136, no. 10, pl. 39.1–3; for the scheme with vines and satyrs, cf. the kyathos formerly Castle Ashby, the Marquess of Northampton, *ABV* 609.1; *CVA* Castle Ashby, pl. 24.1–3, p. 15. Large palmettes: mastoi by Psiax,

ural decoration. On Würzburg 391, Dionysos and satyrs appear in the scenes on both sides.<sup>53</sup> Krakow 1076, first recognized as a mastos by Beazley, has satyrs and maenads.<sup>54</sup> The Northampton mastos, London B 377, bears a komos of men and maenads.<sup>55</sup> These vases bring to mind certain mastoids. On the Amasis Painter's prototypical model, Louvre F 70, male and female black figures hold vines, pour wine, and pass a lyre, and the subject may well be specifically Dionysiac. Red-figure male and female revelers dance around the Psiacian Brachas cup.<sup>56</sup>

Drinking scene and komos or thiasos surely count among the themes that plausibly could be restored to the mostly lost exterior of the Getty fragment's vessel. A

definitive choice of subject, however, depends as much upon the interpretation of its scantily preserved red figure as a recognition of its shape does upon the reading of its scantily preserved profile. Was the Getty figure part of an extended composition, or was he isolated (alone or in a pair) between eyes, palmettes, or even flowers, on the obverse or the reverse of his vessel? Barring the acquisition of additional fragments, much about this unusual piece never may be determined with certainty. Nevertheless, the fragment in the J. Paul Getty Museum, as work in the new technique by a *little master*, invites investigation into a special aspect of the Attic pottery industry at its moment of greatest change.

Columbia University  
New York

*AntK* 22 (1979), pls. 9–10, above (notes 39, 48); on the Pistian skyphos, Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1979.122, see W. G. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase-painting in Mid-Western Collections* (Chicago, 1979), p. 123, no. 70.

53. Above (note 38); Greifenhagen, p. 136, no. 4; for the theme on the reverse as Dionysos, Ariadne, and Oinophon, see Schefold (note 7), p. 22 and fig. 12.

54. Beazley (note 37), p. 4; Greifenhagen, p. 136, no. 7; *CVA* Krakow 1, pl. 6.3.

55. Greifenhagen, p. 135, no. 1, pls. 37–38; the lost mastos, formerly Trieste, Fontana Collection, with homoerotic scenes (Greifenhagen, p. 136, no. 6), resembles the Northampton one in style and composition.

56. Above (notes 43–44).

# Phintias in Malibu und Karlsruhe

Carina Weiß

Seit 1963 besitzt das Badische Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, eine Schale mit der dreifachen Malersignatur des Phintias (Abb. 1a–i).<sup>1</sup> Sie fand unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten Eingang in die Forschung, doch steht eine umfassende Publikation bislang noch aus.<sup>2</sup> Diese soll nun hier vorgelegt werden, da die ebenfalls von Phintias signierte Schale Malibu 80.AE.31 (Abb. 3a–c)<sup>3</sup> die nächste Parallele hinsichtlich Form, Stil und der Eigenart der Palmettenkomposition bietet. Stilistisch nur wenig jünger als die Karlsruher Schale steht sie dieser gleichsam geschwisterlich gegenüber und bildet mit ihr eine Einheit unter den Schalen des Phintias. Die Vorlage von Karlsruhe 63/104 gibt die Gelegenheit, diverse ikonographische und stilistische Probleme zu beiden Schalen aufzugreifen und ihre zeitliche Stellung im Werk des Phintias zu diskutieren.

Für die Erlaubnis zur Publikation und vielfältige Unterstützung der Arbeit danke ich M. Maaß, Karlsruhe. Weiterhin gilt mein Dank A.P.A. Belloli und A. Thompson, Malibu; H. A. Cahn, Basel; H. Froning, Würzburg; W. Hornbostel, Hamburg; I. Krauskopf, Heidelberg; D. Marzoli, Madrid; E. Simon, Würzburg; M. True, Malibu, ebenso M. Boss, der die Zeichnung und den Schnitt anfertigte und P. Stief, der mit der Restaurierung der Schale betraut war.

In Ergänzung zu den Abkürzungen und Sigeln gemäß AA (1982), 809ff., AA (1985), 757ff. und der Archäologischen Bibliographie werden die folgenden verwendet:

- Add:* L. Burn, R. Glynn, und J. D. Beazley, *Addenda* (1982).  
*Bloesch, FAS:* H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (1940).  
*Boardman, ARFV:* J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (1975).  
*Brommer, Vasenlisten<sup>3</sup>:* F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage<sup>3</sup>* (1973).  
*Bruhn, Oltos:* A. Bruhn, *Oltos and Early Red-Figure Vase Painting* (1943).  
*Cohen, ABiV:* B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters* (1978).  
*Neuerw.:* E. Petrasch, Hrsg., *Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: Neuerwerbungen* (1952–1965). Eine Auswahl (1966).  
*Schefold, SB II:* K. Schefold, *Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (1978).  
*Seki, UVGM:* T. Seki, *Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Gefäßform und Malerei attischer Schalen* (1985).  
*Simon, Vasen<sup>2</sup>:* E. Simon, M. und A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1981).

1. Inv. Nr. 63/104. H: 11,9 cm; D: 30,6 cm; Fuß D: 10,6 cm; Spannweite: 38,3 cm.

2. ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1700, 12ter; *Paralipomena*, 323; *Add*, 74; J. Thimme,

Die aus dem Kunsthandel stammende Schale Karlsruhe 63/104 ist aus Fragmenten zusammengesetzt und trug teilweise verunklärnde oder schönende moderne Übermalungen. Bei einer erneuten Restaurierung im Badischen Landesmuseum wurden sämtliche Fehlstellen im Bereich der figürlichen Dekoration bis zur unbemalten Ergänzung freigelegt und eine nachgedunkelte Lasur über dem Innenbild entfernt.<sup>4</sup> Dabei wurden die rotgemalten Details und Inschriften wieder sichtbar. Auf den Außenbildern hat sich die rote Bemalung teils sehr gut erhalten, teils ist sie stark abgerieben.

Zum Formtypus B gehörig<sup>5</sup> schwingt das Profil ohne Absatz vom Fuß zur Lippe (Abb. 1a–b). Der ausgedrehte, trompetenförmige Fuß steht nicht auf einer Standfläche, wie bei früheren Schalenformen,<sup>6</sup> sondern setzt nur noch mit einem tongrundigen Standring auf.

*JbKuSammlBadWürt* 2 (1965), 294; Neuerw. Nr. und Abb. 21–22 (J. Thimme); J. Thimme, *Griechische Vasen: Bildhefte des Badischen Landesmuseums Karlsruhe<sup>4</sup>* (1975), Abb. 24–26; E. Petrasch, Hrsg., *Bildkatalog: 400 ausgewählte Werke aus der Schausammlung* (Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, 1976), Abb. 50; K. Schauenburg, *JdI*, 88 (1973), 7f., Abb. 7; Boardman, *ARFV*, 35, 48, Abb. 39,1–2; B. Schiffler, *Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst...* (1976), 24, 249, Kat. Nr. A66; C. M. Cardon, *AJA* 83 (1979), 171f., Taf. 24, 11; 25, 13; B. Otto in: *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift B. Neutsch* (1980), 317; Simon, *Vasen<sup>2</sup>*, Taf. 98–99. M. Maaß, *Wege zur Klassik: Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Badischen Landesmuseums...* (1985), 84, 124f., Abb. XII, 92; J. Thimme, *Antike Meisterwerke im Karlsruher Schloß* (1987), 108ff., Nr. Abb. 41; Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (1987), 65, 118, 210, Abb. 53; C. Weiß, *CVA Karlsruhe* 3 (im Druck).

3. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.31: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1620, 12bis; J. Frel in: *Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg* (1984), 57ff., Taf. 8–9, Abb. 1–5; A. Dierichs, *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands. Sondernummer Antike Welt* (1988), 55ff., Abb. 91a–b. Maße: H: 12,3 cm; D: 31,0 cm; Fuß D: 10,7 cm; Spannweite 39,0 cm.

4. Diese verdeckte größtenteils die rotgemalten Details der Darstellung und die gleichfarbigen Buchstaben der Signatur.

5. Bloesch, *FAS*, 41ff. Zum Fußprofil vgl. Cambridge G71 (ebd. 45, Nr. 2, Taf. 12, 2a, b: Kachrylion), doch fehlt der für Kachrylion typische Absatz auf der Oberseite der Fußplatte, was z.B. "Pamphaios bei einer Anzahl grosser Schalen machte" (ebd. 121 mit Anm. 189). Vgl. daher auch London E37 und E33 (ebd. 64f., Nr. 14 und 22, Taf. 17,3a, b; 4a, b: Pamphaios). Im Werk des Phintias steht Malibu 80.AE.31, s. oben (Anm. 3) am nächsten.

6. Vgl. z.B. die von Deiniades getöpferte und von Phintias gemalte Schale München 2590: ARV<sup>2</sup>, 24, 12; *Add* 74; Seki, *UVGM*, 31, Nr. 55, Taf. 13, 1–3 (Fußtypus AZ).



Abb. 1a. Phintias. Att. rotfigurige Schale, Seite A ganz. H: 11,9 cm; Fuß 10,6 cm; Spannweite: 38 cm. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 63/104. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

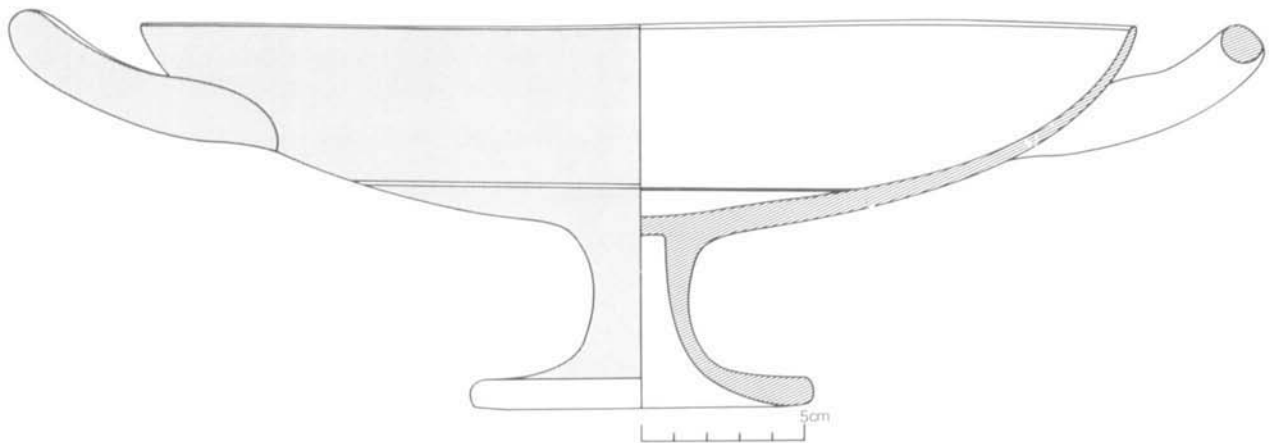


Abb. 1b. Profil der Schale von Abb. 1a. Zeichnung: K. Öhrlein, Würzburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

Die restliche Sohle des Fußes ist schwarz, die vom Stiel umschlossene Unterseite des Beckens tongrundig.<sup>7</sup>

Den figürlich dekorierten Außenseiten (Abb. 1a, 1f–g) dient je ein umlaufender tongrundiger Reifen als Standlinie bzw. als obere Bildrahmung direkt unter der Lippe. Zusammen mit dem tongrundigen Rand des Fußes sind sie als Horizontalgliederung in der Außenansicht der Schale eingesetzt. Auf der Innenseite wiederholen sich die Reifen als Pendant unterhalb der Lippe und als Tondorahmen (Abb. 1c). Die Bilder auf A und B werden jeweils von zwei großen umschriebenen Palmetten eingefasst,<sup>8</sup> deren S-förmig geschlungene

Ranken unter den Henkeln zusammentreffen und am Ende jeweils eine Lotosblütenknospe tragen (Abb. 1d–e). Aus dem Zwickel der Ranken entspringt unter dem Henkel eine dreiblättrige Palmette mit rhomboidem Mittelblatt und ebenso geformtem “Tropfen.” An den neunblättrigen Palmetten sind die lanzettförmigen Kerne und Mittelblätter gerippt. Deutlich länger als die anderen Blätter überschneiden diese die Rankenrahmung. Auch die Lotosknospen weisen Mittelrippen auf und sind so ausgerichtet, daß sie ihre Stengelranke schneiden. Die symmetrische Komposition ergänzen eingerollte Seitentriebe, die zu den Henkeln

7. Zum Bemalungskanon der Fußunterseite att. rf. Schalen vor der Wende des 6. zum 5. Jh., s. Seki, *UVGM*, 108.

8. Zu den “Palmetten-Bildfriesschalen” ebd. 30ff.

9. Ähnlich auch bei Schalen des Oltos. Vgl. z.B. Berlin, (West),



Abb. 1c. Innenbild mit Henkeln der Schale von Abb. 1a. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

hin aus der Hauptranke entwachsen; an dem Palmettenpaar zuseiten des linken Henkels (Abb. 1d) wird die Symmetrie durch verschiedenartige Triebe unterbrochen; nach B hin schmückt eine Lotosknospe die Ranke, nach A hin eine weitere Volute. An den Palmetten des rechten Henkels (Abb. 1e) fehlen diese Zusätze, dafür wächst an der rechten Palmettenranke eine Knospe aus dem Zwickel zwischen Volutentrieb und Hauptachse. Viele der genannten Details finden sich an der etwas entwickelteren Palmettenkomposition der Schale in Malibu wieder (Abb. 3a–c). Auch die Art, wie die Ornamentik nicht einfach als Füllung der Henkelzone bzw.

Rahmung der figürlichen Szenen eingesetzt ist, sondern organisch mit diesen verbunden wird, läßt sich gut vergleichen: Die Figuren überschneiden mit ihren Extremitäten teilweise die Palmettenranken oder lehnen sich gegen diese. Als Gegengewicht entsenden die pflanzlichen Gebilde ihre Blüten oder Palmettentriebe in den Aktionsraum der Figuren (Abb. 1e, 1g, 3a–c).<sup>9</sup>

Die zweifigurigen Szenen der Außenseiten entsprechen sich kompositorisch und thematisch. Auf A (Abb. 1f)<sup>10</sup> eilt von rechts ein Satyr auf einen gelagerten, Lyra spielenden Jüngling zu, auf B (Abb. 1g) läuft eine nackte Frau drohend einem zu Boden gegangenen Silen

Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz F2263: ARV<sup>2</sup>, 62, 85; *Add.*, 81; Seki, *UVGM*, 31, Nr. 60, Taf. 11, 3.

10. Entgegen der von Seki, *UVGM* 16f. vorgeschlagenen Verteilung der Außenbilder nach dem Schema "Seite A ist die Außen-

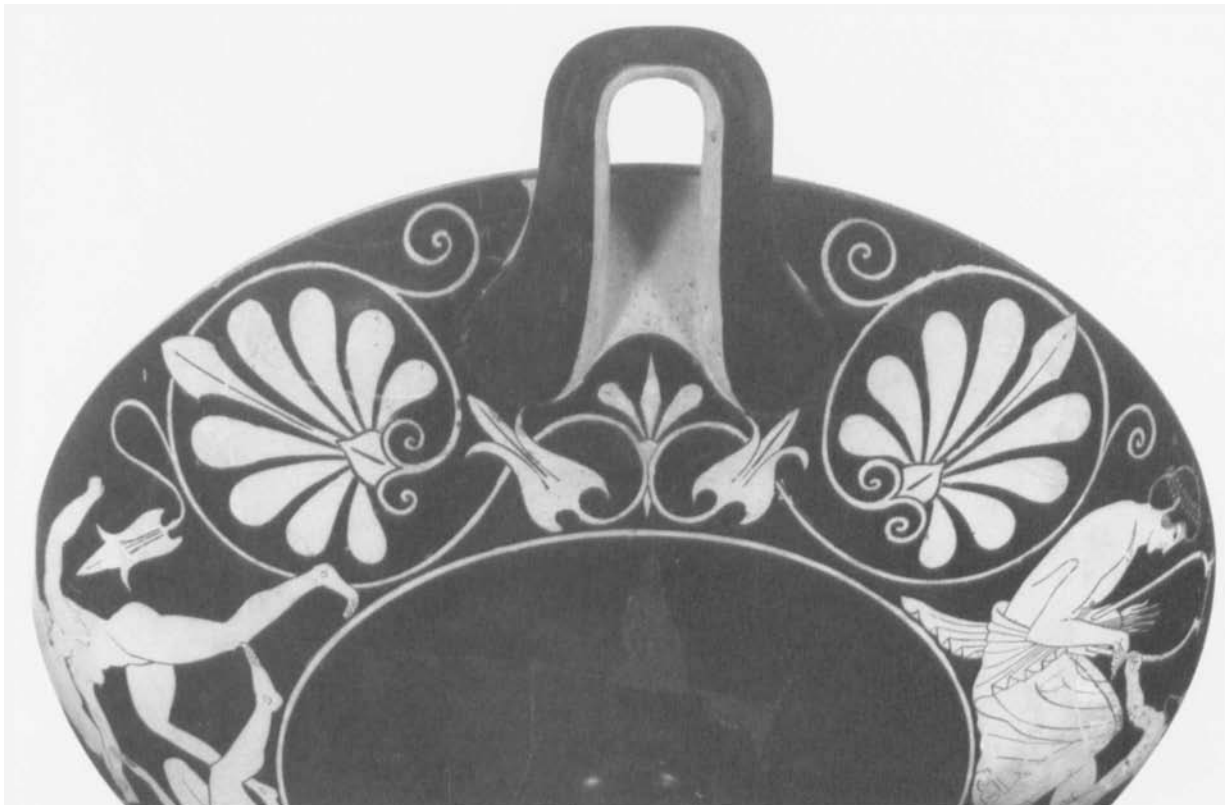


Abb. 1d. Linke Henkelansicht der Schale von Abb. 1a. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

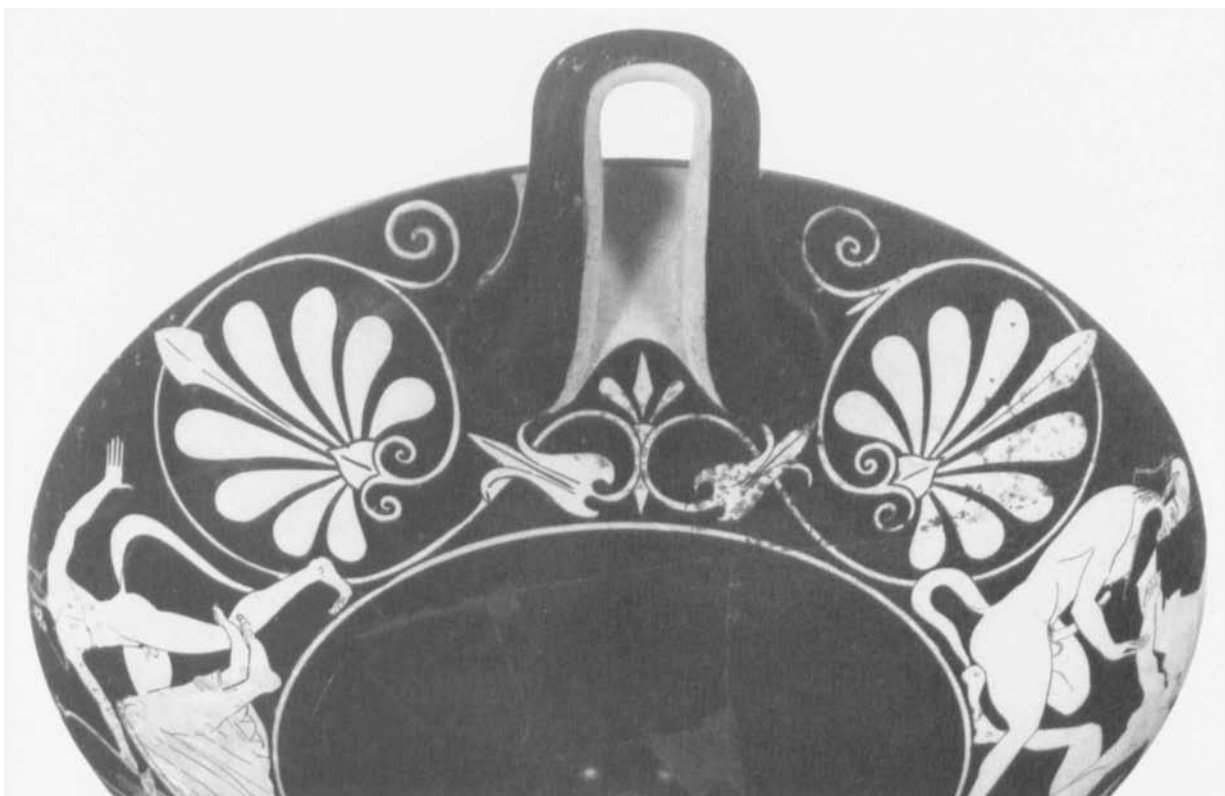


Abb. 1e. Rechte Henkelansicht der Schale von Abb. 1a. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.



Abb. 1f. Ausschnitt, Seite A der Schale von Abb. 1a. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

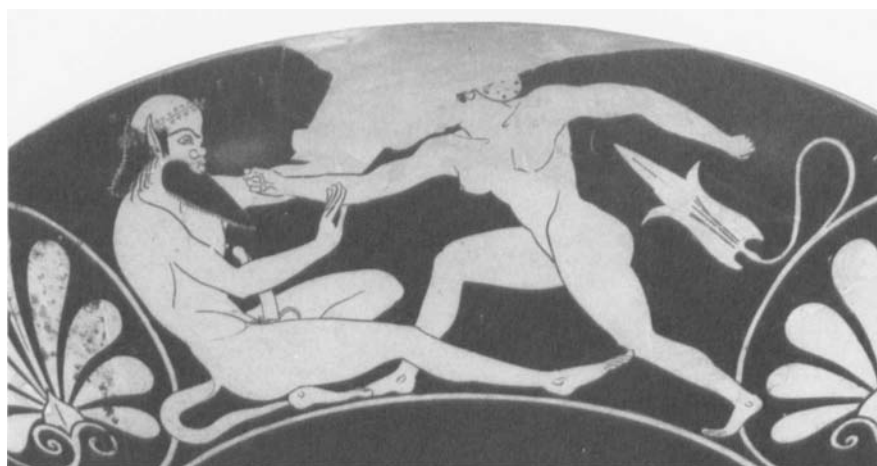


Abb. 1g. Ausschnitt, Seite B der Schale von Abb. 1a. Photo: B. Frehn, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.



Abb. 1h. Vorzeichnung und Ausführung der weiblichen Figur, Seite B der Schale von Abb. 1a. Zeichnung: K. Öhrlein, Würzburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.





Abb. 1i. Innenbild der Schale von Abb. 1a. Zeichnung: Martha Breen, Hamburg, mit freundlicher Genehmigung Badisches Landesmuseum.

entgegen. Beide Angreifer, deutlich kleiner als ihr jeweiliges lang hingestrecktes Gegenüber, sind heftig bewegt mit weitausgreifenden Armen und Beinen. Die Interpretation dieser Szenen läßt sich am besten bei wechselseitiger Betrachtung von A und B erschließen. Auf A (Abb. 1f) ist das störende Treiben des Satyrs mit seinem Griff an das Barbiton des Jünglings ausgedrückt. Dieser, mit gesenktem Kopf noch ganz in sein Spiel versunken, hält die Finger der Linken an den Saiten und das Plektron mit der rotgemalten Schnur in der Rechten. Um Unterkörper und Beine trägt er einen reichgefältelten Mantel; im Haar—wie auch der Satyr—einen roten Efeukranz. Bei beiden Figuren hat Phintias die Haarkontur, am Satyr dazu die äußere Bartkontur, in der

seite, die am Kopf des Innenbildes ist," wird hier aus thematischen Gründen die konventionell eingebürgerte Verteilung von A und B übernommen, die dem Schema entgegenläuft.

11. Zur geritzten Haarkontur bei Phintias Cardon a.O. (Anm. 2) 172, Anm. 34.

12. Zu den Irrtümern auf rotfigurigen Vasenbildern s. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975), 215, 653, Anm. 104; D. Buitron, *Douris* (im Druck, Reihe Kerameus) zu Kat. Nr. 180 (München 2647).

13. Die Schreibweise entspricht sich auf A, B und I. Faksimile der Inschriften werden in *CVA Karlsruhe 3* gegeben. Zur verschiedenen Schreibweise des Namens s. Boardman, *ARFV*, 35; M. M. Eisman, *AJA* 92 (1988), 237.

14. Derartige Ausmalungen mit verdünntem Firnis sind charakteristisch für Phintias: Pfuhl, *Muz* I, 443, § 474.

15. An allen Figuren setzt sich die Muskelwiedergabe in der für

für ihn typischen Weise geritzt.<sup>11</sup> Rot sind auch die Wirbel am Joch des Barbiton; seine Saiten geben Relieflinien auf dem schwarzen Grund wieder. Zwei Versehen des Malers sind nur bei genauem Hinsehen zu bemerken: Der rechte Fuß des Jünglings hat sechs Zehen, die am Mantelsaum über seinem linken Fuß begonnene Borte ist bei den folgenden Falten nicht fortgeführt.<sup>12</sup> Am oberen Bildrand links vom Kopf des Jünglings beginnt die in roten Buchstaben geschriebene Signatur  $\Phi\text{INTIAS}\ \xi\text{APA}\Theta\text{S}\xi\text{N}$ .<sup>13</sup> Sie endet hinter dem Mittelblatt der rechten Palmette.

Auf B (Abb. 1g) weicht ein glatzköpfiger Satyr vor der geballten Faust einer Frau zurück und sucht mit ausgestreckten Armen und abwehrend erhobener Rechter (Linke verloren) ihren stürmischen Angriff zu bremsen. Der Satyr, der sich auch durch die hellen Augen von seinem Gefährten auf A unterscheidet, trägt wie dieser einen roten Efeukranz auf dem Kopf, dessen Haar die typische Ritzkontur aufweist. Schnurrbart und Schamhaar sind in verdünntem Firnis wiedergegeben.<sup>14</sup> Die Angreiferin (Gesicht verloren) ist bis auf eine gepunktete Haube und einen Ohrring nackt. Die eingetiefte Vorzeichnung läßt erkennen, daß die Figur mit männlicher Bauchmuskulatur angelegt war (Abb. 1h).<sup>15</sup> Am oberen Bildrand hat Phintias auch diese Seite signiert. Die Inschrift (rot) lautet wiederum  $\Phi\text{INTIAS}\ \xi\text{APA}\Theta\text{S}\xi\text{N}$ .

Ein drittes Mal erscheint dieselbe Signatur im Innenbild (Abb. 1i). Die heute stark abgeriebenen roten Buchstaben sind entlang der Tondorahmung um die Darstellung eines nach rechts sprengenden Kentauren angeordnet. In der Höhe des linken Henkels beginnend zieht sich die Inschrift im Uhrzeigersinn bis zwischen die Hinterhufe des Pferdeleibes. Dabei wechselt die Ausrichtung der Buchstaben mit dem Gamma unterhalb des linken Vorderhufes, so daß keiner der Buchstaben auf dem Kopf steht und die Inschrift für den Trinker ohne Drehung der Schale lesbar ist. Der mit Fichtenstamm und Felsbrocken bewaffnete Kentauer sprengt diagonal zur Henkelachse. Sein menschlicher Oberkörper und

Phintias typischen Art aus eingetieften Linien der Vorzeichnung, verdünnten Firnisstrichen und Relieflinien zusammen. Dazu ausführlich K. Reichhold in: *FR* 1, 171f. Die männliche Bauchmuskulatur der Frau gibt Einblick, wie Phintias seine Figuren anlegte: Hinter der fertigen, in ihrer Einfachheit monumental wirkenden Figur, deren Körper nur mit einigen gezielt eingesetzten Relieflinien bzw. Strichen mit verdünntem Firnis in der Binnenzeichnung erscheint, steht eine sehr viel reichere Vorzeichnung.

16. Zum Typus s. Schiffler a.O. (Anm. 2) 15ff., bes. 18ff., 24. Kentaurendarstellungen erscheinen relativ selten im Medaillon bilinguer bzw. rotfiguriger Schalen des 6. Jahrhunderts. Zu sf. Medaillons vgl. z.B. Augenschale des Oltos Vatikan, *Astarita*, 492: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 44, 81; 55, 22; *Add*, 77; Cohen, *ABIV*, 385, B 74, Taf. 87, 1. Ebd. 388 Zusammenstellung weiterer Beispiele. Zu rf. Medaillons vgl. z.B. die Schale, Sotheby's Auktion 5.7.1982, 145, Nr. 380 mit Abb. des Ambrosios-Malers, der Kentaurendarstellungen besonders liebte (vgl.

der silenshafte Kopf<sup>16</sup> sind dem Betrachter zugewendet. In Verbindung mit den raumgreifenden Bewegungen und den geschickt eingesetzten Attributen füllt die Einzelfigur das gesamte Rund des Medaillon. Nur der Pferdeschwanz wird vom Tondorahmen abgeschnitten. Als malerische Details sind erwähnenswert: Die hellen Augen des Kentauren sowie mit verdünntem Firnis gemalte Partien wie der Felsbrocken, der Schnurrbart und der feingestrichelte Fellsaum über den Hufen. Die Zickzacklinie der geritzten Haarkontur setzt sich unterhalb der Ohren in den Fransenhaaren fort. Rot waren neben den Buchstaben die Nadeln an den Fichtenzweigen<sup>17</sup> und der Efeukranz über der Stirn des Kentauren.

Bewaffnete und zum Symposion bekränzte Kentauren begegnen in der Ikonographie der Kentauiromachien, die während eines Festgelages zum Ausbruch kamen. Bei dem Medaillon der Karlsruher Schale hatte man zunächst an einen Ausschnitt aus den Kampfszenen anlässlich der Hochzeit des Peirithoos gedacht.<sup>18</sup> Hierbei waren die geladenen Kentauren über die weiblichen Hochzeitsgäste hergefallen und wurden von Theseus und den Lapithen bekämpft.<sup>19</sup> In der archaischen Bildkunst wird bevorzugt die Feldschlacht mit der Kaineusepisode dargestellt, seit der frühen Klassik auch häufiger das zu Einzelkämpfen aufgelöste Schlachtengetümmel bei der Hochzeit.<sup>20</sup> Bei diesen Szenen spielt der Kampf selbst eine besondere Rolle. Ein einzelner, bekränzt heraneilender Kentauer paßt dagegen besser in die Ikonographie der Auseinandersetzung zwischen den Kentauren der Pholoe und Herakles, ein Thema, das sich gerade auf spätarchaischen Vasenbildern großer Beliebtheit erfreute.<sup>21</sup> Auch hier war dem Kampf ein Festmahl vorausgegangen, bei dem Herakles mit seinem Freund Pholos tafelte und gegen dessen ausdrücklichen Rat ein Faß Wein öffnete. Wie von Pholos vorausgesehen, lockte der Duft des Weines die wilden Kentauren an, die mit Felsen und Baumstämmen bewaffnet herankommen, um sich des Weines zu bemächtigen. Eine rotfigurige Schale in Basel, die in den Umkreis des

ARV<sup>2</sup>, 174, 12. 20; *Add*, 92).

17. Besonders gut sichtbar an den beiden den tongrundigen Pferdeleib überschneidenden Zweigen.

18. Simon, *Vasen<sup>2</sup>*, 97 zu Taf. 98. Inzwischen jedoch der hier vorgezogenen Deutung zustimmend (mündlich).

19. Zum Mythos s. Preller/Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* II 15, 4ff.

20. Zur Bildüberlieferung s. Brommer, *Vasenlisten<sup>3</sup>*, 223f., 499ff.; B. B. Shefton, *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 365ff.; J. D. Beazley in: *Caskey/Beazley* III, 87; Schefold, *SB* II 154ff.; F. Brommer, *Theseus* (1982), 104ff.; B. Cohen in: *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Hrsg. W. G. Moon (1983), 171ff. Ebd. 172 und F. Brommer *Theseus*, 105f. und Beazley a.O. 85 zum Einsetzen der verschiedenen Bildtraditionen. Auf frührotfigurigen Vasen ist das Thema selten (Cohen a.O. 176); vgl. die Schale des Oltos, Kopenhagen 13407: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 59, 57; *Add*, 80f.; Schefold, *SB* II 155, Abb. 207 (Kaineusepisode).

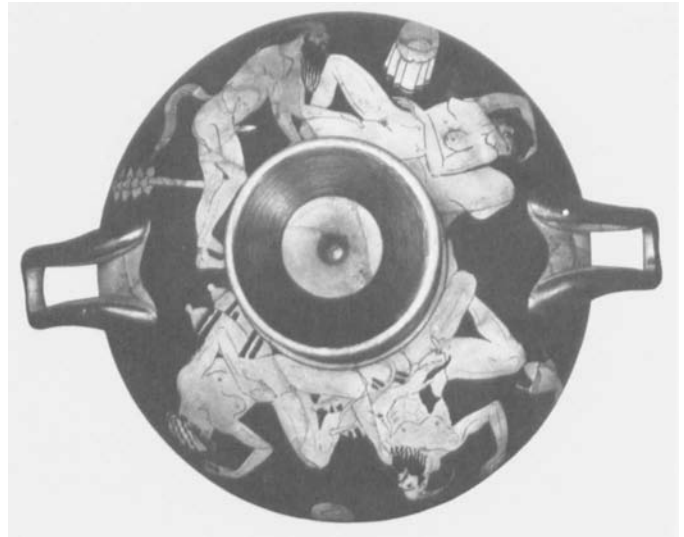


Abb. 2. Att. rotfigurige Schale. Umkreis des Onesimos. Aufsicht auf Seite A und B von unten. Norddeutscher Privatbesitz, Bremen. Photo: mit freundlicher Genehmigung Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

Phintias führt,<sup>22</sup> zeigt uns auf den Außenbildern beide Episoden vereinigt: Auf A die noch zechenden Freunde Herakles und Pholos, bereits belästigt von zwei begehrlieh heranstrebbenden Kentauren, die sich in Erwartung des bevorstehenden Genusses festlich als Symposiasten bekränzt haben; auf B den anschließenden Kampf. Eine von Pamphaios signierte Schale<sup>23</sup> führt noch näher an das Motiv des etwa gleichzeitig entstandenen Karlsruher Innenbildes heran: Hier findet auf A das Gelage statt, zu dem auf B die Kentauren in Reih und Glied heraneilen. Als Ausschnitt einer solchen, wenngleich sicher qualitätvoller ausgestalteten Szene möchte ich auch das Karlsruher Innenbild sehen. Gleichsam angelockt vom Duft des Weines, den das Schalenbecken trägt, sprengt hier der Kentauer aus dem Medaillon dem Trinkenden entgegen und evoziert so die Sage von den Kentauren der Pholoe und dem von ihnen gestörten Festmahl von Herakles

21. Zum Mythos s. Preller und Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* II 2<sup>a</sup>, 499ff. Zur Bildüberlieferung Brommer, *Vasenlisten<sup>3</sup>*, 178 ff.; ders., *Denkmälerlisten* I, 140. Vgl. auch K. Schauenburg, *AM* 86 (1971), 43ff., bes. Anm. 15; Schefold, *SB* II 125ff.; H. P. Isler, *JdI* 98 (1983), 31ff.; D. Noell in: *Image et Céramique Grecque: Actes du Colloque de Rouen* 1982 (1983), 141ff.

22. Basel, Antikenmuseum. 173, 6: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 454, 1: H. P. Maler, *Add*, 119; Schefold, *SB* II, 126f., Abb. 160f.; Schauenburg a.O. 47, 48ff., Taf. 34–36; *CVA* Basel 2, Taf. 23. Neuerdings wird die Schale in die früheste Phase des Berliner Malers eingereiht, in der sich seine Herkunft von Phintias dokumentiert: G. F. Pinney, *AJA* 85 (1981), 145ff., bes. 147ff., Taf. 32, Abb. 11; Taf. 33, Abb. 15–16.

23. Privatbesitz: Schauenburg a.O. 43ff., Taf. 29–31.



Abb. 3a. Phintias. Att. rotfigurige Schale, Seite A ganz. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.31.

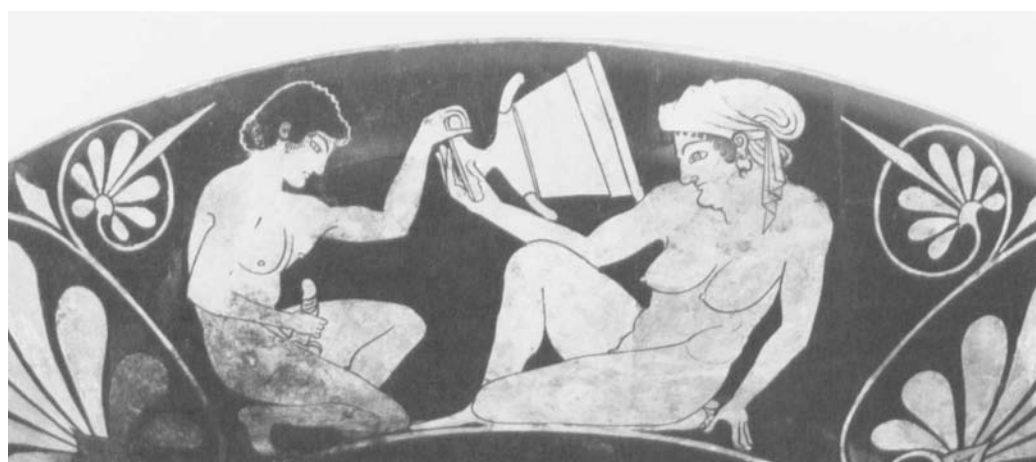


Abb. 3b. Ausschnitt, Seite A der Schale von Abb. 3a.



Abb. 3c. Ausschnitt, Seite B der Schale von Abb. 3a.

und Pholos.

Das Thema "gestörtes Festmahl" liegt, wie E. Simon gesehen hat,<sup>24</sup> auch den beiden Außenbildern zugrunde. Die roten Efeukränze der Satyrn, des Jünglings und des Kentauren stellen das verbindende Motiv dar. Wer allerdings die beiden menschengestaltigen Figuren der Außenseiten sind und wie sie in Beziehung zu den Satyrn stehen, bleibt fraglich. Gehen wir zunächst von Seite A aus. Das Motiv "Satyr neckt Jüngling" ist selten und stellt die Abwandlung des vielfach gestalteten Themas "Satyr stört ruhende Mänade" dar. Beazley, dem eine Zusammenstellung letztgenannter Szenen verdankt wird, kennt nur ein Beispiel, bei dem der Bedrängte männlichen Geschlechts ist.<sup>25</sup> Leider handelt es sich dabei nicht um ein Vasenbild, so daß unsere Szene bislang ohne direkte Parallelen bleibt. Jedoch werfen Darstellungen wie etwa die Außenbilder einer Schale des Epidromos-Malers<sup>26</sup> oder aus dem Umkreis des Onesimos (Abb. 2)<sup>27</sup> Licht auf die Szene unserer Seite B. Necken dort Satyrn liegende, nackte Mänaden, so kann man auf der Karlsruher Phintias-Schale die Reaktion einer derartig gestörten Symposiastin gegen die allzu vorwitzige Zudringlichkeit eines Satyrn erkennen. Zornig aufgesprungen weiß sich die Schöne lebhaft zu verteidigen; dem vor ihren geballten Fäusten<sup>28</sup> zurückweichenden und nach hinten Fallenden bleibt nur der erschreckte Abwehrgestus der erhobenen Hände.<sup>29</sup> Mänaden, die sich gegen die Zudringlichkeit von Satyrn wehren, sind im frühen 5. Jahrhundert keine Seltenheit im Repertoire attischer Vasenmaler.<sup>30</sup> Der Beginn dieser Entwicklung ist noch vor der Jahrhundertwende zu suchen. Dabei zählt nun das Bild der Karlsruher Schale zu den frühesten und in der Angriffslust der vorher Bedrängten zu den am weitesten gehenden Beispielen.

24. Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, 97 zu Taf. 98.

25. J. D. Beazley in: *Caskey/Beazley* II, 95ff. zu Taf. 64 unten. Ebd. 98 unteritalischer Bronzespiegel: Satyr attackiert Jüngling.

26. Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz 3232: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 117, 2; *Add*, 86; J. D. Beazley a.O. (Anm. 25), 96, 4; Boardman, *ARFV*, Abb. 113.

27. Privatbesitz Bremen: W. Hornbostel, Hrsg., *Kunst der Antike*. Ausstellungskatalog (Hamburg, 1977), 307ff., Nr. 263, Abb. auf S. 308 (H. Hoffman). Die Zuschreibung an Onesimos wird bezweifelt; zuletzt bei B. A. Sparkes in: *Greek Art Archaic into Classical: Symposium Cincinnati 1982*, Hrsg. C. G. Boulter (1985) 22f.

28. In Neuerw. zu Abb. 21 erklärte J. Thimme die vorgestreckte Faust in Anlehnung an L. Deubner, *JdI* 58 (1943), 88ff. als Geste des Götterzwangs. Dagegen ist einzuwenden, daß die von Deubner angeführten Beispiele betende Figuren meinen. Der Bedeutungsgehalt der Geste in dieser Situation ist sicherlich ein anderer als in der lebhaft bewegten Szene mit erotischem Hintergrund aus Karlsruhe 63/104.

29. Auch die linke, verlorene Hand des Satyrs muß erhoben gewesen sein. Am gut erhaltenen Arm der Frau sind keine Fingerspuren erhalten, auch der schwarze Hintergrund weist keine Überschneidungen auf, so daß sich die Interpretation, der Satyr ziehe

Die mimisch eindrucksvollen Gesten und Bewegungen der Figuren verlocken, als Hintergrund für die Darstellung ein Satyrspiel anzunehmen.<sup>31</sup> Natürlich läßt sich kein bestimmtes Stück als Vorbild fassen, doch ist ein Detail wie die Stirnglatze des Silens auf B (Abb. 1g) nicht ohne einen gewissen Niederschlag von Elementen des Satyrspieles in der Bildkunst denkbar. In jener, zur Entstehungszeit unserer Schale hochmodernen Gattung war erstmals eine Differenzierung in ältere und jüngere Satyrn erfolgt.<sup>32</sup> Der bis dahin alterslosen mythischen Figur—ein gutes Beispiel dafür stellt der Satyr auf Seite A (Abb. 1f) dar—tritt nun eine Schar von Satyrn entgegen, die sich in ihrem Äußeren altersmäßig unterscheiden.

Unter der Voraussetzung, daß mit der Frau auf B (Abb. 1g) wirklich eine Mänade gemeint wäre, müßte der Jüngling auf A (Abb. 1f) aufgrund der kompositorischen und inhaltlichen Beziehungen der beiden Außenseiten ebenfalls eine mythische Figur darstellen. Ein junger Gott oder Heros als Ziel der Neckereien eines Satyrs ist aber naturgemäß schwerer vorstellbar, als wenn man an seiner Stelle einen menschlichen Symposiasten annimmt. Möglicherweise gehörten der Jüngling und die Frau, die dann eine Hetäre wäre, zu ein und demselben Festmahl. Das Thema wäre Phintias nicht fremd: Leierspieler und Hetäre finden wir z.B. auf den Fragmenten einer Kalpis in Privatbesitz (Abb. 4).<sup>33</sup> Daß ein Symposion von Satyrn gestört wird und so die mythische und menschliche Sphäre ineinanderfließen, ist nicht ungewöhnlich. Die oben erwähnte Schale aus dem Umkreis des Onesimos (Abb. 2) zeigt als Gegenseite zu Silen und Mänade eine Gelageszene, in der dem Silen eine Hetäre beigesellt ist.<sup>34</sup> Auf Kissen ausgestreckt und miteinander plaudernd verkörpern dieser "gesittete" Si-

die Mänade zu sich herab, um sich mit ihr zu vergnügen—Schauenburg a.O. (Anm. 2) 8—, nicht verifizieren läßt.

30. Dazu ausführlich S. McNally, *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 106ff., bes. 119ff.

31. So Thimme a.O. (Anm. 28); Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, 97 zu Taf. 98.

32. Zum frühen Satyrspiel s. B. Snell, *TrGF I* (1971), 79ff., Nr. 4; E. Simon in: *The Eye of Greece: Festschrift Martin Robertson* (1982), 123ff., bes. 128. Zu den verschiedenen Altersstufen der Silene im Satyrspiel und auf den davon beeinflussten Vasenbildern s. E. Buschor, *SB-München* 5 (1943), 81ff., bes. 83 (zur Glatze); F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele* (1959), 38; B. Seidensticker in: *Das griechische Drama*, Hrsg. G. A. Seeck (1979), 233; E. Simon, *SBHeidelberg* 5 (1981), 26ff. Auch den Malern der Pionier-Gruppe waren Satyrn mit Stirnglatzen geläufig. Vgl. z.B. Halsamphora Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1966.19: *Paralipomena*, 323, 3 bis: Smikros; *Add*, 74; A. Greifenhagen, *AA* (1974), 238ff., Abb. 1—2.

33. Slg. H. A. Cahn, Basel: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 24, 10. Unpubliziert. Für die Abbildungsvorlage und die großzügige Erlaubnis der Publikation danke ich Herrn Professor Cahn.

34. S. oben (Anm. 27). Vgl. auch die Pelike London E382: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 632; *Add*, 133; E. Keuls, *MededRom* N. S. 11 (1985), 29, Taf. 4, 23.



Abb. 4. Phintias. Att. rotfigurige Kalpis, Schulterbild. Schweizer Privatbesitz, H. A. Cahn, Basel. Mit freundlicher Genehmigung H. A. Cahn, Basel.

len und seine "städtische" Begleiterin ein Gegensatzpaar zu dem wilden Waldbewohner und der Mänade auf der anderen Seite. Bei der Karlsruher Schale (Abb. 1f–g) sind die Gegensätze einander kunstvoller zugeordnet: Jüngling und Hetäre als Teilnehmer eines menschlichen Symposion erscheinen chiasmatisch verschränkt mit den beiden Satyrn, die die Welt des Dionysos vertreten. Gerade im dionysischen Bereich ist die Verquickung von menschlicher und göttlicher Sphäre besonders leicht möglich, da sich in der Ausübung des Kultus Menschen zum Gefolge des Gottes wandeln können. In diesem

35. Frel a.O. (Anm. 3) 58 nimmt an, daß Phintias auf A und B ein Selbstportrait gegeben hätte; auf A bei der Bezahlung der Hetäre, auf B bei ihrer Gegenleistung.

36. Vgl. etwa die Schalen Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F2265: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 88, 4; *CVA*, 2, Taf. 56, 1–3. Rom, Villa Giulia: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 124, 1; 47, 143; Cohen, *ABiV*, 490f., C72 Taf. 115, 1–2. Weitere Beispiele ebd. Taf. 114, 3 (C70); 127, 2 (B131); Boardman, *ARFV*, Abb. 68, 78, 125; *CVA* Louvre 10, III I b, Taf. 15, 3–4 (G12); Taf. 14, 6 (F129); Taf. 17, 3 (G14); Taf. 21, 6 (G73). Dazu jetzt auch F. Lissarague, *Un flot d'images: Une esthétique du banquet grec*, 74f., Abb. 59–66.

37. Zu den Maßen s. oben (Anm. 1 und 3).

Verhältnis D: Fuß zu D: Becken: 0,35 : 1 (Malibu)  
0,35 : 1 (Karlsruhe)  
Verhältnis H: zu D: Becken: 0,40 : 1 (Malibu)  
0,39 : 1 (Karlsruhe)

38. S. oben (Anm. 5).

39. S. oben S. 84–85.

40. Beide Werte liegen knapp über 0,345 und wurden aufgerundet.

41. Seki, *UVGM*, 100ff., bes. 130, Tabelle 3. Vgl. auch ebd. 36f. (Palmetten-Bildfriesschalen), 61 (große Bildfriesschalen). Bei den

Sinne könnte auf den beiden Seiten der Karlsruher Schale das Stadium gemeint sein, bei dem ein Symposion in den mythischen Bereich eines Dionysosfestes hinüberleitet.

Eindeutig im Bereich der rein menschlichen Sphäre bleiben dagegen die erotischen Außenbilder der Phintias-Schale in Malibu (Abb. 3a–c). Gegen die Deutung von J. Frel, der in den beiden Klienten der Hetären den Vasenmaler Phintias selbst sehen möchte,<sup>35</sup> erheben sich jedoch Zweifel. Die Übergabe des Kraters (Abb. 3a–b) erscheint mir nicht unbedingt als Hinweis auf einen Vasenmaler oder Töpfer, sondern entspricht eher der situationsbedingten, manchmal spielerischen Handhabung von Weingefäßen beim Gelage.<sup>36</sup> Darüber hinaus sind die beiden Paare gegensätzlich charakterisiert, meinen also verschiedene Menschen: So haben auf A (Abb. 3b) beide Figuren helle Augen; die Hetäre trägt eine Haube und Ohrschmuck. Auf B (Abb. 3c) dagegen sind der Jüngling, an dessen Wangen Bartflaum spießt, und die barhäuptige Hetäre dunkeläugig. Wenn wir auch B nicht als Fortsetzung der Szene auf A begreifen dürfen, bleibt doch zu betonen, daß beide Seiten inhaltlich eng zusammengehören. Wie schon oben zur Sprache gebracht, stellt diese Schale bezüglich der Größenverhältnisse,<sup>37</sup> des Profilverlaufs,<sup>38</sup> der Palmettendekoration<sup>39</sup> und des Stiles die nächste Parallele zu der Karlsruher Schale dar. Beiden Schalen fehlt jede Andeutung von Fußwulst oder Absatz auf der Fußplatte. Ihr jeweiliges Verhältnis der Durchmesser von Fuß zu Becken entspricht den Werten 0,35 : 1.<sup>40</sup> Die von T. Seki untersuchten attisch rotfigurigen Schalen weisen vom letzten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts an überwiegend das Verhältnis 0,38 : 1 von Fuß zu Becken auf.<sup>41</sup> Nur wenige Töpfer liegen mit dem Mittel der diesbezüglichen Proportionen ihrer Schalen

kleinen Schalen (zur Definition "groß" und "klein" ebd. 39) liegt das Verhältnis häufig über 0,38 (ebd. 70ff.); vgl. dazu hier Anm. 44.

42. Ebd. 37, 77, 124 (Tabelle 2, 2).

43. Ebd. 62, 122 (Tabelle 2, 2).

44. Ebd. 55, Nr. 285, 292, 293 (= 127, Tabelle 2, 3). Es handelt sich um nur im Innenbild bemalte Schalen mit einem Beckendurchmesser unter 20cm und mit verhältnismäßig großem und hohem Fuß, s. oben (Anm. 41). Zu den Profilen vgl. Bloesch, *FAS*, 61, Taf. 16, 2a, b.

45. Heidelberg 70/13: *Paralipomena*, 323 (mit irrtümlicher Standortangabe Karlsruhe); *Ars Antiqua Auktion* 5 (1964), 31f., Nr. 126, Taf. 32; Cardon a. O. (Anm. 2), 170, Anm. 20. H: 5,7 cm; H: mit Henkeln 7,7; D: 18,53 cm; D: Fuß 7,5 cm; Spannweite: 24,1 cm. Daraus ergibt sich das Verhältnis von 0,40 : 1 von Fuß zu Becken. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. B 4: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 24, 14; E. Reeder Williams, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins Univ.* (1984) 139ff., Nr. 102 mit Abb. H: 7,0 cm; D: 18,5 cm; D: Fuß 7,4 cm; Spannweite: 25,0 cm. Daraus ergibt sich das Verhältnis von 0,41:1 von Fuß zu Becken. Vela: Otto a.O. (Anm. 2) 315f., Taf. 62: errechneter D: 16,2 cm.

46. Zu den in Anm. 44 genannten kommt auch München 2590, s. oben (Anm. 6). Das Fragment *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 24, 13 scheint ebenfalls zu einer Schale vom Fußtyp B zu gehören, doch sind keine Maße errechnet.

deutlich außerhalb dieses Wertes. Zu nennen wären Python, der offensichtlich ein Verhältnis von Fuß zu Becken wie 0,34 bzw. 0,35 : 1 vorzog,<sup>42</sup> oder Pamphaios, der, wie Seki feststellt, "keinen besonderen Wert auf die strukturelle Proportion" legte.<sup>43</sup> Auch Phintias selbst hat als Töpfer Schalen anders proportioniert, doch gehören die erhaltenen sämtlich zu den "kleinen" Schalen, die anderen Gesetzten folgen.<sup>44</sup> Dasselbe gilt für die von Phintias als Maler signierten Schalen Heidelberg 70/13 und Baltimore B4; wahrscheinlich auch für das Fragment aus Velia.<sup>45</sup> Da die Proportionen und Profile der Schalen Karlsruhe 63/104 und Malibu 80.AE.31 weder mit den Schalen des Töpfers Phintias, noch mit den anderen, von ihm gemalten Schalen<sup>46</sup> Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen, könnte man als Töpfer z.B. Pamphaios in Betracht ziehen.<sup>47</sup> Python, der sich aufgrund ähnlicher Proportionierung anbieten würde, scheidet u.a. wegen der unterschiedlichen Profilführung seiner Schalen aus.<sup>48</sup> Gegen Kachrylion, aus dessen Werk ebenfalls Vergleiche herangezogen wurden, spricht seine Vorliebe für die normale Proportion von Fuß zu Becken wie 0,38 : 1.<sup>49</sup>

Die Datierung der Karlsruher Schale war bis jetzt meistens mit dem Jahrzehnt 520/510 angegeben worden. Von B. Otto wurde Karlsruhe 63/104 allerdings bei der chronologischen Reihung im Werk des Phintias vor die Schale München 2590 gesetzt.<sup>50</sup> Dieser Anordnung widerspricht nicht nur das altertümlichere Profil (Fußtypus AZ) von München 2590, sondern auch der vergleichsweise fortgeschrittene Malstil und die Eigenarten der Palmettenkomposition der Karlsruher Schale. Auch die thematische Verbundenheit von I, A und B weist bereits auf frühklassische Praktiken voraus und steht im Gegensatz zu der archaischen Vorliebe, eine Schale mit mehreren verschiedenen Bildthemen zu dekorieren.<sup>51</sup>

Abzuwarten bleibt die Publikation der neuen Phintias-Schale in Privatbesitz, W. Hornbostel, *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens*, Ausstellungskat. (Hamburg, 1986), 84ff., Nr. 38 mit Abb. Nur im Tondo dekoriert (leierspielender Jüngling beim Symposion) und mit einem Becken-D von 19, 6 cm gehört sie zu den "kleinen" Schalen; vgl. oben Anm. 44.

47. Bei Pamphaios finden wir an der Schale London E37 nicht nur ein vergleichbares Fußprofil s. oben (Anm. 5), sondern auch das Verhältnis 0,35 : 1 (D. Fuß zu D. Becken).

48. Zu Python s. Bloesch, *FAS*, 96ff.

49. S. oben (Anm. 5); Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, 97. Zu den Proportionen der Kachrylion-Schalen s. Seki, *UVGM*, 62.

50. Otto a.O. (Anm. 2), 317. In der Literatur gilt München 2590 sonst übereinstimmend als Frühwerk: vgl. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 22, 24, 12: very early; Pfuhl, *MuZ I*, 441; Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, 97.

51. Dazu É. Simon, in: *Greek Art Archaic into Classical: Symposium Cincinnati 1982*, Hrsg. C. G. Boulter (1985), 68.

52. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 23f., Nr. 7; *Add*, 74; Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 100.

53. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 24, 9; 1620; *CVA*, Britisches Museum 5, III I c, Taf. 72, 1.

54. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 23, 2; *Add*, 74; P. E. Arias, B. B. Shefton, und M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (1962), Taf. 95.

55. Athen, Agora P 24113: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 213f., Nr. 242: Berliner Maler,

Vergleiche lassen eher eine Tendenz zu den um 510 datierten Vasen des Phintias erkennen. An der Figur des Leierspielers (Abb. 1f) sind etwa der plektronführende Arm mit dem des Euthymides auf der Hydria München 2421,<sup>52</sup> das Gesichtsprofil und die Himationborte mit dem Jüngling auf der Hydria London E159<sup>53</sup> zu vergleichen. Das Motiv der Frontalansicht des Kentauren (Abb. 1i) findet seine nächste Parallele in dem en face gezeigten Silen der Amphora Tarquinia RC6843.<sup>54</sup> Für den weitausholenden Schritt von Satyr (Abb. 1f) und Frau (Abb. 1g) kann an die Gorgos-Schale erinnert werden, die C. M. Cardon wohl zu Recht als Bindeglied zwischen Phintias und seinem Schüler, dem Berliner Maler, ansieht.<sup>55</sup> Ein weiteres Indiz für die Datierung der Karlsruher Schale in die reife Periode des Phintias stellen die gelängten, lanzettförmigen Mittelblätter der Palmetten dar (Abb. 1d–e). Bis zu Bekanntwerden der Schale in Malibu (Abb. 3a–c) wurde eine solche Bildung für ein Unikum innerhalb der Pionier-Gruppe gehalten.<sup>56</sup> Mit den langen rhomboiden Mittelblättern, die weit über die Ranken der kleinen Seitenpalmetten hinausragen, liegt nun vom selben Maler eine Parallele vor. Eine solche Bildung der Mittelblätter ist nach Jacobsthal ab der reifarchaischen bzw. frühklassischen Zeit nachweisbar<sup>57</sup> und spricht für die relativ späte Entstehungszeit der beiden Schalen, d.h. gegen 510 v. Chr. (Karlsruhe) und um 510 v. Chr. (Malibu). Das Fehlen der Palmetten-Bildfriesschalen im letzten Jahrzehnt des 6. Jahrhunderts<sup>58</sup> gibt einen Anhaltspunkt für die untere Grenze unserer Datierung.

Obgleich sich die Zahl der von Phintias gemalten Schalen im Vergleich zu den anderen von ihm dekorierten Vasenformen in der letzten Zeit beträchtlich erhöht hat, war Phintias kein ausgesprochener Schalen-

*Add*, 98. Zur Malerfrage ausführlich: Cardon a.O. (Anm. 2), 169ff., Taf. 22, 1; 23, 4, 5; 24, 8; 25, 12.

56. Boardman, *ARV*, 32: "Centre leaves do not overlap their drills (Phintias does, once...)."

57. P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (1927), 177: "Lanzettförmige Bildung des schon früh hoch aufschießenden und über die umschreibende Ranke hinauswachsenden Mittelblatts ist häufig, auch findet sich rhomboider Schnitt bei ihm bereits im reifen Archaismus und frühester Klassik...". Über die Ranke hinauswachsende Mittelblätter vereinzelt schon um 510, vgl. Würzburg, L 472: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 137 Mitte: Aktorione-Maler; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (1932), 91f., Nr. 472, Taf. 141 Athen, Nat. Mus. TE556: B. Philippaki in: *KEPNOΣ: Festschrift G. Bakalakis* (1972), 197ff., Taf. 54, 55, 1: Douris (sign.), häufig dann ab dem 5. Jh., z.B. beim Brygos-Maler: Würzburg, L479: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 372, 32: *Add*, 111f.; Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 154–155. Paris, Louvre G152: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 369, 1; *Add*, 111; Boardman, *ARV*, Abb. 245, 2.

58. Seki, *UVGM*, 38.

malen.<sup>59</sup> Es stellt sich deshalb die Frage, ob sich Gemeinsamkeiten, die die Schalen Karlsruhe und Malibu mit dem Oeuvre des Schalenspezialisten Oltos verbinden, als Indiz einer gewissen Beeinflussung des Phintias durch Oltos gewertet werden können.<sup>60</sup> Bekanntlich hat Oltos für einige seiner Schalenfriese ähnlich lang hingestreckte Figuren verwendet, wie Phintias auf den genannten Schalen (Abb. 1f–g, 3c). Parallelen zwischen gelagerten Figuren des Oltos und des Phintias hat schon A. Bruhn gezogen; J. Boardman weist dabei gezielt auf die Karlsruher Schale hin.<sup>61</sup> Auch die Palmettenornamentik liefert Berührungspunkte zwischen den beiden Künstlern wie z.B. die spitz nach unten ausgezogenen Hüllblätter der Lotosknospen, die ihre Stengelranke überschneiden,<sup>62</sup> oder die spitz zulaufenden Palmettenblätter.<sup>63</sup> Eine Reihe von Ähnlichkeiten in der Ausgestaltung einzelner Motive läßt sich diesen Beobachtungen anfügen. So findet die Darstellung der nackten Frau mit gepunkteter Haube und Ohrring (Abb. 1g) unter den weiblichen Figuren des Phintias (vgl. z.B. Abb. 4) bis jetzt keine Entsprechung. Oltos hingegen hat häufiger Gewänder oder Hauben mit diesem charakteristischen Muster versehen; bei der schnell bewegten Nereide oder Mänade gehören Punkthaube und Ohrring sogar zur Typologie des Motivs. Unter den Vasen, deren Figuren diese von Oltos bevorzugte Art der Stoffmusterung wiedergeben,<sup>64</sup> sind besonders die Bandhenkelamphoren mit der Töpfersignatur des Pamphaios hervorzuheben (Paris, Louvre G3 und Zürich, Universität). Auf dem Züricher Exemplar<sup>65</sup> ist mit dem

Satyr  $\delta\epsilon\phi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  ein relativ selten dargestelltes sexuelles Motiv vorgegeben, unter dem auch der Jüngling auf der Phintias-Schale in Malibu (Abb. 3b) in Erscheinung tritt. Die Bandhenkelamphora Louvre G2<sup>66</sup> gibt ein Beispiel für die Wehrhaftigkeit einer Mänade und ist in dieser Hinsicht mit der Seite B der Karlsruher Schale (Abb. 1g) zu vergleichen. Für ihr Tondomotiv, den Kentauren mit frontal gezeigtem Oberkörper (Abb. 1i), läßt sich schließlich das schwarzfigurige Medaillon einer bilinguen Oltos-Schale im Vatikan heranziehen.<sup>67</sup> Die Art, wie die ausgreifenden Pferdehufe den Tondo füllen, begegnet in sehr ähnlicher Weise auf Fragmenten in New York.<sup>68</sup> Auch wenn die Frage nach der relativen chronologischen Stellung der einzelnen Vergleiche hier nicht weiterführt, erkennt man doch, wie stark der Hintergrund geprägt war, vor dem Phintias die Schalen Karlsruhe und Malibu gemalt hatte. Phintias gilt nicht zu Unrecht als konservativer Maler der Pionier-Gruppe;<sup>69</sup> dem Werk seines älteren Zeitgenossen Oltos stand er zweifellos nahe. Bei den Vorbildern für das Typenrepertoire, aus dem er Anregungen erhielt, spielen die von Oltos gemalten Bandhenkelamphoren eine besondere Rolle, da sie die Töpfersignatur des Pamphaios tragen. Sollte sich die bereits angedeutete Möglichkeit einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Maler Phintias und dem Töpfer Pamphaios bei den Schalen Karlsruhe und Malibu verifizieren lassen, so könnte die Werkstatt des letzteren wohl auch Stätte einer gegenseitigen Einflußnahme zwischen Phintias und Oltos gewesen sein.

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59. Die Untersuchungen von Cardon a.O. (Anm. 2) 170ff. und Pinney a.O. (Anm. 22) 157 legen allerdings nahe, daß sich Phintias in den letzten Jahren seiner Karriere sowohl als Töpfer wie auch als Maler vielleicht in stärkerem Maße der Herstellung von Schalen gewidmet hatte als früher.

60. Zur gegenseitigen Beeinflussung des Oltos und der Maler der Pionier-Gruppe s.u.a. Bruhn, *Oltos* 63, 105f.; S. Drougou, *Der attische Psykter* (1975), 43 mit Anm. 73; Cohen, *ABiV*, 380ff.; L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections*<sup>2</sup>, Hrsg. W. C. Moon und L. Berge (1981), 135 zu Nr. 76; 136f. zu Nr. 77.

61. Bruhn, *Oltos* 56, 58 zu Nr. 54 (Berlin 4221); Boardman, *ARVf*, 57. Vgl. dazu Madrid 11.267: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 58, 53; *Add* 80; R. Olmos-Romera, *Cerámica Griega: Guías del Mus. Arq. Nac.* 1 (1973), 51, Abb. 20. Oxford (V. 516): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 63, 92; *Add* 81; *CVA* 1, III I, Taf. 5, 4; Seki, *UVGM* 31f. Nr. 62. Kopenhagen 2700: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 93; *Add*, 81; Bruhn, *Oltos*, 40, 28, Abb. 20–21.

62. So z.B. bei den Schalen, London E41: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 58, 51; *Add*, 80; J. Neils, *AJA* 85 (1981), Taf. 40, 1; 41, 2; Seki, *UVGM*, 31, 56. Berlin (Ost) F2264: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 60, 64; *Add*, 81; Bruhn, *Oltos*, 73, 79, Abb. 5; Seki, *UVGM*, 35, 95. Paris, Louvre G17: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 62, 83; *Add*, 81; *CVA*, 10, III I b, Taf. 5; Seki, *UVGM*, 31, 59.

63. Antikenmus. BS459: *Paralipomena*, 327, 50 bis; *Add*, 80; Boardman, *ARVf*, Abb. 63; *CVA*, Basel 2, Taf. 5 (V. Slehoferova, S. 20: "Einzigartig im Werk des Oltos.")

64. Nereide oder Mänade mit Punkthaube: 1. Bandhenkelamphora,

Paris Louvre G3: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 53, 1; Simon, *Vasen*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 91 rechts; H. P. Isler, *MusHelv* 38 (1981), 228, 239, Taf. 5, 3; 8, 4. 2. Schale, ex Castle Ashby 63 (54, *CVA*): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 44, 77; 55, 18; *Add*, 80; *CVA*, Castle Ashby, Taf. 321. 3. Fr. Oxford 1966, 443: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 65, 118 bis; *Sir John and Lady Beazley Gifts 1912–1966* (1967), 53, 161, Taf. 18, 161. Die allgemein verwendete Bezeichnung "Nereide" für die Frau mit den Delphinen ist meiner Ansicht nach nicht zwingend, da die Art der Kleidung und die Delphine auch bei Mänaden erscheinen können: siehe dazu M.C. Villanueva-Puig, *RA* 1983, 245f. mit Anm. 95. Der Panther auf dem Gewand der Figur auf Nr. 2 sowie der dionysische Kontext auf Nr. 1 sprechen ebenfalls für eine Mänade. Hetäre mit Punkthaube: 4. Schale, Madrid 11.267, s. oben (Anm. 61). 5. Schale, Leningrad, Universität 5572: Cohen, *ABiV*, 341f., B 45, Taf. 72, 2. Gepunktete Gewänder: 6. Zürich, Universität (Leihgabe, Privatbesitz): *Paralipomena*, 140, B3; 327; 1 bis; Isler a.O. 228ff., bes. 238, 239, Taf. 4, 1.

65. S. oben (Anm. 64); Isler a.O. 244, Taf. 4, 4. Vgl. auch die Pelike London E382 (s. oben Anm. 34). Weitere Beispiele bei K. Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973), 29 mit Anm. 60; Dierichs a.O. s. oben (Anm. 3), 70f.

66. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 53, 2; *Add*, 79; Bruhn, *Oltos*, 111f. Abb. 54; Isler a.O. 228, Taf. 6, 2.

67. *Astarita*, 492: s. oben (Anm. 16).

68. D. v. Bothmer, *AJA* 59 (1955), 157, I Taf. 47, 1.

69. Drougou a.O. (Anm. 60), 91f.

# Panathenaic Amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter

Susan B. Matheson

In 1977 Nicholas Koutoulakis donated a fine panathenaic amphora to the J. Paul Getty Museum in memory of Mr. Getty (figs. 1a–c).<sup>1</sup> A prize for the four-horse chariot race, one of the most prestigious contests in the panathenaic games, the vase shows, on its reverse, a quadriga driven by a white-chitoned charioteer (fig. 1b).<sup>2</sup> The obverse shows Athena in characteristic *Promachos* stance between two Doric columns with cocks on top (fig. 1c). The standard inscription, [TONA]ΘENE[ΘEN]AΘVON, appears along the left side of the front panel.

Jiří Frel has attributed the vase to the Kleophrades Painter, further expanding one of the largest groups of panathenaics attributed to a major red-figure painter.<sup>3</sup> The most obvious basis for this attribution is the use of

Pegasos as the device on the shield carried by Athena, a well-known hallmark of the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics. Other painters use this shield device, however,<sup>4</sup> so additional criteria must clearly be satisfied before the attribution can be accepted. In examining the basis for the attribution, we will, at the same time, be considering two larger questions posed by the study of fifth-century panathenaics in general. The first derives from the canonical and repetitious nature of the prize vases, especially the obverse (Athena) side. How much and what kind of variation can one expect to find among the representations of the formulaic Athena panel by different painters (variations that could, one hopes, aid in the attribution of the vases), and how

I am particularly grateful to Marion True, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for the invitation to publish this vase and for her generous assistance during the course of my study. I would also like to thank the following individuals for information and/or for photographs of the vases in their care: F. L. Bastet, Elizabeth Gebhard, Catherine C. Hearst, Donna C. Kurtz, S. M. Margeson, Ricardo Olmos, Isabelle Raubitschek, and Margot Schmidt.

#### Abbreviations

- Beazley, *Development*: J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, rev. ed., D. von Bothmer and M. B. Moore, eds. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986).
- Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter*: J. D. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter* (Mainz, 1974).
- Boardman, *ABFV*: J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (New York, 1974).
- Brandt, *ArchPanath*: J. R. Brandt, "Archeologia Panathenaica I: Panathenaic prize-vases from the sixth century B.C.," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*, 8 (1978), pp. 1–24.
- Wealth of the Ancient World*: J. F. Tompkins, ed., *Wealth of the Ancient World*, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1983.

1. Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum, 79.AE.9. H: 65.0 cm; diameter of mouth: 17.9 cm; width of lip: 1.5 cm; diameter of neck: 11.3 cm; diameter of body: 40.3 cm; diameter of foot: 13.0 cm; diameter of resting surface: 12.7 cm; width of resting surface: 1.3 cm. Condition: reassembled from fragments with some areas restored. Ancient repair reattaching one handle (left, A–B). Much of the mouth on side A is restored, but the profile of the vase is complete from top to bottom. Some loss of white, especially from the legs, tail, and nose of Pegasos. Shape and ornament: echinus mouth, flat top reserved; neck glazed inside to a depth of 5 cm; ring at junction of neck and body; round handles, oval in section; palmette-lotus chain on neck, with seven

elements each on sides A and B; tongue pattern below neck (21 on side B, side A incomplete); figures in panels with lateral frames in relief line, base-line in red; black rays on a reserved ground above a black band; echinus foot with incised line at join to body. Accessory colors: (1) red (applied over incision): ring at base of neck; alternate tongues; line around body below panels; side A: wattle and wing bars of cocks, visor of helmet and two lines along top of helmet's cap, belt, border at hem of chiton, red circles on rim of shield; side B: beard and moustache of charioteer, horizontal band on chariot between upper spokes of wheel, tails of all four horses, also their manes, of which four top crests and two manes show, breast band of one horse; (2) white: side A: Athena's flesh, row of dots in inner (narrow) band of helmet crest, two rows of dots in border of aegis, Pegasos; side B: chiton of charioteer, fleur-de-lis border of breast band, teeth of front horse. Relief line: dividing lines on tongue pattern; side A: outer edges of columns, spear; side B: reins and goad, chariot poles, both upper and lower (applied over the black glaze of horses' bodies, but under the red of their tails), front vertical of chariot. Provenance: Gift of N. Koutoulakis in memory of J. Paul Getty; possibly from Vulci (not, as has been suggested, the vase in *ABV* and *Paralipomena* as Swiss private collection; that vase is now in the Antikenmuseum, Basel [see Appendix]). Exhibitions: J. Frel, *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece*, Art Gallery, Loyola Marymount University, 1979, no. 23. Publications: J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 4 (1977), pp. 70–74, figs. 16–19.

2. Beazley, *Development*, pp. 81–92, and J. Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphorae* (Athens, 1973) remain excellent introductions to the study of these vases. The most thorough study of the sixth-century prize vases is Brandt, *ArchPanath*; virtually all of the previous literature on panathenaics can be found in Brandt's footnotes and will therefore not be repeated here.

3. For panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter, see *ABV* 404; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 192; *Paralipomena*, pp. 175–176; L. Burn and R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford, 1982), p. 51. Beazley's list, with additions and revisions, is summarized in the Appendix below.

4. Sikelos uses it twice; see Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 8, nos. 75 and 76.



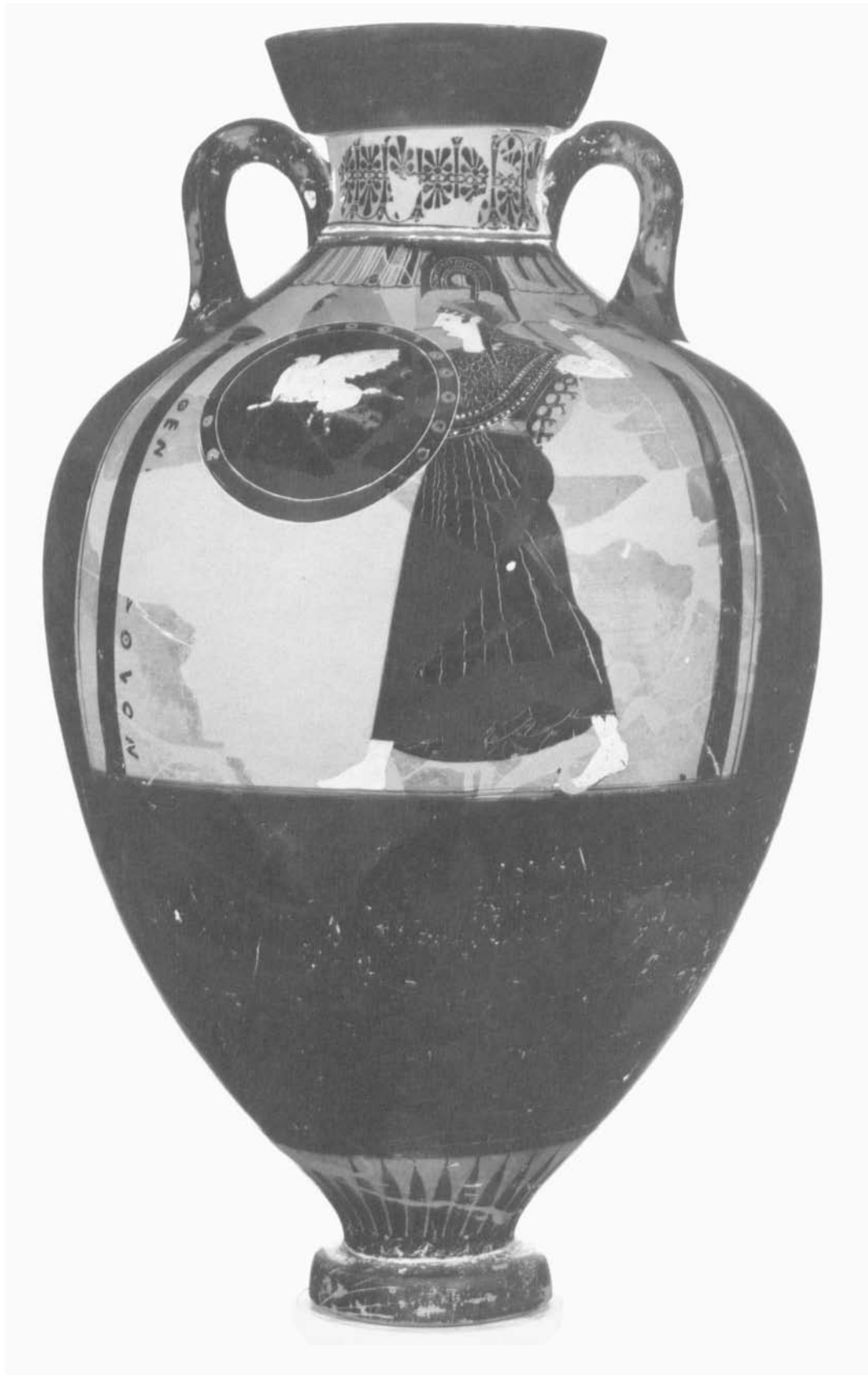
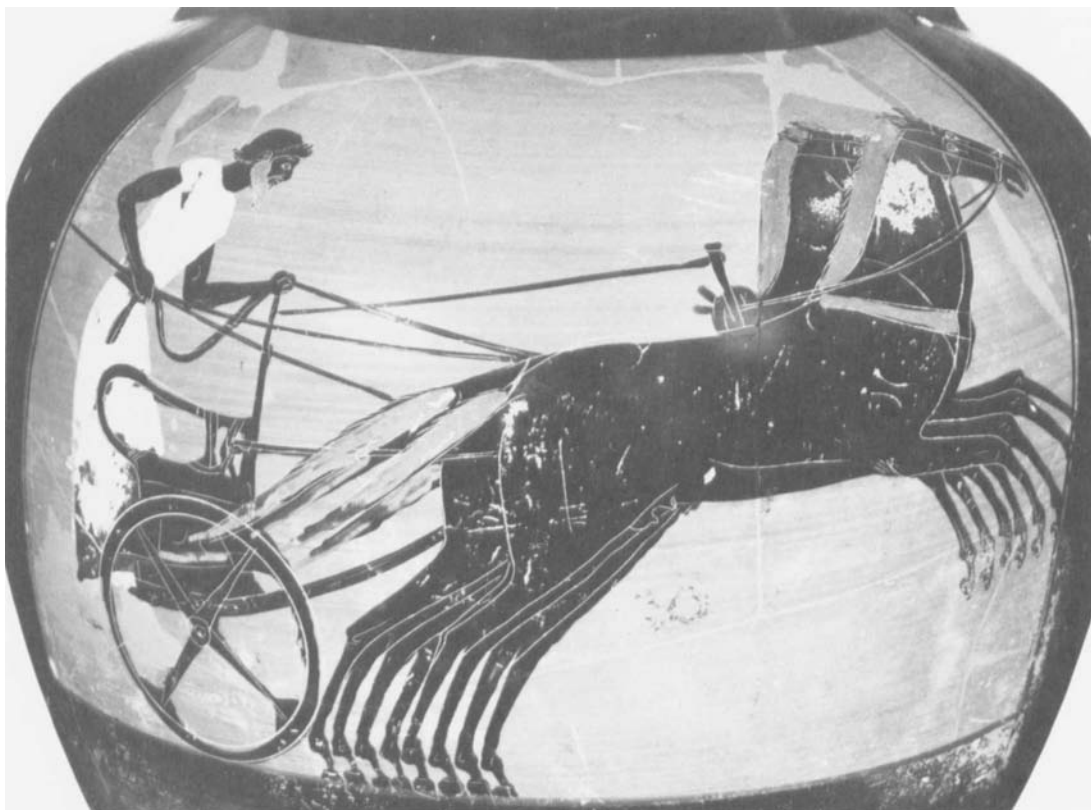


Figure 1a. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.9.



*Figure 1b.* Side B, panel of panathenaic amphora, figure 1a.



*Figure 1c.* Side A, panel of panathenaic amphora, figure 1a.

much variation does one see among the panathenaics attributed to a single painter? The second question applies particularly to panathenaics of the last decade of the sixth and the whole of the fifth centuries. What are the criteria for dating black-figure vases within the oeuvre of a painter who otherwise painted largely or exclusively in red-figure?

The canonical nature of panathenaics, which leads a viewer regarding a single isolated example of a prize vase to recognize it immediately (and probably to conclude that it is just like all the others), is especially evident on the side showing Athena. Athena's striding, militant pose, her position between the two columns, and the inscription, parallel to the left frame of the panel, indicating that the vase is a prize, are repeated, once they are canonized around 530 B.C., on prize vases for more than 400 years. Yet within this formula there is a surprising amount of variation in detail. Athena's shield device varies, and, as noted above, the device is often recognized as identifying an individual hand or workshop in the panathenaics of the fifth century.<sup>5</sup> The cocks that top the columns on sixth- and fifth-century prize vases are replaced in the fourth century by small figures that often represent statues or statue groups. The direction in which Athena faces changes from left, in the earliest prize vases in the sixth century B.C., to right, between 359–348 B.C., shortly after the name of the archon is added to the inscription (probably early in the fourth century B.C.).<sup>6</sup>

Athena's costume varies as well, changing, as has been noted elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> from the traditional peplos usually worn by the *Promachos* to a chiton on some of the prize vases from around 500 B.C. Later, in the late fourth century, she is given an archaistic swallow-tailed chiton that Beazley likened to the hobbled skirt of the early twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> The panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter come right at the point in the early fifth century when the chiton makes its first appearance, but the painter does not follow the new fashion exclusively. This fact, plus the relatively large corpus of panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter, combine to create a useful exercise in attribution, encouraging us to examine what is distinctive about Athena's dress in the Kleophrades Painter's vases, how much it varies from vase to vase,

and how the costume that Athena wears on the Getty panathenaic compares to the series.

When the chiton first appears as Athena's "birthday suit" in the early fifth-century panathenaics, it does not completely displace the peplos, as it appears to do in the fourth-century prize vases. Even within the surviving vases by the Kleophrades Painter there are nearly as many examples with the peplos as there are with the chiton. As one would expect, the material out of which the chiton is made varies from that used for the peplos, with the difference in the fabric often representing the main visual tool for identification of the garment. The peplos, of heavy fabric, is shown as a solid skirt, often patterned (presumably indicating embroidery), while the chiton is made of a lighter material, indicated by crinkly folds that run vertically for the length of the skirt. This distinction is well known from red-figure vase-painting.

The Athenas on the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics show a considerable amount of variation in costume from one vase to the next, and in doing so they provide parallels for many of the features of the Athena on the Getty vase. The Athena on the Getty panathenaic, for example, resembles four Athenas by the Kleophrades Painter who wear a chiton by itself<sup>9</sup> (on the addition of other garments, see below). The prize vases in the Hearst collection, Leiden (fig. 2), the Hunt collection, and one of the two in the Louvre (F 277) join the Getty vase in showing a simple chiton with a red belt and a band of added red at the lower border. No pattern appears on the Getty chiton, while the Leiden, Hearst, Hunt, and Louvre vases add an incised band (broken by folds) at mid-calf level and an overall pattern of incised or painted crosses or dots.

The Getty Athena wears an aegis with incised scales and an incised chevron border at the neck and along the outer edge. This form is characteristic of the Kleophrades Painter, who occasionally adds raised dots to the incised scales, as he does on one of the Yale vases (1909.13, fig. 3). The scales may be either loosely joined, as in Malibu, Leiden, and one of the New York vases (07.286.79, figs. 4a–b), or smaller and tightly interlaced (Yale 1909.13, fig. 3). The aegis normally has an incised border pattern at the neck and the outer edge, using

5. At least by the last decade of the sixth century; see Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 17. Boardman (*ABFV*, p. 168) suggests that the shield device may have been dictated by the magistrate who ordered the vases so that individual batches could be distinguished. Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 16, believes this explanation probable, based on the sixth-century material that forms his study. The effect would have been similar to the regularly changing figures of statues, parallel to the changing archon names, on the columns of fourth-century panathenaics; see

N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986).

6. Beazley, *Development*, pp. 89–90.

7. Beazley, *Development*, p. 86; Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 2.

8. Beazley, *Development*, pp. 90–91; see his "Hobble Group," from 336/335 B.C., *ABV* 417.

9. Some of the fragments preserve only Athena's head, from which we can tell nothing of her dress.



Figure 2. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A, panel. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC 6. Photo, courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

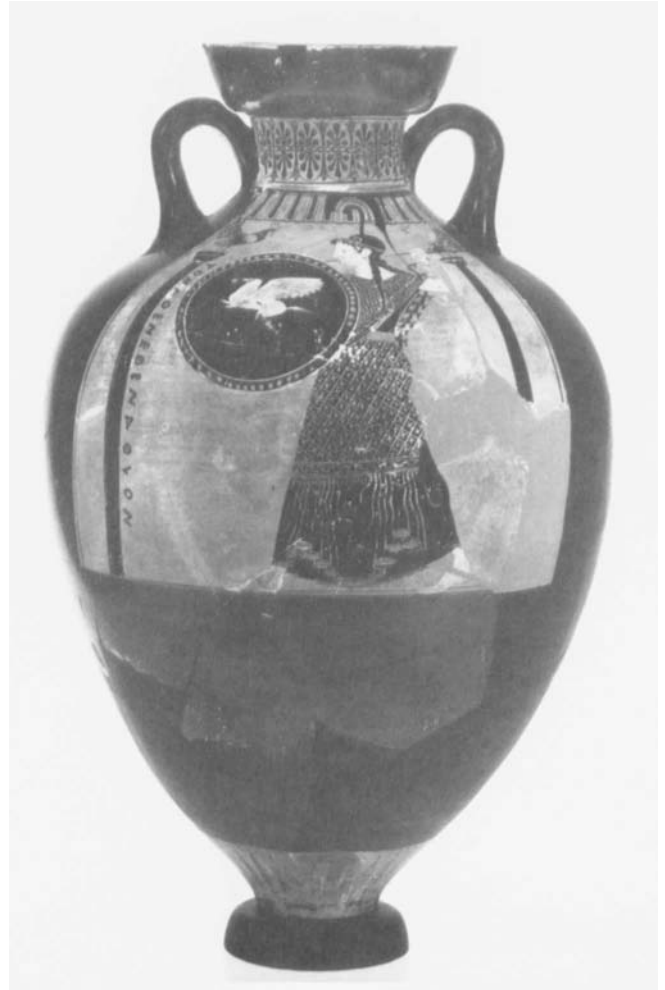


Figure 3. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1909.13. Photo, courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.

chevrons, spirals, or a battlement pattern.

As jewelry, the goddess wears a necklace, bracelets, and earrings. As on the Getty vase, the Kleophrades Painter uses an incised line for the necklace and four black lines to indicate the wraparound bracelet. The earring is normally an incised circle with a central black dot, although the black dot is not present on the vase in Malibu.

Athena's coiffure is quite consistent in the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics, with one long curl hanging down in front of her shoulder and the rest behind, and a row of round curls framing the side of her face that terminates in a cauliflower-like bunch at her forehead. The Getty Athena diverges from the Kleophrades Painter's canon in having wave-shaped side curls and a

single spiral curl at the forehead.

The Getty Athena's helmet shows some variations from the normal Kleophrades Painter versions as well. The red visor, the small lozenge-shaped cheek piece, and the long, banded nape guard on the Getty vase are not present on the Kleophrades Painter's other panathenaic Athenas,<sup>10</sup> nor is there a parallel for the red bands that outline the crown of the helmet both in front of and behind the crest support (but that have no apparent practical purpose). The Kleophrades Painter's Athenas nor-

10. The red visor does occur, however, on two vases ascribed to the workshop of the Kleophrades Painter: 1) the prize vase in the Toledo Museum of Art, inv. no. 61.24, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1632 and 1705, which, in spite of the Pegasus shield device, is closer in the proportions of the figures, the shape of the vase, and the ornament of the Berlin Painter's panathenaics than to those of the Kleophrades Painter, and 2) the un-inscribed amphora of panathenaic shape formerly in the Castle Ashby collection, *CVA* Castle Ashby, no. 12, pl. 16. A double visor is indi-

cated on Athena's helmet on a red-figure stamnos fragment from the Akropolis, inv. no. 733; see A. H. Ashmead, "Fragments by the Kleophrades Painter from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35 (1966), pp. 35–36, pl. 12, as "probably by the Kleophrades Painter," although, as she notes, it is not cited in *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, and it does not subsequently appear in *Paralipomena*. A visor, called a "frontlet" by Beazley, occurs on the Euphiletos Painter's panathenaic Athenas, as noted in Beazley, *Development*, p. 84.

mally wear a red fillet over the helmet, which is not present on the Getty vase. The Kleophrades Painter usually indicates the nape guard primarily with a horizontal pair of incised lines across the hair, sometimes solely by these lines (Yale 1909.12 [fig. 5], Munich, Madrid, and Basel) and otherwise with a discreet square projection (in black glaze) extending these lines beyond the hair to indicate the silhouette of the nape guard's lower edge (Yale 1909.13 [fig. 3], Norwich Castle [fig. 6], New York 16.71, and New York 07.286.79 [figs. 4a–b]). On the other hand, all the Kleophrades Painter's helmets have the characteristic Attic crest with a band of incised decoration, including the Getty helmet. The spirals in the Getty crest occur in the majority of the vases (both New York vases, Yale 1909.12, the Hearst and Hunt collection vases, and the vases in Munich and Madrid). Variations here are a battlement pattern (Yale 1909.13 [fig. 3], Norwich Castle [fig. 6]) and simple arcs (Basel).

In addition to the helmet and aegis, Athena's other armaments consist, of course, of her spear and shield. The position of the spear in relation to the head (passing behind the head at approximately the level of a line drawn from the ear to the nose) is essentially consistent in all but one of the Kleophrades Painter's panathenais, including the Getty vase, with the only significant variation occurring in the Basel amphora, where the spear passes behind the top of the head. The Kleophrades Painter, as noted above, uses Pegasos as a shield device, and the manner in which the winged horse is represented is quite consistent. With one exception (Hearst collection), only one of the horse's wings is shown.<sup>11</sup> Some of the horses have a scale pattern on the upper part of their wings (e.g., Madrid, New York 16.71, and Munich), while others (e.g., New York 07.286.79 [figs. 4a–b] and Malibu [fig. 1c]) are plain. The most notable exception is the S-shaped wing on one of the Louvre vases (F 279), an archaic form.<sup>12</sup> Considerable variation occurs, on the other hand, in the treatment of the shield rim. The use of a solid red band (Yale 1909.12 [fig. 5], Munich, Louvre F 277, Hearst collection, Madrid, and probably Akropolis 969, although the fragment is small and the pattern could be similar to that of New York 16.71, below) is nearly equally balanced by the use of a band of red dots (New York 07.286.79 [figs. 4a–b], Basel, Hunt collection, Yale 1909.13 [fig. 3], Norwich Castle [fig. 6], Louvre F 279), with variations in the form of red circles (as opposed to red dots) (Malibu [fig. 1c], Leiden [fig. 2]<sup>13</sup>), and a broken red band alternating

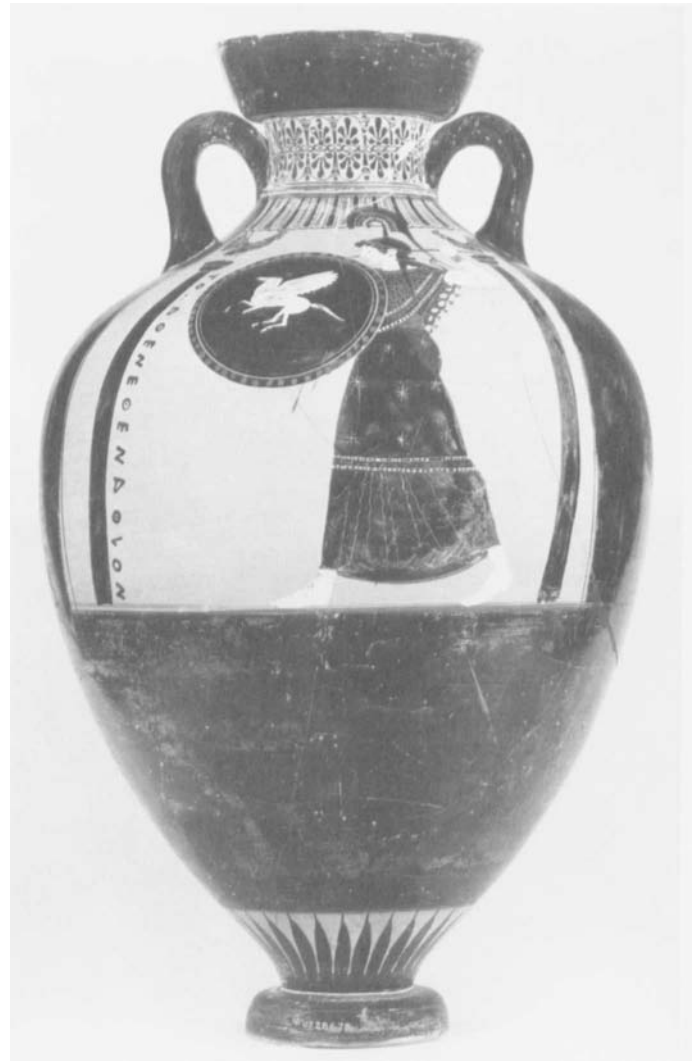


Figure 4a. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.79, Rogers Fund, 1907. Photos, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

with red circles (New York 16.71). As was the case with the spear, the position of the shield in relation to Athena's head is consistent, with only the Getty and Norwich Castle shields varying from the preferred position, nearly touching the face.

In reviewing the above descriptions, one notes a number of divergences in the Getty vase from the normal patterns of the Kleophrades Painter's panathenais: The treatment of the helmet, including the visor, the cheek piece, the nape guard, and the added red on the crown; the treatment of the hair framing the face and at the

11. I would not agree with Ashmead (above [note 10], p. 34 n. 75) that a second wing tip appears on New York 07.286.79.

12. Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 8 n. 6.

13. Also Agora P 4815, *ABV* 406.6, a fragment probably from a prize vase; see Ashmead (above [note 10], pp. 34–35, pl. 8), citing as other fragments with this decoration in note 77: *ABV* 406.7 and 406.8,



Figure 4b. Side A, panel of panathenaic amphora, fig. 4a.

forehead; the lack of a black dot in the earring; and the position of the shield in relation to the face. In addition, the profile of Athena's face varies from the Kleophrades Painter's characteristic Athena, both in having a more pointed chin and nose and in being at more of an angle to the vertical. The single incised line below the abacus on the columns is also a variation from the double line the Kleophrades Painter usually employs, although the Norwich Castle vase also shows a single line.

Interestingly, all these variations occur on the Athena side of the vase, and in spite of them there is an underly-

ing similarity between the Getty vase and the other panathenaics attributed to the Kleophrades Painter. The differences are, after all, no greater than the S-shaped Pegasus wing on the Louvre vase or the numerous oddities on the Norwich Castle vase, both of which were given to the Kleophrades Painter by Beazley. In overall appearance, the Getty Athena is as close to the rest as is the Norwich Castle Athena. Equally or perhaps more important, while the Athena panel shows considerable variation from the other versions, the chariot scene on the reverse is, by contrast, fully consistent with the

and possibly *ABV* 404.10. The Agora fragment is called "very close to the painter" by Beazley in *ABV*, and he states that it "may be by the painter himself" in *Paralipomena*, p. 176. The garment in this fragment

on which the incised star appears need not be a peplos, as Ashmead has suggested, since incised stars and rosettes also occur on the epentydes.



Figure 5. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A, detail. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1909.12. Photo, courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.



Figure 6. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side A. Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, 26.49. Photo, courtesy Norfolk Museums Service.

Kleophrades Painter's other panathenaics, as we shall see below. Moreover, the Getty vase conforms to the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics in ornament and shape, both of which vary in the panathenaics described by Beazley as "Kleophradean."<sup>14</sup> Finally, technical details such as the application of added red over incised lines and the use of relief lines to emphasize the outer edges of the columns, which both appear on the Getty vase, are, while not peculiar to the Kleophrades Painter, at least characteristic of him and hardly universal among his contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> The combined similarities would seem to outweigh the divergences in any consideration of the attribution of the Getty vase to the Kleophrades Painter.

Pursuing this question in greater detail, we find that considerably more variation characterizes the panathenaics that Beazley calls "Kleophradean" when they are compared to the canon defined here. To take the prize vase in Toledo<sup>16</sup> as an example, one notes the following divergences from the style of the Kleophrades Painter: The proportions of the figures, which are both taller and thinner than the Kleophrades Painter's figures; on side A: the red helmet visor (otherwise seen only on the Getty vase); the red band edging the bottom of the neck guard; the sleeved chiton, which the Berlin Painter uses but the Kleophrades Painter does not; the use of added red for some of the ornament on the ependytes, as opposed to solely incision on the Kleophrades Painter's Athenas; the folds of the chiton's skirt (under the ependytes), which all flow backward to emphasize the striding pose of the figure, while the Kleophrades Painter's hang straight down or fan out; the kneecap of the forward leg protrudes as a lump in the vertical profile of the skirt (perhaps also suggested on New York 07.286.79); the shield rim is decorated with a considerably larger number of smaller red dots than the Kleophrades Painter's norm when he uses this motif—here, as with the sleeved chiton, we are closer to the Berlin Painter's Athenas; the Pegasus shield device has a smaller wing and the tail curls downward rather than streaming out behind; because the shield covers part of the column capital, the inscription is compressed into a smaller space; the columns are not bordered by relief lines, and

14. E.g., the prize vase in Toledo, cited above (note 10).

15. A similar technical detail—the precise order in which the Kleophrades Painter consistently draws the six incised lines he uses for the star rosettes on some of his chitons—does not, unfortunately, apply to the Getty vase, which has no rosettes.

16. See above (note 10).

17. On loan to The Metropolitan Museum, New York, L.1982.102.3, *ABV* 408.1; "the earliest of the Berlin Painter's panathenaics," Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

18. The ependytes that is open at the sides, with straight line folds that suggest a heavy fabric, is not normal in the Kleophrades Painter's

the shape of the capitals is different; on side B: far fewer lines are used to indicate drapery folds; significant variations occur in the number and position of lines used for anatomical details; knees and elbows are knobby; a wreath (rather than a fillet) is worn by the trainer. Finally, the vase itself is wider and has a higher center of gravity and more curving profile than the remarkably consistent shape of the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics.

A similar comparison of a prize vase by the Berlin Painter (in this case the vase formerly in the Castle Ashby collection, which Beazley considered the painter's earliest prize vase<sup>17</sup>) with the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics yields many of the same divergences, although the resulting assemblage of details equals something still different from "Kleophradean" work: Once again, the shape of the vase is not that of the Kleophrades Painter's prize vases; Athena's shield device, a Gorgon's head, is obviously different; dozens of small dots decorate the shield's rim; once again, the figures are taller, thinner, and higher-waisted than the Kleophrades Painter's figures; Athena's neck is longer; her helmet has a red visor; here again, we see the sleeved chiton; there are straight rather than crinkly lines for the folds of the chiton's skirt; added red is applied before the incision, while the Kleophrades Painter applies it afterward; toes are incised, which the Kleophrades Painter does not do; the columns are shorter and the cocks larger than the Kleophrades Painter's equivalents; and the columns are not bordered by relief lines; the inscription is farther away from the column, and its letters are smaller and more delicate; the runners on side B show anatomical details characteristic of the Berlin Painter, which differ from those of the Kleophrades Painter in ways too well known from Beazley's work to bear repeating here.

More such details could be cited, but only at the risk of terminal boredom for the reader. Comparisons of prize vases by other painters with those of the Kleophrades Painter yield a similar picture to that drawn here: the differences among the panathenaics attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, including the Getty vase, are far fewer and far less significant in terms of attribution than are the differences between prize vases by the Kleophrades

Painter and those by other recognized hands.

To return to the question of costume, we have already noted that the Kleophrades Painter dresses his Athenas in both the chiton and the peplos. The peplos by itself is the goddess' most traditional garment, and the most common one on earlier panathenaics, but only a single example with just the peplos by the Kleophrades Painter, the vase in Basel, has survived. In addition to standing alone in the painter's oeuvre, this peplos is not even entirely canonical, since, if one accepts the convention of crinkly lines as indicating the folds of a lightweight material, this peplos is made of the light fabric usually reserved for chitons. The central vertical panel with its battlement pattern and the lower border of the hem unbroken by folds override the question of the fabric, however, confirming the identity of the garment, and suggesting that the crinkly lines are probably just a decorative motif here.

The peplos occurs on other panathenaic Athenas by the Kleophrades Painter, but with an important variation: the addition of an ependytes, an overgarment of a different fabric. When worn over a peplos, the ependytes is made of a lightweight fabric with crinkly folds, generally undecorated except for a red border at its hem, and ranging in length from mid-thigh (New York 16.71) through knee-length (Yale 1909.12) to mid-calf (Madrid, Louvre F 279). An unusual variation appears on the Norwich Castle vase, where the ependytes, decorated with red and incised crosses, is open at the sides.<sup>18</sup> When shown with an ependytes, the peplos is a flat surface, richly decorated with an incised checkerboard pattern of stars, squares, circles, rosettes, and similar motifs in varying combinations. No two, in fact, are alike. The central panel that appears on the Basel peplos and is normally characteristic of this garment does not otherwise occur when the peplos is combined with the ependytes.

The Kleophrades Painter also combines the ependytes with the chiton (Yale 1909.13 [fig. 3], New York 07.286.79 [figs. 4a–b], Munich).<sup>19</sup> These chitons, like the ones worn alone, have a red-bordered hem and crinkly foldlines to indicate a lightweight but ample garment. Some are decorated with a few lightly incised crosses.

work; this form recalls the later use of a peplos, open at the sides, as an overgarment over a chiton by: (1) Athena in scenes of the Gigantomachy (e.g., a calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter, see N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias, and M. Hirmer, *Spina* [Munich, 1958], pl. 35), and (2) a bride (e.g., the name vase of the Peleus Painter, see Alfieri, Arias, and Hirmer, *Spina*, pl. 91; see also E. Simon, "Satyr-plays on Vases in the time of Aeschylus," in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, eds., *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens* [Cambridge, 1982], p. 133 n. 77, for this as a bride's costume). For the ependytes as used by the Berlin Painter, see D. C. Kurtz, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford, 1983), p. 56 n. 234.

As a religious garment, the ependytes occurs in association with the Eleusinian mysteries, where we know from later fifth- and fourth-century vases that it was worn by the hierophant, or his mythical ancestor Eumolpos, and sometimes by the dadouchoi. It was also worn by the image of Dionysos in some representations of the Lenaia. See E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, 1983), pp. 27–32 and 100, and H. Thiersch, *Ependytes und Ephod* (Stuttgart, 1936).

19. The Kleophrades Painter does not use the sleeved chiton favored by the Berlin Painter and the Eucharides Painter; see Beazley, *Development*, p. 87. Yet another variant, a beltless chiton, occurs on a Leagros Group panathenaic in New York (07.286.80).



On these vases, the ependytes is shown as a flat surface, suggesting a garment pulled tightly over the folds of the chiton underneath and constraining them. Although it is unclear whether the fabric of the ependytes is light or heavy, it is certainly decorated, and once (Yale 1909.13 [fig. 3]) it combines a fringe with a checkerboard pattern like that used for the ependytes-covered peplos. The visual effect of a plain ependytes covering a richly decorated peplos is thus reversed. Clearly these variations were a pleasant relief from the repetitious nature of the panathenaic Athena panels, both for the vase-painter in antiquity and for the viewer now.

By the very nature of panathenaics, the reverse of these vases shows more variety than the Athena side. Among the surviving panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter, six different contests are represented on side B: chariot race, foot race (sprint), foot race (long distance), wrestling (pankration), javelin and jumping weights (pentathlon), and pyrrhic. Of these, eight represent chariot races, more than any other contest, making these illustrations the most fertile ground, after the Athena figures, for the study of variations within a given framework. Three basic variations occur. The first type, represented by the prize vases in Basel (fig. 7) and Madrid (figs. 8a–b),<sup>20</sup> shows the charioteer standing relatively straight, his hands held closely together, his beard short and squared off. He is a tall figure, taller, in fact, than the horses. There is no real sense of movement or speed here. Small details are also distinctive. Two of the horses' tails are red and two are black. Of the eight front hooves, the back four are separate from and higher than the other four. There is a space between the rear hooves and the wheel of the chariot. The chariot pole unit is carefully separated from the reins and the goad. The chariot car is relatively small in proportion to both the charioteer and the wheel.

In the second type, which includes the Getty vase (fig. 1b), the one in New York (07.286.79, fig. 9), and the two at Yale (fig. 10), the charioteer is the same height or slightly smaller than the horses. He leans forward more and his arms are separated, with one held back a bit, but he is still driving carefully and with some restraint. His beard is longer than in the first type, and pointed. The chariot car is larger and more substantial. The reins are continuous. All four of the horses' tails are red, and their breast bands have white tripartite pendant ornaments. Their back feet touch the wheel of the chariot, and their front feet form a solid group of eight



Figure 7. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 494. Photo, courtesy Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig.

hooves, fanning upward with the last two touching the edge of the panel. Within this group, the Getty vase is a close parallel to Yale 1909.13 (fig. 10), while the other Yale chariot is very like the one in New York. Since the Yale vases were acquired together and thus probably found together, this suggests that these four vases, at least, should be contemporary.

The third type, of which the Hearst vase is the unique example (fig. 11), is an extension and development of the second, and it shows, at last, the real speed and intensity of a chariot race. The charioteer's arms are no longer bent, his body leans forward, and his neck

20. Possibly also Louvre F 279, but the charioteer is restored in published photographs and I have not seen the vase since its cleaning.

21. Museo Archeologico Etrusco, no inv. number, *ABV* 110,33;

Beazley, *Development*, pl. 92.

22. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.4, attributed by Dietrich von Bothmer, *ABV* 291, bottom; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 1;



Figure 8a. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 10.900. Photos, courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

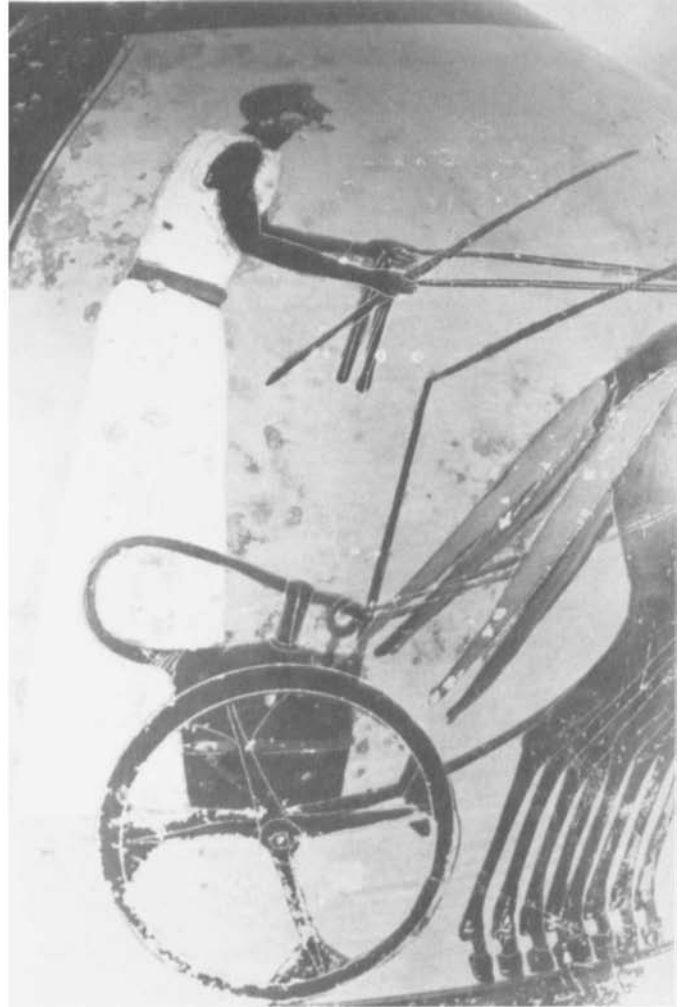


Figure 8b. Side B, detail of panathenaic amphora, fig. 8a.

stretches out. The armholes of his chiton are stretched back in the wind, and his hair is blown back from his forehead. The horses are like those of the second type, with red tails and the same arrangement of front and back hooves, but they seem large and powerful next to their small but eager driver. His hair is tied back in a pigtail, unparalleled in the other chariot scenes, and the crossed bands around his upper body replace the belt worn by the Kleophrades Painter's other charioteers.

It is tempting to suggest that these three types represent a chronological development. The charioteer's pose and the position of the horses' hooves in the first type

(especially Basel) are close to those of a prize vase by Lydos in Florence.<sup>21</sup> A charioteer who is taller than his horses occurs on a prize vase in New York by the Painter of the Warsaw Panathenaic; Beazley compared the Athena on this vase to the work of the Painter of Boulogne 441 (circa 530 B.C.).<sup>22</sup> Another who is about the same height and drives with his arms bent and hands held close together appears on a prize vase in the Louvre that has been called "Antimenean" (circa 530–500 B.C.),<sup>23</sup> and, similarly, on a prize vase of around 530 B.C. in the Group of Copenhagen 99, in New York.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the streamlined speed and

CVA New York 3, pp. 32–33, pl. 40.

23. Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 9, pl. 5, cat. no. 81.

24. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.5, CVA New York 3,

pl. 38; Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 5, cat. no. 30, gives it to the Mastos Painter.

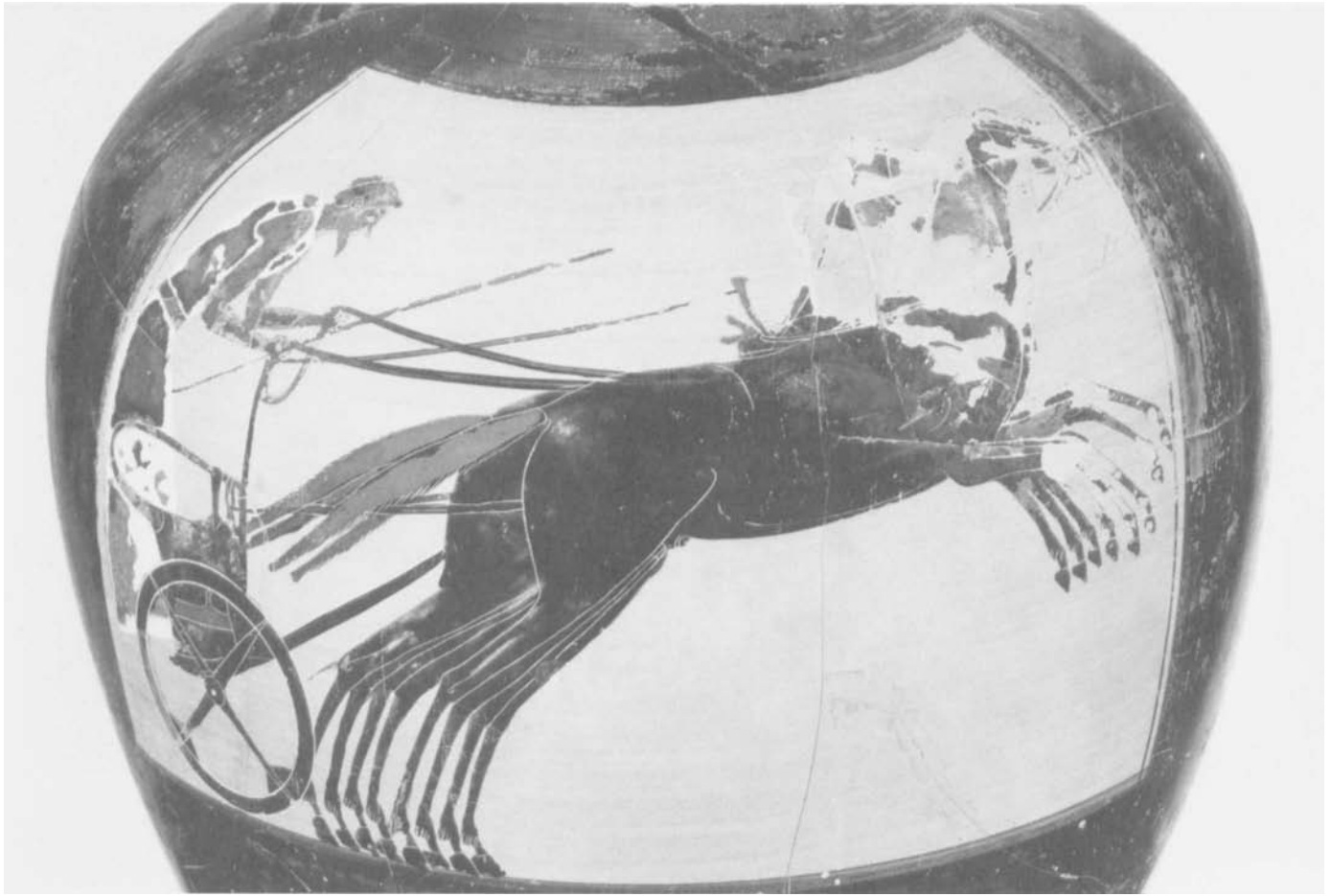


Figure 9. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B, panel. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.79, Rogers Fund, 1907. Photo, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

intensity of the third type (the Hearst charioteer) shares the spirit of the charioteer and horse and rider groups of the Leagros Group's panathenaics, notably the horse race on the prize vase in New York<sup>25</sup> and the wheeling chariot on the prize vase in Taranto (circa 520–500 B.C.).<sup>26</sup> In addition, a prize vase with a four-horse chariot recently on the London market,<sup>27</sup> which has been attributed, I believe rightly, to the Berlin Painter, also shows a moderately upright charioteer close to the second type described here. If we accept, as we have no reason not to, Beazley's belief that the Berlin Painter's panathenaics succeeded those of the Kleophrades Painter,<sup>28</sup> we are left without a convincing chronological development on this basis. Relative proportions aside,

however, the evident naturalism and emotion of the Hearst charioteer should, by themselves, qualify this vase as the latest (and undoubtedly the best) of the chariot scenes.

The question of the chronological position of the panathenaics within the Kleophrades Painter's oeuvre can best be approached by a comparison of them with the painter's red-figure work, especially his vases showing athletes, and with the panathenaics by the Berlin Painter, which Beazley, as just noted, viewed as succeeding those by the Kleophrades Painter.<sup>29</sup> The Kleophrades Painter's non-chariot panathenaics are of two basic types: (1) the foot race, including the sprint (Louvre F 277) and the long-distance race (the *dolichodromos*), rep-

25. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.80, *ABV* 369,114; Beazley, *Development*, pl. 95.3–4.

26. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 9887, *ABV* 369,113; Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 8, pl. 9, cat. no. 73.

27. London, Sotheby's, sale (July 13–14, 1987), no. 408 ("heavily restored").

28. Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

29. Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

30. B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1925–1933), pl. 62, nos. 1048 and 1049–1050; *ABV* 404,14 and 13, respectively. Beazley states that these fragments are "possibly from prize amphoras" (*ABV* 404), with appropriate res-



Figure 10. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B, detail. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1909.13. Photo, courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.

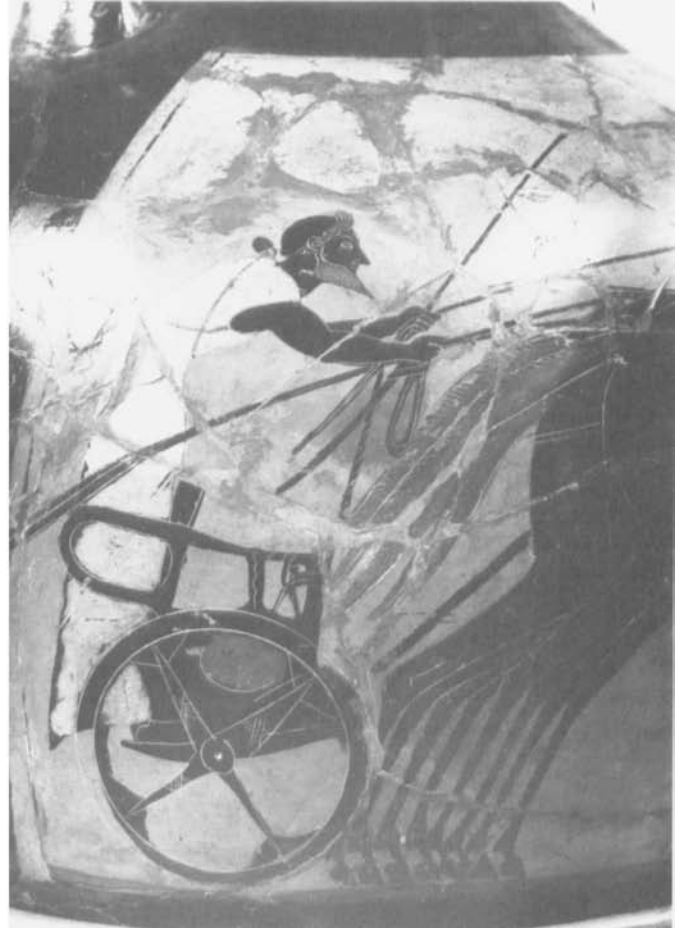


Figure 11. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B, detail. Los Angeles, Catherine C. Hearst collection. Photo, courtesy Isabelle Raubitschek.

resented on the vase in Norwich Castle and on two fragmentary panathenaics from the Akropolis;<sup>30</sup> and (2) three-figure groups of two athletes and a trainer, including wrestling (New York 16.71 [fig. 12], Leiden), pyrrhic (Hunt collection), jumping and javelin throwing (Munich, fig. 13).

The Kleophrades Painter's figures are often described as stocky and powerful.<sup>31</sup> Beazley saw parallels in this vein between the athletes on the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaic in Munich and those on such red-figure vases as the painter's calyx-krater in Tarquinia,<sup>32</sup> which he described elsewhere as early.<sup>33</sup> While one can scarcely dispute that the wrestlers on the prize vases in Leiden and New York, as well as the jumper on the amphora in

Munich, are stocky and quite hefty figures, it seems that a case could be made for attributing their physique to the demands of their sport rather than to the date of their execution. Comparisons with other wrestlers show that they have similarly hefty bodies.<sup>34</sup> The distinction between the youthfulness of the Tarquinia athletes and the maturity of the contestants on the panathenaics could further explain the heavier build of the latter. Thus, in spite of the similarities to the Tarquinia krater, the bulk of these figures should not be used as an indication of their date.

Beazley went on to note that, in comparison to the Tarquinia athletes, the "anatomy of the middle of the body [of the Munich athletes] is now fully carried

ervation given the fact that no part of side A of the vases, which would preserve the prize inscription, survives. The Akropolis provenance of these fragments seems to me, however, to make their identification as prize vases sufficiently likely for them to be considered as such here.

31. E.g., Beazley, "powerfully built athletes," *Development*, p. 87; Boardman, "heavy with power," *ABFV*, p. 91; P. Hartwig, μέγεθος,

*Die Griechischen Meisterschalen* (Stuttgart, 1893), p. 404.

32. Museo Civico RC 4196; Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

33. Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter*, p. 16, no. 31.

34. Compare, for example, the fat wrestlers on the panathenaic by Exekias in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 65.45, *Paralipomena*, p. 61, no. 8 bis; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 106.



Figure 12. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B, panel. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.71, Rogers Fund, 1916. Photo, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 13. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B, panel. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, 1456 (J 656). Photo, courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

out.”<sup>35</sup> To this development, which in itself suggests a later date for the panathenaics than for the Tarquinia krater, can be added other characteristics suggesting the artist’s mature style: the twisting figures of the wrestlers in New York and the akontist in Munich; the use of a bending figure in the New York pankration and the Hunt collection pyrrhic to break up the symmetry typical of an early work like the amphora with boxers in Munich;<sup>36</sup> and the overlapping of the figures on the Munich vase, even when the contest does not require it. Further, the wavy lines and broken zigzag folds of the trainer’s himation on the New York vase find their closest parallel in the Kleophrades Painter’s red-figure work on the amphora in Würzburg, which Beazley placed in the painter’s later period, dating it to about 480 B.C.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the panathenaic athletes, although sturdy and powerful, are taller (especially longer legged) than their early red-figure counterparts.

Taller and somewhat thinner proportions are even more evident on the Kleophrades Painter’s panathenaics showing runners, especially the fragmentary prize vases with long-distance runners from the Akropolis. This change in proportion characterizes some of the Kleophrades Painter’s later red-figure work, for example the amphorae in New York and Harrow.<sup>38</sup> It is a forward-looking feature in panathenaics, anticipating the Berlin Painter’s elegant long-legged runners on, for example, the prize vase formerly in the Castle Ashby collection,<sup>39</sup> and the Athenas on both the Castle Ashby vase and on his prize vase with a chariot recently on the London market.<sup>40</sup>

To return to the question of composition and variation, now within the question of chronology, the long-distance run provides interesting material. Of the three representations of this race, one (Norwich Castle, fig. 14) shows three figures, relating it to the favored three-figure compositions on the Kleophrades Painter’s other panathenaics.<sup>41</sup> One of the fragmentary Akropolis vases shows at least five figures (Akropolis 1049–1050), and the spacing of the figures on the surviving fragments of the other Akropolis panathenaic (Akropolis 1048) makes it likely that it showed four runners. The arrangement of

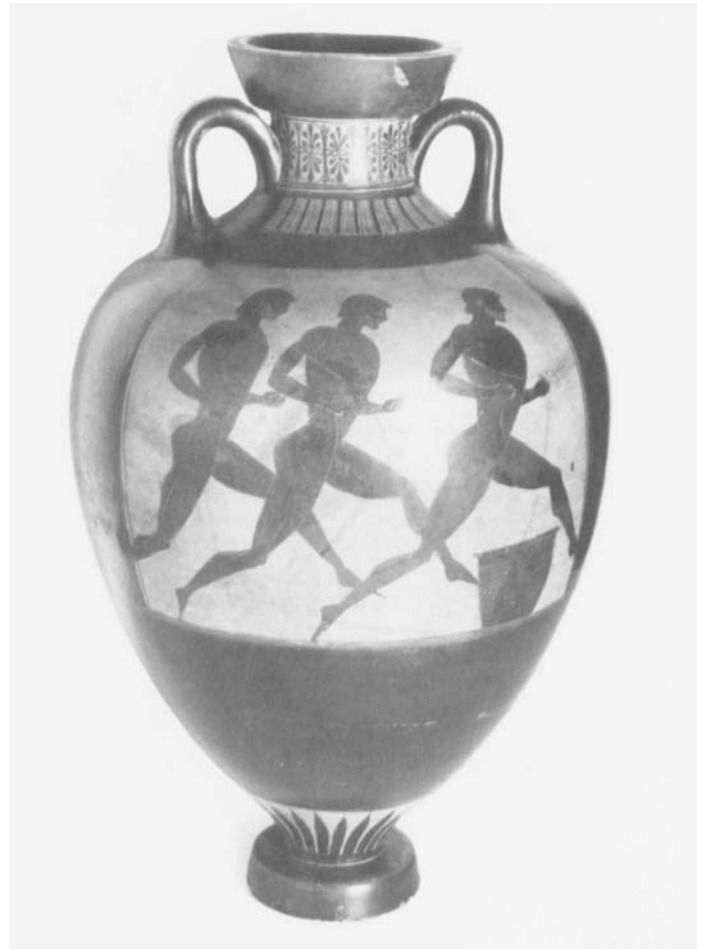


Figure 14. Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Side B. Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, 26.49. Photo, courtesy Norfolk Museums Service.

the figures is different in all of these vases, with Akropolis 1049–1050 being particularly unusual in showing three runners as much shorter than their companions.<sup>42</sup> As with the chariot race scenes discussed earlier, the Kleophrades Painter has obviously taken pleasure in exploring these variations.

Within this group of three vases, the Norwich Castle vase stands apart, not only for its use of three figures,

35. Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

36. Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter*, p. 4 and pl. 7.

37. Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter*, pp. 6–7.

38. Beazley, *Kleophrades Painter*, p. 14, pl. 291 and 2; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.233, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 183, no. 13; Harrow School Museum 55, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 183, no. 11.

39. See above (note 17). Variations in the proportions of the Athena figures, which do exist, are directly tied to the varying height of the panel (taller—e.g., Leiden, New York 16.71; shorter—New York 07.286.79, Hunt collection) and do not correspond to the variations in proportion on side B.

40. See above (note 27).

41. That the Kleophrades Painter favors three-figure compositions, even for races, is noted by Dietrich von Bothmer, in *Wealth of the Ancient World*, p. 67. On the function of the basket on the Norwich Castle vase, see O. Broneer, “Excavations at Isthmia,” *Hesperia* 27 (1958), p. 31 n. 33. The Kleophradean panathenaic from Isthmia discussed by Broneer is given to the Kleophrades Painter by Brandt, following Bothmer, *ArchPanath*, p. 8 n. 1, but see below, Appendix. For another example with a basket, see Brandt, *ArchPanath*, pl. 8.

42. See S. Karouzou, “Τεχνολογικός καθορισμός τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὀλυμπιεῖου παναθηναϊκοῦ ἀμφορέως,” *Ephemeris arkhaiologike* (1948/1949), pp. 24–25, pl. 4 for a drawing of the fragments joined.

but also for its even distribution of them across the figure panel, their uniformity of size and pose, and their round, inflated chests. The other two, and the prize vase with a sprint in the Louvre (F 277), are more progressive in their separation of one figure from the others, the varied heights of the runners' heads, and, in the sprint, the backward glance of the lead runner at his pursuers. These three look toward their successors by the Berlin Painter<sup>43</sup> and the Achilles Painter. If any of the four foot-race vases can be said to be earlier, or from a different commission year, than the others, it is the Norwich Castle vase, and it is interesting to note that the costume worn by the Athena on this vase is noticeably different from all the rest.<sup>44</sup>

Assuming the Norwich Castle amphora to be part of an earlier group, with it should go the two chariot scenes in Madrid and Basel. The stiffness, the relative proportion of the charioteer to the horses, and even the arrangement of the horses' front feet, as described above, are all conservative features parallel to those in the Norwich Castle amphora. The remaining chariot

scenes, including the Getty amphora, and the pentathlon, pankration, and pyrrhic vases should then be contemporary with the fragmentary Akropolis vases and the sprint in the Louvre. From the parallels to the Kleophrades Painter's red-figure work cited above, this would place the second (and larger) group in the painter's later period, circa 485–480 B.C.<sup>45</sup>

Little or no confirmation of this suggested division into two groups is given by the Athena panels. Although the three here called earlier all wear the peplos, three others that belong to the later group do so as well. However, no Athenas in the earlier group wear the chiton. The shield bands, the other obvious variable in the Athena panels, also provide no reinforcement.<sup>46</sup> One can only conclude that the innately conservative and even archaizing nature of the Athena panels on the prize vases neither gave the vase-painter the scope for personal expression, nor the present-day viewer the opportunity for observation of it, that was provided by the contest scenes on the reverse.

Yale University Art Gallery  
New Haven, Connecticut

#### APPENDIX

Beazley's list of panathenaics attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (*ABV* 404, with the addition on *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 192) is summarized here, with additions and revisions, for reference. As in Beazley, the list groups the vases according to the contests shown on side B.

##### *Chariot Races:*

Basel, Antikenmuseum, BS 494, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 192; *Paralipomena*, p. 176 (as Swiss private collection).

Los Angeles, Catherine C. Hearst collection, *ABV* 404,3 (as San Simeon, Hearst); *Paralipomena*, p. 175 (as Hillsborough, Hearst).

Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 10.900 (L70), *ABV* 404,1.

Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.9, for references, see above (note 1).

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1909.12, *ABV* 404,4.

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1909.13, *ABV* 404,5.

43. As noted by Karouzou, above (note 42).

44. Beazley, *Development*, p. 87, suggests a progression of panathenaics by the Berlin Painter lasting from after 480 B.C. to the time of the Achilles Painter, obviously incorporating numerous commissions for festivals over a span of years.

45. For dates for the Kleophrades Painter's panathenaics given by

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.79, *ABV* 404,6.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 279, *ABV* 404,2; *Paralipomena*, p. 175.

##### *Pentathlon (akontist, jumper):*

Munich, Antikensammlung, 1456 (J 656), *ABV* 404,7.

##### *Pankration (wrestlers):*

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC 6, *ABV* 404,9.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.71, *ABV* 404,8.

##### *Foot Race (long-distance):*

Norwich Castle 26.49, *ABV* 404,16.

Athens, Akropolis (in the National Archaeological Museum), 1049–1050, fragments, *ABV* 404,13, "possibly from [a] prize amphora," but see above (note 25).

Athens, Akropolis (in the National Archaeological Museum), 1048, fragment, *ABV* 404,14, "possibly from [a] prize amphora," but see above (note 30).

other scholars, see: Boardman, *ABFV*, p. 168, after 500 B.C. (general date for panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter); D. von Bothmer, in *Wealth of the Ancient World*, p. 66, circa 500–490 B.C. (Hunt collection); D. von Bothmer, *CVA* New York 3, p. 34, late sixth century B.C. (New York 16.71) and p. 35, circa 500 B.C. (New York 07.286.79); Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 2, early fifth century B.C. (general date for

*Foot Race (sprint):*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 277, *ABV* 404,15.

*Pyrrhic:*

Fort Worth, Nelson Bunker Hunt collection, D. von Bothmer, in *Wealth of the Ancient World*, pp. 66–67 (attribution: Sotheby's).

Three additional fragments, which Beazley says are “possibly from prize amphoras,” preserve part of the Athena panel only:

Corinth, Museum, *ABV* 404,10 (Pegasos).

Athens, Akropolis (in the National Archaeological Museum), 969, *ABV* 404,11.

Athens, Akropolis (in the National Archaeological Museum), *ABV* 404,12.

The prize vase in Toledo, Ohio, inv. 1961.24, said to be “in [the Kleophrades Painter's] manner, if not by his hand” (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1632 and 1705), is confirmed as “in his manner” or “near him” in *Paralipomena*, p. 176. See above, p. 102.

A panathenaic in the Isthmia Museum with a foot race (Corinth 1P 1172) is attributed to the Kleophrades Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer (the attribution is cited by Brandt, *ArchPanath*, p. 8, n. 1, without acknowledgment; that it is Bothmer's attribution is recorded by M. B. Moore, in D. White, ed., *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya*. Final Reports, vol. 3, part 2: *Attic Black Figure and Black Glazed Pottery* [Philadelphia, 1987], p. 17, cat. no. 71). Oscar Bronceer attributed the vase to the Leagros Group in the original publication of it (“Excavations at Isthmia,” *Hesperia* 27 [1958], pp. 30–31, with the best published illustrations). The vase is burned and fragmentary, but it shows four runners in the long-distance foot race, with a basket similar to the one included on the Norwich Castle vase. Athena's shield device is Pegasos, which supports Bothmer's attribution, but there are numerous details that argue against it: On side A, the drawing of the scales on the aegis; the presence of snakes on the side of the aegis closest to the viewer (i.e., Athena's back); the snakes covering the belt; the arch of the forward foot, which is also thinner than the Kleophrades Painter's norm; the way the hand grips the spear; the lack of a bracelet; the vertical chiton folds and the lack of a fold that frames the buttocks; and, on side B, the drawing of the legs of the runners. All these features differ from the patterns followed by the Kleophrades Painter, and they suggest that the vase is Kleophradean rather than by the painter himself.

Mary Moore has tentatively attributed a fragment of a prize vase with runners to the Kleophrades Painter in her recent publication of the black-figure pottery from the extramural

sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene (as cited above, pp. 4 and 16–17, cat. no. 71). Only the lower right leg and foot of two closely overlapping runners are preserved; Moore identifies the runners as sprinters. She cites Louvre F 277 by the Kleophrades Painter and the Isthmia vase just discussed as the closest parallels for the Cyrene fragment, which introduces a problem in the identification of the race, since the Louvre vase is indeed a sprint, but the Isthmia vase is a long-distance run. Based on the Louvre and Isthmia vases, the sprint does seem the right choice, given the closely overlapping pair of sprinters on the Louvre vase and the more evenly spaced long-distance runners on the Isthmia vase. However, there are also closely overlapping long-distance runners on the Akropolis fragments 1048 and 1049–1050, although their feet are not preserved, so I think it is hard to be certain which race the Cyrene fragment represents. Moore is right, I believe, in linking the Cyrene fragment stylistically to the Isthmia vase. Her attribution of the Cyrene fragment to the Kleophrades Painter necessitates the acceptance of Bothmer's attribution of the Isthmia vase to the Kleophrades Painter, and given my reservations about that attribution I would have to agree with Moore that the Cyrene fragment's attribution to the painter must remain tentative.

After this article went to press, five additional panathenaics attributed to the Kleophrades Painter or his workshop came to my attention. Since all are excavated examples, they are especially important.

The first was found with an Achaemenid glass bowl in a tomb in Cyrenaica in 1969 and attributed to the Kleophrades Painter by Michael Vickers. Side B shows a youthful diskobolos with his trainer and a flautist. (M. Vickers and A. Bazama, “A Fifth Century B.C. Tomb in Cyrenaica,” *Libya Antiqua* 8 [1971], pp. 69–84; M. Vickers, *Journal of Glass Studies* 14 [1972], pp. 15–16. I am grateful to Mr. Vickers for sharing his photographs of this vase and an offprint of this 1971 article; the complete volumes of *Libya Antiqua* 8 were lost in a flood).

A group of four panathenaics were found together in a Tarantine tomb in 1959. One shows a four-horse chariot, the second shows boxers, the third a diskobolos and a jumper from the pentathlon; only part of side A of the fourth is preserved. Of these, the pentathlon and the fragments of the fourth have been attributed by F. G. Lo Porto to the Kleophrades Painter, the other two to his workshop, although to different hands a decade apart. (Taranto, Museo Civico, 115472–115475. F. G. Lo Porto, “Tombe di Atleti Tarentini,” *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* n.s., vol. 8 [1967], pp. 69–84 [Tomb C]. I thank M. Vickers for bringing this article to my attention; it is cited in his discussion of the Libyan vase.)

panathenaics by the Kleophrades Painter); D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p. 60, circa 500–475 B.C. (Yale 1909.12); Frel (above [note 2]), p. 15, circa 500 B.C. (New York 07.286.79); I. Raubitschek, *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (Mainz, 1969), p. 50, circa 490 B.C. (Hearst collection). Beazley dates the Berlin Painter's panathenaics to his latest

period, after 480 B.C.; Beazley, *Development*, p. 87.

46. The suggestion that shield bands might be a chronological indication was made by Dietrich von Bothmer, in *Wealth of the Ancient World*, p. 67.



None of these vases is mentioned by Beazley. I have not seen them, but I have some reservations about the attributions, although I recognize the limitations of working only from photographs. The Libyan vase is very different in shape from the Kleophrades Painter's remarkably consistent panathenaics, being much wider in the shoulder with a higher center of gravity. The proportions of the figures tend toward the taller, thinner ones of the Berlin Painter (i.e., later than the Kleophrades Painter's), also seen in the workshop vase in Toledo; details of costume and drapery handling point in the same direction.

The Tarentine vases are acceptable in terms of shape and in the basic proportions of the figures. Inconsistent with the Kleophrades Painter's canon as defined above, however, are such details as the lack of an earring, three lines for the bracelet, no border for the aegis on one example, straight lines for chiton folds, no added red for athletes' beards or hair, different patterns of incision for the hair, a lower starting point for the inscription, and others. Closest to the painter are the chariot vase, the Athena on the boxer vase, and the fragments. The chariot scene relates well to the earliest of my three chariot types; the charioteer lacks a belt, but the area looks restored. The boxers and the Athena on the pentathlon vase show the

greatest departure from the painter's norm.

If all five of these vases were by the Kleophrades Painter, what would they tell us? The number of contests shown by this painter would be increased by the addition of the boxers and the diskoboloi. The boxer scene has six figures, the pentathlon four, arguing (as do the Akropolis fragments) against Bothmer's suggestion that the Kleophrades Painter preferred three-figure compositions. If the boxers are his, they are later than any of his other athletes, possibly extending the painter's range of Panathenaic commissions to three. The same could be said for the Libyan vase, but not for both at once.

The archaeological contexts of these five vases do not contribute much to the discussion of the vases' internal chronology; the Libyan vase was found with a pelike by the Painter of Munich 2335, and the Tarentine vases are themselves the means by which their owner's tomb is dated. The Libyan vase does seem to suggest a second-hand market for these prizes; the Tarentine vases suggest this to me as well, given the variety of competitions represented, but Lo Porto prefers to view the tomb as one of an aristocrat (sponsor in the chariot race) who was a pentathlon winner in his youth and a boxing champion closer to his death around age thirty-five.

# Two Athenian White-ground Lekythoi

D. C. Kurtz

Two lekythoi (figs. 1a–e, 7) are important additions to the Getty Museum's collection of white-ground vases,<sup>1</sup> which already includes some fine and unusual examples of the technique. Publication of a new white lekythos usually concentrates on iconography and style of painting. This publication takes a different course because the iconography of the lekythoi is not funerary and their attribution is either not open to question or, in itself, not especially important.

The lekythos was a clay container for oil. During the fifth century its body was nearly cylindrical and its decoration was black-figure on red- or white-ground, red-figure on black-ground, or outline on white-ground. The cylindrical lekythos is the only type of vase to which Athenians are known to have applied white slip regularly over a considerable period of time, when the bulk of their decorated pottery was black- or red-figure.

Marion True invited me to publish the lekythoi. She, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, and Arthur Houghton extended every kindness during the period of my guest lectureship at the Getty Museum (April 1985). The article was submitted for publication in the summer of 1985.

## Abbreviations

AWG:	J. R. Mertens, <i>Attic White-Ground</i> (New York, 1977).
AWK:	I. Wehgartner, <i>Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik</i> (Mainz, 1983).
BAdd:	L. Burn and R. Glynn, comps., <i>Beazley Addenda</i> (Oxford, 1982).
Beazley, AWL:	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic White Lekythoi</i> (London, 1938).
Buitron, "Douris":	D. Buitron, "Douris" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1976).
Caskey and Beazley:	L. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> , vol. 3 (Oxford, 1963).
Kurtz, AWL:	D. C. Kurtz, <i>Athenian White Lekythoi</i> (Oxford, 1975).

1. Attic white-ground vases in the Getty Museum (spring 1985):

73.AE.41. White lekythos with outlined figures, black and outlined palmettes, and lotus blossoms on the shoulder. Man with short mantle over his arm and staff in his hand; shaft tombstone bound with fillets and base supporting offerings of vases; woman with fillet. Sabouroff Painter (J. R. Mertens, *GettyMusJ* 2 [1975], pp. 30–31, figs. 1–5).

77.AE.60A and B. Two white chalices.

77.AE.102 and 78.AE.5. White kyathos with black-figure man (Anakreontic), eyes, and cocks at the handle. Molded female head attached to the handle. Near Psiax (D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, "Booners," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 [1986], pp. 35–70).

The composition of Attic clay is high in ferrous oxide. This impurity produces a warm red color that was exploited to perfection by Athenian potters and painters. White-ground, on the other hand requires a primary clay free from these impurities.

During the first half of the fifth century a variety of Athenian vase shapes was slipped white, but in the second half of the century the use of the white slip became largely restricted to lekythoi, whose iconography, at the same time, became funerary. It could be that many white lekythoi were meant to be seen rather than used, and that their images were extremely important to contemporary funerary practices.<sup>2</sup> The surface of the cylindrical lekythos, the principal clay shape for funerary iconography, is, however, flat in one plane, and therefore somewhat more like a panel or picture than most other clay vases, whose curvature is more pronounced. This

80.AE.143. White lekythos (Class DL, side-palmette lekythos) with outlined figure and linked black lotus buds on reserved shoulder. Figure (female?) in chitoniskos (patterned and fringed) with chest on her head and fruit in her hand.

86.AE.253. White lekythos with outlined figures, black and red palmettes and lotus blossoms on the shoulder. Youth tying fillet around a shaft tombstone on a mound; girl with alabastron. Painter of Athens 1826 (*ARI*<sup>2</sup> 746, no. 5 bis and p. 1668, fig. 8).

82.AE.23. Cup with white interior and figures in outline and black-figure. Dionysos and a satyr. Onesimos (Dyfri Williams, Martin Robertson) (*Greek Vases, Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983 [catalogue by J. Frel and M. True], p. 50, no. 35).

83.AE.31. White lekythos (Class PL). Outlined figure and five black palmettes on reserved shoulder. Woman running to right looking back and holding a thyrsos.

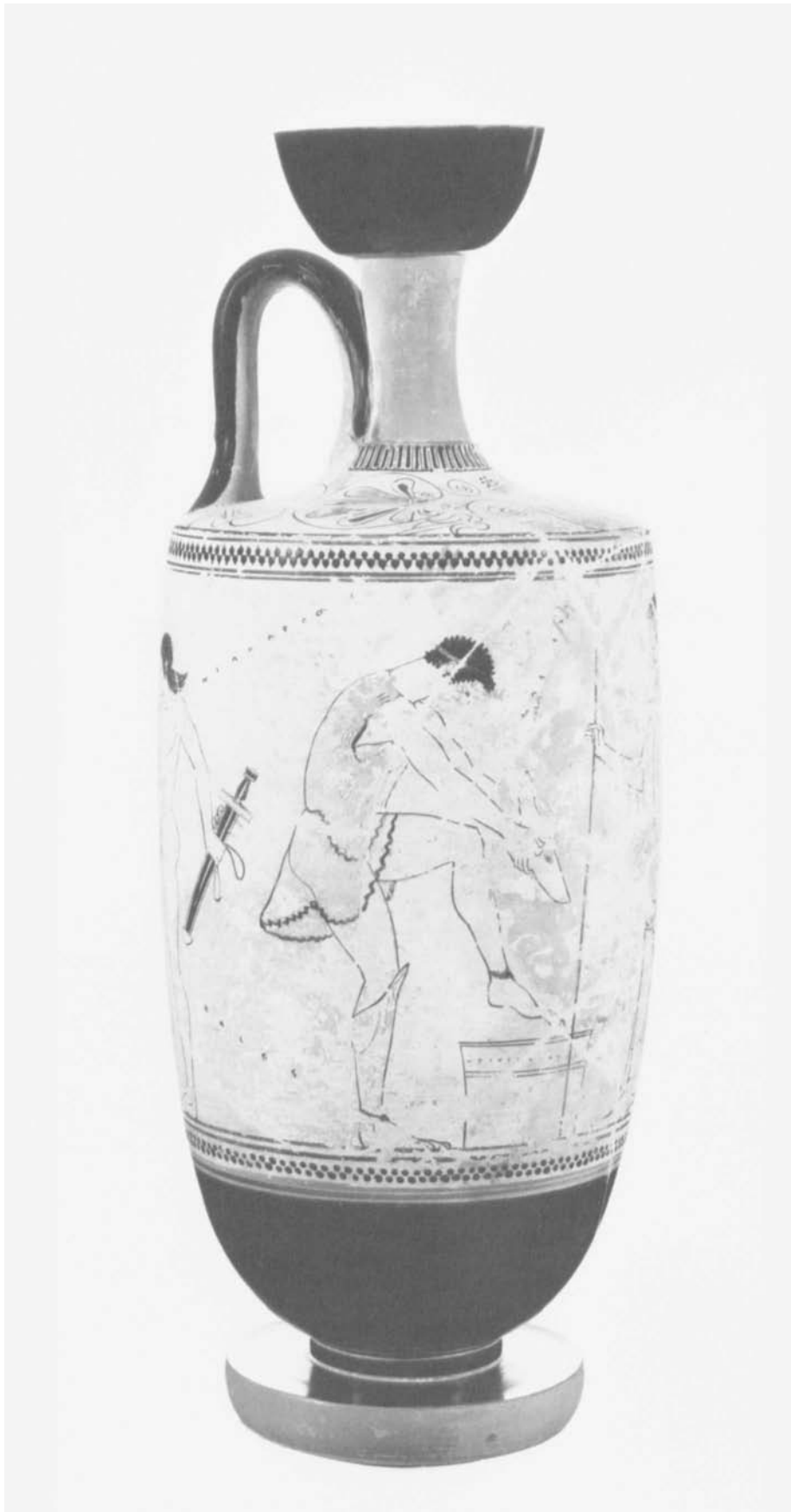
83.AE.41. White lekythos (Class ATL). Outlined figure and black bars on reserved shoulder. Youth in chlamys and petasos with drawn sword. Inscription: *Euaion kalos Aischylo* (*GettyMusJ* 12 [1984], p. 243, no. 62).

83.AE.42. White lekythos (near Class ATL). Outlined figure and black bars on reserved shoulder. Woman in chiton and black himation holding a fillet and standing between mound topped by a *plemochoe* and decked with fillets, branches, and spears, and a *loutrophoros* also decked with fillets and branches (*GettyMusJ* 12 [1984], p. 244, no. 63).

84.AE.745. White lekythos (figs. 5a–d).

84.AE.770. White lekythos (figs. 1a–e).

2. D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), pp. 102–105.



*Figure 1a.* White lekythos attributed to Douris. Left side. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.AE.770.



Figure 1b. Front of lekythos, figure 1a.

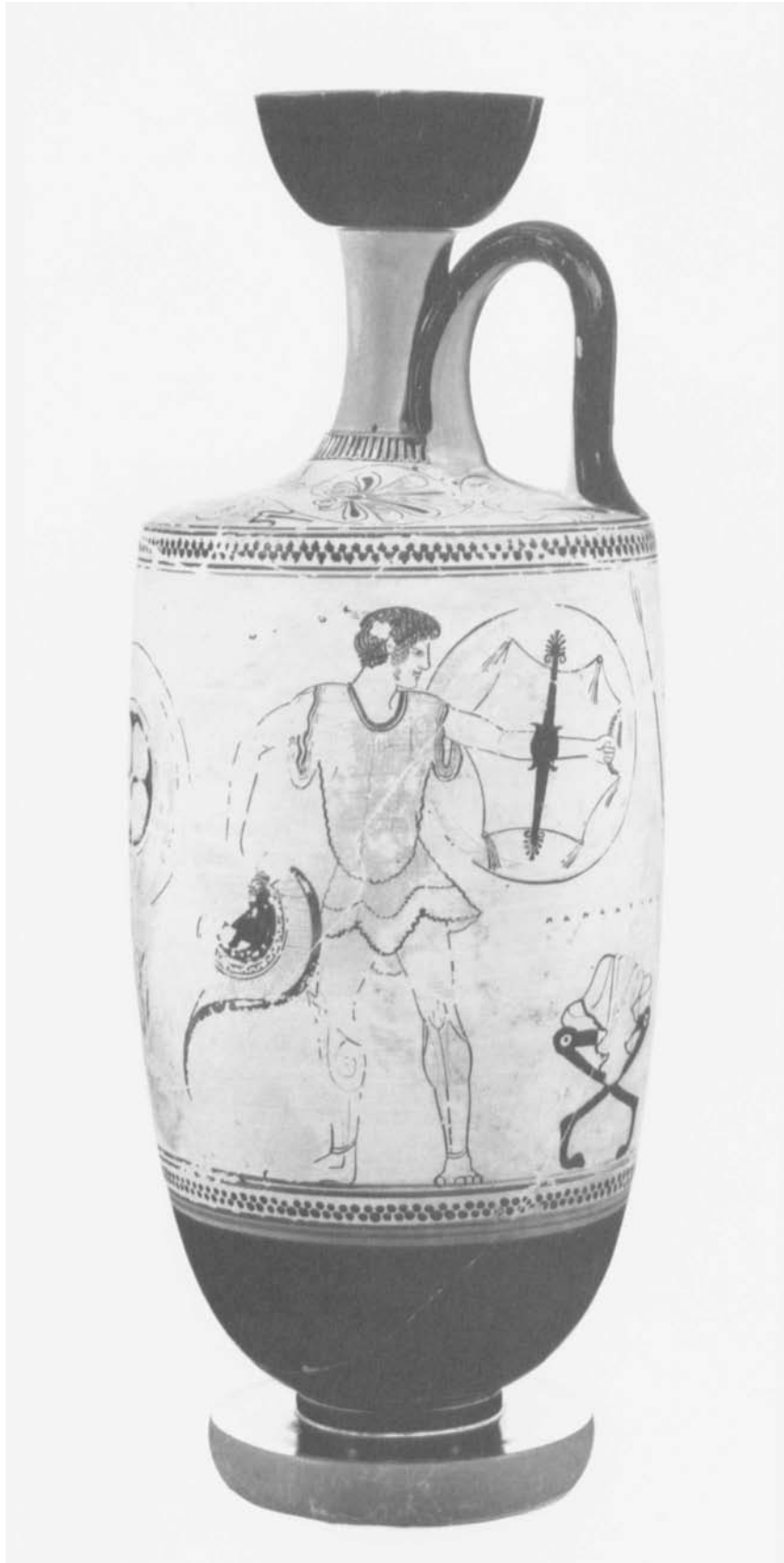


Figure 1c. Right side of lekythos, figure 1a.



Figure 1d. Back of lekythos, figure 1a.



Figure 1e. Shoulder of lekythos, figure 1a.

may help to explain why the techniques of lekythoi decoration can sometimes appear to approach free-painting.

Both of the lekythoi described belong to the first half of the fifth century, before the iconography of the white lekythos became funerary and the revolutionary changes in Greek wall-painting, associated with Polygnotos of Thasos,<sup>3</sup> were felt in the Athenian potters' quarter. Each vase is about one foot high; one dates around 500 B.C. and is decorated wholly in outline; the other dates around 460 and introduces white for female flesh and some added colors for drapery and accessories.

3. C. M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959), pp. 13–14, 94–97, 103–109, 111–114, 123–135, 137–156. Idem, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 259–265, 324–327, 421–425.

4. Douris' white-ground and red-figure lekythoi have a tongue pattern in this position. On a late red-figure lekythos in Boston (13.194, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 273; Caskey and Beazley, pl. 84.135), which Beazley called a "school-piece," the tongues are reduced to bars (Kurtz, *AWL*, p. 23) and dots are introduced in the intervals. See below (notes 5 and 38).

5. Compare the red-figure palmettes and lotus buds on the shoulder of the aryballos in Athens (T.E. 556, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 273 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 376; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 9.3) and the black florals on the psykter in London (E 768, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, no. 262; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 94).

Compare also the red-figure lotus blossoms on the shoulder of a

#### DOURIS' LEKYTHOS

Description (see figs. 1a–e)—Height: 33.4 cm; mouth, handle (outer surface), lower body, and horizontal surface of foot black; neck, handle (inner surface), and vertical surface of foot reserved. Moldings at join of neck to shoulder (decorated with a tongue pattern<sup>4</sup> with a red line above) and body to foot (defined by thin reserved lines). On the shoulder (fig. 1e) two palmettes (leaves alternately outlined and filled in with dilute wash, and outlined and partly filled in with black paint), four lotus blossoms (two outlined, one black, and one with a cen-

black-bodied lekythos on the market in Basel (Münzen und Medaillen, sale 51 [1975], pl. 41, no. 157). This vase is the same size as Douris' white lekythoi, the neck is reserved, and there is a tongue pattern at the join of neck to shoulder. Earlier (Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 122–127) I had noted similarities between some of Douris' lekythoi and black-bodied lekythoi from the Athena/Bowdoin workshop. The decoration of this lekythos suggests that the workshop in which Douris was active had its own line in black-bodied lekythoi, comparable to the lekythoi from the Group of the Floral Nolans (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 218–219, no. 1636; *Paralipomena*, p. 346; Kurtz, *AWL* p. 125) from the workshop in which the Berlin Painter was active. A black-bodied lekythos similar in some respects to Douris' has been assigned to the Pan Painter (Adolphseck, Landgraf Philipp of Hesse, inv. 51. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 557, no. 119; *CVA Schloss Fasanerie* 1, pl. 38).

tral black bud), linked by spiraling tendrils,<sup>5</sup> frame a light-haired maenad moving right and looking left. She wears an animal skin over a chiton and holds a torch (black with dilute wash for flames) in one hand and a thyrsos (outlined with black leaves) in the other.

Four figures on the body, framed by black net patterns above and below, and outlined in black. Black delineates principal features of anatomy and drapery and a selection of details, dilute brown (in fine lines or washes) subsidiary details.

There is a thin line of red paint along the inner edge of the broad stripe outlining the crest of the helmet (fig. 1c) and a red fillet around each of the males' heads.<sup>6</sup>

The lekythos is not signed by Douris,<sup>7</sup> but there can be no doubt that he painted it. Large white cylindrical lekythoi with outline drawing are rare during the first decades of the fifth century; three<sup>8</sup> have been assigned to Douris—one was excavated at Selinus in the 1920's, assigned to Douris by Ettore Gabrici, and is now in the Museo Nazionale, Palermo; another was purchased on the European market by the Cleveland Museum of Art and assigned to Douris by Sir John Beazley; the third (figs. 1a–e) was assigned to Douris by George Ortiz and Jean-Louis Zimmermann, who published it in 1975.

Douris' signature as painter or maker is known from about forty vases, and a total of nearly three hundred have been attributed to him using the Morellian method of stylistic analysis.<sup>9</sup> This is a very large number for an Athenian vase-painter, many of whom are represented by fewer than ten vases. The great majority of Douris' known vases are cups, and he is best known as a Late Archaic cup painter. He was a regular collaborator with the potter Python, and a contemporary of the potter Brygos and the painter Makron. His vases of other shapes are few, but important, and at least two—a kantharos of Type C in Brussels and a flat-bottomed round aryballos in Athens—bear his signature as “maker.”<sup>10</sup> It is, therefore, probable that he also made other vases that he painted.

6. See below (note 36).

7. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 425–428, nos. 1652–1654, 1701, 1706; *Paralipomena*, pp. 374–376, 521. *BAdd*, pp. 116–118; Buitron, “Douris” and forthcoming.

8. Palermo, Museo Nazionale, N.I. 1886 (from Selinus), *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, no. 266; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 10.1. Cleveland Museum of Art 66.114, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, no. 266 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 376; Kurtz, *AWL*, pls. 10.2, 11. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.AE.770, J. Dörig, ed., *Art Antique: Collections Privées de Suisse Romande*, Geneva, 1975, no. 205 (George Ortiz).

9. *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 (1985), pp. 237–250 (D. C. Kurtz).

10. Brussels, Musées Royaux, A 718, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 445, no. 256; *CVA Musées Royaux* 1, pls. 5–6. Athens, National Museum, 15375, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 274; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 9.2.

Douris knew the black-figure technique and may have practiced it,<sup>11</sup> but by 500, when his career began, red-figure was well established, painters had mastered the strong black relief-line and seized on the potential of dilute paint for fine lines of inner detail and for broad golden washes to suggest textures, even shading. Applying these skills to another medium, it was technically possible to outline figures on white-ground vases by the first decade of the fifth century. Earlier white-ground vases have decoration in black-figure or “semi-outline.” Some of Douris' lekythoi, white-ground and red-figure, display features common to black-figure workshops, which were still the principal producers of the shape.<sup>12</sup> The reservation of the neck of the Malibu lekythos betrays black-figure influence, but the reservation of the neck and vertical surface of the foot reflects the golden tones of the figure-decoration and is a deliberate contrast of tones. Technically the vase is a tour-de-force of potter and painter.<sup>13</sup> It is strongly fashioned and carefully tooled at the shoulder and foot and along the edges of the handle (fig. 1d). The shape is very similar, but not identical, to that of a lekythos in Cleveland. Although a lekythos in Palermo is fragmentary, the contours of its body and the similar system of decoration suggest that it may have been made by the potter who probably also made the slightly larger red-figure lekythos, now in Cleveland (figs. 2a–b).<sup>14</sup> This one has an unusual system of decoration, similar to that of the three white lekythoi, a rilled handle, like the Malibu lekythos, and a tooled foot, like the white lekythos in Cleveland.

On the body of the red-figure lekythos in Cleveland, Athena overcomes a giant, and on the shoulder a three-figure group (satyr between maenads) is framed by florals. The shoulders of cylindrical red-figure and white-ground lekythoi regularly have florals (usually palmettes) arranged in a relatively small number of systems characteristic of particular artists or workshops.<sup>15</sup> Shoulder-figures<sup>16</sup> are never common on fifth-century lekythoi. The only red-figure workshop known to have

11. Paris, Louvre, MNB 2042, *ABV* 400 (quasi-black-figure); Buitron, “Douris,” pp. 215–216.

12. Kurtz, *AWL*, p. 25 (Athena/Bowdoin painters). See below (note 19, Edinburgh Painter).

13. The white slip was probably normally applied by the potter, not the painter.

14. Cleveland 78.59, J. H. Wade Fund purchase, W. G. Moon and L. Berge, eds., *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979), p. 187 (A. Kozloff).

15. Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 33–76.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 16, 43, 49, 124, 126, 127. Fancy examples in red-figure contemporary with Douris' are “compromise shape”: Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 123–124 and pl. 65.1.





Figure 2a. Red-figure lekythos attributed to Douris. Front. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 78.59. Photos, courtesy The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 2b. Right side of lekythos, figure 2a.

made much of them is that of the Berlin Painter.<sup>17</sup> White-ground shoulder-figures are rare and date shortly after 500. Like the examples from the Berlin Painter's workshop, they were probably produced under the influence of black-figure, which had not infrequently ad-

17. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 196–214, nos. 1633–1635, 1700–1701; *Paralipomena*, pp. 341–345; *BAdd*, pp. 95–98; D. C. Kurtz, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford, 1982), p. 108, no. 70, pls. 30 and 59d. The only white-ground vase firmly assigned to the Berlin Painter is a fragmentary plate found on the Akropolis (Athens, Akropolis, 427, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 214, no. 244; E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1933], pl. 32. See Kurtz [this note], p. 110, no. 78) with an encircling “tongue” pattern (see above [note 4], and below [note 43]) like that of earlier black-figure plates.

The lion motif of the Berlin Painter's lekythos is used by Douris on Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, PU 321 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, no. 267; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 8.2). Douris also adopted the black shoulder (“Nolan style”) of the Berlin Painter on lekythoi in Vienna (University 526a, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 272; *CVA* Vienna 1, pl. 13.2–3) and Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 13.194, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 273; Caskey and Beazley, pl. 84, no. 135).

18. Berlin (East) 2252, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 263, no. 54; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 8.1 and pp. 127–128.

mitted shoulder-figures. Douris is the only artist known to have painted them in red-figure and in outline on white-ground. The choice of maenads on the Cleveland and Malibu lekythoi must be personal preference (there is no iconographical connection between shoulder and

19. The encircling frieze has a long, but irregular, tradition in black-figure; the Amasis Painter's two lekythoi in New York are early fine examples: 31.11.10, *ABV* 154, 57, S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter* (Oxford, 1956), pls. 43, 44.1; 56.11.1, *Paralipomena*, p. 66, *AntK* 3 (1960), pl. 7. Contemporary with the Edinburgh Painter's lekythoi are some with encircling friezes from the Athena/Bowdoin painter's workshop (Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 13).

Some early red-figure lekythoi perpetuate the black-figure system, for example: Painter of Oxford 1949, Oxford 1949.751, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 9, no. 1, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 5.1; Roundabout Painter, Athens, Agora, P 24061, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 131, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 5.2; Terpsalos Painter, Agrigento, Museo Civico, 23, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 308, no. 5. Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 6.

20. *ABL*, pp. 86–89, 215–221; *ABV* 476–478, 670, 671, 700; *Paralipomena*, pp. 217–219; *BAdd*, p. 58.

21. The pattern is also popular with the Athena and Bowdoin painters. Compare Kurtz, *AWL*, pls. 12–13.

22. *ABL*, pp. 94–130, 225–241, 368–369; *ABV* 507–511, 702–703, 716; *Paralipomena*, pp. 246–250; *BAdd*, pp. 60–61.

body scenes on either vase), possibly encouraged by the frequent repetition of satyrs, maenads, and florals on the exteriors of his numerous cups. On the shoulder of a white lekythos of unusual and unparalleled shape, roughly contemporary with Douris', and assigned to the Syriskos Painter,<sup>18</sup> Eros flies amid florals in a design reminiscent of Douris'. The technique is somewhat different: Although figures are outlined in black paint, washes of dilute are not exploited; instead some broad areas are painted in matt color. There is also a greater predominance of black.

Another unusual decorative feature, common to Douris' three white lekythoi, is an encircling figure frieze on the body. The shape of a cylindrical lekythos is not suited to friezes; the canonical scheme for the classic lekythos, red-figure and white-ground, is one or two figures brought to the front, as on Douris' red-figure example in Cleveland (figs. 2a–b). The body frieze<sup>19</sup> is another element borrowed from black-figure, in which it enjoyed some popularity, especially around 500, in the workshop of the Edinburgh Painter,<sup>20</sup> which was the principal producer of cylindrical lekythoi at this time. The shapes of some of his lekythoi are very like Douris', and the net pattern at the join of shoulder to body on the Malibu vase is one of his favorite patterns in this position.<sup>21</sup> The shapes and patterns of some of his vases, notably lekythoi and small neck-amphorae, can be related to those from the black-figure workshop of the Sappho and Disophos painters<sup>22</sup> (who were among the first to experiment with black and outline figures on white-ground), and from the red-figure workshop of the Berlin Painter.<sup>23</sup> On the Malibu lekythos young Athenian aristocrats arm themselves in the presence of a boy and a woman. The woman<sup>24</sup> (fig. 1b) is the focal point of the composition, also, regrettably, the least well preserved of the four figures. She wears a himation with decorated border over a chiton and carries a shield, em-

blazoned with a wheel motif, and a spear. Her long hair is held in a korymbolos by a broad diademlike headband. She watches one of the youths put on his greaves. He<sup>25</sup> (fig. 1a) wears a short chiton (through which the contours of his chest, abdomen, flank, buttocks, and thigh are visible) and a red fillet around his short, curly, black hair. Stylized anatomical details are picked out in dilute paint on the surface of the greave attached to his right leg. There is a black pad with a finely detailed upper edge around his left ankle. Between the two figures there is a low base on which a kalos inscription was written.

The second youth faces a young nude boy<sup>26</sup> (fig. 1d) on the back of the vase. A folding stool, with pins reserved on the white slip, and positioned beneath the join of the handle of the vase to the body, supports a cushion and folded cloth. The nude boy has long straight black hair, held in place by a red fillet. He holds a spear (shaft black and tip outlined) and a sheathed sword (black and outlined). The armed youth<sup>27</sup> (fig. 1c) wears a short chiton but the contours of his body are not revealed beneath it. His long fair hair is rolled up behind and flows luxuriantly over the sides of his cheeks and forehead. His greaves have stylized anatomical details in dilute paint. He wears a round shield and carries a Corinthian helmet by its nosepiece. The napepiece was probably outlined. The cap is black. The hairs of the crest are drawn in fine brown lines and there was probably hair in the place of a visor (cf. fig. 4).

The four figures are evenly disposed around the circumference of the vase, extending their limbs and holding accoutrements in such a way as to fill the space effectively. This type of design was also employed at this time by the Berlin Painter.<sup>28</sup> There is no overlapping and no real action; the atmosphere is calm, quiet, even sombre. In the field, the letters of the kalos inscriptions<sup>29</sup> are neatly aligned beside the figures; the names of Nikodromos (otherwise unknown from Athenian

23. Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 13–17, 120–121, 123.

24. Compare the woman with shield (in profile) and scabbard on the exterior of Vienna 3694 (see below [note 32]).

25. Compare the youth greaving on the exterior of Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3694. The Malibu youth's transparent chiton may be compared with those on a cup in the British Museum (E 48, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 431, no. 47; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases* [London, 1975], fig. 287).

26. Compare the pose and some anatomical details of the nude youth in the tondo of a cup in Boston (00.338, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 427, no. 4; Caskey and Beazley, pp. 17–18); and of a jumper on a lekythos also in Boston (95.41, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 447, no. 270; Caskey and Beazley, pl. 84, no. 134); and of the satyrs on the psykter in the British Museum (E 768, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, no. 262; Boardman [note 25], fig. 299). Contrast his long, straight, black hair with the long, curly, black hair of the erotes on the white lekythos in Cleveland.

For the rendering of the cushion and cloth on the folding stool, compare that on a cup in the Louvre (G 118, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 430, no. 35).

27. Compare the armed youth on the exterior of Vienna 3694 on which there is also a black-capped helmet. On Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3695 (tondo [fig. 4] and side B; see below [note 32]) there are helmets with hair in place of visors.

28. J. D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne, 1964), p. 3.

29. H. R. Immerwahr, "Attic Script: A Survey" (forthcoming).

Kalos inscriptions occur early on white-ground. Although they do not appear on Psiax's white lekythos (see below [note 40]), they do occur on his white alabastra in Leningrad (1429, *ABV* 293,12; K. Gorbunova *Chernofigurnye atticheskie vazy v Ermitazhe, Katalog* [Leningrad, 1983], pp. 80–81, no. 55) and London (1900.6-11.1, *ABV* 294,25; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 1.3) and on some early white alabastra with outlined figures comprising the Group of the Paidikos Alabastra (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 98–101; *Paralipomena*, pp. 330–331; *BAdd*, p. 85).

The Syriskos Painter's white lekythos (see above [note 18]) also has a kalos inscription.



Figure 3a. Red-figure cup by Douris. Side A. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3694. Photos, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 3b. Side B of cup, figure 3a.

figure-decorated vases) and Panaitios are preserved in the field, and on the shoulder *ho pais*. This is one of the earliest white lekythoi with a kalos inscription but, like some contemporary white-ground black-figure lekythoi of secondary shape, it praises more than one youth; on Classical white lekythoi normally only one is named. Each of Douris' white lekythoi has inscriptions in the field. The names of Iphigeneia and Teukros are preserved almost completely on the Palermo vase,<sup>30</sup> those of Atalante and Eros (repeated) on the lekythos in Cleveland. The Cleveland composition is fluid; Atalante and the erotes are in full motion. She holds her skirt as she runs and only one foot touches the ground. The erotes are airborne with sprays of florals and a whip. The Palermo composition is solemnly processional, but Teukros' pose (head in three-quarter view, torso frontal, left leg rotated) conveys urgency, just as Iphigeneia's lowered head implies resignation. The drawn sword, empty altar, and palm tree tell us that the moment of sacrifice is imminent. In contrast, the composition of the Malibu lekythos is still. Even though one youth bends forward to put on his greave and the other appears to turn toward the woman, the poses are frozen into profile and near frontal views. The simpler composition and pattern-work on the body could indicate that this lekythos was painted before the other two.

Stylistically the three belong to Douris' earlier (but not "earliest") and most creative phase when his draughtsmanship can be very detailed.<sup>31</sup> The build of the frontal youth on the Malibu lekythos is stocky and his proportions recall those of Douris' "earliest" figures. The basic figure-type is reproduced several times on the very early arming cup in Vienna (fig. 3),<sup>32</sup> where the disposition of the figures is similar but there is considerable overlapping. Although the draughtsmanship of the Malibu lekythos is fine, that of the cup is more detailed; compare, for example, the system of folds in the skirts of the warriors' chitons, made from an opaque material, not transparent as on the lekythos. The heads of the figures are smaller in proportion to their bodies and the expressive, but gawky, hands of the earliest figures are



Figure 4. Red-figure cup by Douris. Tondo. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3695. Photo, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum.

now unobtrusive and busy. Possibly the best known example of Douris' early period is the somewhat later cup in Vienna<sup>33</sup> (fig. 4) with an epic arming scene in the tondo (Odysseus and Neoptolemos) and the struggle and vote for the armor of Achilles on the exterior. Proportions, rendering of drapery and anatomy, and facial types are similar. The white lekythoi probably date from the beginning of Douris' "early" phase. Although he continued to decorate lekythoi through his career, they were apparently red-figure.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps he was no longer affiliated with a workshop that used the white slip, or perhaps none of his later white-ground vases has yet been discovered; in view of the large number of vases now known by him, the former seems more probable.

In addition to the three white lekythoi at least one white-ground cup<sup>35</sup> with outline figures has been as-

30. The first two letters of a third inscription are preserved above the altar—AR—presumably ARTEMIS (*Monumenti antichi della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 32 [1927], p. 331).

31. ARV<sup>2</sup> 425; Caskey and Beazley, pp. 17–18. Buitron ("Douris," pp. 40, 50–52) places the lekythoi in a "transitional" period before "early middle."

32. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3694, ARV<sup>2</sup> 427, no. 3; CVA Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, pls. 9–10; Boardman (note 25), fig. 281.

33. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3695, ARV<sup>2</sup> 429, no. 26; CVA Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, pls. 11–12; Boardman (note 25), fig. 285.

34. ARV<sup>2</sup> 446–447.

35. London, British Museum, D 1, fr. ARV<sup>2</sup> 429, no. 20; AWK, p. 56, no. 21 and pl. 16. The principal folds and patterns in Europa's chiton are black; the secondary fold lines are brown. The same brown paint delineates the principal superficial muscle of her neck (Sternocleidomastoid), the folds of skin on the bull's shoulder, and the muscles of his forequarter. On the exterior of the cup there must have been a great richness of fine brown lines, judging from the details of anatomy and drapery that have been preserved. Herakles' anatomy, for example, is rendered in considerable detail, and the light brown lines on his body (whose principal features and outline are black) are balanced by a large number of fine brown lines in the pelt of the lionskin.

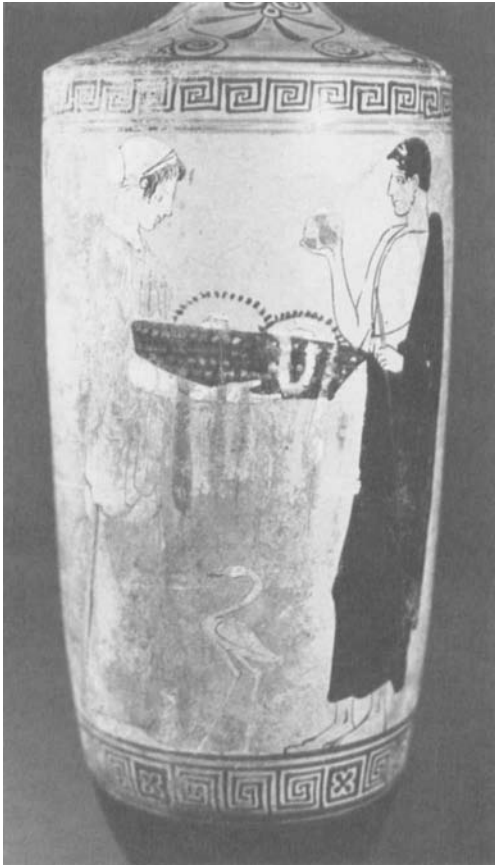


Figure 5a. White lekythos attributed to the Timokrates/Vouni painters. Detail of front. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.AE.745.



Figure 5b. Left side of lekythos, figure 5a.

signed to Douris. Exceptionally, its tondo and exterior are white-ground; also exceptionally, two techniques seem to have been employed for the figure-decoration—outline, with diluted glaze for inner details and for washes on the exterior (as on the lekythoi), and outline with matt paint in the tondo. Matt paint was applied to Europa's himation, which is black with added purplish-red and white fold lines and patterns. Given the fragmentary condition of the cup, we cannot exclude the possibility of some matt paint on the exterior. The addition of matt paint has been seen as an early feature,<sup>36</sup> and the cup has been thought to antedate the lekythoi.<sup>37</sup> Yet,

almost all white-ground vases known from the years around 500<sup>38</sup> are black-figure, outlined with areas of solid black or dilute brown, or a combination of the two principal techniques—"semi-outline." Added color, especially red, can be prominent on semi-outline vases,<sup>39</sup> and the components of the four-color scheme<sup>40</sup>—black, white, red, and yellow—were known to black-figure painters. The application of these colors to Attic white-ground vases seems not to have been common before the second quarter of the fifth century<sup>41</sup> when the workshop in which the Pistoxenos Painter<sup>42</sup> was active, and with which the aging Euphronios collaborated, ex-

White-ground cups: Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 4–5; *MMAJ* 9 (1974), pp. 91–108 (J. R. Mertens); *AWG*, pp. 155–194; *AWK*, pp. 49–97; *RA*, 1972, pp. 233–242 (A. Waiblinger).

Paris, Louvre, G 276 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 428, no. 11; *AWG*, p. 164, no. 26) has a white zone around a red-figure tondo.

Mertens (*MMAJ* 9 [1974], p. 101) assigns another white-ground cup to Douris (Athens, Agora, P 43, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1518; *MMAJ* 9 [1974], p. 102, fig. 23) which Wehgartner (*AWK*, pp. 53–54, no. 10) does not accept. Buitron ("Douris," pp. 216–220) sees similarities to Douris, but leaves the cup unassigned.

36. As Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 603, in the manner of Douris

(*ARV*<sup>1</sup> 295, no. 1; *AWK*, p. 57, no. 25, pp. 81–82, and pl. 191–5), which has purple-red paint for headbands, like the Getty lekythos.

37. *AWK*, pp. 21 and 186 n. 10; Buitron, "Douris," pp. 47 and 54. H. Bloesch (*Formen Attischer Schalen* [Berne, 1940], pp. 137–138) associated the potterwork with that of the white-ground cups from Eleusis (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 314, no. 3 and 315, no. 4; *AWK*, p. 55, nos. 17–18; H. Philippart, *Les Coupes Attiques à Fond Blanc* [Brussels, 1936], pl. 13) whose figure-decoration is outlined in glaze with washes of dilute paint.

38. Pioneer white-ground: *MMAJ* 9 (1974), pp. 96–97; *JBerlMus* 24 (1982), p. 33 (D. Williams).

39. *ABL*, pp. 111–112; Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 105–107.



Figure 5c. Right side of lekythos, figure 5a.

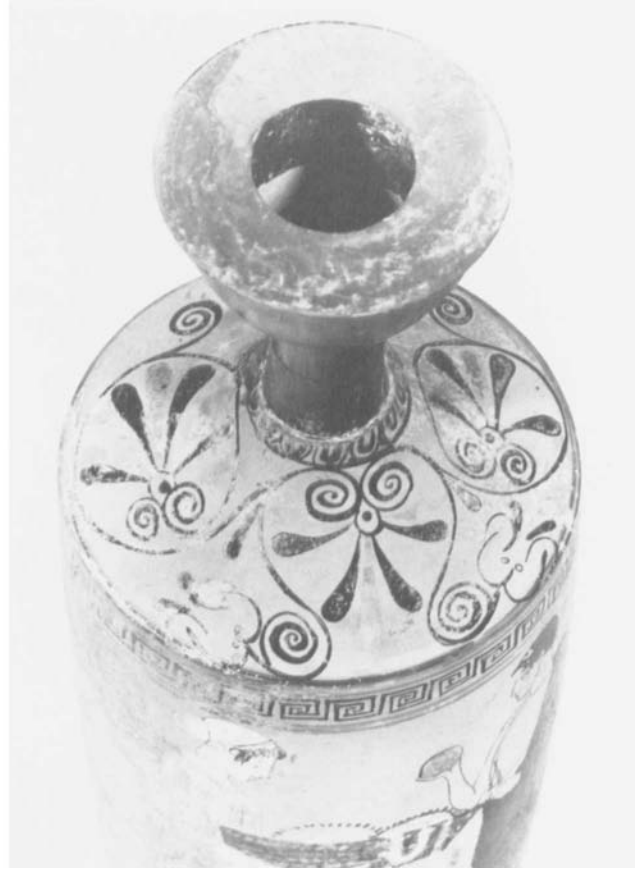


Figure 5d. Shoulder of lekythos, figure 5a.

plored the potential of color on white-ground, most spectacularly in the tondi of cups. Douris seems to have played no part in these developments, which are important to our understanding of classical free-painting.

#### TIMOKRATES AND VOUNI PAINTERS LEKYTHOS

Description (see figs. 5a–d)—Height: 35.6 cm; mouth, handle, neck, lower body, and horizontal surface of foot (rilled above) black. Moldings at the join of neck to shoulder decorated by an egg pattern<sup>43</sup> outlined in black, and body to foot defined by thin reserved lines. On the shoulder (fig. 5d) three palmettes (leaves alternately

black and matt red) and two lotus blossoms (base outlined, lateral buds black, medial ones red) linked by spiraling tendrils. Two figures on the body (fig. 5a) framed by a running broken meander above and a stopped broken meander alternating with saltire squares below. The patterns are painted in black. The man is outlined in black; details of anatomy, drapery, and hair are black. His headband, drapery folds, staff, and “fruit” are red. The outline of the fruit is brown. This brown paint is used for the outline of the woman, and for details of anatomy and drapery on the second-white.<sup>44</sup> She wears a white sakkos from which long strands of light brown hair

40. *AWK*, p. 17.

41. Wehgartner's earliest white-ground cup with matt colors is Athens, Akropolis, 433 (Langlotz [note 17], pl. 34; *AWK*, p. 52, no. 5 and p. 16).

42. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 859–863, nos. 1672–1673, 1703; *Paralipomena*, p. 425; *BAdd*, p. 146; *MMAJ* 9 (1974), pp. 105–108 (Mertens); *AWK*, pp. 87–92.

43. The tongue pattern is replaced by the egg pattern. See Caskey and Beazley, p. 27 and above (note 4).

The Cleveland white lekythos has an egg-and-dart pattern. The Brygos and Pan painters used the pattern on their white lekythoi

(Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 24), as did the Timokrates Painter and the Painter of Athens 1826 (*ibid.*, pl. 25). The latter, and the Vouni Painter, are among the first to use it on white-ground (*ibid.*, pl. 26).

44. *AWK*, p. 27 (glaze and matt paint). “Second-white”: *ABL*, pp. 88–91; Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 12, 14. Brown paint is also used on the white heron (fig. 5a). This means of picking out details on white was used throughout the fifth century; compare the rendering of Talos' body on the Talos Painter's name vase in Ruvo, Museo Jatta 150, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1338, no. 1; E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), pls. 230–232.

emerge over the forehead and sides of the cheeks. The fold lines in her white chiton are also light brown. She holds a black basket, its wickerwork detailed in white and red paint. There are two white aryballoi in the basket (details in brown) and two black wreaths. Red and white fillets hang over the side of the basket. Beneath it a white heron (details in brown) struts toward his mistress.

Added color is the most notable feature of this lekythos, whose attribution is less certain. If the Timokrates<sup>45</sup> and Vouni<sup>46</sup> painters are not one artist, their techniques and styles of painting are very similar and related in some respects to those of the Pisto Xenos Painter.<sup>47</sup> Beazley assigned nine vases to the Timokrates Painter and three to the Vouni Painter. All are white lekythoi. He assigned no white lekythoi to the Pisto Xenos Painter, but placed some red-figure in his manner;<sup>48</sup> they are standard cylinders with domestic scenes of women with attendants or children. One bears a kalos inscription in praise of Glaukon.<sup>49</sup>

During the second quarter of the fifth century there is a significant number of large standard cylinder lekythoi with scenes of women and often kalos inscriptions. Some of them are red-figure. In the work of the Achilles Painter, for example, this type of composition seems to emerge as his career develops but is conspicuously absent from his earliest red-figure lekythoi, which betray the influence of the Berlin Painter.<sup>50</sup> The overwhelming majority of these lekythoi are, however, white; the type becomes closely associated with the Achilles Painter who renders mistress and maid often with great finesse

but rarely with much originality.<sup>51</sup> These scenes are most numerous and most stereotyped on his early white lekythoi, which often bear kalos inscriptions and regularly feature second-white for the exposed flesh of women and for a selection of details.

The application of a second-white, whiter than that of the ground color, has been thought to reflect black-figure practice.<sup>52</sup> The Achilles Painter decorated panathenaic prize amphorae in the old black-figure technique<sup>53</sup> and so would have been familiar with the convention of adding white to the exposed female flesh. And during part of his career black-figure workshops were still actively producing red-ground lekythoi with white female flesh.<sup>54</sup> If, however, the inspiration for second-white came from black-figure, it is hard to understand why early white-ground vases with black figures tend to leave exposed female flesh black.<sup>55</sup> It is also hard to understand why babies, regardless of sex, can have white flesh on mid-century white lekythoi,<sup>56</sup> why nude women in Classical red-figure can be white-skinned,<sup>57</sup> why the Huge Lekythoi<sup>58</sup> of the very late fifth century (whose technique of painting seems nearest to that of lost wall-painting) can retain the white-skin convention, and why modest mid-century white lekythoi of secondary shape, probably from workshops also producing black-figure, abandon it.<sup>59</sup> The answer to these questions may be that second-white was not prompted by black-figure conventions but by those of contemporary painting on panels and plaques. This could explain its perpetuation throughout the fifth century (and into

45. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 743–744; *Paralipomena*, p. 521; *BAdd*, p. 139.

46. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 744–745; *Paralipomena*, p. 413; *BAdd*, p. 139.

47. *ARV*<sup>1</sup> 578.

48. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 864, nos. 13–14.

49. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 320, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 864, no. 13; *CVA Ashmolean Museum* 1, pl. 38.10.

50. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 993.

51. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 995–1001, no. 1677; Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 13–16; Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 41–47.

52. Robertson, *History* (note 3), pp. 262–263. *JbBerlMus* 24 (1982), pp. 36–40 (Dyfri Williams sees the Brygos Painter as an innovator in the use of second-white).

53. *ABV* 409, 696; *Paralipomena*, p. 377; *AJA* 47 (1943), pp. 448–449 (Beazley).

54. *ABL*, pp. 69–191; Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 13–17. Beazley (*ibid.*, p. 14): “. . . it is a little hard to understand the vogue of this ‘second white’: it nearly always looks like an accretion, so that the technique is never ‘pure’ as long as it is there. The fact is that it was probably borrowed from free painting on panel or wall, where the white of the female flesh did not stand out unaccompanied, but was answered by the red-brown of the male.”

55. Compare, for example, Nikosthenes’ white oinochoai in Paris (Louvre F 117 and 116, *ABV* 230,1–2; *AWK*, pl. 1) and Psiax’s white lekythos (Jameson collection, *ABV* 293,11; *AWG*, pl. 3.1).

56. Compare a lekythos in Athens (National Museum 12771, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 742, no. 1; *CVA National Museum*, pl. 3.3 and 5) assigned to the Timokrates Painter and another, in West Berlin (2443, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 995,

no. 118; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 35.1) assigned to the Achilles Painter.

57. Compare, for example, the woman on a red-figure lekythos in Malibu (86.AE.250, Basel, Münzen und Medaillen, Sale 34 [1967]), no. 170. The exposed flesh of scantily clothed female figures is also occasionally rendered in white: Compare the girls dancing a pyrrhic on Cape Town 18 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 677, no. 11; J. Boardman and M. Pope, *Greek Vases in Cape Town* [Cape Town, 1961], pl. 14) and on Naples Stg. 281 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1045, no. 9, Lycaon Painter).

58. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1390; Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 72–73; A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, vol. 2 (New York, 1914), pp. 204–213.

59. The numerous lekythoi from the Tymbos workshop (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 753–758, nos. 1668–1669, 1702; *Paralipomena*, p. 414; *BAdd*, p. 140) may serve as examples.

60. *AWK*, pp. 33, 37–43.

61. Beazley, *AWL*, p. 14.

62. Agrigento, Museo Civico, no. inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1017, no. 53; *AWK*, p. 35, no. 5 and pl. 9.1–2. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16586, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1017, no. 54; *AWK* p. 36, no. 9, and pl. 5.

63. White female flesh: Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection, 2584, 2585, 2587. *ABV*, 399, nos. 1, 1, 2. B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1925), pl. 109.

Red male flesh: Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection, 1037, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1598; Langlotz (note 17), pl. 80; B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases* (New York, 1978), pp. 226–227.

White women and dark men appear on a plaque in Oxford attributed to Paseas (1984.131–2, A. Greifenhagen, in L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze, eds., *In Memoriam Otto Brendel* [1976], pp. 43–48),

the fourth) and its application to ambitious pieces, such as large lekythoi and calyx-kraters.<sup>60</sup> It took much more time and trouble to fill in the outlined female figure with white, and greater skill is compatible with larger vases. The poor reputation of second-white lies heavily with the Achilles Painter who, early on, was simply not very good at it;<sup>61</sup> his pupil, the Phiale Painter, demonstrated its potential on his calyx-kraters.<sup>62</sup>

Painted clay plaques<sup>63</sup> from the years around 500 establish that women's exposed flesh could be painted white, just as that of men could be painted reddish-brown. This follows a long and widespread convention in the painting of the Mediterranean world of distinguishing the flesh tones of the sexes. The distinction may not have been very popular with Attic painters of white vases because it took more time and trouble, but it is also likely that the red-figure convention, in which the flesh tones of the sexes are not distinguished, influenced them greatly. The strength of that convention could also explain the absence of second-white from the white tondi of cups.

One of the distinctive features of the second Getty lekythos (fig. 5d) is the technique and style of the shoulder decoration. Two of Douris' white lekythoi have exceptionally elaborate floral designs executed in the same black and dilute brown paint as the figures on the body; the third (fig. 1e), adds figures to the floral design on the shoulder. Generally one technique is used for the decoration of both shoulder and body: black-figure white lekythoi tend to have black florals (without incision),

those with figures in glaze outline tend to have florals outlined in glaze paint, and those with matt painted florals tend to have figures outlined in matt paint.<sup>64</sup> Cylindrical white lekythoi of standard shape usually have black necks and white shoulders; those of secondary shape usually have reserved necks and shoulders. Standard cylinders from the second quarter of the fifth century usually have three palmettes, linked by tendrils; those of secondary shape have five (in the black-figure manner) or three palmettes, or linked pendent lotus buds.

Before these conventions were established, the shoulders of white lekythoi of standard shape displayed considerable variety. Douris' and the Syriskos Painter's are early and unusually elaborate examples. Many painters preferred the black palmettes of the black-figure tradition,<sup>65</sup> but some adopted the design used for red-figure lekythoi: three linked palmettes with lotus blossoms. A few painters attempted to convert the red-figure design to white-ground, picking out alternate leaves of the palmettes and parts of the blossoms with red paint.<sup>66</sup> Our second lekythos belongs to this distinctive group, whose members employ second-white for exposed female flesh and for a selection of details. These white lekythoi, and those with red-figure shoulders<sup>67</sup> (see fig. 8), are the most colorful during the second quarter of the fifth century. Figures and florals are usually outlined in black, not dilute brown, and this makes them stand out prominently. These vases were painted in the years around 460 by a few men who probably sometimes sat in the same workshop—the Painter of Athens 1826,<sup>68</sup> the Timo-

whose technique approximates red-figure. Colored couples appear on another erotic plaque, with light ground, in Athens (National Museum, Akropolis Collection, 1040, Langlotz [note 17], pl. 81). The rare occurrence of pink female flesh is also known; compare a lekythos in Athens (1968, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 749, no. 9; A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, vol. 1 [New York, 1907], pp. 121–122).

64. Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 33–74.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–17.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–29.

67. As New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 626, no. 2; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 274) and Brussels, Musées Royaux, A 1019 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 652, no. 3; *CVA Musées Royaux* 1, pl. 2.5). The best known examples are the Brygos Painter's in Gela (Museo Civico, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 385, no. 223; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 24.1) and the Pan Painter's in Leningrad (Museum of the Hermitage H.670, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 557, no. 121; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 24.2), Syracuse (Museo Nazionale 19900, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 557, no. 122; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 24.3), and New York (Norbert Schimmel collection 62).

An exceptionally large and unusually colorful white lekythos in London (British Museum D 47, Kurtz, *AWL*, 27.3) reproduces the red-figure scheme in outline on white-ground, with added red paint. On the body there is an even sharper contrast between the white and black than on the Getty lekythos. The better preserved of the two women on London D 47 wears a black himation with red fold lines over a white chiton with brown fold lines. She holds an oinochoe, reserved against the black of her himation with details added in red, and a black phiale with white and red decoration. She stands in front of a black

column with white architectural detail, and a black fillet with red and white pattern-work hangs in the field. Stylistically the vase belongs near those by the Timokrates/Vouni painters.

68. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 745–747, no. 1668; *Paralipomena*, p. 413; *BAdd*, p. 139. Add the following white lekythoi:

1. Kurashiki, Ninagawa Museum, 38.

E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (Mainz, 1982), p. 90, no. 18.

White-ground shoulder. A woman holds a fillet and a man, wearing a mantle and Corinthian helmet, holds a staff. Compare the drawing of the woman with the fillet with that of another lekythos (with red-figure shoulder) once in the Hirsch collection (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 746, no. 21).

2. Zurich, Hirschmann collection, 40.

H. Bloesch, *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (Zurich, 1982), pp. 82–83.

Black palmettes on reserved shoulder. Woman seated before a *kalathos*, holding a chest and a wreath. Compare the figure, style of drawing, and shoulder palmettes with that of another lekythos in London (British Museum D 26, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 746, no. 3).

3. Palermo, Mormino collection, 310.

*CVA Mormino* 1, pl. 6.1–3 (attribution: Genière).

White-ground shoulder. Hermes leads a woman; a small black psyche flies with a fillet.

4. Basel market (Münzen und Medaillen).

*AntK* 16 (1973), pp. 146–147 and pl. 33.3–4 (attribution: H. A. Cahn).





Figure 6a. White lekythos attributed to the Vouini Painter. Left side. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 35.11.5, Alexander M. Bing Gift Fund, 1935. Photos, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 6b. Right side of lekythos, figure 6a.

krates Painter,<sup>69</sup> and the Vouini Painter.<sup>70</sup> The first two seem to have preferred red-figure shoulders, although the Painter of Athens 1826 tried several designs on white-ground. He also seems not to have been interested in kalos inscriptions. Tombstones are added to some scenes and objects known to have been used in funerary rites to others. Like their contemporary, the young Achilles Painter, they reproduced some scenes whose iconography is no longer clear to us: The “ambiguous” iconography of the Classical white lekythos begins here.<sup>71</sup>

None of the lekythoi assigned to the Timokrates Painter has overtly funerary iconography, yet the women filling baskets or holding sashes and wreaths<sup>72</sup> may well be preparing to visit the grave, like the woman and boy on one of the Vouini Painter’s lekythoi in New York (figs. 6a–b)<sup>73</sup> who stand beside a large mound (*tymbos*) and two slender tombstones (*stelai*) heavily festooned with sashes and wreaths. The technique and style of painting are like those of the Malibu lekythos, as are shape and pattern-work. The decoration of both vases boldly juxtaposes contrasting colors; this is a feature

White-ground shoulder. Standing woman and seated woman with a scroll. Writing-case suspended above. Black bird.

5. Beverly Hills, California, market (Summa Galleries) 2031. White-ground shoulder. Woman with fillet and man with staff and fruit; between them a small black bird.
6. Aachen, Ludwig collection, 61. E. Berger and R. Lullies, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 1 (Basel, 1979), p. 164 (attribution: E. Simon). White-ground shoulder. Woman with phiale and jug and woman with fillet.

7. Whereabouts unknown to me; photographs in the Beazley Archive.

White-ground shoulder. Woman seated holding a chest and standing woman.

8. Whereabouts unknown to me; photograph in the Beazley Archive.

White-ground shoulder. Man leaning on staff and woman with fillet; lyre suspended in the field.

NOT the Painter of Athens 1826:

Once Northampton, Castle Ashby, 75, CVA Castle Ashby, pl.



Figure 7. White lekythos attributed to the Painter of Athens 1826. Front. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.253.



Figure 8. White lekythos attributed to the Timokrates Painter. Front. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A 1020. Photo, ACL, Brussels.

common to the Timokrates and Vouini painters. The Painter of Athens 1826, on the other hand, makes less use of contrasting colors. This is well illustrated by another white lekythos in Malibu (fig. 7).<sup>74</sup> Here the difference in the proportions of the figures is also revealed; those by the Painter of Athens 1826 look childlike and insubstantial, whereas those by the Timokrates and Vouini painters are tall and, at their best, statuesque, already “Classical,” like those by the Pistoxenos Painter. The Timokrates Painter’s exquisite lekythos in Brussels (fig. 8),<sup>75</sup> which comes close to the Pistoxenos Painter in

spirit and style, represents the finer draughtsmanship, the Malibu (figs. 5a–d) and New York (figs. 6a–b) lekythoi the less developed, more Archaic. The Malibu woman is not as fine as her sisters in Brussels, but there can be little doubt that she is related to them; her pose, features, hairstyle, and drapery are very similar. The basket that she holds is similar to those held by women on two of the Timokrates Painter’s more modest lekythoi at Harvard and in Athens.<sup>76</sup> An aryballos like those in her basket is suspended from the tomb on the Vouini Painter’s lekythos in New York, and the heron

52.1–3 and p. 31. The ungainly style is similar but not identical to that of an unattributed white lekythos in London (D 21).

69. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 743–744; *Paralipomena*, p. 413; *BAdd*, p. 139. Probably by the Timokrates Painter; Madison, Wisconsin, Elvehjem Museum, EAC 70.2, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 25.3. Red-figure shoulder. Two women with baskets of lekythoi and fillets.

70. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 744–745; *Paralipomena*, p. 413; *BAdd*, p. 139.

71. Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 7–26; Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 197–226.

72. See below (note 76).

73. Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.11.5, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 744, no. 1; Kurtz,

*AWL*, pl. 26.2.

74. 86.AE.253 = *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 746, no. 5 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 1668.

75. Musées Royaux A 1020, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 743, no. 2; *CVA Musée Royaux*, pl. 2.4. The quality of this lekythos may be compared with that of another, unpublished example in a Cypriote private collection. Martin Robertson and Jody Maxmin brought this vase to my attention.

76. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 60.335, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 743, no. 4; *CVA Robinson 1*, pl. 39. Athens, National Museum, 1929, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 743, no. 5; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 26.2.

that stands between her and the youth may be compared with the goose on the two other lekythoi.<sup>77</sup> The Malibu youth is less easily compared because there are few men on these lekythoi. Of those preserved, he is most like the New York youth (fig. 6b): long face, wide-open eye, high and deep chest, flat back, large hands and feet. The folds in his black mantle (fig. 5a) were picked out in red, and are now barely visible, but the system of renderings is comparable to the New York youth's.

The Malibu lekythos, like another that Beazley

described as "near the Timokrates Painter, shoulder-patterns like the Vouni Painter's,"<sup>78</sup> brings these two artistic personalities closer together and raises the question of their identity. Stylistically they stand somewhat apart from the Painter of Athens 1826, whose draughtsmanship is weaker but whose connection with the Achilles Painter seems stronger. The chief importance of these minor painters is their relation to the fully developed Classical white lekythos of which the Achilles Painter was the master.

Beazley Archive  
Oxford

77. Meggen, Käppeli, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 744, no. 3; *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Lucerne, 1963), D 15. Minz, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 745; R. Hampe and E. Simon,

*Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Kunst* (Mainz, 1959), pl. 35.1.

78. Basel market (Münzen und Medaillen), *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 744.

# Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual

Herbert Hoffmann

This writer once made the following overly dogmatic statement concerning the meaning of Greek rhyta: "The animal heads seem to have been selected for their sculptural and decorative qualities, rather than for any specific cult associations."<sup>1</sup>

My verdict of "no significance" reflected the neopositivist standpoint then current in British and American archaeology, and it was symptomatic of the conservative spirit then prevailing in the academic establishment that my refusal to venture a hypothesis concerning

the possible function and significance of the artifacts I had assembled should have been singled out for special approval by no less an authority than Gisela M. A. Richter.<sup>2</sup>

Reflecting on the same artifacts more than two decades later, I now think that this verdict was premature and, furthermore, that a position that denies the possibility of meaning to such a radical extent cannot possibly be maintained. Having done so much basic research on this vase-shape in the past, I should like to see

This article owes its inception to François Lissarrague, at whose insistence I reopened a file closed twenty years ago. I am indebted to Walter Burkert, Eva Keuls, Dieter Metzler, Marion True, and Michael Vickers for reading and criticizing an earlier draft of the manuscript. I should also like to thank Peter Herrmann for his epigraphic expertise and Robert Koehl for sharing some of his knowledge of Minoan rhyta with me. Most of the works referred to in this article are illustrated in Hoffman, *ARR*, thus making their reproduction here superfluous. I would ask the reader kindly to have a copy of that book at his elbow.

## Abbreviations

Burkert 1977:

W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977).

Colloq. Lausanne:

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Hoffmann 1983:

H. Hoffmann, "Hybrin Orthian Knodalon," in D. Metzler, B. Otto, and C. Mueller-Wirth, eds., *Antidoron: Festschrift für J. Thimme* (Karlsruhe, 1983), pp. 61ff., 6.1–15.

Kl. Pauly:

K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1964).

Kron 1976:

U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen*. *AM*, 5. Beiheft (1976).

Nilsson:

M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 5, no. 2. (Munich, 1941).

Nock 1944:

A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HThR* 37 (1944), pp. 142ff.

Rohde, *Psyche*:

E. Rohde, *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (1894; Tübingen, 1974).

Stengl 1895:

P. Stengl, "Chthonischer und Totenkult," in *Festschrift für L. Friedländer* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 414ff.

Vickers-Impey-Allan:

M. Vickers, O. Impey, and J. Allan, *From Silver to Ceramic: The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds* (Oxford, 1986).

1. Hoffman, *ARR*, p. 4.

2. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, *Comptes Rendus* (1963), p. 515 ("It is a relief to be told [p. 4] that . . . there probably was no special 'significance,' and that there is no convincing evidence that the rhyta had 'any special ritual or apotropaic function.'"). Cf. also K. Scheffold in *Erasmus* 17 (1965), pp. 46f.: "Gewiss hatten die Tierköpfe keine 'spezielle rituelle . . . Function,' wie auch Richter befriedigt feststellt."

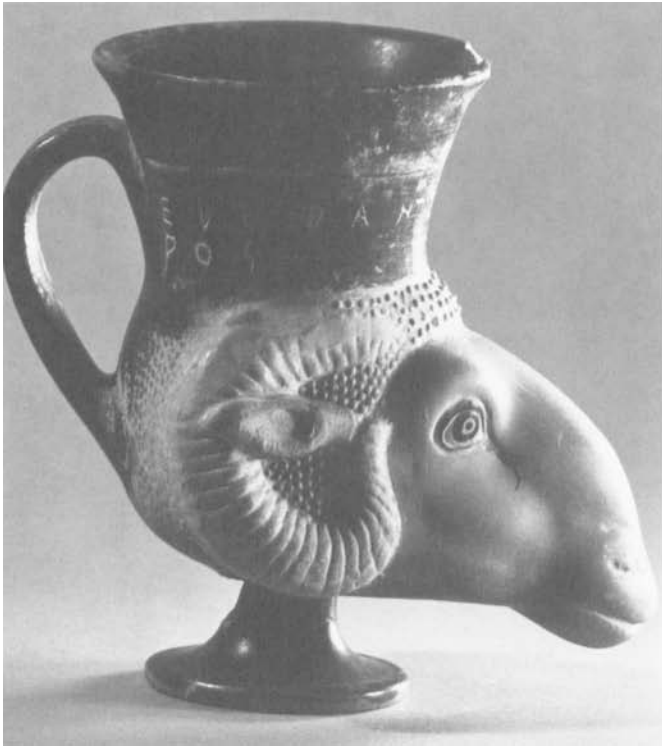


Figure 1a. Ram's-head rhyton with inscription. Right side. Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, F 4046. Photos, Walter Steinkopf.

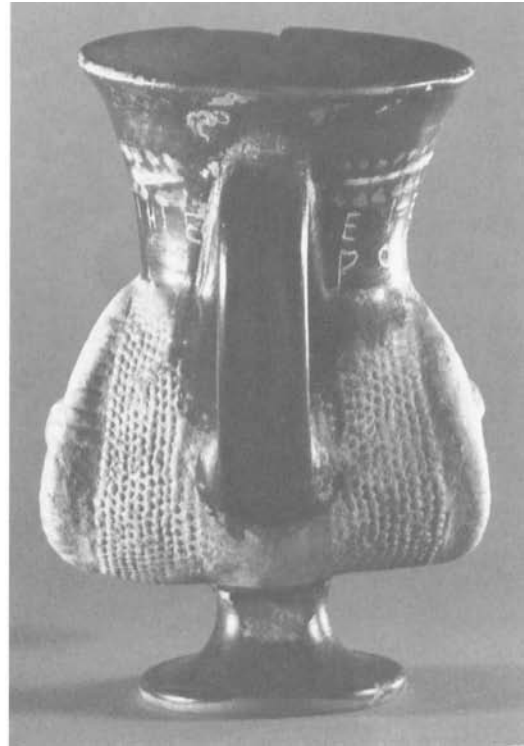


Figure 1b. Back view of rhyton, figure 1a.

whether the material evidence I collected can now be used as an information base from which to examine some larger issues concerning the semantic function of Greek vases.<sup>3</sup>

The goal of this inquiry is therefore primarily methodological: to explore how the shapes and imagery of Greek vases might be employed as a primary source for the study of Greek religion, and in particular for the reconstruction of ancient ritual.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SABOUROFF RHYTON IN BERLIN

I shall begin this essay by considering the Sabouroff rhyton in Berlin (figs. 1a–b),<sup>5</sup> since the inscription on

this object, which I did not discuss in my original publication, first made it clear to me that my earlier standpoint had to be revised.

The rhyton was found toward the end of the last century in a tomb near Athens. The neat stoichedon graffito running in two lines around the base of the vessel's bowl reads as follows:  $\xi\nu\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \xi\iota\mu\iota \eta\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (Elephantidos eimi hieros). The spreading kantharoid bowl, the ample ribbon handle, and the flaring kantharos foot of this rhyton are matched by the corresponding parts of the head-vases belonging to Beazley's Class G.<sup>6</sup> It is fairly certain that the graffito was incised shortly after the rhyton was made, sometime during the first half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>7</sup>

3. See esp. Hoffmann 1980.

4. For a useful definition of ritual, see J. H. M. Beattie, "On Understanding Ritual," in B. R. Wilson, ed., *Rationality* (Evanston, 1970), pp. 240ff.

5. Hoffman, *ARR*, no. 1.

6. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1533ff.

7. Peter Herrmann kindly communicates the following information: "Nach meinem Eindruck dürfte die Schrift des Rhyton ziemlich sicher im ersten Drittel des 5. Jhdts. unterzubringen sein. Etwas altertümlicher wirkt das A mit dem schräg angesetzten Strich und wohl auch das dreistricrige Sigma, während das N eher etwas jünger wirkt, da es nicht mehr die ältere Schrägstellung der rechten Haste zu haben

scheint. So heben sich ältere und jüngere Züge gegenseitig etwas auf. Die 80er und 70er Jahre scheinen mir am wahrscheinlichsten."

8. A. Kirchoff, *CIA*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 119 n. 492<sup>b</sup>.

9. P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Hildesheim, 1894), p. 4 n. 5.

10. I owe the reading to Walter Burkert, who takes  $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  to be in reference to the ritual function of the rhyton ("Die Weihfunktion ist ausdrücklich angesprochen.") Peter Herrmann writes, "Dass  $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  auf  $\kappa\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  geht, würde ich auch annehmen." Eva Keuls, whom I also consulted, would see  $\kappa\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  as referring to the male writer of the graffito. It would then mean "follower" or "sacred attendant."

11. *AJA* 2 (1898), pp. 228f.

As for the meaning of the inscription, Kirchoff and Kretschmer were both certain that the female genitive form *Elephantidos* referred to a dead woman: “Puto tamen vasculum significare mulieri defunctae, cui Elephantidi nomen erat. Dono datam et sepulcro eius illatum esse” (Kirchoff).<sup>8</sup>

Kretschmer’s verdict, “Elephantis ist schwerlich der Name einer Göttin, vielmehr einer Verstorbenen,”<sup>9</sup> allows one to infer that he had first considered—but then rejected—the possibility of Ἐλεφαντίδος referring to the name of a goddess in the manner of an epithet, perhaps on account of the accompanying ἱερός (sacred).

One wonders why neither scholar considered the possibility of reading *Elephantidos* as a reference to a heroine. Can nineteenth-century prejudice concerning heroization of women have made the obvious seem the most unlikely? Faced by the choice between an improbable goddess and a distasteful heroine, Kirchoff and Kretschmer seem to have opted for an unproblematic “dead woman” and altogether to have skirted the issue of *hieros*—which would seem to mean “sacred property.”<sup>10</sup>

Kirchoff’s and Kretschmer’s reluctance to involve themselves in unseemly controversy left the semantic problem posed by the Sabouroff rhyton’s graffito unresolved, and in 1894—the year in which Erwin Rohde published his epoch-making work on the Greek hero cult, *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*—an American epigrapher and classicist, R. B. Richardson, published a learned but farfetched paper in which he rejected the German scholars’ translations—primarily on account of the obstinate *hieros*—and offered a solution of his own.<sup>11</sup> Richardson translated the female genitive *Elephantidos* as referring to a “goddess of Elephantis,” meaning the island below the first Nile cataract, and then proceeded to equate this presumed goddess with the Eleusinian Demeter via an ingenious exercise in art-historical sleight of hand. Richardson linked the ram god Khnum, the tutelary divinity of Egyptian Elephantis, with the ram’s-head shape of the rhyton, and through a further leap of association—namely to the marble ram protomes of the Eleusinian

*telesterion*, or mystery hall—Demeter was “revealed.”

Although Richardson’s “Elephantis-Demeter” was adopted by Furtwängler in his catalogue of the Sabouroff collection,<sup>12</sup> she has not withstood the test of time. One finds no mention of her in the modern scholarly literature on Demeter and her Eleusinian cult.<sup>13</sup> The graffito inscription on the rhyton can, I think, best be translated as “I belong to (in the sense of “I am the sacred property of”) Elephantis,” the name Elephantis being well attested for mortal women.<sup>14</sup> The masculine nominative form ἱερός must refer to the ritual function of the κριός, or ram, i.e., to the rhyton itself on which the inscription occurs.<sup>15</sup>

The picture that now emerges is that Elephantis was an ordinary—though probably unusual—woman who died in or near Athens in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and was accorded heroic honors by her family or community.<sup>16</sup>

In the following I shall refer to the rhyton of Elephantis not as the cornerstone of a “case” or theory but as the point of departure for a historically oriented investigation into the possible connotations, or levels of meaning, attached to the rhyton shape. If in the end my more general inquiry will also permit this very interesting document to be considered in a new light, my purpose will have been served.

#### THEOPHRASTOS AND JANE HARRISON ON RHYTA

I have suggested that the existence of a factual (i.e., nonmythological) Athenian “heroine” at the beginning of the Classical period of Greek history may have been anathema to Victorian classicists. There is no place for Elephantis in Erwin Rohde’s *Psyche*.<sup>17</sup> Let us, therefore, re-examine the rhyton as a vehicle of meaning, paying particular attention to the possible connotations of the shape as a dead person’s “sacred property.” This brings to mind two references to rhyta in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, 9461a, 497e, and the extensive discussion of 461a by Jane Harrison in her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, and again in *Themis*.<sup>18</sup> The banqueters are

12. A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff* (Berlin, 1883–1887), text to pl. 70; idem, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung* (Berlin, 1885), p. 1027, no. 4046.

13. See now D. Lauenstein, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis* (Stuttgart, 1987).

14. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Göttingen, 1917), p. 581; idem, *Namensstudien* (Göttingen, 1917), p. 21. Peter Herrmann calls my attention to the inscription Ἐλεφαντίδος ἐμύ on a ring from Ialysos: *CIRh* 3, p. 60, fig. 51. Cf. also below (notes 214, 216), and M. J. Milne in Hoffman 1961, n. 7. Examples of *Elephantis* as a nominative proper name are being computerized on a regional basis by P. M. Fraser of All Souls College, Oxford.

15. The evidence for rhyta having been called by the names of the animals they represent is given in Hoffmann 1961, n. 46.

16. It is remarkable that the cults of heroines are largely ignored in the vast scholarly literature on Greek hero cult. The *locus classicus* for heroines is still Harrison, *Proleg.*, pp. 322ff. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106f. (on Charila) and M. R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and Hysterics* (1981), ch. 1. For some inscriptional instances see *LSJ*, s. v. ἡρώωνη and ἡρώς II. Walter Burkert calls my attention to the heroization of Kyniska, an Olympic victor, at the end of the fifth century B.C.: Paus. III.15.1.

17. This standard work on the Greek hero cult contains no reference to female heroization.

18. Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 447; Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 310ff. and 311 n. 2.

discussing Greek versus barbarian drinking customs, and in particular, wine cups. One of them points out that the Greeks, being moderate in all things, drink wine mixed with water from small cups, whereas the barbarians, who “rush eagerly to excess in wine,” drink undiluted wine from large-size vessels.

Athenaeus cites Chamaeleon’s *περὶ μέθης*, the lost *Treatise on Drunkenness*, in support of this view: “In the various parts of Greece nowhere shall we find, either in paintings or in historical records, any large-sized cup except those used in hero ceremonies. For example, they use the cup called rhyton only with reference to heroes.”<sup>19</sup> In the ensuing passage he says that the cups of heroes are large like those of barbarians because heroes are “of difficult temper and dangerous habits.”<sup>20</sup> At 497e, Theophrastos, who was a contemporary of Chamaeleon and seems also to have written a book on drunkenness,<sup>21</sup> is quoted as saying much the same thing.<sup>22</sup>

Athenaeus’ reference to rhyta was of paramount importance to Miss Harrison inasmuch as it seemed to support her thesis that toward the end of the Archaic period local hero cults fused with the cult of Thracian Dionysos. In a chapter entitled “The Making of a God”<sup>23</sup> she points out that both dead persons (“heroes”) and Dionysos are represented holding rhyta on votive and funerary reliefs. The reason she gives is that drinking from rhyta was considered to be a characteristic of northern barbarians. The rhyton shape therefore signaled Dionysos’ Thracian—and thereby barbarian—aspect while at the same time proclaiming the daimonic aspect of the hero (dead person) as a banqueter. Miss Harrison furthermore linked the Classical Greek

hero cult with the worship of Dionysos as god of the dead, a view that has attracted increasing support in recent years.<sup>24</sup>

As to why Elephantis should have been buried with a sympotic utensil designated by inscription as her *sacred property*: it is apparent from the preceding that no ordinary drinking vessel, or reference to an ordinary symposium, can have been intended. As symbol, or attribute, both of heroes and of Dionysos, the rhyton proclaimed the fusion of mortal and divinity. It was Elephantis’ *Seelengerät*,<sup>25</sup> or pledge of immortality.

#### RHYTA AND KANTHAROI AS SYMBOLS OF HEROIC STATUS

I have stressed the kantharoid aspect of the Sabouroff rhyton: spreading bowl, ribbon handle, flaring foot. The close morphological affinity between rhyta and kantharoi was previously noted by Beazley, who referred to certain Attic rhyta as “one-handled kantharoi.”<sup>26</sup>

An example of a rhyton and a kantharos actually being fused in a single vessel is the curious black-figured donkey’s-head vase in the British Museum (figs. 2a–b),<sup>27</sup> which may be the earliest Attic vase that can be termed a rhyton. Several early fifth-century rhyta have the twin handles of a kantharos but dispense with the kantharos foot and stem and thus more closely approximate rhyta of standard shape. These are the hound’s heads decorated by the Brygos Painter, which exist in several examples (fig. 3),<sup>28</sup> and about which more will be said later on, and a ram’s head in Hamburg made by the potter Sotades and decorated by the Sotades Painter (fig. 4).<sup>29</sup> Both stemmed and unstemmed examples,

19. Cf. C. B. Gulick, *Athenaeus’ “Deipnosophistae,”* vol. 5 (1933), pp. 9ff. The last sentence has been translated by Gulick: “For they assigned the cup called rhyton only to the heroes.” The passage makes better sense if we translate the verb ἀποδίδωμαι not as “to render” but as “to use with reference to.” The hitherto vague and seemingly pointless declaration becomes meaningful as a concrete reference to the use of rhyta in heroic banquets.

20. Cf. Gulick (note 19), p. 11. This passage is of particular interest for the problem of the so-called Herakliot cups, which it explains. Athenaeus refers to Herakliot cups at XI.782b (a *skyphos Herakleotikos*, by Mys) and XI.500a (some *skyphoi* called *Herakliotikoi*—explained in Gulick’s footnote: “For the adjective ‘Heracleotic’ apparently used of anything very large, cf. Athen. 153c *paraskeue Herakliotike*”). This, I think, probably accounts for such monumental Attic drinking cups as the Penthesilea Painter’s Theseus kylix, which are improbable for actual wine consumption, and also for the outsize bucchero kantharoi and kyathoi common in fifth-century Etruscan burials. On the problem of the outsize phiale decorated by Douris, recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, see M. Robertson (forthcoming).

21. *Kl. Pauly*, s. v. Chamaeleon, Theophrastos.

22. *Theophrastos d’en toi peri Methes to rhyton phesin onomazomenon poterion tois herosi monois apodidosthai*. Gulick (note 19), p. 220, in his critical commentary on the passage seems to follow Harrison, *Proleg.*,

when he writes, “The rhyton often contained fruits which were appropriate offerings to heroes. For the gods on other cups, especially the phiale, were used.” I note that E. Buschor in his “Krokodil de Sotades,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 11 (1919), p. 29, must likewise have misread this passage, leading him to condemn it a “unglaublich.”

23. Harrison, *Proleg.*, pp. 322ff.

24. Cf. for example F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologische Forschungen, vol. 9 (Athens, 1981), pp. 58, 70ff.

25. See E. F. Bruck, *Totentheil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht* (Munich, 1926)

26. E.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1551, no. 21.

27. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974), fig. 321. Now to be published in detail for the first time in M. True, *Pre-Sotadean Red-Figure Statuette Vases and Related Vases with Relief Decoration* (forthcoming).

28. Hoffman, *ARR*, nos. 8–9, pl. 2.3–4; M. True, “New Vases by the Brygos Painter and His Circle in Malibu.” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1. Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 1 (Malibu, 1983), pp. 73ff., figs. 9–14.

29. W. Hornbostel, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Museen* 23 (1978), pp. 210ff., 3 figs.



Figure 2a. Donkey's-head kantharos-rhyton. Front. London, British Museum, B 378. Photos, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2b. Back of kantharos-rhyton, figure 2a.



Figure 3. Hound's-head rhyton by the Brygos Painter. Left side. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, 687. Photo, author.

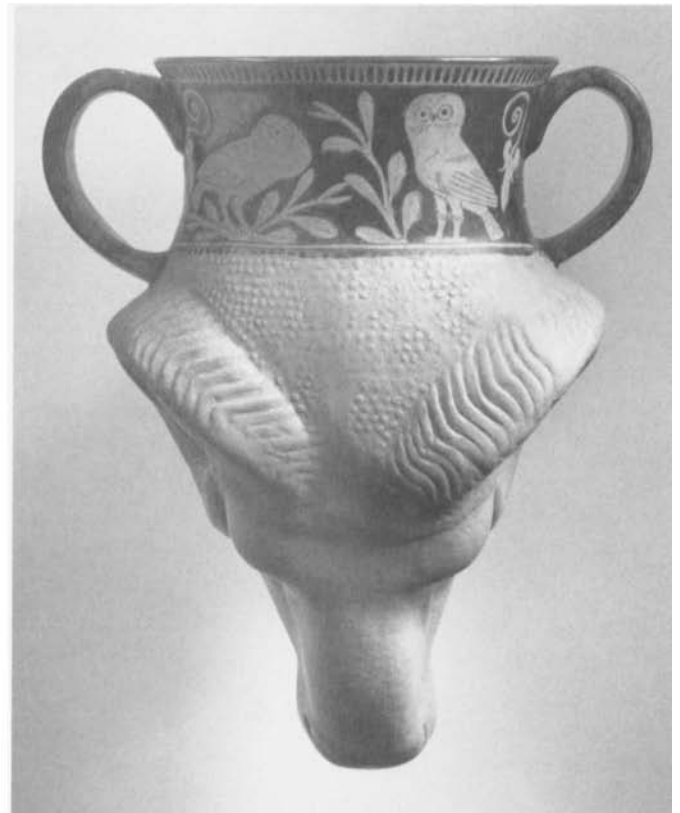


Figure 4. Ram's-head kantharos-rhyton by the potter Sotades. Front. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1977.220. Photo, D. Widmer, Basel.





Figure 5a. Bull's-head kantharos-rhyton from Apulia. Front. Swiss private collection. Photos, D. Widmer, Basel.



Figure 5b. Back of kantharos-rhyton, figure 5a.



Figure 6. Late Helladic hound's-head rhyton. Right side. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AE.298. Photo, courtesy Ashmolean Museum.

with single and double handles, exist in considerable numbers throughout the fifth century, and the type continues in the fourth century in South Italy (figs. 5a–b).<sup>30</sup>

The symbiosis of rhyta and kantharoi illustrated by examples such as these suggests that the two shapes must have a common origin in ritual tradition, as can, in fact, be shown to have been the case. Greek rhyta have prototypes in precious metal, stone, and clay dating back more than a thousand years, namely the animal-head rhyta from Knossos, Tiryns, Enkomi, and other Minoan and Early Helladic sites (fig. 6).<sup>31</sup> The origins of Greek kantharoi can likewise be traced to Minoan Crete, Early Helladic Mycenae, and Troy.<sup>32</sup> The common denominator of meaning between rhyta and kantharoi, as well as the reason for the conservative longevity of both shapes, resides in their original function. Both shapes are communal banqueting utensils that were employed in the banqueting and libational rites of the Minoans and Mycenaeans.<sup>33</sup> In historic times both shapes evoked the tribal aspect of former table fellowship, which was the original and fundamental sacrificial rite, whose primary purpose was to establish links between the gods,

the ancestors, and the living generation.<sup>34</sup> Throughout antiquity the dead were thought of as dining with the gods and heroes, and when the symposium of the living had, in the fifth century, become essentially a dinner party, the symposium of the dead, or *perideipnon*,<sup>35</sup> preserved the original mediating function of the banquet as uniting the living with the gods, the heroes, and the dead. Rhyta and kantharoi thus came to symbolize the communication between two worlds.

#### RHYTA AND PERSIANS

One problem remains to be considered. In 1961 I pointed to the numerous formal and stylistic correspondences between Greek and Persian rhyta and interpreted the sudden appearance of Athenian rhyta at the end of the Archaic period as another manifestation of “Persianism,” the adoption of Persian ways such as fashions of dress, artistic conventions, and sympotic customs, including drinking paraphernalia.<sup>36</sup> The problem, then, is whether my earlier theory of “Persian inspiration” can be reconciled with the theory of “Early Helladic revival” as set forth in the present paper? The answer is

30. Swiss private collection. I am beholden to Herbert A. Cahn for photographs. Cf. also Hoffmann 1966, no. 42, pl. 8 and no. 517, pl. 59; J. R. Green and B. Rawson, *Antiquities: A Description of the Classics Department Museum in the Australian National University, Canberra* (Canberra, 1981), p. 61, no. 65.33 (bull’s-head kantharos-rhyton, part of the tomb group discussed on pp. 49ff.). The equivalency of meaning between rhyta and kantharoi in fourth-century Tarentum is illustrated by the scene on the bowl of Hoffmann 1966, no. 309, pl. 35.3–4, the boar’s-head rhyton in Oxford. See also the discussion of this vase given in R. Hurschmann, *Symposien auf unteritalischen Vasen* (Hamburg, 1985), pp. 118f., pl. 17.1.

31. J. De Mot, *RA*, 1904, pp. 201ff.; G. Karo, *JdI* 26 (1911), pp. 249ff., pls. 7–9; C. Doumas, “A Mycenaean Rhyton from Naxos,” *AA*, 1968, pp. 374ff., figs. 1–19, with bibliography on the Late Helladic dog’s-head rhyton illustrated here in figure 6. I wish to thank Ann Brown and Helen Kempshall for the photograph. See also below (notes 34, 181).

32. Kantharoi have a long history in the early Aegean, and gold and silver as well as pottery examples exist from second-millennium sites. See L. Asche-Frey, “Der Kantharos. Studien zur Form und Bedeutung von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Geometrischen Zeit” (Ph.D. diss., University of Mainz, 1956). Cf. also O. W. Muscarella, *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (New York, 1974), no. 2 (with references to related finds in the bibliography) and the following unpublished examples on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in New York: 1907.07.286.126 (miniature gold kantharos, “said to be from Thebes”) and 1907.07.286.128a–b (“Greek,” circa 1500–1400 B.C.).

33. An international symposium on Bronze Age sanctuaries and cults, held at the Swedish Institute in Athens in 1980, brought to light disagreement on the question of how archaeological finds (in this case rhyta) are to be interpreted. The minutes of this debate are on record on pp. 187ff. of R. B. Koehl, “The Function of Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta,” in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Lund, 1981), pp. 179ff., figs. 1–7. Whereas Koehl argued for the practical use of rhyta, such as using them to fill large vessels, N. Platon stressed the exclusively cultic purpose of many excavated examples. G. Säflund pointed out that at Akrotiri the presence of

a great number of eating and drinking vessels, and the way they were stored, can only be explained if the building in which they were found was used for cultic celebrations such as banqueting. G. Cadogan, finally, emphasized that we are in danger of projecting our secular point of view back onto ancient society. Note in this connection that Linear A tablets found in the Minoan archive at Hagia Triada specify the quantity of obligatory libations to be poured from animal-head rhyta, which seem to have guaranteed the survival of the dead in a magical manner, recalling similar ritual practices in ancient Egypt: E. Grumach, “Tierkopfrhyta in den Tontäfelchen von Hagia Triada,” in C. Doumas, ed., *Festschrift A. K. Orlandos* (Athens, 1966), pp. 388ff. Cf. also Doumas (note 31).

34. On the sacral aspect of banqueting, see now D. Metzler, “Symposium,” in K. Stähler, ed., *Griechische Vasen aus westfälischen Sammlungen* (Münster, 1984), pp. 100ff., with recent literature on p. 102. The idea I am stressing owes ultimately to Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (Paris, 1864): “Community was a religion; the meal consumed together was its symbolic expression” (author’s transl.). Cf. also I. Scheibler’s relevant remarks on the kantharos shape in *Griechische Töpferkunst* (Munich, 1983), p. 38, as well as John Boardman’s discussion of the karchesion of Herakles: “The Karchesion of Herakles,” *JHS* 99 (1979), pp. 149–151. Cf. also T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford, 1986), p. 126.

35. The *perideipnon*, or meal at the tomb, took place immediately after the funeral, as was common in many parts of Europe until recent times. In addition, commemorative meals for the deceased were given on the third and ninth day after the burial and, in Athens, again on the thirtieth. The fullest discussion is given by R. N. Thönges-Stringaris, “Das griechische Totenmahl,” *AM* 80 (1965), pp. 64ff., and nr. 92ff. Cf. also Burkert 1977, p. 297; K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2 (Basel, 1975), pp. 922ff.; Nilsson, pp. 165ff. A diverging view of the *perideipnon* is given in D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), p. 146.

36. Hoffmann 1961; see D. B. Thompson, “The Persian Spoils in Athens,” in S. Weinberg, ed., *The Aegean and the Near East: Festschrift Hetty Goldman* (1956), pp. 281ff.

that it can, readily, provided we are willing to revise our prejudicial view of the Graeco-Persian encounter.

Here again Miss Harrison's unconventional and lucid thinking points the direction. It was she who first discerned that the Greeks regarded their Persian enemy not simply as despised and effeminate barbarians—a view still held by many scholars today—but realistically (and paradoxically) as the economically and culturally superior power the Median Empire in fact was; this unbiased perspective of Persia can be found throughout her published writings. By the fifth century B.C., many Athenians, particularly those of the aristocracy, viewed Persia as the very apex of luxury and superior civilization. In fact at the same time that Athenian assemblies were ostracizing citizens for "Medizing," the Delian League was consciously and deliberately copying the Persian Empire.<sup>37</sup>

The prevailing Greek attitude toward the Persian enemy, then, can be fairly characterized as ambivalent: hating and despising on the one hand, awestruck and venerating on the other.<sup>38</sup> The Great King, in particular, immense, fierce, and remote, was envisaged as a supernatural being "capable of doing anything."<sup>39</sup>

From this perspective it now becomes clear why Greek eschatology—the culturally shared fantasy of the Hereafter—should have been so exotic and oriental—in a word, so Persian. As pointed out by Alföldi and developed by Fehr,<sup>40</sup> the Garden Feast of the Great King—the ancient Achaemenian symbol for universal power and world dominion—had come to be adopted by Greek (initially Ionian) aristocrats as providing the perfect expression for their ideal of a luxurious life-style, and at the latest by the time of the Persian defeat at Plataea in

479, this eastern image had come to express the general, middle-class conception of apotheosis. The heroic ancestors—and indeed the dead in general—were envisaged as participating in a Persian-style "eternal symposium."<sup>41</sup> This aspiration to "Median luxury" in the beyond is, as might be expected, reflected in the iconography of Attic vase-painting. Herakles in particular, that most barbarian of Greek heroes, who, like the Persians, transgressed all limits and committed those boundless and hubristic acts that for the Greeks were abominable except when perpetrated by gods or heroes, provided the paradigm. The iconographic scheme for representing his apotheosis—the hero reclining on a banquetting couch set under a grape bower—reproduces the well-known Iranian scheme for depicting the Great King as a "royal drunkard" at his Garden Feast.<sup>42</sup> The same ancient Iranian banquetting iconography is used for Dionysos and other heroes and divinities,<sup>43</sup> as well as for the (heroized) mortal departed, who are similarly characterized as "eternal banquetters" and thereby placed on the same ideational plane as the heroes and the gods. The rhyta these figures often hold are frequently of distinctly Persian or persianizing types.<sup>44</sup>

To return, thus, to the question posed at the outset: we can conclude that when rhyta were deposited in fifth-century Athenian burials to signal "hero," their iconology—the associative and semantic framework that gave rise to their creation—drew both on the distant past and on the contemporary present.

Against this background the significance of banquetting Persian and Thracian barbarians in Attic red-figured vase-paintings,<sup>45</sup> as well as of the ubiquitous oriental archers<sup>46</sup> that accompany Greek heroes on Attic

37. See D. Metzler, "Parthenon und Persepolis" (forthcoming).

38. The same Xenophon who describes Persian atrocities witnessed at Kunaxa paints an enthusiastic and idealizing picture of Persian *paideia* (education) at the court of the Great King. The historical background of this paradox is analyzed in Dörrie 1972, pp. 146ff.

39. See E. D. Francis, "Greeks and Persians: The Art of Hazard and Triumph," in D. Schmandt-Besserat, ed., *Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire* (Austin, 1980), p. 53ff.

40. A. Alföldi, in *La nouvelle Klio*, vols. 1–2 (1949–1950), esp. pp. 552f., cited in Fehr 1971, pp. 70f. ("Alföldi kommt zu den Schluss, dass beim Gartenfest des Assurbanipal und beim Heraklesgelage . . . als entscheidende Gemeinsamkeit ein iranisches Lebensideal vorliege: der schwelgende, glückselige Herrscher, der 'königliche Trunkenbold.'") Cf. also D. Metzler, "Anikonische Darstellungen," *Visible Religion* 4 (1986), p. 102.

41. Metzler (note 34) is worth quoting in this context: "Gleichzeitig lehrt aber die Bilderwelt der Vasenmalerei, dass Symposien mehrere Funktionen haben können, nicht nur den Ort demonstrativer Geselligkeit abzugeben, denn bemerkenswerterweise werden auch Götter, Heroen und der Schwarm des Dionysos als Teilnehmer beim Symposion dargestellt, und zwar nicht nur jeweils unter sich, sondern gelegentlich auch, die nur scheinbar abgegrenzten Sphären überschreitend, zusammen mit Sterblichen. So kann die Hoffnung auf ein seliges

Jenseits sich ausdrücken im Bild der Teilhabe des Toten am Gelage der Götter. Oder die Anwesenheit von Satyrn entrückt den menschlichen Symposiasten in dionysische Gefilde."

On Persianism, and in particular the Persian banquet, as an expression of the aristocratic ideal, see esp. J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome, 1982). Cf. also J. R. Brandt, "A Persian Patriot among the Brygos Painter's Patrons," in *Proceedings of the XII. International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens* (Athens, 1983).

42. See above (note 41).

43. Fehr 1971, pp. 62ff.; Dentzer (note 41). Cf. esp. H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique der IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1951), pl. 16.3.

44. The extant representations of Persian-style bent and fluted rhyta terminating in animal heads or protomes are of late fifth- and fourth-century date. See below (note 173). Since the majority of the Persian rhyta published in recent years as ancient, especially those of precious metal, are in fact modern forgeries, the student seeking comparative Persian material is referred to O. W. Muscarella, "Excavated and Unexcavated Achaemenian Art," in Schmandt-Besserat (note 39), pp. 23ff., esp. pp. 30ff.

45. E.g., Beazley, *ARI*<sup>2</sup> 829, no. 39.

46. M. F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-painting*

vases, black as well as red, also begins to make better sense. They are not simply the Athenians' eastern allies, or the oriental auxiliaries of the Trojans, or the Athenians' Scythian police, as has often been proposed<sup>47</sup> (although they might also have been any or all of these to many Athenians); rather, like the heroes themselves, they are first and foremost inhabitants of that mythical "Other" time and space that signified the abode of the gods, the heroes, and the departed. They are there to establish the setting, so to speak. Like banqueting Centaurs<sup>48</sup> and satyrs,<sup>49</sup> banqueting barbarians belong to the topsy-turvy and uniquely Greek world of phantasmagoric irreality created by the junction of backward-extended time (Golden Age) with outward-extended space (Hyperborea). This mythopoetic never-never land corresponded to the very opposite of the present Here and Now, and to the Greeks, as to most others before and since them, it defined the "Other" world.

Two cup fragments decorated by the Stieglitz Painter (figs. 7a–b),<sup>50</sup> presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Sir John Beazley, shall be appended to this discussion, for like no other Attic vase-paintings, the picture of which they were a part helps clarify the ideological situation outlined above. In a frieze around the (missing) tondo, two orientals ("doubtless Persians" in Beazley's words), are shown, one holding a donkey's-head rhyton, the other a phiale. The scene was a symposium of Persians, as on another cup by the same painter (which Beazley compares) (figs. 8a–b).<sup>51</sup>

The use of rhyta in conjunction with phialai was ordinary Persian practice, but there are two very odd details: the facts that the rhyton has a foot—which Persian rhyta never do—and that it represents a donkey's head.

(Leiden, 1963). Most recently: F. Lissarrague, *Archers, peltastes, cavaliers: Sur l'iconographie du guerrier* (forthcoming). See Fehr 1971, p. 30.

47. E.g., E. Rohde, "Drei Sianaschalen der Berliner Antikensammlung," in A. Cambitoglou, ed., *Festschrift A. D. Trendall* (Sydney, 1979), pp. 135ff., pls. 36.2–3, 37.5; G. F. Pinney, "Achilles Lord of Scythia," in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983), pp. 127ff., fig. 9.1–12.

48. Fehr 1971, p. 96 and n. 585; E. von Mercklin, *AA*, 1937, pp. 64f.

49. See K. Schauenburg, "Silene beim Symposion," *JdI* 88 (1973), pp. 1ff., figs. 1–29; Hoffmann 1977, pp. 4f., pl. 8.4–5.

50. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 829, no. 38; Hoffmann 1961, pl. 10.3–4; *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 585, fig. 8; *Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1967), p. 71, pl. 35, no. 239.

51. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 829, no. 39. *CVA* Bryn Mawr College, pl. 25.1–4. I am beholden to Brunilde S. Ridgway for the photograph. For the Persian phialai, cf. now M. Abkai, "Achamendische Metallschalen" (Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 1984).

52. H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt* (Klagenfurt, 1970). On "reverse-world," see now the bibliography given in Hoffmann 1980, n. 22.

53. E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915; Chicago, 1971), pp. 299ff. ("Sacred things often become sacred by an

act of reversal."); K. Marx, *The German Ideology* (Berlin, 1926). For a study of religious projection viewed in an anthropological perspective, see F. Sierksma, *De religieuze projectie* (Leiden, 1957), cited by Gladigow 1974, p. 289 n. 1. Cf. also the set of oppositions given for religious attitudes by E. Leach in *Culture and Communication* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 40, as well as the sections on logic and mythologic (pp. 69f.) and basic cosmology (pp. 71ff.). "But if 'I' am to survive after death as some sort of 'other being,' then this 'other being' must be located in some 'other world' in some 'other time.' The most fundamental characteristic of such 'otherness' is that it is the reverse of ordinary experience. Concepts of deity derive from a similar reversal" (p. 71).

Donkey's-head rhyta are *Greek*, not Persian; there is no known Persian example, and it is doubtful whether one ever existed. Why, then, a donkey? The clue to this apparent puzzle is the phenomenon aptly termed "verkehrte Welt" by Hedwig Kenner.<sup>52</sup> This "reversed world" syndrome, which is, in fact, the very quintessence of Durkheimian and Marxist sociology of religion,<sup>53</sup> can be reduced to the axiomatic—some might say inspirational—insight that the sacred is *per definitio* the opposite of the profane, and that, accordingly, sacred phenomena must always be symbolic reversals of the real and the ordinary. A classic, though non-Greek, example: the virgin birth of a god who is both his own son and father.<sup>54</sup> Such non-sense, or mythological statements can and do, of course, make sense when "the same conventional ideas about the attributes of metaphysical time and space, and of metaphysical objects,"<sup>55</sup> are shared by the society in which they are produced.

Applied to the context of the present discussion, Durkheim and Marx help us solve the riddle of the Persian holding the Greek donkey's-head rhyton. The donkey as a Greek rhyton animal was charged with symbolic meaning of a very particular kind. As I have set forth elsewhere,<sup>56</sup> it alludes to the mythological, or "Other"-world sacrifice of the Hyperboreans, those denizens of the northernmost Greek "paradise" who regularly dined with gods and heroes and were exempted from old age and death. Charged with ambivalent sexual connotations, the same animal became the delight of the gods at the higher level of religious sublimation.<sup>57</sup> The "reverse world" phenomenon here involves projection<sup>58</sup> and is basically of the same order as that which characterizes Greek attitudes toward Persians and other barbarians.

54. Leach (note 53).

55. *Ibid.*

56. Hoffmann 1983.

57. Succinctly expressed by Metzler in D. Metzler, B. Otto, and C. Mueller-Wirth, eds., *Antidoron: Festschrift für J. Thimme* (Karlsruhe, 1983), n. 67, as "Verbot auf Erden, Gebot im Paradies!" This phenomenon is what Philip E. Slater in *The Glory of Hera* (Boston, 1968), p. 307, calls the "Apolline sham" and diagnoses, somewhat sternly, as the Greek "cultural sickness."

58. I use the term in the psychological sense, as the act of externalizing or objectifying what is primarily subjective.

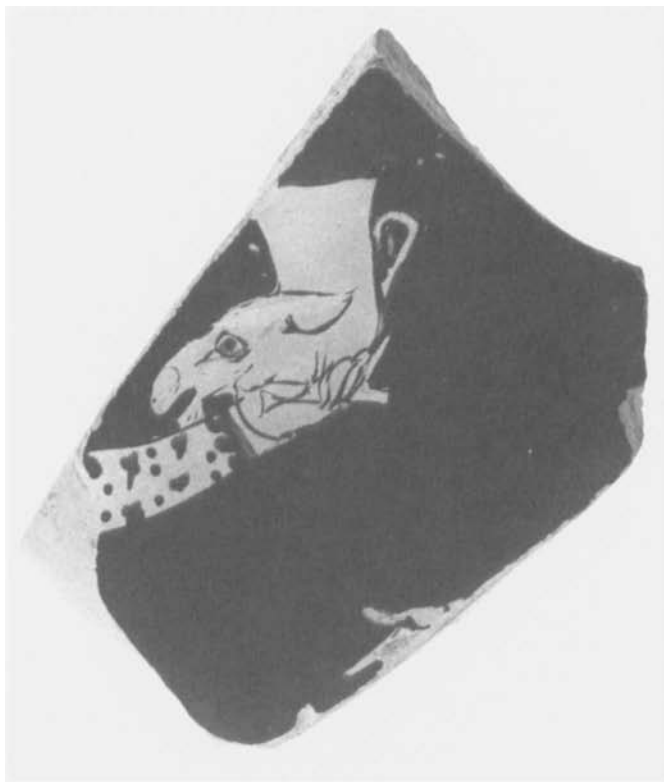


Figure 7a. Fragment of a cup by the Stieglitz Painter. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1966.688. Photos, courtesy Ashmolean Museum.

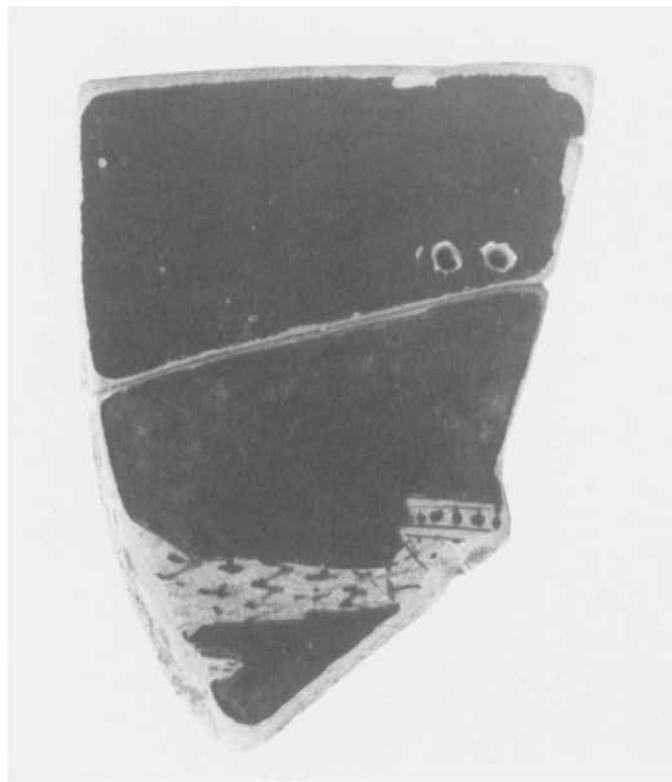


Figure 7b. Fragments of cup by the Stieglitz Painter, figure 7a.



Figure 8a. Handle of a cup by the Stieglitz Painter. Bryn Mawr College, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P 932. Photos, courtesy Bryn Mawr College.

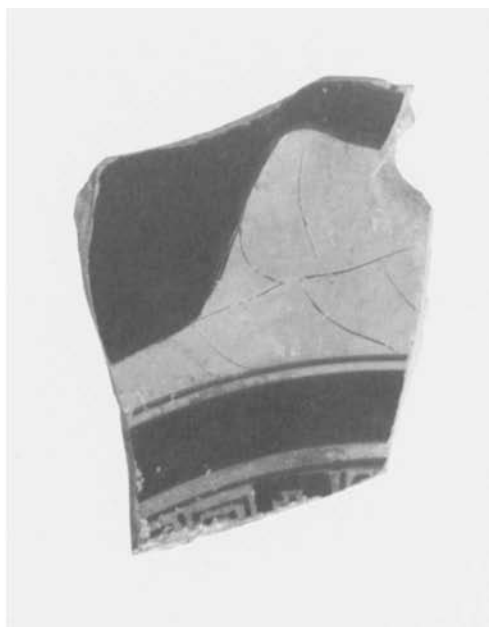


Figure 8b. Fragment of cup by the Stieglitz Painter, figure 8a.

It should now be clear why Greek heroes tend to behave like barbarians and vice versa, and why the Persian holds a Greek rhyton, which, as Chamaeleon and Theophrastos inform us, "is assigned to heroes only." That the Persian's rhyton should depict a *donkey*, rather than a more conventional Greek (or Persian) ram, is a true conundrum: a double-reversal, or dash of Attic salt.

SYNCHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF ATTIC AND  
SOUTH ITALIAN RHYTA  
(*Bestiary*)

	<i>Attic</i> (total of 136)	<i>South Italian</i> (total of 458)
ram	50	30
donkey	30	0
deer	11	60
hound	10	45
boar	7	50
bull	6	22
lion	5	9
cow	3	60
vulture	3	0
goat	2	12
griffin	2	45
sheep	2	50
lion cub	2	5
panther	1	0
pig	1	0
horse	1	31
mule	0	6
antelope	0	3
sea dragon	0	5
Maltese Spitz	0	25

Table 1

THE PLASTIC IMAGERY (BESTIARY)<sup>59</sup>

I have divided the 136 known Attic rhyta into three groups to facilitate the study of their synchronic and diachronic distribution (tables 1, 2): *early* (the Dourians, Brygans, etc.), *middle* (Sotadeans, Penthesileans), and

*late* (my Persian and von Mercklin classes). The *early group* accounts for one fifth of all examples examined, the *middle group* comprises somewhat over half, and the *late group* includes the remaining quarter. In view of the wide diversity of their provenances, the concentration of rhyta in the middle of the fifth century is remarkable and seems to correspond to a notable increase in production during those years. There is also, as we shall see, an abrupt change in the sculpted imagery of Attic rhyta at mid-century. Passing wine—a sacred beverage<sup>60</sup>—through an animal head before proceeding to consume it or to pour it in a sacrificial libation is clearly an expressive action.<sup>61</sup> It is for their status in the symbolic organization of society, rather than for any "decorative or sculptural qualities" they might have been considered as possessing, that certain animal species were selected for the rhyta shapes.

Some familiarity with basic sacrificial theory is essen-

DIACHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF ATTIC RHYTA

	<i>Early 5th C. B.C.</i> (total of 27)	<i>Mid-5th C. B.C.</i> (total of 77)	<i>Late 5th C. B.C.</i> (total of 32)
ram	8	35	7
donkey	11	18	1
deer	0	3	8
hound	4	4	2
boar	0	6	1
bull	0	0	6
lion	2	2	1
cow	0	2	1
vulture	2	1	0
goat	0	0	2
griffin	0	1	1
sheep	0	2	0
lion cub	0	0	2
panther	0	1	0
pig	0	1	0
horse	0	1	0

Table 2

59. To make this general shift in the imagery and in its conceptual framework clearer I have made a compilation of the animals represented in Attic rhyta during the course of the fifth century (tables 1–2). I have considered only the specimens assembled in Hoffmann, *ARR* and *Addenda*; recent newcomers do not change the picture, however. I should emphasize that this index offers only a very general overview, and that closer analysis is needed.

60. The association of red wine with sacrificial blood and, by extension, with divinity, probably goes back to the Bronze Age, as suggested by animal protome libation vessels. This association was still general in Roman times, as indicated by Christ's words, "Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood" (Matt. 26.27–28). In the Greek Orthodox

rite the wine is mixed with water (as in Biblical times) before consecration, and warm water (the "warmth") is added afterwards. When the bread (the "Lamb") is broken, it is either placed in the chalice for the priest or administered to the communicants on a spoon dipped into the wine. The symbolism of the flesh and the blood is thus more vividly represented than in western practice. I am indebted to Andrew Sheratt of the Ashmolean Museum for this information, given as a label in the museum's recent exhibition *Cheers! Alcohol in European Culture* (1986).

61. The concept, which one frequently encounters in the anthropological literature on ritual, is, I think, originally Talcott Parsons', who, however, acknowledges his debt to Max Weber. In *The*

tial if we wish to comprehend the symbolism of rhyton animals in the sympotic as well as the funerary context, and I shall therefore say a few words on the subject before proceeding to the bestiary. As I have set forth in Hoffmann 1977 and elsewhere,<sup>62</sup> sacrifice is a magic act enabling the sacrificer to enter into a reciprocal exchange relationship with a source of power—be it a deity or a hero-ancestor—with the thing sacrificed, whether an animal or something else, being a metonymic symbol of “Self.” The eschatological paradigm of sacrifice, be it an animal or a vicarious substitute such as wine, is that death “purifies,” or separates the pure (spiritual) from the impure (material), thus making possible the passage between worlds. This “rite of passage” paradigm is common both to the sacrificial and to the funerary ritual. As Edmund Leach has put it, “Just as the dead pass from ‘this’ world to the liminality of the ‘Other World’ (where their metaphysical essence is separated from their material frame) and thence, by a further transformation, become Immortal Ancestors, so the sacrificial act of ‘killing’ ensures that the offering will travel along the same path.”<sup>63</sup> The “sacrificial logic” by which symbols (images) can take the place of *realia* operates wherever objects—in this case rhyta<sup>64</sup>—are “sacrificed” (i.e., deposited) as part of a funeral complex.

As for the symbolism (implicit meaning) of the various animal species represented in the Athenian rhyta, the theme of sacrifice is salient and pervasive. Rams and sheep<sup>65</sup> (see figs. 16, 17, 20), being the sacrificial animals par excellence, remain dominant throughout, accounting for nearly half the entire production. In Hoffman 1983 I pointed out that the ram, being the sacrificial victim favored by heroes and ancestors, sig-

nifies the patriarchal hero who must die, i.e., himself be sacrificed. I illustrated an amphora in Basel, on which Achilles and Ajax battle over the dead body of Patroklos, which is depicted as a sacrificed ram (labeled ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΣ).

Donkeys (see figs. 19a–b) are common in the first half of the fifth century, symbolically linked with human sexuality and therefore sacrificed on the mythopoetic plane (donkey-sacrifice of the Hyperboreans).<sup>66</sup> By an act of reversal and transformation analogous to that of the sacrificial paradigm itself (“reversed world” phenomenon) the flesh of donkeys—too tough (potent, tabooized) for ordinary human consumption—becomes the food of gods and hero-ancestors in the permissive “Other” world of postmortem existence. I have interpreted the so-called split, or double-faced rhyta, coupling the head of a ram with that of a donkey in a single vessel (figs. 9a–c),<sup>67</sup> as mediating the symbolic opposition between the world of mortal men and the “Other” world of gods and heroes by the creation of an interstitial category (ram/donkey).<sup>68</sup>

The chronological distribution of the remaining animal species permits of two general assumptions:

1. that during the first half of the fifth century the animals represented pertain largely to the institution of bloody sacrifice; they are the “soul-food” for the dead, so to speak;

2. that from the middle of the century onward sacrificial animals come to be replaced by animals associated with the “Dionysiac complex”<sup>69</sup>—lion cubs, goats, baby bulls—these, in turn, suggest surrogate *omophagia*, the tearing apart and eating raw of live victims. I shall elaborate on this later on.

*Social System* (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), pp. 49, 100, and 384ff., Parsons distinguishes between expressive action-orientation and expressive symbolism as together constituting the belief system. In the religious context, expressive actions purport to alter the state of the world by metaphysical means (Leach [note 53], p. 9).

62. Hoffmann 1980, pp. 132f. (in German). On sacrifice in the cult of heroes and in the cult of the dead generally, see P. Stengl, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer: Die Heroen- und Totenopfer*, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 5, pt. 3 (Munich, 1920), pp. 138ff. On the theory of sacrifice, see the bibliography given by J. Svensbro, in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris, 1979), pp. 311ff.

63. See above (note 53). The analogy with Abraham and Isaac seems almost too obvious to mention.

64. In the case of the rhyta, the animal head or protome can be considered a metonymic sign for the whole animal on the principle of *pars pro toto*, as on Greek coins, where the “decapitated” animal head is to be understood as an abbreviation for the entire animal (I owe this reference to Herbert A. Cahn).

65. On ram symbolism as signifying sacrifice and passage in another context (Pelias), see D. J. R. Williams, “Close Shaves,” in H. Brijder, ed., *Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium, Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1984), p. 280, fig. 6. See also G. S. Korres, *Ta Meta*

*Kephalon Krion Krane* (Athens, 1970); Hoffmann 1983, pp. 64f.

66. In Hoffmann 1983 I suggested, with reference to Pind., *Pyth.* X.30ff. (the Hyperborean digression), that the placing of donkey’s-head rhyta in tombs may have evoked this Hyperborean feast. Cf. also J. Wiesner, “Der Gott auf dem Esel,” *AA*, 1968, pp. 167ff., 531ff., and, more generally, M. Vogel, *Onos Lyras: Der Esel mit der Leier* (Düsseldorf, 1983). On donkey sacrifice in the cult of the dead, see Stengl 1895, pp. 422ff. On a parallel phenomenon in the Sicilian plastic vases destined for the tomb, see B. Heldring, “Der dionysische Aspekt der sizilischen Tiergefäße,” in Th. Lorenz, ed., *Festschrift W. Frommel* (1978), pp. 38ff. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 29, no. 2 (True [note 27], figs. 8a–c, can be viewed in this context).

67. J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AK.699. M. True, *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), p. 166, no. 25 (there mistakenly identified as modern). Satyrmaened pursuit. Pentheselean Class. The hasty drawing may be from the Pentheselean workshop.

68. Many classical archaeologists tend to view the dimidiating rhyta as a “potter’s caprice,” “devoid of deeper meaning.” The concept of symbolic mediation with reference to split representations has been explored by C. Lévi-Strauss in *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris, 1968), ch. 13 and, more recently, in *Le vois des Masques* (Geneva, 1975). I am grateful to Claude Lévi-Strauss for discussing the dimidiating rhyta with me and giving me the benefit of his insight and encourage-



Figure 9a. Dimidiating ram/donkey rhyton. Right side. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 85.AE.699.



Figure 9b. Front of dimidiating rhyton, figure 9a.

The symbolism of the Dourian lion-head (figs. 10a–b)<sup>70</sup> seems fairly evident, for the association of lions with Greek heroes is proverbial.<sup>71</sup> Like rams and heroes, lions and heroes are synonymous metaphorically speaking: the hero lives and dies a lion;<sup>72</sup> the lion is his emblem and his tombstone. The lion is also one of the

ment. Note that the phenomenon is carried over into South Italian ware: Hoffmann 1966, pls. 32 and 33.3. Cf. W. Binsfeld, *Grylloi* (Cologne, 1956).

69. See H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne* (Paris, 1965).

70. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 18–21, pl. 4.

71. Greek heroes are lions, rams, and boars. See E. Vermeule's apt remarks in *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 85ff.

72. Cf. Herod. VII.225, the epitaph, attributed to Simonides, carved on the lion tomb-monument of Leonidas. The funerary inscription from a Hellenistic lion monument quoted by Antipater of Sidon is even more explicit: H. Beckby, ed., *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1957–1958), no. 344. The most famous classical survival of this sentiment is the inscription on Bertel Thorvaldsen's lion monument in Lucerne: "He died a lion" (referring, as Klaus Sommer informs me, to a Swiss killed in 1792 in the attack on the Tuileries).

On Greek lion symbolism in general, see E. Eliez, *Le lion et l'homme* (Paris, 1967); H. Gabelmann, *Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild* (Berlin, 1965). On Greek animal allegory generally: Hoffmann 1977, n. 16.



Figure 9c. Left side of dimidiating rhyton, figure 9a.





Figure 10a. Lion's-head rhyton by Douris. Right side. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MNB 1294. Photos, Chuzeville.



Figure 10b. Front of lion's-head rhyton, figure 10a.

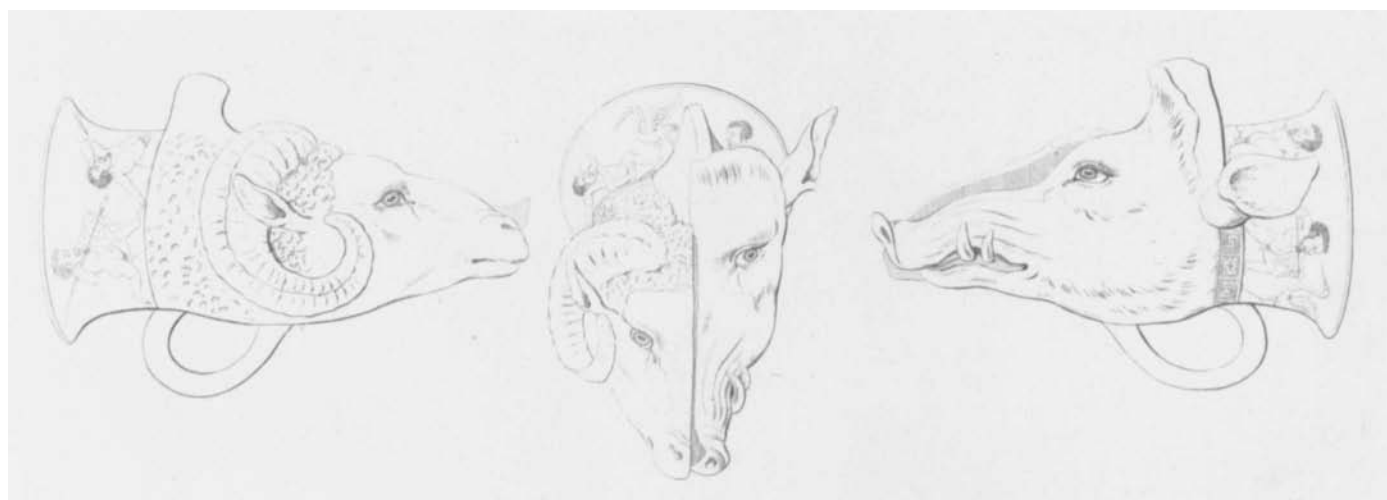


Figure 11a-c. Dimidiating ram/boar rhyton by the potter Sotades (lost). Right side, front, left side (from W. Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases Now in the Possession of Sir Wm. Hamilton*, vol. 2 [Naples, 1791–1795], pl. 7).

three animal manifestations of Dionysos. Greek lion imagery, moreover, is paired with the image of the boar.<sup>73</sup> The equation boar = hero in Greece is a very ancient one, going back to the boar-tusk helmets of Mycenaean warriors, and essentially the same use of the boar symbol figures large in the imagery of the ancient Iranian warrior fraternities.<sup>74</sup> In Attic rhyta the truncated boar's head as a drinking cup represents a trophy of the mythological initiatory hunt (Meleager)<sup>75</sup> and thereby—like the donkey's heads—alludes to mythopoetic sacrifice. Hence the pairing of a halved boar's head with a halved ram's head in a dimidiating rhyton by the potter Sotades (fig. 11a–c)<sup>76</sup> appears to be comparing the real sacrifice of rams to hero-ancestors with the mythological sacrifice of boars by the hero-ancestors themselves.

Proceeding to some rarities: the Dourian vulture<sup>77</sup> with blood-smeared beak, rather than representing the deities' or hero's favorite meal, would seem to symbolize the act of sacrifice itself, the magical operation by which mortal flesh is transformed into incarnate spirit.

The implicit meanings of the Brygan hound's-heads (see fig. 3),<sup>78</sup> remain a puzzle. When these rhyta are held right-side up (as they would be when in use) the hound's-head appears upside down, recalling the inverse slaughter

ritual prescribed for chthonic divinities.<sup>79</sup> In view of the dead ancestors' well-attested interest in canines,<sup>80</sup> the allusion of the inverted hound's head may be to chthonic dog-sacrifice. Hekate<sup>81</sup> comes to mind, and Kerberos (Hes. 311.7), but also the common reference in Greek funerary art to the virtue of the dead in terms of his quality as a *κυναγός*, or hound-leader (i.e., huntsman).<sup>82</sup>

Only a single Attic horse-head rhyton exists: the maverick protome-rhyton in the Petit Palais<sup>83</sup>—in contrast to the many horse-head rhyta in fourth-century Apulia. The incongruity is explained by ritual practice: The Messapian god Menzanas (= "Lord of Horses") regularly received horse sacrifices,<sup>84</sup> and such sacrifice seems to be reflected by Tarentine horse-head rhyta.

As stated earlier, Dionysiac animals appear in Attic rhyta about the middle of the fifth century and soon replace the animals of heroic imagery (the ram—as sacrificial animal par excellence—excepted).<sup>85</sup> The aristocratic and emblematic lion-type of the first half of the century (Douris), a survival of the Archaic tradition of lion-imagery, continues (fig. 12),<sup>86</sup> now imbued with Dionysiac meaning. In addition lion cubs and panthers, the animals of the Dionysiac *sparmagōs*, join the repertory. Stags appear, as do rapacious griffins,<sup>87</sup> their tradi-

73. On the equation of boar and heroes, see above (note 17). On the sacrifice of boar in the cult of the dead see Stengl 1895, p. 424.

74. Dieter Metzler informs me that the Iranian word *varaz* (= boar) is frequently contained in ancient Iranian personal names. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 348ff., s.v. *varaza*. The boar is also the sacred animal of Werethraghna, the Iranian proto-Dionysos. See H. Hoffmann and D. Metzler, in *Visible Religion*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1987).

75. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 46–50, pl. 101 and 3–4; see the remarks there on p. 23 and in n. 53. The imagery of the truncated boar's head trophies represented on a Sassanian silk weaving: R. Girschman, *Parthes et Sasanides* (Paris, 1962), p. 230, fig. 281. A good discussion of the boar's-head trophy as an index of valor is given by N. F. Rubin and W. M. Sale in "Meleager and Odysseus: The Greek Hunting and Maturation Myth," *Arethusa* 16 (1983), pp. 145ff.

76. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 38. Discussed more fully in my forthcoming book on Sotades.

77. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 22–23, pl. 5.1–2 (there called eagle's heads). I now agree with Denise Feytmans that the *gryps fulvus* is most probably represented: D. Feytmans, *Les Vases grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1948), pp. 43ff. The Greeks were surely familiar with the great religious significance attached to vultures in ancient Egypt, and the fact that the Zoroastrian Persians—like their Parsi descendants down to the present day—allowed vultures to dispose of their dead is commented on by Herodotos (I.140). Hence it does not seem farfetched to presume eschatological sense in a vulture's-head rhyton, particularly in view of the fact that in the Polygotan Nekyia the death-demon Eurynomos throned on the feather-skin of a vulture: see M. Robertson, *LIMC*, vol. 4.1 (forthcoming), s.v. Eurynomos. On vulture symbolism in ancient Near Eastern art, see R. D. Barnett, in *Festschrift K. Bittel* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pp. 59ff., pls. 13–20.

78. Several more Brygan hound's heads have come to light since

Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 8–9, pl. 2.3–4. They are studied together in True (note 28), pp. 73ff., figs. 9–14.

79. Stengl 1895, p. 424; M. Lurker, "Der Hund als Symboltier für den Übergang vom Diesseits in Jenseits," *Zeitschrift für Religion und Geistesgeschichte* 35 (1983), p. 143. At Gela the pottery vessels used in a chthonic burial ritual were found *in situ* deliberately arranged in the tomb in an upside-down position. According to the excavators, they were thereby meant to face the chthonic divinities existing below: P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 12 (1966), pp. 8ff., pls. 13–18, cited by C. H. Greenewaldt, Jr., *Ritual Dinners in Early Historic Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). To Greenewaldt's bibliography on the dog in Greek and Roman culture and religion given on p. 41 n. 4, add now the important material from various cultures collected by Lurker, pp. 132ff. (I owe this reference to Dieter Metzler).

80. See above (note 79).

81. T. Kraus, *Hekate: Studien zum Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland* (Heidelberg, 1960).

82. The deceased is commonly represented as a hunter with his hound, on gravestones as well as on the white-ground lekythoi. For a recent discussion of the hound in the semantic domain of the hunt, as an icon of his master, the hunter, see Rubin and Sale (note 75), p. 148. Cf. also *Anth. Pal.*, vol. 7, p. 304, where a hound is associated with a warrior fallen in combat.

83. *CVA* Paris, Petit Palais, pl. 307–8.

84. D. Metzler, "Zur Geschichte Apuliens im Altertum," in K. Stähler, ed., *Apulien: Kulturberührungen in griechischer Zeit* (Münster, 1985), p. 20.

85. The ram would have been invested with new meaning in the context of Dionysiac ritual. On ram sacrifice to Dionysos, see E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin, 1953), p. 17.

86. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1576. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 117.

87. Panther: Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 55, pl. 11.3. Stag: Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 106–109, pls. 20.3–4, 21.3–4. Deer, and particularly fawns, are the Dionysiac victims par excellence. They are torn apart and



Figure 12. Lion's-head rhyton. Left side. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1576. Photo, courtesy DAI, Rome.



Figure 13. Bull-calf protome rhyton. Left side. Tokyo, Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum, Akigawa Collection, no inv. number. Photo, D. Widmer, Basel.

tional assailants. These animals are associated with violent death by being torn apart alive, a not-so-veiled reference to the maenadic rite of dismemberment.<sup>88</sup> Likewise, as recently shown by Villanueva-Puig,<sup>89</sup> the boar is part of the Dionysiac bestiary and is a sacrificial victim in this god's ecstatic cult. Bull heads also appear in the rhyton repertory about the middle of the fifth century, long after the sacrifice of bulls by wealthy aristocrats in private ritual had ceased.<sup>90</sup> In the case of a rhyton in the form of a bull-calf protome, in the Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum, Tokyo (fig. 13),<sup>91</sup> the position of the animal's thrown-back neck suggests a ritual bull sacrifice.<sup>92</sup> The reference may be to Dionysos as *tauromorphos*—the god who is slaughtered as a bull<sup>93</sup>—as well as to a new kind of hero who is ritually “slaughtered,” but whose death is merely symbolical: the *mystes*, or initiate into the mystery of death and resurrection now being celebrated at Eleusis and elsewhere under the auspices of the hero-god.<sup>94</sup> In terms of the social history of religion, it would appear that the soteriological, ecstatic, and visionary imagery of the Dionysiac initiation rite has replaced the imagery of the aristocratic hero *arete* that characterized earlier rhyton production.

A sleek Laconian hound is contributed by the potter Sotades (figs. 14a–c, 15a–b),<sup>95</sup> and, in addition to the aforementioned male animals of clearly Dionysiac connotation, two female sacrificial animals less specifically Dionysiac join the repertory at the middle of the century: sheep (fig. 16) and cows.<sup>96</sup>

There is an interesting and significant statistic that I failed to record in Hoffmann 1966: Deer, goats, griffins, and especially cows and sheep—precisely those parts of the bestiary that enter the Athenian repertory at the middle and end of the fifth century—are the very ones that proliferate most widely in fourth-century South Italy.

devoured raw by the maenads clad in fawnskins (Eur., *Bacch.*), and on a red-figured pelike in the British Museum Dionysos himself is shown holding the bleeding parts of a fawn in each hand. See the fine discussion by E. Simon in *Antike und Abendland* 13 (1967), pp. 105f. Mature stags were more commonly sacrificed to Artemis and Nemesis, and it may be that the rhyta I classified as stags in Hoffmann, *ARR* on the basis of their antlers in fact represent the females of the species. Griffin: Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 54, p. 11.2, no. 118, pl. 22.3.

88. On *sparmagòs* and *omophagia*, see H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris, 1951), pp. 82ff., 254ff.; M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris, 1977); Dodds 1951, pp. 270ff.; Burkert 1977, pp. 251ff.

89. M. C. Villanueva-Puig, “A propos d’une ménade aux sangliers sur une oinochoe à figures noires du British Museum,” *RA*, 1983, pp. 229ff. and esp. p. 257.

90. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 111–113, pls. 19.1–2, 22.1. See also note 91. The bull's-head rhyton illustrated in this paper, figs. 18a–c, can be assigned to Class W. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 68, pl. 12.1 is noteworthy: The head of a ram was changed by the potter into that of a bull. For the former sacrifice of black bulls in the cult of heroes as well as the



Figure 14a. Hound's-head rhyton by the potter Sotades. Right side. Ancona, Museo Nazionale, 1082. Photos, courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, Ancona.

To conclude this section with an interesting oddity: the Attic pig's-head rhyton in Beirut,<sup>97</sup> found at Al Mina in Achaemenian Syria, was made with a boar's-head mold from which the tusks and crest had been deliberately obliterated, converting the mold into that for a pig's head, presumably to meet the requirements of a local pig-sacrificing chthonic cult.

#### THE PAINTED REPRESENTATIONS

One would expect the plastic bestiary of Attic rhyta to correlate in meaning with the painted decoration of the rhyton bowls. In fact this is bound to be the case. Seeing the deeper connection, however, requires a contextual mode of analysis or a quantum leap from iconography to iconology.<sup>98</sup>

dead, see Stengl 1895, p. 424; O. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt* (Hildesheim, 1909–1913), p. 357.

91. E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities* (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), no. 39. According to Simon, the animal is a *moschos*, or bull-calf. Note that this species, while still quite rare in Attic art, becomes common in fourth-century South Italian art—a development shared by other rhyton animals of the Dionysiac bestiary (see here, table 2, and Hoffmann 1966).

92. On sacrifice, see most recently: J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne: Essai d'anthropologie religieuse* (Paris, 1986); idem, "Le boeuf à la ficelle," in *Colloq. Lausanne*, pp. 227ff.

93. See J.-P. Guépin, *The Tragic Paradox* (Amsterdam, 1968), pp. 16ff.; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1978), index, s.v. *toreau*, with bibliography on Dionysos *tauromorphos* on p. 494; Burkert 1977, p. 113f.

94. Burkert 1977, pp. 259f., 432ff. On the mystic character of the religion of Dionysos and the relation to Eleusis, see Nilsson, pp. 565ff.

95. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 52 (called "greyhound" by Beazley, who perhaps did not realize that *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 737, no. 127 and 764, no. 12 are from the same mold). The Sotadean hound may well be a faster edition of his Brygan ancestor; at any rate, he remains first and foremost a



Figure 14b. Front of rhyton, figure 14a.



Figure 14c. Left side of rhyton, figure 14a.

"heroic hunter." Compare this concept with that of the Maltese Spitz, a household pet "offering comfort and consolation," figured on fourth-century Athenian tombstones as well as in Tarentine rhyta (Hoffmann 1966, pls. 26–27).

96. Sheep: Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 41, 67, 72, pl. 13.3; no. 73 (here fig. 16). The preceding were classified as the heads of young rams in Hoffmann, *ARR* on the basis of their budding horns. I would today consider them to represent females. Cows: Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 74–75, pl. 13.1–2 and 4; no. 96, pl. 17.3–4. On the double sacrifice of sheep and cows—the inverse of rams and bulls—generally to female divinities, see the important discussion in Kron 1976, p. 36. Note that these two species are favored for mass-production in fourth-century South Italy.

97. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 69, pl. 12.3. Cf. also no. 70. The only other pig's-head rhyton known to me is a modern forgery: V. Cianfarani, "Rhyton della Collezione Gorga," *Boll. d'Arte*, 1957, pp. 104ff., figs. 1–3.

98. See E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1955); S. C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London, 1978), pp. 86, 109ff., esp. p. 120f.; H. Hoffmann, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979), pp. 61ff.



Figure 15a. Hound's-head rhyton by the potter Sotades. Front. Paris, Petit Palais, 354. Photos, courtesy Ville de Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.



Figure 15b. Left side of hound's-head rhyton, figure 15a.

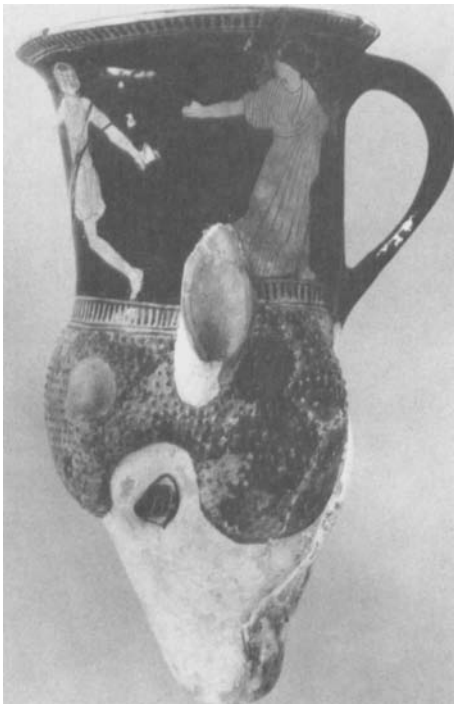


Figure 16. Sheep's-head rhyton. Left side. Athens, National Museum, 15880. Photo, courtesy DAI, Athens, E. M. Czako.

The animal heads of *early-group* rhyta were shown in the preceding section to reflect aristocratic concerns, in particular banqueting and sacrifice as ideal occupations. These themes are omnipresent also in the painted imagery of the majority of *early-group* examples. Of these the most remarkable is the Virginia Museum's ram's head bearing the name of Charinos (figs. 17a–b) on which the eponymous heroes are shown dining together. They hold kantharoi, which, as Robert Guy has pointed out, refer to their special heroic status.<sup>99</sup> A donkey's head in Naples, from the same workshop as the preceding two, features *paiderastia* and pious offerings as exemplary aristocratic activities. A boy is shown sacrificing on one side of the rhyton's bowl, while on the other side Eros is seen bringing a hare as a "love gift" to the tomb. Whereas two palaestra scenes on *early-group* rhyta<sup>100</sup> can be thought of as belonging to the mainstream of rhyton imagery typical for the first half of the fifth century, three satyr-maenad encounters,<sup>101</sup> a pursuit of a mortal

99. R. Guy, "A Ram's Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos," *Arts in Virginia* 21 (Winter 1981), pp. 2ff., figs. 1–13; D. Metzler (note 34), pp. 101f.

100. True (note 28), figs. 12–14; Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 24 may be another example.

101. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 5, pl. 2.1; no. 10, pl. 3.1.



Figure 17a. Footed ram's-head rhyton inscribed *Charinos epoiesen*. Left side. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 79.100, The Williams Fund. Photos, courtesy Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.



Figure 17b. Rim decoration of rhyton, figure 17a.



Figure 18a. Bull's-head rhyton. Right side. Formerly Palladion Ancient Art Gallery, Basel, Switzerland. Photos, D. Widmer, Basel.



Figure 18b. Left side of rhyton, figure 18a.



Figure 18c. Front of rhyton, figure 18a.

by a divinity,<sup>102</sup> and a geranomachy<sup>103</sup> (“reverse world” parody of aristocratic warfare and of the heroic hunt?) seem to reflect a new and different ideology, thereby anticipating the mid-century development. Surprisingly, there are no scenes of hunting on any extant *early-group* rhyta.

From about the middle of the century onward a shift of interest can be detected in the imagery of Attic rhyta, which, as developed in the preceding section, is reflected also by the species of the animal heads selected for representation. Banqueting scenes all but disappear from the numerically greatly increased *middle group*. They now account for only two<sup>104</sup> of a total of twenty-six examples and do not appear again on rhyta for the rest of the century. Scenes of aristocratic virtue have likewise all but vanished.<sup>105</sup> Scenes of sublimated erotic interest, on the other hand, are on the increase (six examples).<sup>106</sup> The topos “pursuit of a mortal by a divinity,” which Sophia Kaempff-Dimitriadou<sup>107</sup> has shown to reflect a trend away from communal and social concerns and toward individualism and eschatological orientation, be-

102. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 18, pl. 4.1–2.

103. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 9, pl. 2.4.

104. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 83, 121, pl. 23.1–2.

105. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 69, pl. 12.3; no. 72, pl. 13.3; no. 99 bis. A similar conclusion is reached in H.-G. Hollein, “Bürgerbild und Bildwelt der attischen Demokratie auf den rotfigurigen Vasen des VI bis IV Jhs. v. Chr.” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1985).

106. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 34, 77, pl. 14.4; nos. 79 (?), 81, pl. 14.2; no. 87, pl. 15.3–4; nos. 88, 94, pl. 16.3–4; no. 116.

107. *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v.*

*Chr. AntK*, Beiheft 11 (1979). Cf. also the review by the writer in *Gnomon* 52 (1980), pp. 744ff.

108. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 33, pl. 6.4; nos. 41, 52, 75, pl. 13.4; no. 86, pl. 15.1–2 (excerpt of a pursuit or, rather, a glyph for such); no. 116. No. 120, pl. 23.3–4 (“satyr pursuing maenad”), now discussed as “Zeus in satyr disguise pursuing Antiope (?)” in E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallos: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York, 1985), pp. 341ff., fig. 289, an interpretation which seems to me probable and preferable to my own.

109. Formerly Palladion Ancient Art Gallery, Basel.



Figure 19a. Footed donkey's-head rhyton. Front. Paris, Musée du Louvre, H 71. Photos, Chuzeville.



Figure 19b. Left side of rhyton, figure 19a.

come popular now: six out of twenty-six examples feature mythological pursuits, generally of a female.<sup>108</sup>

The most significant innovation in this period is the incursion of Dionysiac imagery, which amounts to nothing short of an “iconographic explosion.” Twenty-five (a third) of all extant mid-fifth-century Attic rhyta feature scenes relating to Dionysos and his entourage. Satyrs and women in rapid pursuit and flight are the most common topic (see figs. 18a–c).<sup>109</sup> At times the satyrs and women run *together*, and the interaction between them resembles a joyous carnival more than an antagonistic clash;<sup>110</sup> at other times the atmosphere is solemn, and there are hints of maenadic initiation rites.<sup>111</sup> Where Dionysos himself is represented,<sup>112</sup> a distinct change in mood can be discerned vis à vis earlier

110. Cf., for example, Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 96, pl. 173–4.

111. E.g., Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 51, pl. 12.1; no. 92, pl. 22.2; no. 93, pl. 16.1–2. Also perhaps no. 31, pl. 6.1–2. For related imagery, cf. now C. Bérard and C. Bron, “Bacchos au Coeur de la Cité: Le Thiasse dionysiaque dans l’espace politique,” in *L’Association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes. Collection de l’Ecole Française de Rome* 89 (1986), pp. 13ff., figs. 1–12; C. Bron, “Porteurs de thyrses ou bacchants,” in *Colloq. Lausanne*, pp. 145ff., figs. 1–14.

112. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 28, pl. 11.2; no. 63, pl. 12.4; nos. 90, 93 (?), pl. 16.1–2; no. 101, pl. 18.2–3; no. 116, 19.1–2.



Figure 20. Detail of ram's-head rhyton by the potter Sotades. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 95.38. Photo, courtesy Museum of Fine Arts.



representations. Whereas formerly (on other vase-shapes) the god was generally shown remote and aloof from his company of satyrs and maenads—these usually undifferentiated, dancing, sometimes standing—a bond of intimacy now links the divinity with his retinue. On a fragmentary Penthesilean rhyton in Adria,<sup>113</sup> Dionysos seizes the fleeing Ariadne by the arm in a variation on the “pursuit of a mortal by a divinity” theme, and on a stemmed donkey’s-head rhyton in the Louvre (figs. 19a–b)<sup>114</sup> a novice, or maenad-to-be, wrapped in her mantle and with covered hands,<sup>115</sup> sits spellbound in the presence of the god himself or his mortal minister, who hands her a thyrsos as the pledge of her initiation. Initiation is also the subject of the Sotadean ram’s head in Boston (fig. 20),<sup>116</sup> there perhaps as a funerary paradigm. The scene, depicting a seated youth tightly wrapped in his mantle facing a bareheaded goddess holding shield and spear, seems to me to refer to a rite of passage: from the uninitiated boy to the adult warrior and hence from living citizen to dead hero, the passage-imagery implicit in the ram’s-head shape is thus reflected also in the painted decoration.

The implicit meanings of three geranomachies, one by the Sotades Painter and two in his manner,<sup>117</sup> as well as of three “kings” (two of them running),<sup>118</sup> will be discussed in my forthcoming monograph on Sotades.

The conceptual framework of the scenes delineated above can be described as mystic and eschatological. Popular interest has shifted away from the concern with civic *arete* to more individual preoccupations, in particular the quest for personal (transcendental) fulfillment in Dionysiac *enthousiasmos*, the divine frenzy induced by certain kinds of music, wine, and the use of drugs.<sup>119</sup> The cryptically veiled mystic affirmations discernible in the painted decoration of some mid-century Athenian rhyta become more explicit as the century progresses; indeed one has the impression that the delicate mysticism of a Sotades Painter<sup>120</sup> gives way in the *late group* to routine devotional imagery in the service of established cult. Typical for the period after 430 B.C. are scenes of an obviously eschatological nature, such as the mistress and maid on a Group W bull’s-head

rhyton in Naples,<sup>121</sup> which finds direct parallels in contemporary funerary sculpture.

The thirty-two Attic rhyta preserved from this period represent the final flowering of the shape in Attic ceramics. The decoration of the majority of these is tinged with the perfumed eastern exoticism of Dionysiac mystery religion common in Athenian vase-painting of the late fifth century.<sup>122</sup> On a stemmed Group W ram’s head in Salerno,<sup>123</sup> the Persian king—or is he Sabazios in the guise of an oriental monarch?—appears. He is attended by Nike, who hands him a drinking horn, and by a Persian youth holding a *flabellum* of the type used for fanning pontiffs throughout the ages. The grypomachy on the bowl of the white griffin head in Naples<sup>124</sup> also belongs in this exotic Dionysiac context; so, too, the oriental fending off the attack of a griffin that has leapt onto the back of his rearing horse on a rhyton in Leningrad.<sup>125</sup> These latter images are mystically encoded allusions to *sparmagòs*, the tearing of live victims in the Dionysiac sacrificial rite, which in the preceding section was said to be suggested also by the selection of certain animals—griffins, panthers, lion cubs, bulls—for the plastic part of these vessels. Thus the painted grypomachy on the Naples rhyton can be thought of as “corresponding” to the plastic configuration of the same vessel, a griffin head. These are Attic predecessors of a type of imagery that would soon become extremely common in Orphic South Italy.<sup>126</sup> On other rhyta of this group, the reclining deity presides while a maenad dances in his presence or hands him his drinking horn.<sup>127</sup> In addition there are an Eros pursuing a woman,<sup>128</sup> two dwarfs with a hound on a lead (a “reverse world” hunt?),<sup>129</sup> and some single-figure scenes that can be thought of as variants, abbreviations, or excerpts of scenes that we have previously considered: Nike (thrice),<sup>130</sup> Eos (“pursuit of a mortal by a divinity”),<sup>131</sup> and a very fragmentary oriental youth. On a fine Group W stag’s head in Basel (figs. 21a–b),<sup>132</sup> a lone woman standing pensively between floral scrolls is characterized by these as a dead person or an inhabitant of paradise.<sup>133</sup> The three remaining rhyta of Group W feature a further reduction of symbols: the woman is

113. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 90.

114. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 93, pl. 16.1–2. Now C. Bron, *Colloq. Lausanne*, 146 and fig. 4 (“homme barbu et couronné, ressemblant à Dionysos”).

115. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 27, pl. 6.3.

116. On Athena μῆτις in the ephebic initiation rite, see K. Kerényi, “Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion: Eine Studie über Pallas Athena,” *Albae Vigiliae* 12 (1952), pp. 45, 51 and index.

117. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 38, 46, 49, pl. 10.1.

118. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 33, pl. 6.4; no. 43, pl. 10.2; no. 52. On this and related iconography, see most recently C. Sourvinou-Inwood,

“A Series of Pursuits: Images and Meanings,” *JHS* 108 (1987); idem, “Menace and Pursuit: Differentiation and the Creation of Meaning,” in *Colloq. Lausanne*, pp. 41ff., figs. 1–7.

119. See Burkert 1977, pp. 251ff., 432ff.; Dodds 1951, pp. 270ff.

120. See H. Hoffmann, *Sotades* (forthcoming).

121. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 114, pl. 19.3–4.

122. See Metzger (note 69).

123. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 104, pl. 20.1–2. The reference may be to an investment ritual: see H. Hoffmann and D. Metzler, *Visible Religion*, vol. 5 (forthcoming).

124. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 118, pl. 17.1–2. Alföldi (note 40) was the



Figure 21a. Stag's-head rhyton. Right side. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, 1906.277. Photos, courtesy Antikenmuseum.



Figure 21b. Front of rhyton, figure 21a.

replaced by a single palmette anthemion in the center of the rhyton bowl. Only the akroterion-like ornament—oriental plant of paradise and *sema* (tomb marker) in one—remains.<sup>134</sup>

#### POTTERY RHYTA AS SURROGATES FOR PRECIOUS-METAL ORIGINALS?

Martin Robertson, at a symposium on Greek vases held on the recent occasion of the centenary of Sir John Beazley's birth, made a statement of some consequence for the study of Greek ceramics: "There are Attic shapes

which are based directly on Attic models, the rhyton, for example, and the kantharos is never a regular shape in Attic pottery, so probably when an Attic potter wanted or was asked to produce one, he looked to metal models."<sup>135</sup> This observation—made in the context of a reply to Michael Vickers' recently published thesis according to which Attic ceramic wares represent "down-market" copies of more prestigious objects in precious metal—and the fact that the shapes and decorations of the former depend absolutely on designs produced for the latter<sup>136</sup> bear directly on the final two questions to be

first to recognize the Dionysiac aspect of such representations. For a differing interpretation, cf. K. De Vries, "Attic Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire," *AJA* 82 (1977), p. 546.

125. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 98, pl. 17.1–2.

126. Of interest in this context: "Dionysiac" animals are hunted by Persians on the Xenophantes Painter's squat relief-lekythos in Leningrad, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1407, no. 1.

127. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 111, pl. 19.1–2; no. 117.

128. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 116.

129. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 97.

130. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 102, 106, pl. 21.1–2; no. 116 bis.

131. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 103.

132. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 109, pl. 20.3–4. Now Basel, Antikenmuseum, 1906.277. Thanks to Margot Schmidt for photographs.

133. On the floral scrolls as "Seligkeitszeichen," see J. Thimme, "Vom Sinn der Bilder und Ornamente auf griechischen Vasen," *Antaios* 11 (1970), pp. 489ff., esp. p. 505.

134. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 107, pl. 21.3–4; nos. 108, 110.

135. D. Kurtz, ed., *Beazley and Oxford: Lectures Delivered in Wolfson College, Oxford, 28 June 1985* (Oxford, 1985), p. 23.

136. M. Vickers, "Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery," *JHS* 105 (1985), pp. 108ff., pls. 4–5; idem,



Figure 22a. Achaemenid bronze bull-protome rhyton. Left side. Antikensmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 31158. Photos, Ute Jung.



Figure 22b. Detail of right side of rhyton, figure 22a.

dealt with in the present study: Can Attic pottery rhyta be considered surrogates for precious-metal originals? If they can, how can we define the relation of the surrogate to the original? Without going here into the merits of Vickers' case for all Greek vases copying precious metal, or of Robertson's position that some do (rhyta and kantharoi) but most do not, I should like to see what a closer look at the rhyta from the perspective proposed here can contribute to our understanding of the rhyta themselves.

"Imaginary Etruscans: Changing Perceptions of Etruria Since the Fifteenth Century," *Hephaistos* 7–8 (1985–1986), pp. 153ff., figs. 1–9.

137. Buschor (note 22), pp. 30f.; G. Lippold, "Der Plaste Sotades," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1952, pp. 90ff.; J. Boardman, "The Athenian Pottery Trade," *Expedition* 21 (Summer 1979), p. 35 (rhyta "probably ape finer works in metal").

138. Vickers (note 136).

139. See the discussion of technique given in Hoffmann, *ARR*, pp. 3f. Late fifth-century Attic rhyta of Class W (the Persian Class) are shown in Hoffmann, *ARR* to have been made by taking molds from rhyta made in the Sotadean workshop a half century earlier. Also relevant to this discussion: M. A. Cavallaro, "Un 'tendency' indus-

The assumption that Greek pottery rhyta are in some way related to rhyta made of bronze or precious metal has been voiced from time to time in the past by various authorities writing on the shape,<sup>137</sup> and this supposition was, in fact, considered to be so self-evident as to make any further discussion unnecessary. The formulations employed to characterize the nature of the relationship between the pottery rhyta and their purported metal models have generally been open and unspecific, "influenced by," "related to," "derived from," and "based on"

triale e la tradizione storiografica su Agatocle," *Historia* 26 (1977), pp. 33ff. (I owe this reference to Dieter Metzler); S. Holo, "Unpublished Apulian Rhyta," *GettyMusJ* 1 (1974), pp. 85ff., figs. 1–23.

140. On the concept of "generations," see Hoffmann, *ARR*, p. 12 and n. 20.

141. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> (1981), p. 362, line 15 (brought to my attention by Michael Vickers).

142. Cast-metal votive rhyta might also have served as models. The small East Greek bronze rhyton dedicated to Hera by Diagoras found in 1965 in the Heraion on Samos (G. Kopcke, *AM* 83 [1968], p. 290; *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980, no. 140; Muscarella [note 44], p. 193, where the

(as Robertson, above) being the terms most frequently used. Vickers himself<sup>138</sup> uses “evoked,” “closely related,” “influenced by,” “inspired by,” “imitating,” and “depended on” when speaking of Athenian painted pottery in relation to metallic forms generally. The word “copy” occurs in his text only once in connection with his argument that Athenian vase-painters “copied” the colors of metal and ivory vases, not in reference to shape.

With rhyta the case is entirely different. Pottery rhyta are quite literally and obviously “mechanical copies” of “originals” inasmuch as they were series-produced with a mold from a positive model—whether a solid-core terracotta patris or a hammered sheet-metal rhyton, or perhaps both, remains to be considered.<sup>139</sup>

In fact it has been shown that Athenian pottery rhyta were frequently copied mechanically from finished pottery rhyta still on the potter’s shelf. The existence of replica “generations”<sup>140</sup> of rhyta makes it evident that the reproductive technique of taking casts of finished products was commonly employed by Kerameikos potters throughout the fifth century B.C. From there the step to using precious-metal rhyta as production models was not a great one. The golden rhyta mentioned in the Parthenon inventory of 434/433<sup>141</sup>—whether of Greek or Persian make—are ample proof that such models existed and were available.<sup>142</sup>

The question posed by Vickers for Greek vases generally—are they originals or copies?—could therefore, when applied to rhyta, be paraphrased to read: Was the copying of precious-metal rhyta in pottery a *common practice*? And further: Are the majority of surviving Attic rhyta mechanically derived from metal prototypes, or are they more generally speaking “influenced by” or “based on” such? A careful stylistic analysis—the comparison, with an eye to fine details, of the pottery rhyta with such metal examples of the shape as exist—can, I think, help us answer these focal questions.

Before undertaking such an analysis, it will be necessary to distinguish clearly between three principal types of Attic rhyta, for each has its own morphology, and what applies to one type need not apply to the other.

object is said to be Persian, “maybe Achaemenian or slightly earlier”) goes typologically with the terracotta rhyta. Like these, it is purely votive and symbolic. The calf’s-head rhyton of cast bronze in Berlin, Hoffmann 1966, pp. 123f, pl. 1, is, I now believe, a *model* for the repoussé production of rhyta in precious metal. The object, which lacks a handle and never had one, is rough on the inside. It has a round hole in the muzzle, where the spout goes. The fact that the object is a model helps explain the negative kymation at the rim in which Robert Zahn saw “an ornament misunderstood by the artist.” Votive rhyta of precious metal may have had the status of *sacra* in the funerary cult and have been treated with the reverence accorded to sacred relics. This would better than “stylistic conservatism” explain the mechanical

The two earliest types are the *straight rhyta* and the *bent rhyta on stands*, or *stemmed rhyta*, and these may be considered as two parallel series throughout the development. The third type, *bent rhyta without stands*, comes in at the middle of the century, remains rare until the century’s end, and then becomes the dominant type in fourth-century South Italy. A fourth type, the *horn rhyta*, will be discussed briefly at the very end, since it is peripheral to this inquiry.

The earliest Attic pottery rhyta are of the first two types, good examples being the Brygans and the Dourians (figs. 3, 10).<sup>143</sup> Their metal prototypes would have been well adapted for drinking, especially when provided with a liner, for these rhyta are, in effect, tankards. In Hoffman 1961 I described the stemmed rhyta as an uneasy compromise between a Persian rhyton and an Attic drinking vessel. The (standless) Persian rhyta that these Athenian creations awkwardly imitate were of metal (figs. 22a–b).<sup>144</sup> When Greek silversmiths equipped them with a stand (i.e., assimilated the model to a Greek kantharos), they obviously did so to adapt the model to a different use. More will be said about this in the following section, where the third and fourth types will also be discussed.

Brygan donkey’s and the hound’s head (fig. 3) give every impression of being modeled sculptures rather than derivations from a hammered-metal original. In the hound’s heads in particular much of the lifelike effect of these sculptures derives from the free-hand modeling, or reshaping, of the cylindrical bowl to indicate the animal’s anatomy. There is nothing in any of these rhyta that can be said to betray the typical hallmarks of repoussé metal production which one would expect to find transmitted if these works were made with casts taken from precious-metal originals.<sup>145</sup> With the Dourian lions (figs. 10a–b) and with the vultures the case is somewhat different. The lion’s-head rhyta feature a small animal head quite in the tradition of the earlier black-figured one-handled kantharoi,<sup>146</sup> for which a metal prototype can almost certainly be assumed. It is framed by a molded ruff on which flamelocks are depicted with

reproduction in South Italy of Athenian rhyta that are older by more than a century.

143. Hoffmann, *ARR*, pp. 10ff., 13ff., pls. 2–5.1–2.

144. Cf. the list given by Muscarella (note 44), p. 193.

145. In all the Brygans—rams, donkeys, and hounds alike—the ears are artfully hand-modeled, no pair being quite like the other, and they are attached so as to merge organically with the mold-made part.

146. Most recently, D. C. Kurtz, in H. Brijder, ed., *Proceedings of the Second International Vase Symposium Amsterdam, 1984* (Amsterdam, 1985), p. 371.

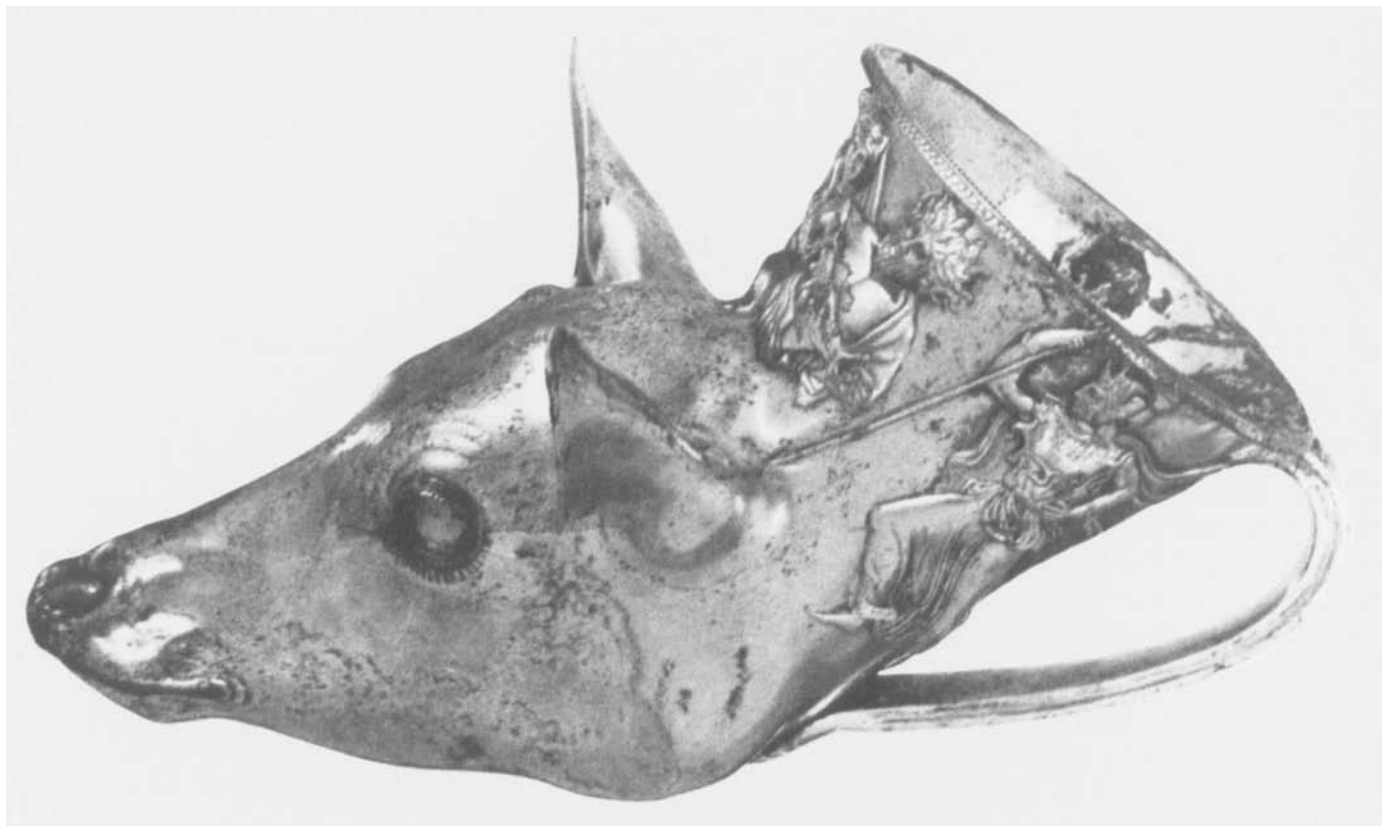


Figure 23. Gilt-silver deer's-head rhyton from Tarentum. Left side. Trieste, Museo Civico, no inv. number (from *Antike und Abendland* 13 [1967], plate opposite p. 101).



Figure 24. Deer's-head rhyton. Right side. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 872. Photo, Phototèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.

short glazelines in a manner imitating engraving on gold or silver, and in addition it is double-walled at the head end, a reflection of the inner liner of the metal original that is quite unnecessary in clay.<sup>147</sup>

The Dourian vulture's head with its broad and scantily articulated contours likewise gives the impression of copying precious metal. Here again, the painted surface details imply a metal model with incised linear details: The feathers are a meticulous pattern of ribbed scales suggestive of chased gold and silver plate,<sup>148</sup> and the teardrop-shaped depression framing the bird's eyes suggests an inlay in a contrasting material.

In Hoffman 1966 I compared the numerous bent rhyta of Class W with surviving examples of gold and silver rhyta found in Thrace, South Russia, and Tarentum, some of which are contemporary with the latest Attic pottery rhyta. I concluded that the pottery examples are for the large part not replicas of metal originals. A point made in support of this conclusion is worth repeating:

The goldsmith's repoussé technique is better adapted for the rendering of ornament than anatomy, the contours of animal heads in gold and silver tend to be broad and faceted, rather than subtly structured. . . . The shiny surface of gold and silver, moreover, tends to obscure the finer details of modeling; for this reason details such as fleece, whorls of fur, eyebrows, etc., in a hammered rhyton are invariably indicated with the chasing or engraving tool.<sup>149</sup>

A comparison of the stag's and deer's heads of Class W (see figs. 21a–b, 24)<sup>150</sup> with the (approximately contemporary) silver deer's-head rhyton found at Tarentum (fig. 23)<sup>151</sup> or the (later) golden stag's-head rhyton from Panagurishte<sup>152</sup> still bears out my contention of 1966 that Class W pottery rhyta are modeled sculptures. Only the head of a fawn with budding horns, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 24),<sup>153</sup> can be thought of as possibly reflecting hammered metal.

As further evidence for modeled over hammered, the various animal heads of Class W rhyta—rams, stags, deers, and bulls—have sufficient idiosyncrasies of style in common to permit their attribution to a single potter-coro-plast, quite probably yet another specialist in plastic vases. This alone would seem to rule out the possibility of these objects being mechanically derived from metalware. The Paris fawn, which can be thought of as

perhaps copying a hammered-metal rhyton, seems to remain the exception.

The general inference that can be drawn from the preceding analysis is that the question of whether or not Attic pottery rhyta copy metalwork cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. Some would seem to, others do not. I leave it for others to decide whether some of what has been said above might apply also to the kantharos, the phiale, the kylix, the amphora, the situla, the stamnos, the psykter, the hydria, and even the various shapes of krater—all of which also exist in metal versions.<sup>154</sup>

#### "TRUE" RHYTA

#### AND THE DIONYSIAC SYMPOSIUM

Having reached these preliminary conclusions, I would like to shift the level of this inquiry from the question of "original" versus "copy" to another—possibly more rewarding—plane of investigation. It seems to me that the function of Greek painted pottery in general, and of the rhyta and kantharoi in particular, has not been sufficiently explored. For the rhyta the question as to why in the first place some should have been made of clay and others of gold and silver has not yet really been asked, let alone answered. Is it simply that the former are the "downmarket" or "poor man's" version of the latter, or is there another, more fundamental distinction?

Reconsidering the first two types of rhyta as we have just described them, it begins to dawn on one that whereas both are drinking vessels with heroic connotations, metal originals of the third type, the bent, or "true" rhyta, cannot be drinking vessels at all. They are open at both ends, that is to say pierced or spouted for the flow of liquid, thus corresponding quite literally to the etymology of the ancient name for this shape: *ruton* or *rutos*, from *rusis*, meaning "flowing" (Athen. 11.497e). They are, in other words, theriomorphic funnels. All metal bent rhyta that have survived—both Greek and Achaemenian—have this function, while with few exceptions,<sup>155</sup> all Greek pottery examples do *not*, since they are closed at the lower end. Hence when Athenaeus at 11.497e quotes Dorotheos of Sidon as saying that rhyta have a hole in them from which liquid spurts, it is clear that metal rhyta are meant.

147. Cf. True (note 27), p. 93.

148. Cf. for example Vickers-Impey-Allan, pl. 7, bottom.

149. Hoffmann 1966, p. 107.

150. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 106–109, pl. 204; pl. 21.

151. Good illustrations in E. Simon, "Boreas und Oreithyia auf dem silbernen Rhyton in Trieste," *Antike und Abendland* 13 (1967), colorplate and figs. 1–5.

152. Now *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*, British Museum, London, 1976, nos. 353–359, 544, 547 (catalogue by I. Venedikov).

153. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 106, pl. 21.1–2.

154. See Vickers (note 136) and Vickers-Impey-Allan, pls. 1–8.

155. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 69, pl. 12.3 (from Achaemenid Syria), no. 96, pl. 17.3–4.



Figure 25. Gilt-silver deer's-head rhyton from Rosovec. Front. Sofia, National Museum, B 49 (from *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*, no. 314).



Figure 26. Gold and silver rhyton of the fifth century B.C. from Russia. Left side (from Leskov, *Сокровища кырганов Адыгеи*, pl. 13).

Let us, then, look again at the second type, the *bent rhyta on stands*, such as the Sabouroff rhyton in Berlin (figs. 1a–b) with which we began our investigation. Is it simply that the Greek potter “made the Persian rhyton fit his notion of what a drinking vessel ought to be,”<sup>156</sup> or is there possibly more to it than that? In order to answer this question, the historic and cultural context needs to be considered.

156. Hoffmann 1961, p. 22.

157. From Nicolas Chauvin of Rochefort, a soldier of the First Republic and Empire, whose demonstrative patriotism and attachment to Napoleon came to be ridiculed by his comrades (*Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*).

158. See Kron 1976. On the reform of Kleisthenes, see C. Meier, *Die Entstehung des politischen Denkens bei den Griechen* (Hamburg, 1980), pp. 91ff., and the bibliography given in n. 2; P. Levêque and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Clisthène l'Athénien* (Paris, 1964).

159. *Ibid.*

160. Burkert 1977, pp. 316f. and n. 39.

161. Burkert 1977, p. 315; Nock 1944. C. Börker, *Festbankett und griechische Architektur* (Berlin, 1983), dealing with the fifteen banquet-

Both the straight and the stemmed rhyta appear in Athenian ceramics at precisely the time when the cults of the mythological heroes are being revived and hero-banquets reinstated with a conscious political intention. By firing the patriotism (read chauvinism<sup>157</sup>) of the Athenians in the wake of their great victory over the Persians, the successors of Kleisthenes hoped to break the power of the old noble families and to fuse the

ing rooms (with space for seven klinai each), dating from the middle of the fifth century, recently excavated in the Athenian South Stoa, was unfortunately not available to me at the time of writing.

162. Gatz 1967, p. 11.

163. Kron 1976, pp. 35, 242ff. Cf. also Burkert 1977, pp. 312ff. and the important discussion by M. Andronikos in “Totenkult,” *Archeologica Homerica*, vol. 3 (Göttingen, 1968), pp. 126ff.

164. Hoffmann 1961, p. 25. For a different view, cf. M. Vickers, “Attic Symposia after the Persian Wars,” in O. Murray, ed., *Symptica* (Oxford, 1985).

165. For the idealization of the “good old times,” see also Dörrie 1972; Gladigow 1974.

166. Hoffmann, *ARR*, no. 51, pl. 12.2; G. M. Gabrini, *Numana*:

various mutually exclusive kinship groups of Athens into a cohesive social and political unity, the democratic city-state. The reorganization of Attica into ten *phylai*, each with its own eponymous hero, was the single most important political act associated with this undertaking.<sup>158</sup> Concurrently, the ancient cults attached to these heroes were reinstated or, where they never existed, newly instituted.<sup>159</sup> In 475 B.C. followed the exhumation and reinterment of Theseus' bones.<sup>160</sup> It is in this broad context that we must also see the great importance now attached to public banquets celebrating the Bronze Age heroes<sup>161</sup> and, linked with these, the importance of the rhyta.

What Bronze Age heroes have in common is their great antiquity<sup>162</sup> and the fact that in Classical times they were most commonly visualized as banqueters at an "eternal symposium." What rhyta and kantharoi have in common is that they belong to the earliest and most venerable of Aegean vase-shapes and that by the fifth century, at the latest, they were associated with heroes. As more becomes known about the unbroken continuity of Bronze Age cult practices into historical times,<sup>163</sup> does it not seem conceivable and even likely that drinking from precious-metal rhyta and kantharoi in conscious allusion to the drinking vessels used by the heroes themselves should have constituted a major feature of the ritual banquets instituted at this time to commemorate heroes of the past, and that Athenian banqueters on such occasions would have offered toasts to their heroes out of the heroes' own "special" drinking vessels?

Seen in historical context, then, the appearance of pottery rhyta in Athens at the end of the Archaic period is surely significant, and of greater potential historic interest than the "instance of Persianism" on which I had previously concluded. Without wishing to deny the importance of Persian models, and possibly of the spoils of Plataea,<sup>164</sup> for the initial troytic production, I am today inclined to believe that the ideal of the Persian banquet, not simply the influence of foreign banqueting parapher-

nal, may at this momentous time in Athenian history have served to remind the Athenians of their own "golden," or heroic, past.<sup>165</sup>

The final step in the history of Attic rhyta will now be considered, namely the introduction of the *stemless bent rhyta*, which make their appearance in Attic ceramics at the middle of the fifth century, coincidental with a general explosion of Dionysiac imagery (in the plastic bestiary and in painted decoration). The hound's head by the potter Sotades, a specialist in plastic vases (figs. 14a–b),<sup>166</sup> seems to be the earliest extant example of this new type. It dates from about 450 B.C. From this time onward the shape, although remaining relatively rare,<sup>167</sup> coexists with the more common stemmed variety.<sup>168</sup>

Surprisingly, among fourth-century South Italian rhyta the ratio of stemmed to stemless is reversed: the latter are the rule; those with stems are rarities.<sup>169</sup> The meaning behind this puzzling statistic will, I think, shortly become clear.

When pottery bent rhyta do away with stands, this can only mean that their metal prototypes have done so also and have been provided with spouts to flow again. (A fair number of the latter, dating from the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., have in fact survived, the best-known examples being the gilt-silver deer's heads from Tarentum and Rosovec, in the museums of Trieste and Sofia respectively) (figs. 23, 25).<sup>170</sup> I interpret this to mean that whereas the rhyta used in the manner of tankards (i.e., drunk from over the rim) at the hero-banquets of "Athens' golden age" were straight rhyta and stemmed rhyta (i.e., types 1 and 2, fig. 26)<sup>171</sup>, a third type, the stemless bent rhyta, or "true" rhyta, was now probably being used in the manner originally connected with this shape. Specifically, what I am suggesting is that these "true" rhyta, made of metal and pierced for the flow of liquid, were employed in a modified banqueting rite centering on the passing of wine through an animal head or protome prior to its libational use and eventual consumption, very probably corresponding to the Persian and Thracian use of the shape.<sup>172</sup>

*Vasi Attici da Collezioni* (Rome, 1984), no. 37, pls. 23, 24a.

167. Cf. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 112, 113, 124. The Brygan hounds and donkeys (Hoffmann, *ARR*, pls. 2.3–4; 3) are not bent, or "true," rhyta typologically speaking since their curvature—reverse to that of the latter—is not functionally motivated to promote the flow of liquid in an arching stream. In other words, the metal originals of these were tankards rather than funnels.

168. Hoffmann, *ARR*, nos. 93–95, 100, 104–105, 114.

169. Cf. Hoffmann 1966, no. 156, pl. 17.3–4; no. 359, pl. 37.3.

170. A partial list of precious-metal rhyta is given in Hoffmann 1966, p. 141 nn. 10–11. In recent years the number of extant examples has increased substantially.

171. See above (note 165).

172. See below (note 195). See also E. Simon, *AntK* 3 (1960), pp. 3ff., esp. p. 7. While I do not concur with Simon's monosemantic interpretations of the individual rhyta, her discussion of the function of these vessels as a group in some ways anticipates the conclusions I have reached in this paper. A spectacular recent South Russian find, brought to my attention by Michael Vickers after this article had gone to press, confirms the correctness of the assumption that the metal originals of the stemmed pottery rhyta were tankards rather than funnels: It is an Attic silver tankard in the shape of a winged horse protome with golden attachments. The bowl is decorated in relief with heroic combat motifs dating the object stylistically to about 400 B.C. A. Leskov, *Сокровища кырганов Адыгеи* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 31ff., pls. 13–15.



The manipulation of “true” rhyta in Classical Athens is familiar to us from a number of representations: on vases and gemstones and especially on the so-called banquet reliefs.<sup>173</sup> As in Persia and in Thrace, they were always used in conjunction with phialai—hand bowls of Persian form, often fluted and nearly always libational.<sup>174</sup> When the wine was poured from an oinochoe held by an attendant into the rhyton held aloft in the banqueter’s left hand, the vessel’s bent or curving form permitted the liquid to flow through it and spurt in an arching jet into the bowl held at a lower level.

The fuller significance of this seemingly circuitous deployment can only be surmised. I would today assume it to have been primarily a ritual manipulation, and not simply an “improving [of] the flavour of the wine” (as I once pragmatically suggested).<sup>175</sup> Rituals of pouring from a theriomorphic vessel were long familiar in the Near East and in the ancient Mediterranean,<sup>176</sup> and the pouring from rhyta cannot be totally divorced from this tradition. The flowing of animal blood was of paramount importance both in the hero cult and in the cult of the dead,<sup>177</sup> as was the flowing of wine and oil (corresponding to the ancient belief that the dead must be kept moist).<sup>178</sup> The flowing of wine through an animal head or protome would, in an age of surrogate offerings, have been thought of as simulating the flow of blood through an animal’s body, thereby symbolically perpetuating the

bloody sacrifice. The visual context of these representations is, by the late fifth century, mostly Dionysiac, and the evidence suggests that the ritual context was a banquet of Dionysos, the existence of which has long been surmised<sup>179</sup> and which needs to be more fully explored.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding, while hardly new or startling, is that in Classical times the ancient hero cult came to merge with the cult of Thracian Dionysos.<sup>180</sup> Jane Harrison’s contention to this effect, discussed at the outset of this paper, would seem to be confirmed also by the evidence of the rhyta.

#### IMBIBING DIONYSOS

Although it may be that “true” rhyta of precious metal served not for drinking but for the pouring of libations to the dead and to the chthonic divinities as in Minoan-Mycenaean times,<sup>181</sup> I do not think that this was generally the case. While there is some evidence (mostly from the fourth century and non-Athenian) that rhyta were occasionally employed in banqueting rites honoring other deities,<sup>182</sup> the material remains from Attica, in particular the Late Classical Athenian painted vases, suggest, rather, that Dionysos was at the center of the banqueting ritual at which these vessels were put to use. Wine was believed to aid the state of *entheos*.<sup>183</sup>—becoming one with the deity—peculiar to the cult of Dionysos, and through the use of wine, with or without

173. *Attic vases*: a few examples are listed in Hoffmann 1961, n. 44; in addition to these, Walter Burkert calls my attention to the volute-krater, Athens, National Museum, 14624, on which a reclining hero holding a rhyton (“kaum ein bärtiger Dionysos” [Burkert]) is shown receiving offerings. *Gemstones*: a gemstone in the Cabinet des Médailles figuring a Centaur pouring from a rhyton into a phiale is believed to reproduce a lost painting by Zeuxis, active circa 435–390 B.C.; P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (Munich, 1983), p. 148 n. 120, pl. 35.11. *Banquet reliefs*: R. N. Thönges-Stringaris, “Das griechische Totenmahl,” *AM* 80 (1985), pls. 9, 14.

174. See H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Würzburg, 1939); E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin, 1953). For an instance of drinking from a phiale in a clearly ritual context, see M. Robertson, “A Muffled Dancer and others,” in A. Cambitoglou, ed., *Festschrift A. D. Trendall* (Sydney, 1977), p. 131 and n. 29; Kron 1976, pp. 72ff., pl. 8.1–2. I am persuaded that Dyfri Williams is right when he suggests, in *Greek Vases* (British Museum, 1985), pp. 47f., that the spout between the forelegs of the sphinx in the sphinx-vase London E 788 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 764, no. 8) would have been used for letting wine flow into a phiale. This manipulation would, however, have been performed with the precious-metal original of which the Sotadean sphinx is a dummy. Otherwise how can one explain the unspouted version (London E 787, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 870, no. 89) from the same burial? The same will apply also to the precious-metal originals of the head-vases: Whereas the extant examples, such as Vickers-Impey-Allan, pl. 22, have spouts, most of the ceramic dummies do not. See J. D. Beazley, “Charinos,” *JHS* 49 (1929), pp. 28ff., figs. 1–26, pls. 1–6. The spouted head-kantharos, New York 27.122.9 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1174, no. 5) is a rarity. See E. Simon, *AntK* 3 (1960), p. 6 n. 18 (“Nach dem Bild oben an der Wandung war diese

Vase vielleicht als Rinngefäß für den Totenkult eines gefallenen Kriegers bestimmt”).

175. Hoffmann 1961, p. 25 and n. 45. The ritual of passing an intoxicant through the head of an animal before proceeding to consume it is known in various ancient and tribal societies and seems to have been a quasi-magical operation. It is the origin of the “consecration of the wine” ritual still practiced in the familiar mass ceremony today.

176. See K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt* (Berlin, 1962).

177. See Stengl (note 62).

178. See R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, Time and Fate* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 272ff.

179. H. R. Immerwahr, “Choes and Chytroi,” *TAPA* 77 (1946), pp. 245ff., discussed the evidence, *Ar.*, *Ach.* 1000ff. and other, for a public banquet for the dead on the second evening of the Anthesteria festival, and *Plut.*, *Praec. ger. reip.* 15, p. 811 D gives evidence for such banquets, called heroic, at about the end of the sixth century. See Nock 1944. The banquet described by Kallimachos as a preparation for the Aiora festival is held by Immerwahr (this note), pp. 254ff., to have been part of a festival of the dead. The *perideipnon*, or ordinary funerary banquet, may on occasion also have been a banquet of Dionysos, who as Lenaïos and god of the Kerameikos was also lord of the dead and of the underworld. See now F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin, 1981), esp. p. 32 and nn. The rhyton and phiale held by Dionysos in his cult image at Elis (E. Simon, *AntK* 3 [1960], p. 7 and n. 23), as well as the Piraeus relief, would seem to be in reference to a banqueting rite in which rhyta were employed. Cf. also Hoffmann 1977, p. 12 (jal-7), with references.

180. See Nilsson, p. 566.

herbal additives, a person became a *bakchos* or *bakche*.<sup>184</sup> *Bakcheuein* did not mean “to revel,” as it is commonly understood, but to have a particular kind of religious experience. In the words of E. R. Dodds, “If you want to be like god you must eat god (or at any rate something which is *theion*). And you must eat him raw and quick, before the blood has oozed from him: only so can you add his life to yours, for the ‘blood is the life.’”<sup>185</sup> The Dionysiac banquet at which rhyta were employed may, then, have been a tamed (and male) alternative for something bloodier: namely the maenadic *sparmaçòs* and *omophagia*, the traditional Dionysiac sacrifice at which small animals were torn apart alive and eaten raw under conditions of ritual intoxication.<sup>186</sup>

Dodds makes the important point that Dionysos “is the principle of unrestrained potency which man envies in the beasts and seeks to assimilate.”<sup>187</sup> The beasts of Dionysos, his *bestiarium*, represent qualities of wildness associated with the god.<sup>188</sup> They are also, however, manifestations of Dionysos.<sup>189</sup> In this sense Dionysos can be considered as having been *imbibed* at his symposium.

While in its mystic and ecstatic essence the use of rhyta in Dionysiac ritual may not have been far removed from the original Minoan-Mycenaean utilization of the shape,<sup>190</sup> the fact that phialai are employed in conjunction with these funnel-vessels once more points unmistakably to the east as the immediate source not only

of the shape but also of the ritual. The new banquet, in which the hero-cult merges with the cult of the dead and all is permeated with Dionysiac rapture (*enthousiasmos*), rests on a Thracian-Iranian and shamanistic substratum. Shamanistic initiation rites featuring dismemberment and resurrection, visits to the dead, the drinking of sacred beverages from animal skulls, and even the use of rhyta for purposes of ecstatic trance<sup>191</sup> form an essential part of Thracian, and ultimately central Asiatic, shamanism in which the collective ecstasy of Dionysos has its roots.<sup>192</sup> The Dionysiac banqueting ritual seems to have reached Athens via Thrace, the Thracian equivalent of Dionysos being the ecstatic Maitreha<sup>193</sup> who drinks (imbibes god) and becomes divine. The popularity in Thrace of such cults of a *Männerbund* type centering on table fellowship (banqueting) and employing rhyta,<sup>194</sup> as well as the fact that the Thracians (unlike the Athenians) in the Classical period were still burying precious metal with their dead, explains why such large numbers of gold and silver rhyta and phialai have been found on Thracian soil.<sup>195</sup>

#### RHYTON DUMMIES FOR THE “SYMPOSIUM OF THE DEAD”?

I have said that bent rhyta of precious metal may have been employed as ritual funnels in Dionysiac symposia at which divine essence was symbolically imbibed. The

181. The use of Minoan and Mycenaean rhyta was first and foremost libational, i.e., for *pouring*, not for drinking. “The ultimate destination of this stream, the ground or another vessel, can only be surmised. . . . It would seem then that the Bronze Age rhyta are used not at all that differently from the way that many of the Attic rhyta were used, as you illustrate, as vessels that transfer a liquid. . . . The situation is very different in the Near East, where animal vessels are often drinking vessels. . . . Their importance in the east cannot be overestimated: they are the drinking vessels of kings and gods and are given as highly prestigious royal gifts.” (Robert Koehl, in a letter).

182. Notably Hekate and Nemesis. See E. Simon, *AntK* 3 (1960), pp. 3ff. Cf. also the find of ninety ivory rhyta in the Parthian temple at Nisa. M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, *The Parthian Rhyta of Nisa* (Florence, 1982), p. 40 (“allusion to a very ancient, nearly obsolete shape . . . used in temples and for burials”). The rhyta, which are decorated with “orgiastic motifs of death and resurrection,” according to the excavators, were used in a syncretistic mystery cult of Dionysos-Sabazios.

183. Dodds 1951, p. 277; Nilsson, pp. 544ff.

184. Dodds 1951, p. 277. On the private mysteries of Dionysos, see esp. Burkert 1977, pp. 432ff.

185. Dodds 1951, p. 277.

186. H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1978), pp. 157ff.; Dodds 1951, pp. 270ff.; Burkert 1977, pp. 251ff.; R. S. Kramer, “Ecstasy and Possession: The Attraction of Women to the Cult of Dionysos,” *HTHR* 72 (1979), pp. 55ff. Cf. the discerning remarks on the sacral use of wine in Vermeule (note 71), pp. 130f. and 189f.

187. E. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* (Oxford, 1944), Introduction.

188. Cf. F. Lissarrague (forthcoming).

189. Nilsson, pp. 538ff.

190. See above (note 181).

191. M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951), pp. 45ff. and n. 3 (on dismemberment and animal transformation); K. Meuli, “Scythica,” in his *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2 (Basel, 1975), pp. 817ff., esp. 828 (on rhyta in Scythian shamanism). The most useful recent work on living shamanistic ritual and art is A. T. Brodzky, R. Danesewich, and U. Johnson, *Stones, Bones and Skin* (Toronto, 1977).

192. See above (note 191).

193. See D. Metzler, in H. Hoffmann and D. Metzler, *Visible Religion*, vol. 5 (forthcoming).

194. A. Fol and I. Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians* (London, 1978), esp. pp. 17ff. (on the Thracian religion). On the gold ring from Glojene (p. 20), the *heros* holds a rhyton as his symbol; likewise on the greave from Agighiol (p. 41). On the use of rhyta in Thracian ritual, see esp. pp. 54ff. On these finds, see also K. Lushey, in R. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Festschrift K. Bittel* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), esp. pp. 313ff. According to Lushey the horse-protome rhyta from Baschova Mogila and Duvanlij are Greek, late fifth century B.C. Recent bibliography on Thracian religion is given in *Kl. Pauly*, s.v. Thraker. Cf. also P. Zazoff, A. Höcker, and L. Schneider, *Thracian Court Ceremony in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries: Gold and Silver from Bulgaria* (1987); I. Marasow, *Ritonite v drevna trakija* (Sofia, 1978). I have seen neither of these publications, brought to my attention by Lambert Schneider.

195. Now J. Dörig, *Les Trésors d'Orfèverie Thrace* (Geneva, 1987), pls. 1–12. A considerable amount of research has been done by Bulgarian and other scholars (see above [note 194]) on the ritual context of the precious-metal rhyta found in Thrace. The picture that has been assembled is fairly coherent: They were employed in “heroic ban-

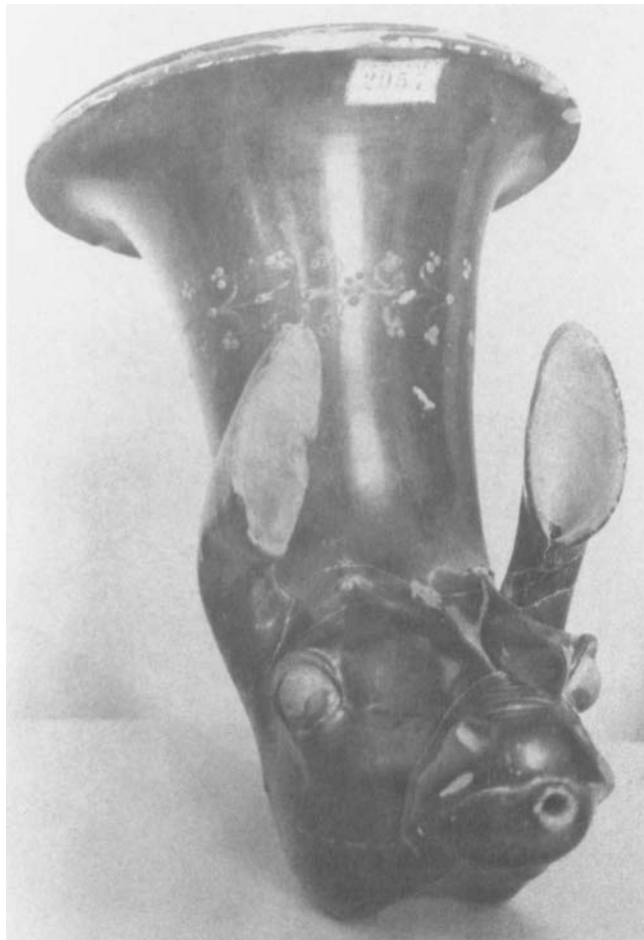


Figure 27. Spouted deer's-head rhyton. Front. Athens, National Museum, 2057. Photo, courtesy National Museum.



Figure 28. Spouted deer's-head rhyton. Right side. Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA 457. Photo, Chuzeville.



Figure 29. Fragmentary spouted hound's-head rhyton. Left side. London, British Museum, 1895.10–26.4. Photo, courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

pottery facsimiles cannot have served the same purpose, for, being closed at the lower end, they did not flow. Nor can they have been used as drinking vessels, since they are poorly adapted to such use.<sup>196</sup> The conclusion that emerges is that Attic bent rhyta of pottery are literally useless. Their only function can have been symbolic, as dummies representing “true” rhyta of precious metal, in other words as glyphs referring to the Dionysiac symposium.

As funeral furniture, the earthenware surrogates referred to the ritual by which the god was actualized and thereby expressed hope for personal immortality by

quets” celebrating Dionysos. A ritual banquet of this sort is shown on the atticizing gilt-silver rhyton of Kotys I (383–360 B.C.). Kotys, who married his daughter to the famous Athenian *condottiere* Iphikrates and himself became an Athenian citizen (Dem. 23.118), is seen holding a sphinx rhyton similar to the one found in the same treasure: He has become one with Dionysos. A thiasos of satyrs and maenads in a register above establishes the timeless, or “other-world,” context for the royal symposium. Walter Burkert calls my attention to Hdt. 4.95,3 (Zalmoxis) in connection with this scene.

Preparations for a Dionysiac banquet, with a satyr carrying a krater filled with wine, are shown on the gilt-silver deer's-head rhyton from the Rosovec Treasure. The Rosovec rhyton weighs only 49.5 grams and is very small; accordingly, it must be votive. Atticizing works such as these copy, or are closely influenced by, contemporary Attic rhyta. Their craftsmanship is, however, in all likelihood Thracian, and their weights are in every instance on the Persian standard (information kindly supplied by Michael Vickers).

196. Buschor (note 22), pp. 30f., recognized that “true” (i.e., functional) rhyta were always of metal, and he called attention to the fact that the rim-profiles of many pottery examples make the latter unsuitable as drinking vessels. His vaguely worded statement (p. 29), “Das Gerät . . . das die Heroen ungezählter ‘Totenmahlreliefs’ . . . in der Hand halten, ist uns in silbernen Exemplaren erhalten; dazu in einer Unmenge von tönernen, die zu allermeist, praktisch unverwendbar, des Ausgussloches entbehren und nur als Abbilder der

placing the owner in the same category with the banqueter-divinity.<sup>197</sup> That such rhyta are not pierced and do not flow seems to have been integral to their symbolic and eschatological function, for like the whistles that cannot be blown, familiar from Central American burials, rhyta that do not flow may have been supernatural in essence and meaning precisely because they could not be used by ordinary mortals. Their iconic message, then, was “for the use of heroes only,” referring to the “eternal symposium” of the dead. It is in this sense that I think the pottery rhyta may be considered as surrogates for “true,” or functional, rhyta, rather than as the “poor man’s version.”

The earlier examples of Attic pottery rhyta, such as the one with the Charinos inscription and the early Brygans, can, I think, be viewed similarly and associated with the antiluxury laws of 510/480 forbidding stone monuments for the dead. Their role would have been a diverse one: specifically, the symbolic invocation of bloody sacrifice; more generally (together with the other funerary equipment, sometimes a whole *set* of banqueting vessels), the simulation of the banquet; and finally, the display of the heroic and aristocratic sentiments previously expressed by the above-ground *sema* (tombstone), now reduced to symbols buried with the corpse. Through the iconography of the dead person’s funerary furniture—meaning his facsimile banqueting equipment—the deceased is established for all eternity as a banqueter and “placed once and forever in his eminent social milieu.”<sup>198</sup> The function of the funerary iconography is here seen not to be fundamentally very different from the original and primary function of the banquet

metallenen, als ‘Ersatz,’ den Toten *besonders in Unteritalien* in die Gräber mitgegeben wurden” (my italics) initially gives the impression that he understood the surrogate function of Attic pottery rhyta. This impression is, however, canceled by the following sentence, in which Theophrast’s statement on rhyta is termed “unglaublich,” and the reader is referred to unspecified “nicht in Gräbern und Heifigtümmern gefundene Stücke.”

197. In the sense of Plato, *Leg.*, 363ff., where the *hosioi* “recline on couches wreathed and crowned and henceforth pass their time drinking, since they consider the most beautiful award for virtue to be eternal drunkenness.” On “eternal banqueting,” viewed as a form of eschatological wish-fulfillment, see Gladigow 1974, p. 305. On the connection of Dionysos with the cult of the dead, see H. Metzger, “Dionysos chthonien,” *BCH* 68–69 (1944–1945), pp. 269ff.

198. Dentzer (note 41), p. 258. Cf. also A. Effenberger, “Das Symposium der Seligen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Totenmahlreliefs,” *Forschungen und Berichte der staatlichen Museen Berlin* 14 (1972), pp. 128ff.

199. A full bibliography on the Greek cult of the dead is given by D. Wasmuth in *Kl. Pauly*, s.v. Totenkult.

200. To the group of Late Attic terracotta pierced rhyta assembled by E. von Mercklin and R. Zahn in *AA*, 1928, pp. 337ff. and supplemented in Hoffmann, *ARR*, p. 23 n. 23, can be added the fragmentary hound’s-head rhyton, British Museum 1895.10–26.4 (here fig. 29), which is totally glazed inside and has an ovolo at the joint with the

itself, which was to commemorate the heroes and the dead—to keep their memory alive and to assure their survival through continuing sacrifice.<sup>199</sup>

Finally, as a sequel to the preceding, I should like to mention the von Mercklin Class<sup>200</sup> of black-glaze horn-shaped rhyta, dating from the very end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth (figs. 27–30). These pottery rhyta, here best exemplified by the trumpet-like boar’s head in Hamburg (fig. 31),<sup>201</sup> imitate metal in every detail and are glazed inside and out, some having barbotine decoration on the neck. Their most interesting feature—which they all share—is that, although of clay and not metal, they are *pierced or* (more generally) *spouted* for the flow of liquid. These are, in other words, rare examples of pottery “true” rhyta. All known specimens have been found in Greece, and their clay and weak glaze indicate that they are Boeotian. The fact that these pottery rhyta are pierced might be interpreted as a desire to make the dummy resemble the original as closely as possible, but I don’t think that this is the case. My impression is that the rhyta of the von Mercklin Class, as well as a few other unrelated pierced examples,<sup>202</sup> may actually have been used in ritual before being buried, and that these may in fact be rural imitations of Athenian metal rhyta, or downmarket in Vickers’ sense.

#### FROM “CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION” TO RECYCLING

While a digression on economics may seem out of place in a paper dealing with the use of rhyta in Greek ritual, the following brief exposition of the theoretical

neck, as well as a bull’s-head rhyton decorated on the neck with a laurel wreath on the Zurich market in 1984 (Vollmoeller). Martin Robertson kindly contributes the following notes on the fragment of a sheep’s-head rhyton mentioned as a “ram’s head” in Hoffmann 1961, p. 23 n. 23 (here fig. 30):

“Bought in Athens, without provenance. Greatest present length circa 6 cm; greatest breadth of forehead circa 3. Inside of head mainly unglazed, but when it begins to rise above the forehead into a narrow wheel-made cup the interior is shiny black, which extends turning patchy red into the interior of the head towards the face. A similar faint drip-line runs within from the nose-break up towards the forehead, implying I suppose that it was a true rhyton with pierced mouth. Shiny black on face, ear and beginning of cup. Irregular reserved patch between face and cup, with traces of yellow which seem pigment rather than deposit. Red (miltos?) inside left ear (right ear missing). No trace of colour on reserved part of eyes (right eye largely chipped away). When I first bought it, I thought of it as ox, but now the big humped nose more suggests sheep. No trace of horns.”

201. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1899.188. Hoffmann and von Mercklin and Zahn (note 200). Cf. now P. Kranz and R. Lullies in *CVA Kassel* 2, text to pl. 83, no. 4.

202. Mostly Cappadocian, like H. Hoffmann, ed., *The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz am Rhein, 1964), nos. 31 and 32 (deleted from later editions of the catalogue). The magnificent horse-protome, London G 26 (Buschor [note 22], fig. 47) is from Vulci and must be



Figure 30. Fragmentary spouted sheep's-head rhyton. Left side. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1974.350. Photo, courtesy Ashmolean Museum.



Figure 31. Boar's-head rhyton. Left side. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1899.188. Photo, Hewicker.

premise underlying surrogate funeral offerings (such as pottery rhyta) will, I think, greatly facilitate a fuller comprehension of the phenomenon I have been describing.

This phenomenon, which, for the sake of simplicity, can be reduced to the prosaic formulation “gold and silver for the living, earthenware for the gods and for the dead,” reflects a broader historical development accompanying the transition, at the end of the Archaic period, from a feudal and aristocratic economy characterized by waste (“conspicuous consumption”)<sup>203</sup> to a fully developed mercantile economy based on savings and public expenditure. In early times great accumulations of wealth had been taken out of circulation (sacrificed) by Homeric potlatch-type funerals and the consignment of precious goods to sacrosanct temple treasuries (the product of labor thereby being literally wasted). As society became more complex, wealth tended to be bequeathed, the gods, the dead, and other spirit entities being given spirit sustenance (i.e., symbols) in place of costly goods, which remained the exclusive property of the living. Expressed differently: with the advent of democracy, expensive funeral offerings receded and came to be replaced by earthenware symbols, the accumulated wealth being recycled (i.e., invested in public projects) rather than disappearing from sight forever. Thus—in the context of our investigation—the precious-metal “originals” used in the symposia of the living were hoarded (kept, used, melted down, refashioned),<sup>204</sup> pottery being deemed better suited for the “eternal banquet” of the dead.<sup>205</sup>

This development is not unique to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., nor indeed to ancient Athens. In terms of economics theory it is the predictable course taken by nearly every society in its evolution from a feudal and aristocratic economy to an urban mercantile one.<sup>206</sup> In

Italian. “The glaze makes me think of Calenian and the horse protome of some of the Canosan terracottas. There is a spout between the legs, a long one” (communicated by Dyfri Williams). Some of the unglazed South Italian examples are painted yellow to resemble gold, and the golden *γρῦπὸς προτομή* mentioned in the Parthenon inventory of 434/433 (*IG i<sup>3</sup>* [1981], p. 362) will have been a rhyton of this type. Harrison, *Proleg.*, sees bulls’ or cows’ horns as the origin of horn rhyta, and this idea is developed in L. Frey-Asche, “Zu einem goldenen Trinkhornbeschlag aus Weiskirchen,” in *Tainia: Festschrift für Roland Hampe* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), pp. 121ff.

203. The apt term is borrowed from Thorstein Veblen’s classic, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York, 1979).

204. Compare Herakl. fr. 90 (Diels) on the convertibility of all things (today known as “recycling”): “as goods are for gold and gold for goods” (translation from G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* [1957; London, 1983], p. 199).

205. In China at about this time terracotta warriors were being substituted for slaughtered retainers as the more adequate funeral sacrifice. See E. Dittrich, *Grabkult im alten China* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 69, 183ff. (on the corresponding sumptuary legislation). See also D.

the particular Athenian situation, the transition from an archaic economy based on aristocratic waste to a full monetary economy based on savings was, moreover, accompanied by an ideology of austerity that can accurately be described as puritan.<sup>207</sup>

After the popular revolution of 462/461 B.C., which broke the power of the aristocratic clans and brought about the final implementation of democracy, wealth passed into public hands and was channeled into a building program more extravagant than anything the Greek world had ever known, this being the democratic equivalent of aristocratic “conspicuous consumption.” Enough gold and silver remained in private hands, however, to allow the sumptuous feasting described by ancient authors.<sup>208</sup> Embedded as it was in sacrosanct ritual tradition, the symposium was a “period of license”<sup>209</sup> in which austerity norms did not apply. Thus, paradoxically, democratic Dionysos came to be coupled with the conspicuous display of wealth.

#### CONCLUSION

My intention in this paper has been to demonstrate that Athenian animal-head rhyta can be considered as a symbol system linked with ritual, and, further, to explore how such documents might be used as primary sources in the study of Greek religion. These pottery vases represent a funerary dummy production in substitution for precious-metal originals. Referring to “hero ancestors” by virtue of their connection with the heroic past (“Golden Age”) and with an ideal of eastern luxury (“Persian banquets”), their inception at the beginning of the fifth century seems to reflect the revival of the hero-banquet ritual at the end of the Archaic period. Attic rhyta became predominantly Dionysiac from 460/450 onward, when the hero banquet developed into a rite of

communion centering on Dionysos. The conclusion drawn was that at this time the hero cult merged with the worship of Dionysos and was assimilated with the general cult of the dead. Whereas earlier a pottery rhyton buried with the deceased would have been considered an expression of his or her family’s sympathy with the aristocratic ideal, the same offering now conveyed the notion of hope for personal salvation and immortality by placing the dead person in the same mental category as the banqueter-divinity.

The radical change observable in the imagery of Attic rhyta at mid-century hints at religious and social transformation.<sup>210</sup> Inasmuch as these vases mirror popular religion<sup>211</sup> more than official cult, the rise in the mystic interpretation and worship of Dionysos setting in at this time and evidenced by the change in the rhyta may be viewed as a sublimated expression of political disaffection,<sup>212</sup> i.e., as a response to the restrictive tendencies inherent to Periklean democracy.<sup>213</sup>

In Hoffmann 1962 my vision was clouded by four fundamental misconceptions:

- that animals are not very important for the understanding of Greek religion (Greek gods being so anthropomorphic);
- that Dionysos is only the god of wine;
- that the Persians were only the enemies of the Athenians;
- that thinking about god can only take the form of books.

It is clear that my view of Attic rhyta has evolved considerably since my first publications on the subject.

This brings me back to Elephantis, with whom I began this iconological excursion. Was she a hetaira turned maenad,<sup>214</sup> “representing the complete liberation from

Metzler, *Ziele und Formen königlicher Innenpolitik im vorislamischen Iran* (Münster, 1977), p. 224 and n. 2.

206. The application of economic theory only alluded to here owes much to discussions with Dieter Metzler, and to George Bataille’s masterpiece of economic theory: *La notion de dépense* (Paris, 1933; transl. into German as *Die Aufhebung der Ökonomie* [1975]), pp. 9ff. (Theorie der Verschwendung). Cf. also the discussion of exchange theory and “systems of prestations” given in Hoffmann 1980, pp. 139f. and nn. 82–91. Anthony Snodgrass calls my attention in this connection to the coincidence, in the eighth century B.C., of a falling-off of grave-goods and a rise in sanctuary dedications. See A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (London, 1980), pp. 52ff., 99f.

207. Democratic austerity ideology, rather than genuine austerity, is manifested in Classical Athens by the reduced value of temple offerings, decrees forbidding butchering at the tomb, the substitution of pottery symbols for *realia*, the hoarding rather than destruction of surplus wealth, and its investment in expensive imperialistic projects.

208. Vickers (note 136). I find Vickers’ views on Athenian wealth in the early fifth century more convincing than those of D. E. Strong, who in *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), p. 74,

claims that “for much of the fifth century no plate was manufactured for private domestic use in Greece.”

209. The German “Jenseits im Diesseits” expresses the liminality attaching to the symposium rite. On “period of license,” see A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1909; 1960), p. 170.

210. Hinted at also in Herakl. fr. 14 (Diels).

211. I use the concept of popular religion as defined by H. G. Kippenberg in the introduction to *Visible Religion* 3 (1984), pp. 1ff.

212. Cf. Gladigow 1974, pp. 296ff.

213. Closure of the citizenship lists, prohibition of moves to amend the law, legal impeding of agrarian reform, etc. See T. Tarkianinen, *Die athenische Demokratie* (Frankfurt, 1972).

214. On hetairai being metonymically named (nicknamed) after animals, see F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen* (Göttingen, 1902), pp. 86ff.; idem, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle, 1917), pp. 580ff. Cf. also *RE*, s.v. Elephantis (“Der Name E. ist wohl fingiert; er fügt sich in die starke Gruppe von Hetärenamen, die von Tieren hergenommen sind”). For the Alexandrian hetaira Elephantis, see *Kl. Pauly*, s.v. Pornographie, p. 1062.

the conventions of daily life, the awakening of primeval instincts” (G. M. A. Hanfmann)<sup>215</sup> Was she at the center of a thiasos devoted to ecstatic worship? Did a cult perhaps come to be attached to her tomb?<sup>216</sup> All we can say is that the rhyton found in her tomb, designated by inscription as her sacred vessel, would seem to com-

memorate her heroization. Beyond this we cannot go. It is my hope that some readers—bearing in mind the Socratic injunction that questions are sometimes better than answers—will feel compensated for the relative absence of specialist solutions in the foregoing by some of the broader queries raised in and by this study.

Archaeological Institute  
University of Hamburg

215. *OCD*, s.v. maenadism.

216. Walter Burkert, while agreeing that the inscription suggests female heroization, feels that some special event or occurrence, comparable to Kyniska's victory in the Olympic games (Paus. 13.5,1), must

have occasioned Elephantis' elevation to heroic rank. In Burkert 1977, p. 434, he expresses the opinion that the leaders of Dionysiac thiasoi were always men, representing the god in person.

# Orvieto Vases in the Getty Museum

S. Schwarz

Among the collection of ancient vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, two Etruscan black-figure examples published here attracted my interest. The two vases are important for different reasons.

The first vase is a neck-amphora that can be attributed to the Orvieto workshop.<sup>1</sup> It illustrates close connections with Etruscan prototypes by the Micali Painter at Vulci and confirms the strong relationship among the artistic circles of Vulci and Orvieto in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. Progressive anatomical drawing found in Attic painting of the years between 525 and 490 B.C. is incorporated.

The second vase, also a neck-amphora, can be assigned to the Lotus Bud Group. Although no production center has successfully been proposed, the vase's stylistic proximity to late Orvieto work suggests that it was made there around 490 B.C. In this discussion previous attributions are reconsidered and new ones suggested. The Getty vases and their relationship within the context of Etruscan workshop development vis-à-vis Attic vase-painting is examined.

## THE ORVIETO GROUP

The neck-amphora from the Getty Museum (figs. 1a–c) can be described as follows: it has a cylindrical neck and echinus mouth, the body is ovoid with a disc foot in two degrees. The triple-roll handles are attached at the top of the neck and on the shoulder. The amphora is slipped circa 2.0 cm down on the inside and completely on the outside, except for reserved panels on neck and shoulder and the continuous frieze surrounding the body. Neck panel ornaments on sides A and B are identical. Along the top is a vertical row of short pendant strokes; at the base there are two horizontal slip

bands embracing a row of dots; above, a series of short strokes echoes those along the top. Along the sides, three vertical dot rows form a T with a horizontal row of dots placed in the center of the panel; at the juncture between neck and shoulder, short pendant strokes suspend from a slip band; a row of dots runs horizontally along the base of the shoulder panel with two vertical rows enframing the panel; below, two narrow bands, above and below a row of dots, horizontally encircle the vase just below the handle; a groundline consists of one band beneath the figure scene and is separate from the slipped base. The figure panel encircles the vase.

The subject is the palaestra, illustrating two youths exercising horses. Each youth runs to the left holding reins in each hand, each leading and following a horse. The youths are identical in pose, with one seen from the front and the other from behind (buttocks and genitals distinguish them). Their heads touch the top of the panel. The youth seen from the front holds two ends of the reins, the other has a ring in one hand. Poses and gestures are exaggerated; the youths run rapidly, legs spread wide, and the horses gallop. Perhaps this is explained as a space-filling mechanism.

The drawing of incision and interior anatomy is loose and freely applied. Although the figure contours are incised, the incision does not coincide with the painted contours. The clavicles, pectoral muscles, and shoulder blades are drawn with careless, arbitrary curving lines. A vertical line divides the abdomen, and as the figures twist, the artist attempted to foreshorten them by drawing a single diagonal. Thigh muscles are two lines and the calf of the leg is a loop or S-curve. Proportions are awkward, the head too large and too far forward of the shoulders. The hair is short and fringed, extending to

### Abbreviations

- Boardman: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975).  
Calò: A. Calò, "Una fabbrica orvietana di vasi etruschi nella tecnica a figure nere," *StEtr* 10 (1936), pp. 431–439.  
Camporeale: G. Camporeale, *La Collezione Alle Querce materiali archeologici Orvietani* (Florence, 1970), pp. 24–28.  
Dohrn I: T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der Zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1937).  
Dohrn II: T. Dohrn, "Die etruskischen schwarzfigurigen

Vasen," *StEtr* 13 (1938), pp. 279–290.

- EVP: J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947).  
Spivey: N. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and His Followers* (Oxford, 1987).  
Uggeri: G. Uggeri, "Una nuova anfora dei Pittore di Micali," *NumAntCl* 4 (1975), pp. 17–43.

1. See Appendix 1 for all references by number to figure vases attributed to Orvieto.

The Getty vase is 71.AE.369; see no. 29, Appendix 1. H: 42.4 cm, diameter: 26.6 cm, lip diameter: 18.2 cm, foot diameter: 13.0 cm.





Figure 1a. Neck-amphora. Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 71.AE.369.

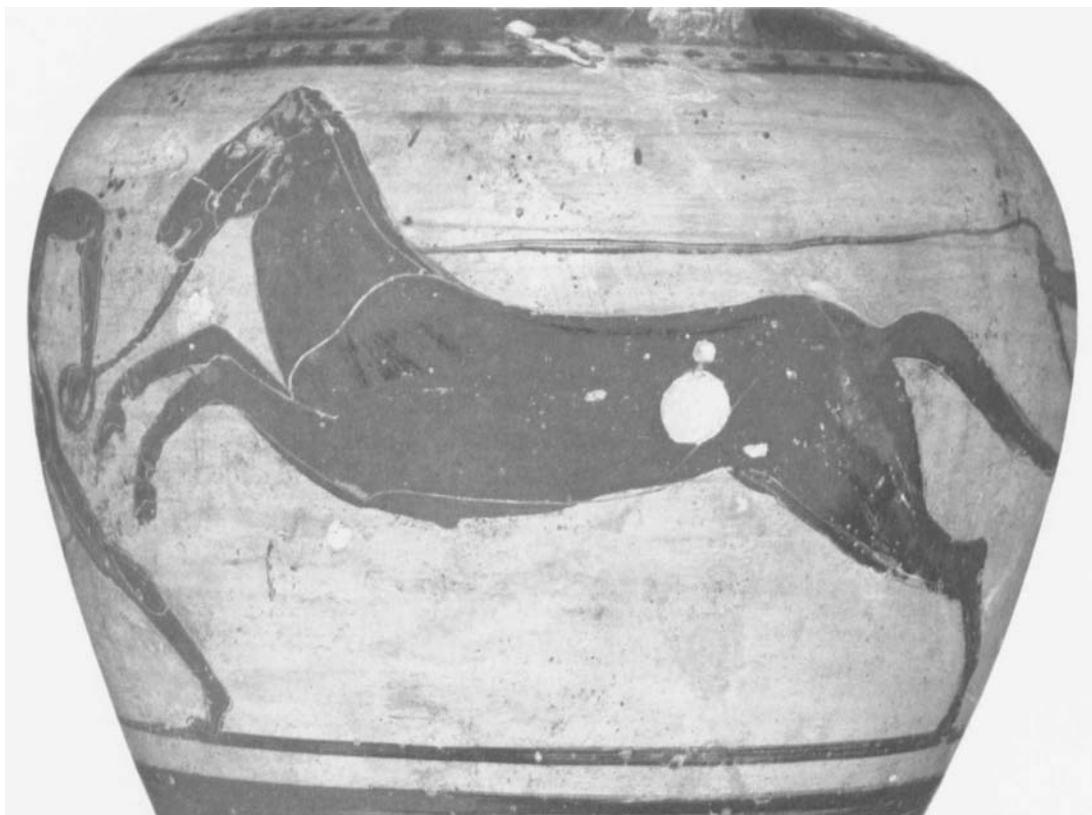


Figure 1b. Handle A-B of neck-amphora, figure 1a (detail).



Figure 1c. Side B of neck-amphora, figure 1a (detail).

the nape of the neck. In facial profile the forehead forms a continuous straight line with the nose which has a knob at its tip. The eyes are large and circular or almond-shaped; they may be open or closed; ears are omitted (hidden under the hair); the jaw is a line from the hair to the neck.

The horses have elongated bodies; rearing, they touch the ground only with one hind hoof, the front hooves hovering in the air. Manes and tails are slipped and incised on either contour; the tails are long and form serpentine lines overlapping the next figure or rein; each wears a halter with mouth open; the eyes are two concentric circles.

The tall, narrow amphora form, yellow clay color, reddish slip (due to low firing temperature), dot-and-stroke motif on the neck and shoulder, panels with dot rows and horizontal bands, elongated animal tails, unsuccessfully aligned contour incision with slip, awkward proportions, and unskilled drawing all permit attribution of the vase to the Orvieto Group.

Both in general characteristics and in particular details analogous features are found among examples of the group. The amphora shape is frequent.<sup>2</sup> The neck and shoulder ornament (reserved panels with pendant strokes enframing dot rows and horizontal bands) echoes that of other vases in the group.<sup>3</sup> One example, an amphora in Florence,<sup>4</sup> is nearly identical.

The group employed two compositions for the belly zone. One encircles the vase; the other uses rectangular figure panels between the handles. The former is uncommon on Attic vases of the second half of the sixth

century B.C. but frequent on nearly contemporary Etruscan vases from the Pontic and Micali workshops at Vulci. Its appearance in Orvieto demonstrates a connection among the groups.<sup>5</sup> Further, two different compositional schemes are used. One, familiar in the Micali workshop, is free and open. Figures are active and take long strides that expand to fill the available space. The exaggerated movement and careless drawing suggest that the painter had little direct contact with Attic works—less than the Micali Painter. In another, restraint prevails—figures stand still.<sup>6</sup>

The subject—youths exercising horses—is unique among those in the group.<sup>7</sup> Nude youths, warriors dancing or in combat, and a few mythological scenes comprise the usual workshop repertoire.<sup>8</sup>

The figures have their counterparts in the group and reflect some influence of progressive Attic black- and red-figure techniques developed between 530 and 510 B.C. Front and back views of the torso, experiments (especially in the abdomen) in torsion, and the short hairstyle demonstrate some knowledge of such techniques.

Typical are the three anatomical schemes on a Florence amphora.<sup>9</sup> In a scene encircling the vase, Herakles fights off a Centaur on Mount Pholoe; a warrior at the left is seen in front-view torso and profile hips. Pholos (human torso and legs) is in three-quarter view.<sup>10</sup> Herakles' torso is daringly foreshortened. This experiment is foreshadowed in Attic prototypes of the end of the sixth century B.C., as, for example, on the amphorae by Psiach in Munich and by Andokides in London, and on a calyx-krater by Euphronios in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> Other Orvieto

2. Attic type II A, from the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., cf. G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), figs. 14, 16. Among those produced in the Orvieto Group, the closest parallels are Copenhagen, National Museum, 3793, and Florence 75690, Appendix 1, nos. 15 and 1, respectively. All three are taller and narrower than the more typical ovoid examples of the group.

3. See Appendix 1.

4. No. 19.

5. Encircling panels are used by the followers of the Paris Painter, cf. L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*. Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 474 (Copenhagen, 1976), pls. 18–19, and 26; there are numerous examples in the Micali workshop, cf. *amphorae*: Würzburg, HA 18 and HA 19 (formerly 798 and 796), both from Vulci (ex-Feoli collection), E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*. Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg (Würzburg, 1932), pls. 234 and 235; Dohrn I, nos. 196, 183; Spivey, p. 14, nos. 63 and 64; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *La raccolta B. Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (Vatican, 1939), p. 78, no. 20, p. 77, no. 3; Uggeri, nos. 32 and 4, respectively; *hydriae*: Florence 4173, from Chiusi, and 4139, from Vulci, Uggeri, nos. 75 and 53, respectively; Spivey, p. 21, nos. 127 and 126, respectively. Although neither the Pontic nor the Micali workshops can be proven to have been at Vulci, this origin is generally accepted for the Pontic Group, cf. Hannestad (above, this note), pp. 48–49 and M. Rizzo, “Corredi con

vasi pontici da Vulci,” *Xenia* 2 (1981), pp. 13ff. Forty-four of the Micali Painter's vases were either found in sporadic contexts from Vulci or in secure tombs. In addition, there are many shared stylistic features with Vulcian bronzes, cf. J. Szilágyi, “Due vasi dalla fabbrica del Pittore di Micali,” *AntHung* 3 (1949), p. 45; Uggeri, p. 38; E. Mangani, “Due anfore della scuola del Pittore di Micali a Orbetello,” *Prospettiva* 11 (1977), pp. 43–44; C. Scheffer, “Sirens and Sphinxes from the Micali Painter's Workshop,” *MedelhavsMusB* 14 (1979), pp. 45–46; Spivey, pp. 72–77. He notes that most Micali works reach the principal centers of southern and central Etruria, with small numbers from Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Orvieto, and Chiusi. No vase traveled more than about 70 kms from Vulci; on average they are found within a radius of 42 kms of the city, and none found their way to such coastal sites as Roselle, Vetulonia, and Populonia, where Attic wares were preferred and easily obtained. Micali products were in demand where Attic imports were less accessible.

6. Scheffer (above [note 5]) saw two moods expressed in Micali works, which she felt was the result of two or more painters at work, rather than the development of a single artist.

7. Dohrn (I, p. 135) and Camporeale (p. 27) noted the relationship between the Caeretan hydriae workshop, the Micali Painter, and the Orvieto Group; Spivey (p. 85) sees less.

8. There are mythological scenes illustrating Herakles on Mount Pholoe, Herakles wrestling the lion, Actaeon, Centaurs, and a bird demon attacking a man, cf. Appendix 1, nos. 19, 1, 42, 46.

vases also exploit the technique. Examples are seen on the amphora published by A. Minto, the Actaeon amphora, and two others in Florence.<sup>12</sup> On one of the latter, Florence 4176, the torsion is so pronounced that the figure turns 180 degrees; the hips are seen from behind in three-quarter view, facing toward the left. The upper torso is turned to the front, while the head is toward the right—in the opposite direction of the lower body. A similar experiment had been attempted earlier by Epiktetos for a satyr on a cup in London.<sup>13</sup>

The interior anatomy of the Getty youths is comparable to others in the group.<sup>14</sup> Clavicles are simple curved lines, continuous with the pectoral muscles. A line divides the abdomen vertically down the center. The latter is rare in Etruria but is found on the giant on an amphora in Minneapolis.<sup>15</sup>

The abdomen was shown in a number of ways by the group. On the amphora Florence 78738 (Appendix 1, no. 19), Herakles' mid-section is divided into six parts inside a circular frame. A degenerate version of this appears on the left youth on the amphora in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Appendix 1, no. 10). There, the mid-section consists of carelessly overlapping circles bundled into a circular frame. For the abdomen treatment, the Orvieto Group seems to have been more strongly influenced by Attic development than other contemporary Etruscan artisans.<sup>16</sup> Works attempt to imitate the treatment in Attic red-figure painting such as the Sarpedon figure on Euphronios' calyx-krater in the Metropolitan Museum and the figure on Psiax' cup in a Swiss collection.<sup>17</sup>

9. No. 19.

10. Centaurs with human foreparts on a horse's torso are found on a number of Attic illustrations of Pholos and Chiron, cf. for example, the amphora by Oltos and the potter Pamphaios in the Louvre, E. Simon, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), pl. 91, circa 520 B.C.

11. Munich 2302, from Vulci, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 6, no. 1, Boardman, fig. 11; British Museum B 93, from Etruria, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 4, no. 8, Boardman, fig. 10; and Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 2180, from Capua, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 13, no. 1, Boardman, fig. 24.1–2.

12. Nos. 16, 1, 2, 4.

13. No. 4 and Attic red-figure cup, British Museum E 3, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 63, no. 88; Boardman, fig. 66.1

14. Amphorae nos. 16, 17; stamnos no. 34; fragments nos. 46, 52.

15. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Art Gallery, WF 7, side B. R. O. Carlucci, "An Etruscan Black-Figure Gigantomachy in Minneapolis," *AJA* 82 (1978), p. 547, fig. 2 ("near Micali school"). Spivey, p. 45, no. 1 (Pomerance Group) doubts some vases in this group. The work, not attributable to, is instead influenced by the Micali Painter as a member of the Lotus Bud Group. See discussion, below and Appendix 2, no. 6.

16. The Minneapolis vase (above [note 15]), side A, illustrates, in the Herakles figure, a rare instance of the rapid absorption of progressive Attic drawing. Here, Herakles' abdomen is divided into six parts similar to that on the Orvieto Group Florence vase, discussed below in the Lotus Bud analysis.

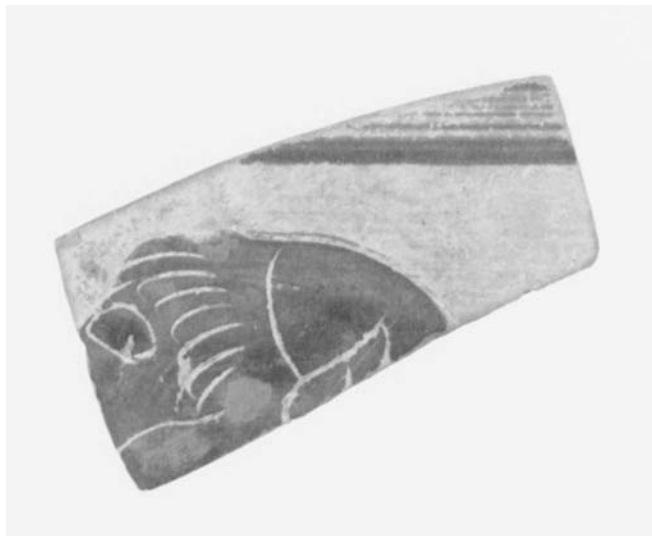


Figure 2. Fragment. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.234.

Hair is worn long or short. If long, it flows away from the figure as a means of showing speed. The contour is an incised line in undulating waves and is also a mannerism of late Pontic and Micali figures.<sup>18</sup> A fillet is often worn. On the Getty vase, however, the youths have fringed hair. There are only two other instances of this in the group: the amphora in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and a Getty fragment (a satyr's head, fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> Short hair was new in Attic fashion in the years 525–510 B.C. and worn, for example, by Epiktetos' figures, such as that on a cup in London.<sup>20</sup>

The Getty horse (fig. 1b) is not far from other quad-

17. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972.11.10, Simon (above [note 10]), fig. 103; Boardman, fig. 22; cf. also the figure of Herakles on a volute-krater in Arezzo by the same painter, Museo Civico 1465, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 15, no. 6, Boardman fig. 29; or the giant Antaios on the krater, Louvre G 103, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 14, no. 2, *Paralipomena*, p. 322, Simon (above [note 10]), fig. 104, Boardman, fig. 23; or the satyr on a neck-amphora by Smikros, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1966.19, *Paralipomena*, p. 323, 3 bis, Boardman, fig. 31, circa 515 B.C.; the Psiax cup in Switzerland, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 7, no. 7, Boardman, fig. 15.

18. For example, on hydria, British Museum B 63, *EVP*, pl. 3.1–2, Spivey, p. 27, no. 177 (late Micali); hydria, Stockholm, MM 1962.14, in Scheffer (above [note 5]), p. 39, and Spivey, p. 22, no. 133, pl. 20b (middle II period); hydria, Florence 4173, from Chiusi, C. de Palma, *Testimonianze etrusche* (Florence, 1974), p. 209, Scheffer (above [note 5]), fig. 11, and Spivey, p. 21, no. 127, pl. 40b; amphora, Würzburg, HA 19 (ex-796), Langlotz (above [note 5]), pl. 235, Uggeri, no. 4, Scheffer (above [note 5]), fig. 13, Spivey, p. 14, no. 64, fig. 7 (middle I period) and discussion, idem, p. 48 and his fig. 6, p. 53.

19. No. 10. The Getty fragment is no. 58, J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.234; it measures 3.5 cm x 1.7 cm and has orange-colored slip on warm buff clay.

20. British Museum E 3, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 70, no. 3; Boardman, fig. 66.2. Cf. also a red-figure cup by Skythes, Villa Giulia 20760, from Cerveteri, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 83, no. 14, Boardman, fig. 901; Louvre CA 1527, from Tanagra, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 83, no. 12, Boardman, fig. 91.

rupeds in the group.<sup>21</sup> Its nearest neighbors in general proportions and in such details as the halter, reins, eyes, and tail are on an oinochoe in Heidelberg and a stamnos in Amsterdam.<sup>22</sup>

As a whole, it is unlikely that one artist decorated all of the vases in the group, yet the possibility remains, as many details recur throughout the group. When A. Calò first published the group, distinguishing common traits and provenience, she ascribed them to a single artist.<sup>23</sup> Shortly after, Dohrn published similar conclusions but contended that the workshop fell into two groups—possibly the work of two artists.<sup>24</sup> Minto, Beazley, Bizzarri, Camporeale, Donati, and I have expanded the number of Orvieto vases.<sup>25</sup> Camporeale saw two styles, the first with concentric eyes like those in Attic black-figure vases, the second closer to Attic red-figure in composition (as in the Orvieto oinochoe in the Metropolitan Museum, a horizontal composition with Herakles wrestling the lion).<sup>26</sup>

The number of vases can now be expanded and the work divided into three distinct groups. The first and largest favors palaestra and mythological subjects, e.g., Herakles fighting the Centaurs on Mount Pholoe, Actaeon attacked by dogs, and a bird demon attacking a man. The Getty vase belongs to this group.<sup>27</sup> Schemes are agitated and figures often overlap in this group, as on the Getty piece. The Archaic smile is still used. Awkward, careless drawing and simplified arrangements suggest the work of a beginner or less skilled artist of the shop. Stylistic proximity to Attic painting of circa 525–510 B.C. dates this group to the end of the sixth to beginning of the fifth century.

A quite different vertical, tranquil composition characterizes the second group. While the subject matter remains essentially the same, it includes one mythological scene (Herakles wrestling the lion) and a number of

fragments with Centaurs.<sup>28</sup> A subtler mood prevails—rather than violently racing across the zone, figures stand or gesture quietly to one another. The artist employs unifying devices of gesture, glance, or ivy branches (held by the players). Sometimes the arrangement is symmetrical. Large open spaces between the figures remain unfilled. Moreover, drawing is more skilled and confident, seen especially in rounded contours of heads and interior musculature. The proportions are better understood, more natural, and consistent—Atticizing traits.<sup>29</sup> Could this be the same artist who created the coarse work of the first group? While his identity cannot be proven, the stylistic continuity argues for a single evolving personality.

The third group seems certain to be the work of a different artist than that of the previous groups and can be identified with the painter working in the Lotus Bud Group. On the neck-amphora fragments in Heidelberg, E 40a and c, and on the Becchina collection oinochoe (figs. 3a–b, Appendix 2, no. 7a),<sup>30</sup> anatomy, postures, and composition imitate Attic figures of the years circa 490 B.C.<sup>31</sup> The third group's interior drawing includes clavicles with two curved lines that terminate in hooks. The pectorals form arched, curved lines that extend to the biceps; the abdomen is divided into six parts consisting of four (or six for the Becchina vase, fig. 3a) roughly rounded squares positioned above the navel and a triangular shape below; the abdomen is encircled. The iliac crest is indicated by an S and leg muscles are well articulated. Eyes are no longer circular as in the two earlier groups but are open toward the front in the Heidelberg fragments, but almond-shaped and hence slightly earlier on the Becchina vase. While the Getty youths lack ears, those on the Heidelberg fragments are shown and are more naturalistic (a lobe is separate from the rest of the ear), but still rudimentary on the Becchina example.

21. Stamnoi nos. 32 and 38, oinochoe no. 40, amphora neck scene, no. 9.

22. Nos. 41 and 33.

23. Calò, pp. 431–439.

24. Dohrn I, p. 133. He divided the group into two on stylistic grounds. The first group includes his nos. 292–300, which he attributed to one artist with one manner of drawing the human figure, animals, and head shapes; the second, his nos. 301–305, for him illustrated greater naturalism in the figure and curvilinear heads. Our group one (below [note 27]), in contrast, includes vases from his group two (our nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, and 46 correspond to his nos. 307d, c, 301, 302, 307i). Further, six examples from our group two (below [note 28]) appear in his group one (our nos. 8, 9, 33, 34, 40, 41 are his nos. 297, 298, 292, 293, 299, 300). We agree on his no. 296 in group one and 303 and 304 in group two. His 306, which he thought doubtful, is by a different artist and certain to have been made in Orvieto (clay color, firing, slip color, and painting style are the same); see below, Appendix 1, no. 63. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3212 (Dohrn I, no. 307i), Amsterdam (Dohrn I, no. 305), and a Campanian oinochoe

(Dohrn I, no. 307h) are not Orvieto products, cf. *EVP*, p. 19 and our Appendix 1, A–E.

25. A. Minto ("Orvieto," *NSc* 6 s 15 [1939], pp. 17–26) added four figurative works and published a number of the simpler Orvieto Pattern Class vases with geometric pattern decoration. Beazley (*EVP*, pp. 19–20, 296); M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo in Orvieto," *StEtr* 30 (1962), pp. 106f.; and idem, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo," *StEtr* 34 (1966), pp. 7, 56 added others to the group, confirming Orvieto manufacture and date at the end of the sixth to early fifth century B.C. based on finds from closed tomb contexts. G. Camporeale, "Un gruppo orvietano di lekythoi globulari e ovaleggianti," *ArchCl* 21 (1969), pp. 262ff.; L. Donati, "Ceramica orvietana arcaica con Fregi ornamentali," *AttiMemFirenze* 43, n.s. 19 (1978), pp. 3–40; S. Schwarz, "The Pattern Class Vases of the 'Gruppo di Orvieto' in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution," *StEtr* 47 (1979), pp. 65–84; idem, "Etruscan Black-Figure Vases in the U.S. National Museum of Natural History," *RömMitt* 91 (1984), pp. 47–61 have amplified the figurative and Pattern Class pieces in the group.

26. Camporeale, pp. 26–27.



Figure 3a. Oinochoe. Basel, Becchina collection, 487. Photos, courtesy D. Widmer, Basel.



Figure 3b. Oinochoe, figure 3a.

The thigh muscle of this group springs from the thigh and broadens; the kneecap is in two parts, and calf and shin lines are natural. Although drawn with greater conviction, the incision does not always coincide with painted contours—a feature in common with preceding

Orvieto groups.

The third artist's understanding of musculature, proportion, and foreshortening (especially abdomen, eyes, and ears) is freshly influenced by Attic red-figure painting near the early work of the Berlin Painter.<sup>32</sup>

27. Group one: *amphorae*: nos. 1–4, 7, 10–12, 15–19, 23–24, 29, 29a; *stamnoi*: nos. 30–32, 36–39, 43; *fragments*: nos. 46, 51–52. The Herakles and Pholos theme appears on no. 19, Actaeon on no. 1, and a bird demon attacking a man on no. 46.

28. Group two: *amphorae*: nos. 5, 8 (close to group one), 9, 13; *stamnoi*: nos. 33, 34 (close to group one), 39a; *oinochoai*: nos. 40–42; 44; *fragments*: nos. 48–50, 53. Herakles and the lion are on no. 42; Centaurs appear on nos. 48–50.

29. Cf. particularly no. 42 illustrating Herakles on an oinochoe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The horizontal wrestling composition is found on Attic black- and red-figure vases only after 530 B.C.; cf. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (London, 1974), p. 221. For black-figure examples, Lysippides' neck-amphora in Zürich, *ABV* 256, no. 17, *Paralipomena*, p. 114, K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der Spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich, 1978), fig. 110, circa 530–520 B.C.; belly amphora by Psiax in Brescia, *ABV* 292, no. 1, *Paralipomena*, p. 127, Schefold (above, this note), fig. 112, circa 510 B.C.; near the Painter of Bologna 441, Villa Giulia M 472, *ABV* 291, *Paralipomena*, p. 127, Schefold (above, this note), fig.

114, circa 510–500 B.C.; and a red-figure krater, Louvre G 110, by Euphronios, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 14, no. 3, *Paralipomena*, p. 322, Schefold (above, this note), fig. 113, shortly before 500 B.C., Calò, pp. 430ff., Dohrn I, p. 136, Camporeale, pp. 27f.

30. Appendix 1, nos. 59–59a and Appendix 2, no. 7a, figs. 3a–b, are by the same artist.

31. Below (note 32).

32. For a recent discussion of the early works of the Berlin Painter, cf. G. P. Pinney, "The Nonage of the Berlin Painter," *AJA* 85 (1981), esp. the figure, p. 149, ill. 1.3, cup, Basel, private collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 454; and cup, Stockholm, Throne-Holst collection ("H. P. Painter," Beazley), Pinney (above, this note), p. 150, ills. 2, 6a, pl. 30, fig. 6; pl. 31, figs. 8–9. There is a close correspondence between abdomen treatment, iliac crest, feet, and other details on figures in the early Berlin Painter works and those of the Orvieto Group, cf. nos. 10 and 19 as well as the Heidelberg fragments nos. 51–52; similarities are evident in foreshortening, body torsion, and leg musculature between the Berlin Painter and Orvieto work, cf., Berlin Painter cup, Athens, Agora, P 24113, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 213–214, no. 242; Pinney (above, this note),

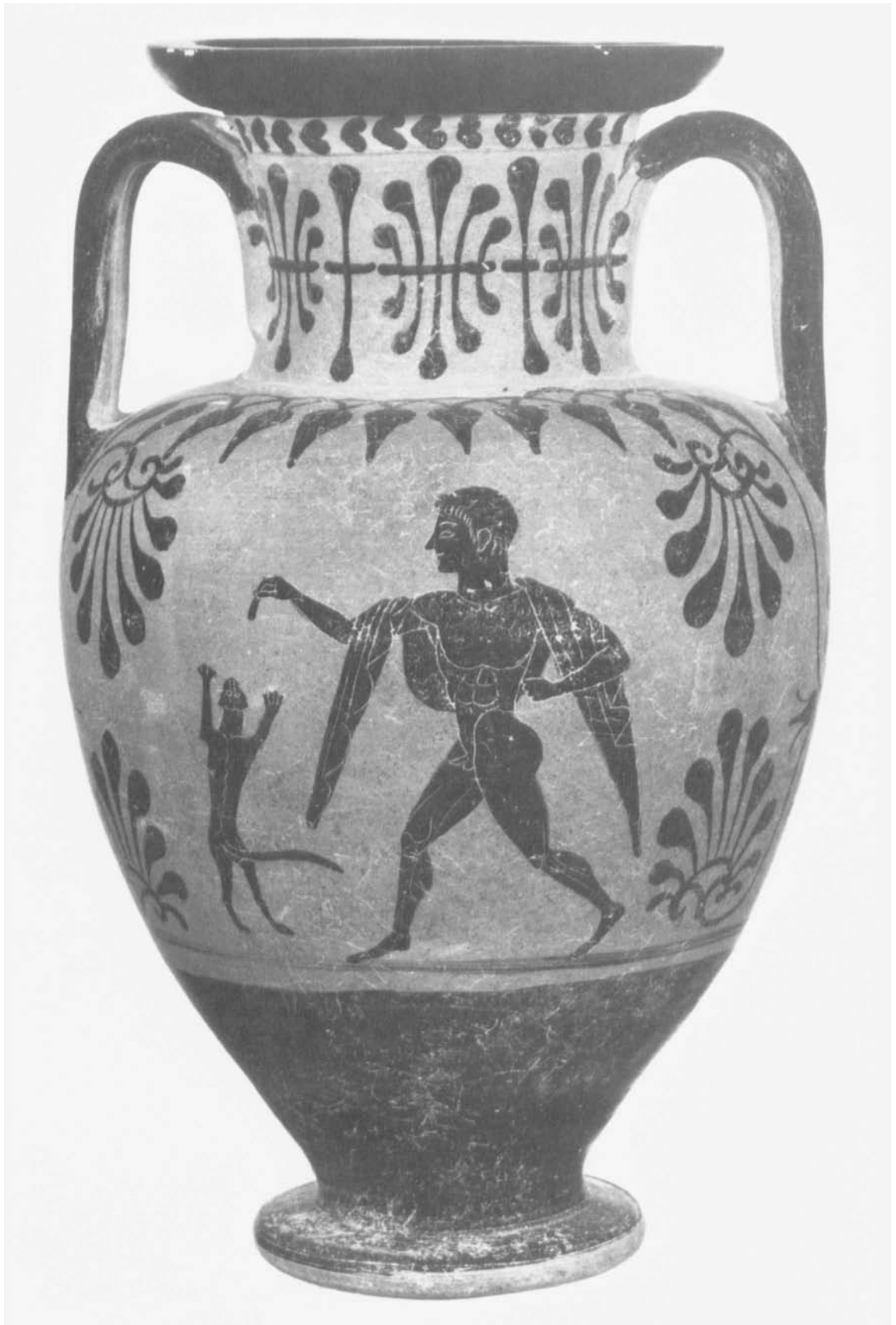


Figure 4a. Neck-amphora. Side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 68.AE.17.

Chronologically, the workshop activity can be assigned to the end of the sixth and early fifth centuries on stylistic and archaeological grounds. The earliest of the three groups, the one to which the Getty vase can be assigned, is influenced by Attic black-figure techniques from circa 525–510 B.C., and the last, by red-figure from circa 490 B.C. Contacts are evident with other Etruscan workshops such as those of the Caeretan hydriae of circa 530–510 B.C. and the Micali Painter, from the last decades of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries.<sup>33</sup> Renewed Attic contact in the later group seems to make it contemporary with the late Micali Painter.<sup>34</sup> The fact that some specimens were found in tomb contexts published by Bizzarri, Camporeale, and Donati with Attic vases of 540–510 B.C. supports the chronology.<sup>35</sup>

#### THE LOTUS BUD GROUP

A second vase in the Getty Museum can be attributed to the Lotus Bud Group (figs. 4a–c).<sup>36</sup> It is a neck-amphora with a cylindrical neck, echinus mouth, and ovoid body with a disc foot. It has triple-roll handles that are attached at the top of the neck and on the shoulder. It is slipped inside the handles, on the neck and body to the base of the figure panel, and on the lower outer edge of the foot. Two dilute-slip bands circle the base of the figure panel. The slip color is uneven (due to defective firing), ranging from black to brown. The ornament at the top of the neck consists of ivy leaves pointing left below a ridge. On the neck, between the handles, are three sets of degenerate palmettes with a horizontal line through the center, alternating with vertical strokes expanded at the tip like palm fronds.

p. 150, ill. 2, 6a. One leg is in profile and the other, from the thigh down, turns from profile to front.

33. Above (notes 5, 7, and 17), Dohrn I, no. 135, and Spivey, pp. 74, 84f. Spivey disclaims any direct influence by the Micali Painter; instead, each painter adapted Atticisms independently.

34. A. Malucco Vaccaro, in *Nuovo lettura di monumenti etruschi* (Florence, 1971), pp. 74, 78–82; Spivey, p. 85.

35. Bizzarri, 1962 (above [note 25]), pp. 106ff. dated the early work between 510 and 500 B.C.; idem, 1966 (above [note 25]), pp. 7ff. and 56. He published an Orvieto Pattern Class amphora and two oinochoai found with an Attic Little-Master cup and two Attic black-figure lekythoi datable between 540 and 510 B.C. Camporeale (pp. 26–27, nos. 9 and 10) noted that two of the Orvieto Group, from Vulci, were found with an Attic lip-cup, an Attic black-figure lekythos of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., and an Attic black-figure amphora of circa 550–540 B.C. He placed the workshop's activity from about 530 to 500 B.C. See Donati (above [note 25]), pp. 25, 28–39, and Schwarz, 1979 (above [note 25]), pp. 79–80, esp. notes 45 and 46.

36. Getty Museum 68.AE.17, see Appendix 2, no. 7. H: 34.6 cm, diameter: 21.5 cm, mouth diameter: 16.6 cm, foot diameter: 11.3 cm. The vase is broken and mended, has a worn surface with calcareous deposits, and there are flaws in its manufacture. The clay color is warm buff. The vase is unpublished. Dohrn (II, pp. 289–290) and Beazley (*EVP*, p. 18) discussed the group.



Figure 4b. Side B of neck-amphora, figure 4a (detail).

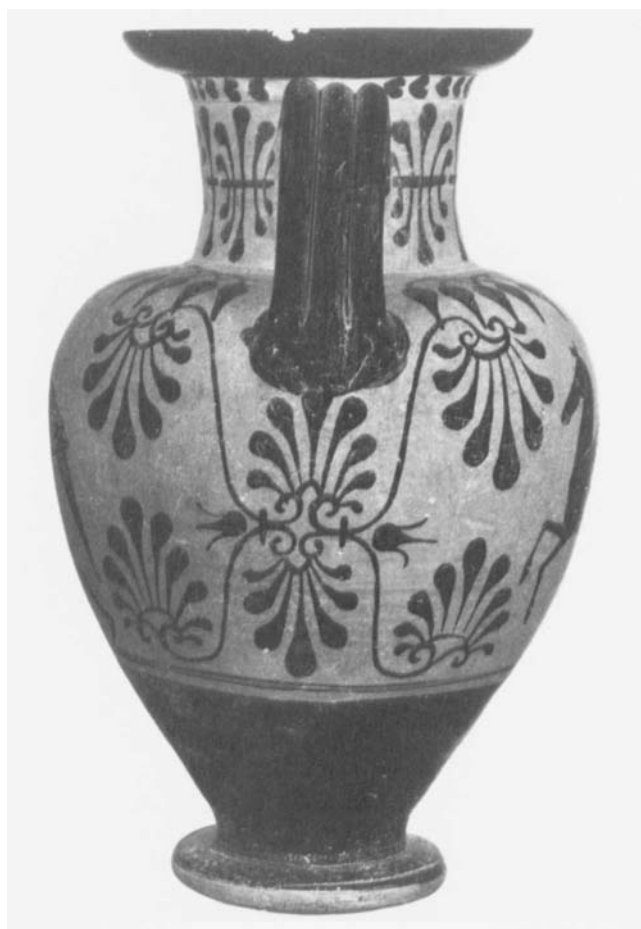


Figure 4c. Handle A-B of neck-amphora, figure 4a.



The handle-floral (fig. 4c) consists of six palmettes connected by a spiral tendril; under the handle, two lotus buds point out horizontally to either side of vertical palmettes.

Side A (fig. 4a) shows a nude youth in combined front and profile view toward the left—a chlamys is slung over his shoulders. He feeds or teases a feline(?). The animal is in an unusual back view—its head faces front and it rises up on its hind legs to grasp the morsel. Its long, curving tail helps to connect the pair and fill the intervening space. On side B, a winged horse (Pegasos?), in profile toward the left, its wings spread, rears as if ascending or alighting. Outer contours and interior anatomical details on sides A and B, the leading profile of the horse's head, neck, front legs, eye, mouth, jaw, ear, and wing are incised.

This and other vases of the Lotus Bud Group (like the later Orvieto and Micali groups), while painting in black-figure technique (black silhouette on light ground), adapt Atticisms found in works such as those of the early (red-figure) Berlin Painter.<sup>37</sup> Facial profiles and hair are similar in Attic works of Smikros and Euphronios of circa 510–500 B.C.<sup>38</sup>

The figure drawing is particularly close to the Heidelberg fragments E 40a and c, right warrior of the late Orvieto Group and to the Becchina oinochoe (figs. 3a–b).<sup>39</sup> Still, the Getty Lotus Bud figures lack volume, especially the youth's nose, neck, and waist (his rib cage extends too far right, which flattens the torso). His left hip, unlike the swelling hip and thigh of the Heidelberg warrior, is a simple flat plane. The Getty painter's foreshortening and proportion are less convincing. Nonetheless, the Orvieto vases have features in common, e.g., clavicles are curved, pectorals are arched in a line that continues into the biceps; the abdomen is divided into five parts of four roughly rounded squares above the navel, and a small C facing down; a triangle is above the penis (which is the same in all three examples—the Heidelberg, Becchina, and Getty vases). The eye is long and almond-shaped as in the Becchina warriors and differs from the oval eyes (open at the front) of the

Heidelberg work. The Getty vase displays a more progressive ear and lobe than the Becchina vase but not so advanced as the Heidelberg fragments. Leg muscles spring from the thigh and the kneecap is in two parts as in nature. The calf and shin, though indicated by line, are skillful and are alike in all three vessels. The painter is conservative, preserving certain archaisms, but has adopted an evolving naturalism akin to Attic work.

His approach to decoration, poses, and animals can be found in other Etruscan workshops. The Micali Painter may have inspired the feline and horse poses. His hallmark, decorative lotus buds, resembles ivy leaves by a follower of the Paris Painter.<sup>40</sup> Interlaced lotus-bud chains are also found on non-Etruscan Chalkidian ware (e.g., a hydria in the Ashmolean Museum and one in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford<sup>41</sup>). A similar frontal-headed feline is used by the Paris Painter.<sup>42</sup> Winged, rearing horses are found in works of the Micali Painter.<sup>43</sup> The pose is identical to that on the Getty vase (wings, mane, and body differ considerably) and is repeated on another Micali vase from Vulci.<sup>44</sup> It is also used on an oinochoe in Florence by the Kaineus Painter (Painter of Vatican 238).<sup>45</sup> The theme, a youth with a horse, is popular in this period—perhaps a genre scene depicting preparations for a chariot race. It appears on a Vatican mirror and in the Tomb of the Chariots in Tarquinia.<sup>46</sup>

The group includes fourteen vases (Appendix 2 and Heidelberg fragments, Appendix 1, numbers 59–59a). Dohrn first assigned six vases to the group, including our numbers 1–3, Appendix 2.<sup>47</sup> He mistakenly included Munich 892 by a Vulci artist. Further, the vase, Viterbo 337/212, which he assigned to the group, can be attributed to the Vulci Group, Munich 883.<sup>48</sup> Beazley later ascribed the first three vases to the same painter, and discarded Copenhagen H 148, Munich 892, and Viterbo 337/212. He added the lekythos, Petit Palais 431, our number 11.<sup>49</sup> Giglioli assigned two vases to the same painter but did not connect them with the Lotus Bud Group. One is an amphora (number 5), and the other, an

37. Cf. Pinney's treatment of the early work of the Berlin Painter (above [note 32]), ill. 1.3, Basel, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 454.

38. Smikros stamnos, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A 717, Simon (above [note 10]), figs. 110–111; and Euphronios kylix interior, Munich, Antikensammlung, 2620, *ibid.*, figs. 107–109.

39. Above (note 30), Appendix 1, nos. 59–59a, Appendix 2, no. 7a.

40. Hannestad (above [note 5]), pl. 58, Villa Giulia 15538, circa 490 B.C.

41. H. R. W. Smith, "The Origin of Chalcidian Ware," *CPCA* 1 (1929), pp. 91, 140–142, pls. 17 and 22 (attributed mistakenly to Etruscan artists, the so-called Orvieto and Phintias painters, respectively).

42. Cf., for example, an amphora, Copenhagen, National Museum, 140766, in L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter*. Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, 47.2 (Copen-

hagen, 1974), pl. 72.

43. *EVP*, pl. 3.1 (Micali Painter); olpe, Heidelberg E 30, from Chiusi (Micali Painter), Spivey, p. 17, no. 98 (middle II period).

44. M. Falconi Amorelli, *ArchCl* 20 (1968), pls. 71, 72.1–2.

45. Museo Archeologico 3700, K. von Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn, 1960), pl. 19.1; Kaineus Painter (Painter of Vatican 238): Spivey, pp. 42ff. (Follower of the Micali Painter). A number of examples of the double Pegasos, a motif unique to Etruscan art, are gathered by Schauenburg. Cf. also R. Bianchi Bandinelli and A. Giuliano, *Etruschi e Italici prime del dominio de Roma* (Milan, 1973), p. 178, fig. 206.

46. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12254, provenience unknown, Helbig I<sup>4</sup>, p. 547, no. 734, G. Pfister-Roesgen, *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1975), pp. 32f., no. S 13, pl. 14, dated circa

olpe (number 9), both in the Villa Giulia.<sup>50</sup> The ornament and figures are uniform within the group.

A decorator, who created shoulder and handle ornaments on vases 1–7 of the group, worked with a single figure painter. Olpai and a lekythos, numbers 8–11, may also have been painted by the same decorator (on the lekythos, motifs are closely related to late Attic black-figure olpai).<sup>51</sup> Genre is the favored theme; numbers 6 and 7 illustrate athletic scenes of daily life; numbers 3a and 7a show combats; number 12, myth; and number 4, a quasi-mythological episode (lacking narrative content).<sup>52</sup> Herakles appears on three examples (and possibly on number 12 as well): once alone carrying a tripod (number 3); perhaps in a combat with an unidentified sea monster (Typhon?, number 5); and in the Giganatomy (number 6).<sup>53</sup>

The production center seems certainly to have been Orvieto. Dohrn suggested Cerveteri,<sup>54</sup> but only one vase stems from the site. Others come from Falerii Veteres (number 5), Orvieto (number 8), and Sala Consilina (number 11). Painted works produced in Cerveteri—such as the Caeretan hydriae—are not comparable, but figures, poses, drawing, uneven slip application, and firing have numerous counterparts in Orvieto vase-painting. A strong painting tradition is proven for Orvieto in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. by the number of figurative and Pattern Class examples found in an excavation context at Orvieto.<sup>55</sup> The close correspondence with those from the site leaves little doubt that the Lotus Bud Group was produced in Orvieto.

University of Evansville  
Indiana

#### APPENDIX 1

The following list includes figurative Orvieto Group works with a concordance to those in Calò, Dohrn, Minto (above [note 25]), *EVP*, Bizzarri (above [note 25]), and Camporeale. Numbers in parentheses are my attributions to groups one, two, and three, see above (notes 27 and 28).

460–450 B.C., workshop unattributed; Tomb of the Funeral Couch, P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1927), p. 132, circa 460 B.C.; Tomb of the Chariots, O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth, 1978), fig. 182, after 480 B.C.

47. Dohrn II, no. 290E. He incorrectly assigned manufacture to Cerveteri and included Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, H 148, which must be omitted. The latter belongs to the Vulci Group of Munich 892 (cf. discussion in S. Schwarz, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1. Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 1 [1983], pp. 121–134).

48. See the author's article (above [note 47]). Group of Munich 883, no. 26.

49. *EVP*, pp. 18–19.

50. G. Giglioli, "Quattro vasi etruschi inediti del Museo di Villa

#### Amphorae:

1. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 75690, from Orvieto. Side A, Actaeon, side B, Siren (similar to no. 29a, below). *NSc*, 1893, pp. 260–261; Calò, p. 429, no. 1, pl. 45.1–2; Dohrn I, p. 137A; P. Bocci, "Stamnos Viennese 318," *EAA* 7 (1966), p. 474, fig. 582; Malucco Vaccaro (above [note 34]), pp. 73–76, 78, pl. 36.

2. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, from Orvieto. Neck, lion, side A, warrior dancing, side B, flute player. Calò, p. 430, no. 2, pl. 45.3; Dohrn I, p. 137B.

3. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, from Orvieto. Side A, warrior with shield and lance to left, side B, bird to right. Calò, p. 433, no. 3; Dohrn I, p. 137C.

4. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4176, provenience unknown. Side A, man with palmette, side B, bull. Dohrn I, no. 296, pl. 9.

5. (2) Orvieto, Faina Collection, 2713, from Orvieto, Cardelli, 173. Sides A–B, continuous frieze, four men to right. Calò, pp. 433, 436, no. 4, fig. 2; Dohrn I, p. 137D.

6. Orvieto, Faina Collection, from Orvieto. Side A, bird, side B, warrior with shield and sword. Calò, p. 433, no. 5; Dohrn I, p. 137G.

7. (1) Vatican 17680. Sides A–B, bird, dots around the contours. C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, fasc. 3 (Vatican, 1926), no. 268, pl. 27; Calò, no. 6; Dohrn I, p. 157, no. 307d.

8. (2) Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, from Orvieto, former Bourguignon collection. Neck, side A, swans, body, running woman. H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen* (Frankfurt, 1923), p. 48, pl. 25d and f; Calò, no. 9; Dohrn I, no. 297.

9. (2) Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, from Orvieto, former Bourguignon collection. Neck, side A, lion, body, man with a branch. Schaal (above, no. 8), p. 48, pl. 25f; Calò, no. 10; Dohrn I, no. 298.

10. (1) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, H 147. Sides A–B, combat scenes, F. Poulsen, *Bildtafeln des etruskischen Museums der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1927), H 147, pl. 49.1; Calò, no. 11; E. von Mercklin, *StEtr* 11 (1937), pl. 39.3; Dohrn I, no. 307c; *EVP*, p. 19.

11. (1) New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913.232, from Italy. Sides A–B, dogs attacking deer? P. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection* (New Haven, 1922), no. 232, fig. 54;

Giulia a Roma," *StEtr* 20 (1948/1949), pp. 245f., no. 5.

51. P. Mingazzini, *I vasi della Collezione Castellani*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1930), pl. 84.1, 6, and 12, nos. 542, 541, and 546.

52. Satyrs, Appendix 2, nos. 1, 2, 3; maenad, no. 2; Nike, nos. 5 and 9; Pegasus?, no. 7.

53. Cf. discussion of Etruscan Herakles theme in S. Schwarz, "Heracle" in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (forthcoming). On Florence 4168, Herakles runs left carrying a tripod, a type that stems from Attic red-figure illustrations of the theme, cf. Carlucci (above [note 15]), no. 6, pp. 548–549.

54. Dohrn II, pp. 289–290.

55. Schwarz, 1979 (above [note 25]), pp. 66ff. and above, Orvieto Group discussion.

Calò, no. 12; Dohrn I, no. 301.

12. (1) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, from Tarquinia. Sides A–B, warriors in combat. G. M. A. Richter, *BMAA* 6 (1911), p. 31, fig. 4; Calò, p. 435, no. 13; Dohrn I, no. 302.

13. (2) Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 920.68.23, region of Chiusi. Sides A–B, woman with quadruple wings running toward right. D. M. Robinson et al., *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto* (Toronto, 1930), no. 219, pl. 19; Calò, p. 435, no. 14; Dohrn I, no. 294; Spivey, p. 85, pl. 39b.

14. Location unknown, former Pozzi collection, former Feuardent and Sambon collection. Side A, sphinx, side B, lion. Dohrn I, no. 295.

15. (1) Copenhagen, National Museum, 3793, from Orvieto. Sides A–B, Centaur. *CVA* Copenhagen, National Museum, 5, pl. 217, no. 5; Dohrn I, p. 138K.

16. (1) Orvieto, Cannicella necropolis. Sides A–B, athlete to the left. Minto (above [note 25]), pp. 20f., figs. 11.5, 13a–b; idem, “Vasi dipinti della necropoli di Cannicella (Orvieto),” *StEtr* 14 (1940), p. 371, figs. 3a–b, pl. 32.1.

17. (1) Orvieto, Cannicella necropolis. Side A, athlete to the right, side B, panther to the left. Minto (above [note 25]), p. 21, figs. 11.6, 14a–b; idem (above, no. 16), pp. 371–372, figs. 4a–b, pl. 32.3.

18. (1) Washington, U.S. National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution), 136419, from Orvieto. Sides A–B, satyr pursuing maenad. *EVP*, p. 296; Schwarz, 1984 (above [note 25]), pls. 36.3–4; 37.1; idem, “Nuclear Fingerprinting of Ancient Pottery,” *UE Magazine*, Winter 1988, pp. 4f. (fig.).

19. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 78738, from Cortona. Sides A–B, Herakles’ combat on Mount Pholoe, with Iolaos? *EVP*, p. 19; F. Magi, *StEtr* 21 (1950/1951), pp. 375–377, figs. 1–2; Camporeale, no. 7; Schwarz (above [note 53]).

20. Orvieto, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, 1360, from Orvieto. Neck, sides A–B, swans, body, sirens. Camporeale, no. 1.

21. Orvieto, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, 137, from Orvieto. Body, sirens. Camporeale, no. 2.

22. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico, 1815, gift from O. Cambi. Side A, Herakles? and the lion, side B, Centaur. Camporeale, no. 3; Schwarz (above [note 53]).

23. (1) Chiusi, Museo Archeologico, Paolozzi collection, 298, from Chiusi. Side A, two warriors in combat, side B, warrior. Camporeale, no. 4.

24. (1) Chiusi, Museo Archeologico, no inv. number, former Mieli Servadio collection. Sides A–B, running youth. Camporeale, no. 5.

25. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico, RC 5285, from Tarquinia. Sides A–B, two antithetical swans. Camporeale, no. 6.

26. Cetona-Camporsevoli, Grossi collection, from Camporsevoli. R. Grossi, *Castrum Campus Silvae Historia* (Vatican, 1956), p. 6, fig. 3, Camporeale, no. 8.

27–28. Rome, from Vulci, Società Hercle excavations in the Osteria necropolis, Tombs 142 and 180. *Materiali di antichità*

*varia*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1964), p. 24, no. 473, p. 33, nos. 677–678; Camporeale, nos. 9–10.

29. (1) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 71.AE.369. Sides A–B, two youths and two horses running. Unpublished.

29a. (1) Winchester College, no inv. number, provenience unknown. Satyr running toward right (similar to Siren, no. 1, above). Spivey, p. 85, pl. 39a.

*Stamnoi*: (hydria without vertical handle or amphora with horizontal handles)

30. (1) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 75691, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Tomb 1. Side A, warrior running toward left, side B, winged horse. *NSc*, 1893, pp. 260–261; Calò, no. 16; Dohrn I, p. 137F; Malucco Vaccaro (above [note 34]), pp. 73–76, 78, pl. 36.

31. (1) Orvieto, Faina Collection, 2712, Cardelli, 174. Side A, diskobolos, side B, bird. Calò, p. 434, no. 17; Dohrn I, p. 137G.

32. (1) Vatican. Side A, dog, side B, quadruped. Albizzati (above, no. 7), no. 289, pl. 27; Calò, no. 18; Dohrn I, no. 307f.

33. (2) Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 897, from Italy, said to be found together with Yale, Stoddard Collection, 232 (above, no. 11). Side A, rider with dog, side B, Siren. *CVA* Scheurleer (La Haye) 1, Pays Bas, pl. 3.1–2; Calò, no. 20; Dohrn I, no. 292.

34. (2) Vienna, Museum für Kunst und Industrie, 318, acquired 1889, from Orvieto. Side A, diskobolos, side B, Siren. K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten im königlichen Oesterreichischen Museum* (Vienna, 1892), no. 318, p. 38, fig. 20; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1923), p. 193; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 123, fig. 48; Calò, no. 19; Dohrn I, no. 293.

35. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F 4025, acquired 1884, from Orvieto. Side A, volute branch, side B, ivy-leaf ornament. Dohrn I, no. 307g, pl. 9.

36. (1) Orvieto, Cannicella necropolis. Side A, bird. Minto (above [note 25]), p. 19, figs. 11.3, 12a–b; idem (above, no. 16), pp. 369–370, fig. 1, pl. 32.4.

37. (1) Orvieto, Cannicella necropolis. Sides A–B, warrior to right. Minto (above [note 25]), p. 20, fig. 11.4; idem (above, no. 16), pp. 370–371, fig. 2, pl. 32.6.

38. (1) Florence, Quercia collection, 301, from Orvieto. Side A, lion, side B, panther. Camporeale, pp. 25–26, no. 12, pl. 4a–b.

39. (1) Grosseto, Museo Archeologico, 344, from Roselle. Side A, athlete running, side B, dancer. Camporeale, no. 13.

39a. (2) Dunedin, Otago Museum, E 48.264. Sides A–B, bird toward left (identical to no. 44). Spivey, p. 85, pl. 39c.

*Oinochoai*:

40. (2) Frankfurt, Historisches Museum. Sides A–B, hunt scene. Schaal (above, no. 8), pl. 25e; Calò, no. 21; Dohrn I, no. 299.

41. (2) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 28. Two antithetical horses. R. Herbig, *StEtr* 7 (1933), pl. 15.4–5; Calò, no. 22; Dohrn I, no. 300; *CVA* Heidelberg 2, pl. 59.3.

42. (2) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Herakles wrestling the lion. Richter (above, no. 12), p. 31, fig. 3; Calò, no. 23; Dohrn I, no. 303; Schwarz (above [note 53]).

43. (1) Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Tomb 6a, no. 726. Snake to left. Bizzarri, 1966 (above [note 25]), pp. 7, 57, pl. 12a; idem, *Orvieto Etrusca Arte e Storia* (Orvieto, 1967), fig. 21.

44. (2) Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Tomb 6a, no. 727. Bird to left (identical to no. 39a). Bizzarri, 1966 (above [note 25]), pp. 7, 58, pl. 12b.

#### Krater:

45. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, 719, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis. Sides A–B, sphinx. Camporeale, no. 14.

#### Fragments:

46. (1) Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, acquired Rome, 1892. Remains of bird demon and man. P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*. Abh. kgl. Ges. Wiss., Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. N.F. 14.1 (Berlin, 1912), pl. 3, no. 9; *JdI* 29 (1914), p. 242, fig. 30; Calò, p. 432, no. 7; Dohrn I, no. 307i.

47. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, acquired 1900 from Mancini, from Orvieto. Amphora. Sides A–B, trees. Jacobsthal (above, no. 46), pl. 3, no. 7; Calò, p. 433, no. 8; Dohrn I, no. 307e.

48. (2) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 40b, from Orvieto. Herakles? shooting Centaurs? Herbig (above, no. 41), pl. 15.6; Dohrn I, p. 134; *EVP*, p. 19; *CVA Heidelberg* 2, pl. 59.4; Schwarz (above [note 53]).

49. (2) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 43. Centaur throwing stone. Herbig (above, no. 41), pl. 16.5, and fig. 1b; Dohrn I, no. 304, pp. 132–133, 135; *CVA Heidelberg* 2, pl. 60.1.

50. (2) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 44. Centaur throwing stone. Herbig (above, no. 41), pl. 16.6; Dohrn I, no. 304, pp. 132–133, 135; *CVA Heidelberg* 2, pl. 60.2 (perhaps from the same vase as no. 48).

51–52. (1) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 41, E 42. Warrior, youth, respectively. *CVA Heidelberg* 2, pl. 60.3–4.

53. (2) Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T 4450b. Amphora fr. Falling bull?, small animal lying. *CVA Leipzig* 2, pl. 49.2.

54. Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T 4450c. Siren wing? *ibid.*, pl. 49.3.

55. Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T 4452. Wing? *ibid.*, pl. 49.4.

56. Munich? Diskoboloi, bird. *EVP*, p. 20.

57. Roselle, 1651. Remains of an animal. P. Bocci, "Catalogo della ceramica di Roselle," *StEtr* 33 (1965), pp. 116f., pl. 30, no. 1651.

58. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.234, art market. Satyr to left.

#### Orvieto workshop; different artists:

59–59a. (3) Heidelberg, University Collection, E 40a and c, from Orvieto. Neck-amphora? fragments. Two warriors moving toward left and one warrior moving left (both by the same artist as Lotus Bud, Appendix 2, no. 7a). Herbig (above,

no. 41); Dohrn I, p. 134; *EVP*, p. 19; *CVA Heidelberg* 2, pl. 60.

60. Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Tomb 26, no. 551. Amphora. Winged figure. Bizzarri, 1962 (above [note 25]), p. 107, pl. 6c.

61. Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Tomb 6a, no. 725. Amphora. Shoulder panel, ducks. Bizzarri, 1966 (above [note 35]), pp. 7, 57, pl. 11b.

62. Berkeley, University of California, 2125 from Saturnia. Mancinelli excavations, 1895, Tomb VI=O, purchased by Dr. Emerson. Amphora. Sides A–B shoulder panel, swans. Unpublished (same style as no. 60).

63. Berkeley, University of California, 2126, from Saturnia, same provenience as no. 62. Amphora. Side A, wave pattern, side B, dots and strokes.

64. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum. Amphora. Side A, man with shield, side B, horse. Near no. 1. E. H. Hall, *Pennsylvania University Museum Journal* 5 (1914), pp. 223–224, figs. 111–112; Calò, p. 433, no. 15; Dohrn I, no. 306 (doubtful).

#### Doubtful:

A. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3212, from Orvieto. Amphora. Dohrn I, no. 307, pl. 9.

B. Amsterdam, Netherlands Lyceum. Amphora. *Meded* 7 (1927), p. 18, pl. 2.1; Dohrn I, no. 305; *EVP*, p. 19 (not Orvieto Group).

C. Location unknown, from Cumae. Oinochoe. Hippocampus. Dohrn I, no. 307h; *EVP*, pp. 19–20 (Campanian).

D. Berkeley, University of California, 8/920, from Orvieto. Olpe. *CVA Berkeley* 1, pl. 30.1–2; Dohrn I, p. 139; *EVP*, p. 20 (possible). Lotus Bud Group, see below, Appendix 2, no. 8.

E. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 1226. Amphora. Dohrn I, no. 307b, pl. 9.1; *EVP*, p. 19 (possible).

F. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 501. Stamnos. Side A, two sphinxes, side B, two panthers conjoined at the head. Dohrn II, p. 289, pl. 55.4; *EVP*, p. 19 (style not found in the group).

G. Copenhagen, National Museum, 3794. Side A, silen on couch, side B, griffin. *CVA Copenhagen, National Museum* 5, pl. 217.5; Dohrn I, p. 138L (some elements of form and decoration are the same but the figure drawing is by a different artist).

## APPENDIX 2

The following vases can be attributed to the Lotus Bud Group. Attributions to the group by Dohrn and Beazley are indicated.

#### Neck-Amphorae:

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, F 571, from Cerveteri. Neck, ivy with points to the left, three double palmettes separated by a double-circle chain in the middle, fronds out, shoulder, lotus bud with petals, sides A–B, two satyrs. A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1928), pl. 73; Dohrn II, p. 290E (Lotus Bud Group, product of Cerveteri); *EVP*, p. 18 (Lotus Bud Group).

2. Rome, Conservatori Museum, former Castellani Collec-

tion. Neck and shoulder, same as no. 1 with lines circumscribing palmettes, single frond vertically separates palmettes, side A, satyrs, maenad.

3. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4168, no provenience. Neck and shoulder, same as no. 1, side A, two satyrs dancing, side B, Herakles with tripod running toward left. Dohrn II, 290E, pl. 56.2 (A only); *EVP*, p. 18 (both consider this vase the Lotus Bud Group); Schwarz (above [note 53]).

3a. Milan, Lerici collection, A 7200 (MA 211/3), provenience unknown. Side A, combat scene, side B, two warriors and a central figure move toward the left. M. Bonghi Jovino, "L'Etruria e la Collezione Lerici," in *Le civiche raccolte archeologiche di Milano* (Milan, 1979), pp. 187–188, no. 20 (fig.).

4. Berkeley, University of California, 8/445, no provenience. Neck, same as no. 2, omits circumscribing lines, panel, palaestra scene, boxers, runners, umpire, flutist. *CVA* Berkeley 1, pl. 29.2a–c.

5. Rome, Villa Giulia, 18597, from Falerii Veteres. Neck, ivy to left, three sets of double palmettes with horizontal chain in the center separated vertically by single fronds, shoulder, simple bud interlace, side A, Herakles? fighting a sea monster (Typhon?), side B, Nike and warrior. Giglioli (above [note 50]), fig. 2, pl. 15.1–2 (same artist as Villa Giulia olpe, no. 9, below); Schwarz (above [note 53]).

6. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Art Gallery, WF 7, T. B. Walker Collection, no provenience. Neck, black, sides A–B, Herakles, Athena in a Gigantomachy. Carlucci (above [note 15]), pp. 545–549, figs. 1–3 ("near Micali school"); Spivey, pp. 43f. (Pomerance Group); Schwarz (above [note 53]).

7. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 68.AE.17, art market. Neck, ivy and simplified palmettes like no. 5. Side A, youth, feline?, side B, Pegasos? Unpublished.

#### *Oinochoe:*

7a. Basel, Becchina collection, 487, provenience unknown. Two hoplites and nude warrior running toward right (same painter as Heidelberg E 40a and c, nos. 59–59a, above). Unpublished.

#### *Olpai:*

8. Berkeley, University of California, 8/920, from Orvieto. Neck, checkerboard, key, ivy chain, meanders, dots, and bands from the figure panel, panel, horse, youth, rock. *CVA* Berkeley 1, pl. 30.1; Dohrn I, p. 139 ("allied with Orvieto workshop"); *EVP*, pp. 19–20 (same).

9. Rome, Villa Giulia, Castellani Collection. Neck, same as no. 8, but zigzag replaces meanders, panel, warrior and Nike? Giglioli (above [note 50]), fig. 3 (same painter as no. 5).

10. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, K 1956/8.1, no provenience. Neck, checkerboard, ivy chain, panel, same as no. 9. L. B. van der Meer, *De Etrusken* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 32–33, pl. 21 (Micali school).

#### *Lekythos:*

11. Paris, Petit Palais, 431, from Sala Consilina. Shoulder, palmettes and lotus with petals, panther, and lion, body, Centauro-machy. *CVA* Petit Palais 1, pls. 3.1, 4.4–6.

#### *Column-krater:*

12. Bern, Historisches Museum, 45142, provenience unknown. I. Jucker, *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (Bern, 1970), pp. 46–47, pls. 18–19; *LIMC*, vol. 3 (1987), p. 241, no. 57 (fig.), s.v. "Cheiron." Side A, Chiron receives the infant Achilles from Peleus, side B, Lapith fighting Centaur (Jucker) or Herakles? (no attributes other than sword), Nessos?, Deianeira?

# Graffites étrusques au J. Paul Getty Museum

Jacques Heurgon

## I

Sur le pied d'une coupe à figures rouges peinte par Onesimos, façonnée par Euphronios, datant de la première décennie du V<sup>e</sup> siècle (fig. 1), on remarque un assez long graffite étrusque; il est inscrit sur l'une des moitiés du pied. Notons tout de suite que ce pied a fait l'objet d'une réparation antique et qu'on lui a fixé au centre un collier de bronze.<sup>1</sup>

Le graffite se développe sur deux lignes circulaires parallèles, mais inversées.

Sur la ligne intérieure—que nous désignerons dans la suite par (A)—on lit, de droite à gauche (hauteur des lettres 1,2 cm):

*e.cavi.cr—culi.hercle.s.*

La ligne extérieure (B) est aussi inscrite de droite à gauche, mais en sens inverse. Elle comporte deux grandes lacunes: du premier passage effacé émerge la finale *s.* d'un mot; à 5 cm de distance, un nouveau *vacat* se termine par la lettre *n*, suivie du verbe *turuce*, la dernière lettre étant réduite au bas de la haste de l'*e* (hauteur des lettres 1,5 cm):

*---s.-----n.turuce*

*hercles* (gén.) et *turuce* ("a dédié") révèlent tout de suite le caractère du graffite, qui exprime une offrande de la coupe à l'Hercule étrusque.

(B) contenait dans sa première lacune quelques lettres qui désignaient sans doute le donateur, par exemple *aules* ou *laris*, et la seconde lacune s'achevait vraisemblablement par le pronom *itun* ou *itan* = "cela," comme dans une coupe attique à figures rouges de Tarquinia:

*itun turuce venel atelinas tinas cliniaras* (TLE 156)

"Venel Atelina a dédié cela aux fils de Jupiter (les Dioscures)". *itun* (ou *itan*) représente la coupe décrite dans (A), soit: "*aules* (?) l'a dédié."

(A) présente des difficultés qu'on ne peut résoudre à coup sûr.

Le premier mot est le pronom *eca*, très usité, comme *ca* ou *eta* pour la présentation d'un objet: "Ceci est le tombeau de...";<sup>2</sup> "ceci est le *persie* (sur un manche de bronze) de...";<sup>3</sup> ou encore la scène figurée sur le vase: "ceci est Alceste enlevée par Charon."<sup>4</sup> Particulièrement intéressant est le point qui suit l'*e* initial,<sup>5</sup> et qui semble un trait de la ponctuation dite syllabique spécialement pratiquée à Caere; on en a un autre exemple dans la syllabe finale de *hercle.s*. Mais cette forme de ponctuation syllabique se mélange à la ponctuation classique, entre les mots, après *vi.*, après *li.*, après l'*-s.* final de *hercles*. Cette utilisation simultanée des deux ponctuations n'est pas rare.<sup>6</sup>

Mais ce qui suit cet *eca* demeure obscur. Que peut signifier *vi*? Nous proposons de lire *avi*, nom d'un vase peu connu mais qui s'impose depuis quelque temps avec insistance. Il figure gravé avant cuisson sur neuf petites coupes de Tarquinia (fig. 2) publiées en 1982 par la Dott. essa Maristella Pandolfini Angeletti,<sup>7</sup> et sur une autre de Vulci que Beazley range dans la catégorie céramique des *spurinas*.<sup>8</sup> Mais *avi* apparaît aussi déterminé par un *cognomen* au génitif (*avi carsu*) sur une kylix à figures rouges attribuée par Beazley au peintre de Triptolème.<sup>9</sup> On note que l'*-s* final de *carcus* est omis.

Je remercie très vivement le Professeur Jiří Frel qui, au nom du J. Paul Getty Museum, m'a proposé d'étudier ces graffites et m'en a fourni les xeroxes, ainsi que Miss Marion True, Associate Curator for Antiquities, qui m'a aimablement aidé dans mon analyse.

1. H. A. G. Brijder, *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups* (Allard Pierson Series, vol. 4, Amsterdam, 1983), p. 40—Ancient Repairs, fig. 1a–1b.

2. TLE 162: *eca šuθi velθurus*, "ceci est la tombe de Velthur" (Blera).

3. M. Cristofani, *SE XLIII* (1975) (cf. TLE 622); A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, p. 241: *eta kauθas* : *axuias* : *persie*, "ceci est le *persie* dédié à *kauθa achuia*" (Ager Perusinus).

4. TLE 334: *eca* : *ersce* : *nac* : *axrum* : *fierθrce*, représentation de la séparation d'Alceste et d'Admète devant l'Achéron (*axlum*).

5. F. Slotty, *Beiträge zur Etruskologie* I, p. 87 sq., "Punktierten *a, e, u* bedeutet Wortanfang," pp. 97–99: "mit *e*-beginnende Wörter"; cf. M. Cristofani, *CIE* II, 1, 4, 6312 (Pyrgi).

6. Cf. l'inscription citée à la note précédente: *θesan*.

7. *CIE* III, 1, 10024–10032 avec la pl. VI (Tarquinia).

8. *CII* 2222; J. Beazley, *EVP*, p. 24.

9. *SE* XLIV, 1976, n° 61, p. 248 (Caere); J. Beazley, *ARF*<sup>2</sup>, n° 49, p. 364.

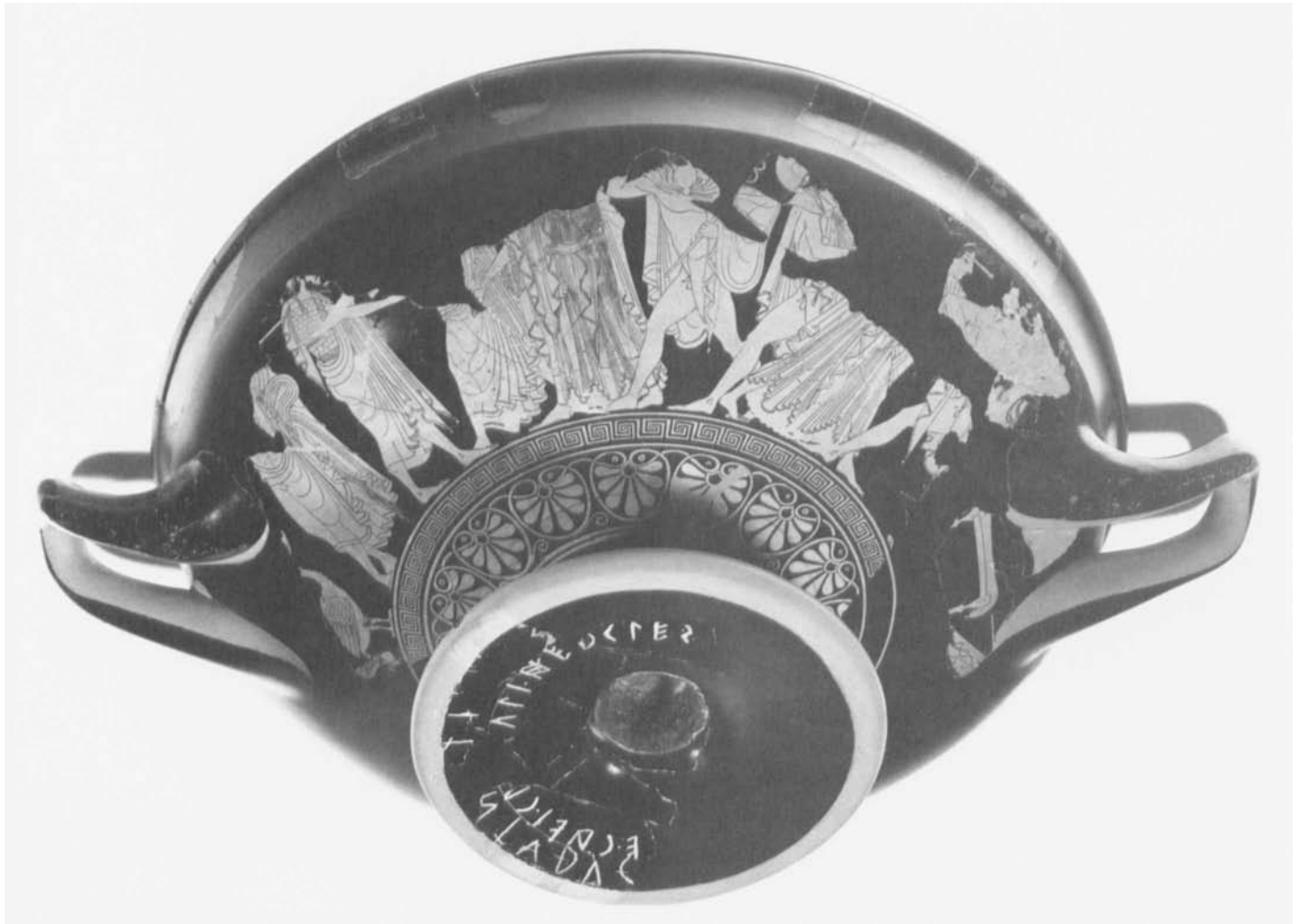


Figure 1. Kylix attique à figures rouges. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.362.

Pour introduire cet *avi* dans notre inscription: *e.ca(a)vi.*, il faudrait supprimer un *a*. Or l'omission de la finale est un fait constant en étrusque (cf. *carcu*), et précisément le Professeur Colonna a publié à Norchia une inscription, à vrai dire récente, où l'*-a* de *ec(a)* est omis:

*ec(a) : mutna : vel(us) : v(e)lisin(as)*<sup>10</sup>

Nous pourrions donc lire:

*e.c. avi*: "ceci est la coupe..."

Les deux lettres qui suivent sont nettement *c* et, avec la panse mutilée, *r*. Après la lacune qui pouvait compter deux lettres, on voit se dresser la partie supérieure d'un *c* (cf. les trois autres *c* de [A]). Il faut donc restituer *creic-* ou *craic-*. Et sans doute *creice* (*craice*) = "grec" ne semble

attesté en étrusque qu'à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>11</sup> avec toutefois, dès le V<sup>e</sup> siècle, à Marzabotto, un *cognomen kraikalus*.<sup>12</sup> Et nous voici engagés, bien malgré nous, dans la difficile question de l'origine du nom Γραικός, *Graecus*, pour laquelle la solution illyrienne semble avoir été peut-être trop facilement adoptée, malgré l'effort, qualifié d'hypothèses hasardeuses", pour démontrer le caractère grec du nom et son emploi très ancien, même avant celui d'Hellènes, dans une région située sur la côte d'Eubée.<sup>13</sup> On ne voit pas pourquoi, selon Chantraine, il serait "inopportun" d'évoquer la γῆ Γραική de Thucydide,<sup>14</sup> dans une région voisine de Tanagra, Orôpos et Erétrie, étant donné l'intensité du commerce chalcidien des vases attiques en Etrurie.<sup>15</sup>

Mais la fin du mot *craiculi* reste inexplicée. En étrus-

10. *SE* XLIX, 1981, n° 27, p. 256.

11. C. de Simone, *Griechische Entlehnungen im Etruskischen* I, p. 45 sq.

12. *ThLE*, p. 199.

13. J. Bérard, *Le Nom des Grecs en latin*, *REA* LIV (1952), p. 5 sq.; A.

Ernout, *Latin Graecus, Graius, Graecia*, *RPh* XXXV (1962), p. 209 sq.;

P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* I, p. 234.

14. *Thuc.* II, 23.3.

15. G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle*, p. 182 sq., et 197.

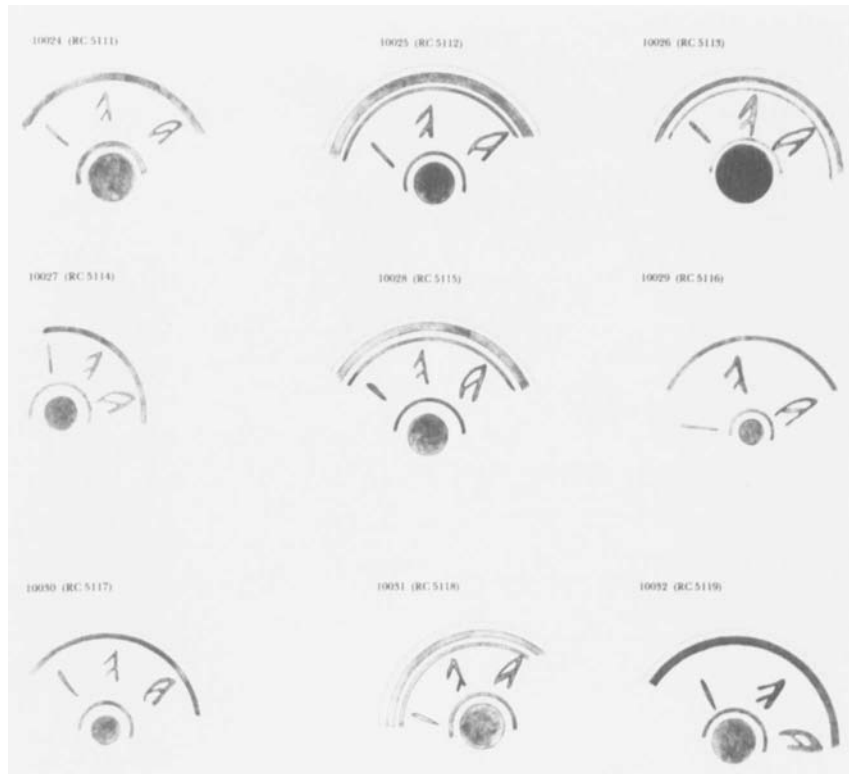


Figure 2. Dessins du graffiti sur un groupe de petites coupes de Tarquinia. CIE III, 1, 10024–10032 avec la pl. VI (Tarquinia).



Figure 3. Détail du graffiti sur le pied de la coupe d'Onesimos, figure 1 (pré-conservation).





Figure 4. Remise en place du fragment, figure 3.

que les finales en *-ul-* sont rares; Carlo de Simone n'en offre que quelques-unes.<sup>16</sup> A moins qu'on n'imagine, avec A. J. Pfiffig, l'anaptyxe d'un *-u-*, comme dans  $\Theta\text{un}\chi$  (*u*)-*l-e*.<sup>17</sup>

Quoi qu'il en soit, il ne serait pas étonnant qu'une ville comme Caere qui était dès le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle l'un des marchés d'élection de la céramique attique n'ignorât pas, dans son enthousiasme hellénisant, le nom sous lequel elle désignait ses fournisseurs.

Nous traduirons donc: "Ceci est la coupe grecque qui

appartient à Herclé; X l'a dédiée."

Quelques remarques s'imposent encore, qui portent sur la date de ce graffiti. Il présente à la fois des caractères archaïques et récents.

Il offre deux exemples de ponctuation syllabique, dont F. Sloty pense qu'elle a été en usage à Caere et en Campanie de 550 à 450.<sup>18</sup>

La forme du verbe *turuce*, sans dévocalisation (*turce*) est archaïque (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle),<sup>19</sup> mais elle apparaît encore au

16. C. de Simone, *o.c.* II, p. 118 et 275.

17. A. J. Pfiffig, *Die Etruskische Sprache*, p. 112.

18. F. Sloty, *o.c.*, p. 66.

19. C. de Simone, *o.c.* II, p. 59.

20. *TLE* 874.

21. C. de Simone, *o.c.* I, p. 70 sq.

22. C. de Simone, *o.c.* I, p. 45 sq.

23. H. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen*, p. 38; *TLE*.529; *ThLE*, p. 155. J. Paul Getty Museum, 80.AE.13.1.

24. *ThLE*, *ibid.*

25. R. Rix, *ibid.*, p. 203.

26. Pl., *N.H.* II, 140: *Vetus fama Etruriae est, impetratum* (la foudre)



Figure 5. Fragment de kylix de buchero ±550, devenue rouge. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.13.1.



Figure 6. Fragment d'un plat d'environ 630–600. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.13.3.

V<sup>e</sup> siècle à Pyrgi.<sup>20</sup>

*hercle* (pour *herecele*) avec la syncope de la voyelle brève intérieure, figure sur des miroirs et des scarabées dès la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>21</sup>

Nous savons que *creice* (*craice*) n'est attesté que du IV<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> siècle.<sup>22</sup>

Enfin l'abréviation *ec* pour *eca*, signalée par le Professeur Colonna à Norchia, serait du II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Mis à part les deux derniers faits, l'ensemble pourrait être grosso modo du V<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est ici qu'il convient de se rappeler que le pied de la coupe a fait l'objet d'une réparation antique, qui l'a pourvu, en son centre, d'un collier de bronze. Il se pourrait que le graffite ait été composé, ou recomposé à cette intention, en s'inspirant d'un texte ancien avec des intentions archaïsantes.

## II

Sur un fragment de kylix de buchero ±550, devenue rouge (fig. 5) on lit, dans une écriture très irrégulière (avec le sigma à quatre traits de Caere):

= *mi ulθas*

Le pronom *mi* = "ego," est suivi d'un génitif du nom *ulθa* qui peut être interprété de deux façons.

1. C'est un génitif d'appartenance, qui marque que la kylix est la propriété d'un certain *ulθa*, nom individuel. A vrai dire ce nom n'est attesté que tardivement sur une tuile, et H. Rix y reconnaît un *cognomen*.<sup>23</sup> La même racine a d'ailleurs fourni, dans l'onomastique étrusque,<sup>24</sup> des *ulθe*, *cognomen* (?) selon Rix,<sup>25</sup> et des génitifs fémi-

*Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro, quod uocauere Oltam, euocatam a Porsina suo rege.*

27. Brunn-Körte, *Rilievi* 3, 8–10; A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, p. 313 sq., fig. 127 a et b.

28. E. Vetter, *Etruskische Wortdeutungen*, p. 65 sq.; Pfiffig, *ibid.*

29. M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia*, 7<sup>e</sup> éd. (1984), p. 328.

nins *ulθial*: mais tout cela assez tard et en général dans l'Etrurie septentrionale.

2. Nous sommes au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Et notre *ulθas* nous a tout de suite rappelé le nom *Olta* sous lequel tous les manuscrits de Pline,<sup>26</sup> dans un texte visiblement tiré des "Histoires étrusques", désignent le monstre qui ravageait les campagnes de Volsinies. Cet être malfaisant a souvent été identifié avec le dieu à tête de loup qui sur des urnes étrusques surgit d'un puits au milieu d'haruspices qui tentent de le maîtriser.<sup>27</sup> On a fait de lui un dieu chthonien,<sup>28</sup> et Massimo Pallottino le définit dans la pluralité de ses fonctions tantôt comme une puissance maléfique, tantôt comme un dieu de la végétation de sexe incertain, tantôt comme une grande divinité guerrière.<sup>29</sup> Son nom avait été inséré dans la riche série *Volta*, *Veltune*, *Volturnus*,<sup>30</sup> La seule difficulté est que dans ce cas le génitif n'est pas d'appartenance, mais de dédicace. Qu'on pût rendre un culte à Olta, on le voit sur l'une des deux urnes citées où l'un des haruspices, brandissant une coupe au-dessus de sa tête, lui fait une libation.<sup>31</sup> On attendrait sans doute le verbe *mulvanice*. Mais des dédicaces ainsi réduites au pronom *mi* et au nom du dieu ne sont pas sans exemple. Citons *mi θanr*,<sup>32</sup> "j'appartiens à la déesse *θanr*." Mais on peut aussi supposer que le dédicant a jeté sa kylix dans une tombe avec précipitation, en proie à un effroi dont témoigne son écriture.

## III

Sur le fragment d'un plat d'environ 630–600 (fig. 6) on lit:

= *mi hvlaves : spati*

30. Sur les noms *Voltumna* et *Vertumnus*, G. Devoto, *Scritti minori* II, p. 185 sq.

31. A. J. Pfiffig, p. 314, fig. 127 b.

32. TLE 733. Sur la déesse *θanr*, Massimo Pallottino, *Studi di Archeologia* II, pp. 487, 493, 602; Pfiffig, p. 304 sq.

L'inscription commence par le pronom *mi*—“ego.” On pourrait à la rigueur lire *ni*, mais cette particule, explicable peut-être par une négligence du graveur,<sup>33</sup> n'est attestée que trois fois dans toute l'épigraphie étrusque, par exemple dans l'inscription étrusque découverte au pied du Capitole: *ni araziia laraniia*.<sup>34</sup> Ici la coupure a dû faire disparaître une haste antérieure; d'ailleurs au pied de la première qui nous est conservée semble s'esquisser le début d'une oblique vers la droite.

Les deux lettres qui suivent *hv* sont un digramme représentant, en étrusque archaïque, la spirante labiale<sup>35</sup> *f*. A côté de la forme inversée *vh*: on note ainsi *θahvaa*<sup>36</sup> et *θihvarie*.<sup>37</sup>

La fin du mot, avec un *sigma* à quatre traits qui dénote que l'inscription a été gravée à Caere, permet de lire le nom du possesseur de l'objet *flaves* au génitif. Ce nom, qui appartient au fonds italique (lat. *flavus*) est attesté plusieurs fois.<sup>38</sup> Il est suivi ici de deux points.

Mais le dernier mot *spati*, qui désigne l'objet dont *flave* revendique la possession, est particulièrement intéressant, depuis que Giovanni Colonna, dans son étude sur les noms étrusques de vases, a reconnu dans *spanti*,<sup>39</sup> qui figure dans trois inscriptions de Caere du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, un emprunt à l'ombrien désignant un *plat*, sous la forme d'accusatif singulier des Tables Eugubines. Il est évident que notre *spati* est une erreur du graveur pour *spa(n)ti*. Il suffit de comparer notre texte à l'une des trois inscriptions de Colonna: *mi karkanas spanti*.

Nous traduirons: “Je suis le plat de Flavus.”

Institut de France  
Paris

#### NOTES SUR UN FRAGMENT AJOUTÉ RÉCEMMENT

Miss True a bien voulu me signaler la découverte d'un petit fragment appartenant au pied de la coupe d'Onesimos (fig. 3), qui se place dans la seconde lacune de (B) et contient les lettres I et T. Nous avons conjecturé *supra* que dans cette lacune devait se trouver le pronom démonstratif *itun* ou *itan*—“cela,” c'est-à-dire “cette coupe.”

Mais en apportant une agréable confirmation de notre conjecture, ce fragment ne va pas sans poser un difficile problème.

Remarquons d'abord que les fragments recollés sur l'argile produisent au point de jonction un mince filet blanc qu'il ne

faut pas prendre pour des lettres. Ainsi, tout près de la haste de droite de l'N, on distingue un trait blanc parallèle qui n'est que la trace de la section du fragment.

Cela dit, celui-ci peut être assez facilement remplacé (fig. 4), comme l'a vu Miss True, en tenant compte: 1<sup>o</sup> des trois cercles que forment: a) le tracé curviligne qui sert de base d'alignement à (A), et qui le sépare de (B); b) une autre ligne de base qui semble avoir été incisée pour (B), mais qui coïncide avec le filet que nous indiquons et qui marque le contraste entre le vernis et l'argile; c) le bord du vase; 2<sup>o</sup> du point d'ancrage fourni par le bas d'une haste au-dessus de NTI, lettres renversées de (A), et qui semble être le pied de l'I du fragment.

Le fragment se poursuit à gauche jusqu'à 3 mm de l'N, mais ne contient pas le V ou l'A que nous attendions. Il existe certainement une petite lacune entre l'extrémité gauche du fragment et celui qui commence par N, mais il est difficile d'y loger aucune lettre, même en essayant de tirer un V ou un A du gribouillis qui apparaît à l'extrémité gauche du nouveau fragment et qui résulte d'éraflures du vernis (*cf.* entre T et I): il serait hasardeux d'y voir un morceau de lettre. D'ailleurs la distance entre l'I et le T et entre le T et l'N est sensiblement la même: 2,3 cm. Il nous faut donc lire *itn* au lieu de *l'itun/itan* souhaité.

Cette absence de la voyelle intérieure ne peut guère s'expliquer par une omission accidentelle du graveur (comme par exemple, dans notre inscription III, *spati* pour *spanti*): notre texte est écrit avec beaucoup de soin, et la place ne manquait pas.

Nous croyons plutôt devoir chercher une solution dans un aspect particulier de la langue étrusque: la multiplicité et la diversité des démonstratifs, et la facilité avec laquelle ils produisaient, par l'addition d'une voyelle prothétique, des formes imprévues. M. Pallottino les énumérait déjà dans ses *Elementi*:<sup>40</sup> *ca, cn, ta, tn*, mais aussi *eca, ecn, ita*... Il s'arrête malheureusement à *ita*, sans aller jusqu'à *itn*! Mais il nous encourage en écrivant:<sup>41</sup> “Una formazione enfatica *eta* (come *eca*) non attestata, si può supporre accanto... alla variante fonetica di tipo arcaizante *ita*.”

De même A. J. Pfiffig, qui cite<sup>42</sup> une dédicace (récente):

*in turce ramθa*... (TLE 696)  
“Ramtha a dédié ceci...”

présente *itun* et *itan* comme < \**itn*,<sup>43</sup> avec anaptyxe de la voyelle intérieure. Et certes *itn* n'est pas attesté, comme l'*eta* de M. Pallottino. Mais ce pourrait être ici une forme archaïsante, conforme aux intentions dont nous avons donné ci-dessus d'autres exemples.

33. A. J. Pfiffig, *Die Etruskische Sprache*, p. 104. J. Paul Getty Museum, 80.AE.13.3.

34. M. Pallottino, qui en discute dans *BCAR LXIX* (1941), p. 102 (TLE 24); *cf.* TLE 246, 710.

35. M. Cristofani, *Introduzione allo Studio dell'Etrusco*, p. 13 sq.

36. TLE 64.

37. G. Colonna, *MEFR LXXXVII* (1970), p. 637 sq. avec la fig. 4; *cf.* M. Cristofani, *SE XXXIX*, (1971), p. 372, note 76; C. de Simone *SE*

XLIII (1975), p. 122.

38. W. Schulze, *ZGLE*, p. 167 (Volterra); *ThLE*, p. 369.

39. G. Colonna, *Arch. Class. XXV–XXVI* (1973–74), p. 144. La pl. XXXVI donne une image complète de notre *spanti*.

40. M. Pallottino, *Elementi di lingua etrusca*, (Firenze 1936), p. 48.

41. *Id.*, p. 49: Osservazione 3.

42. A. J. Pfiffig, *o.c.*, p. 109.

43. *Id.*, p. 113.

