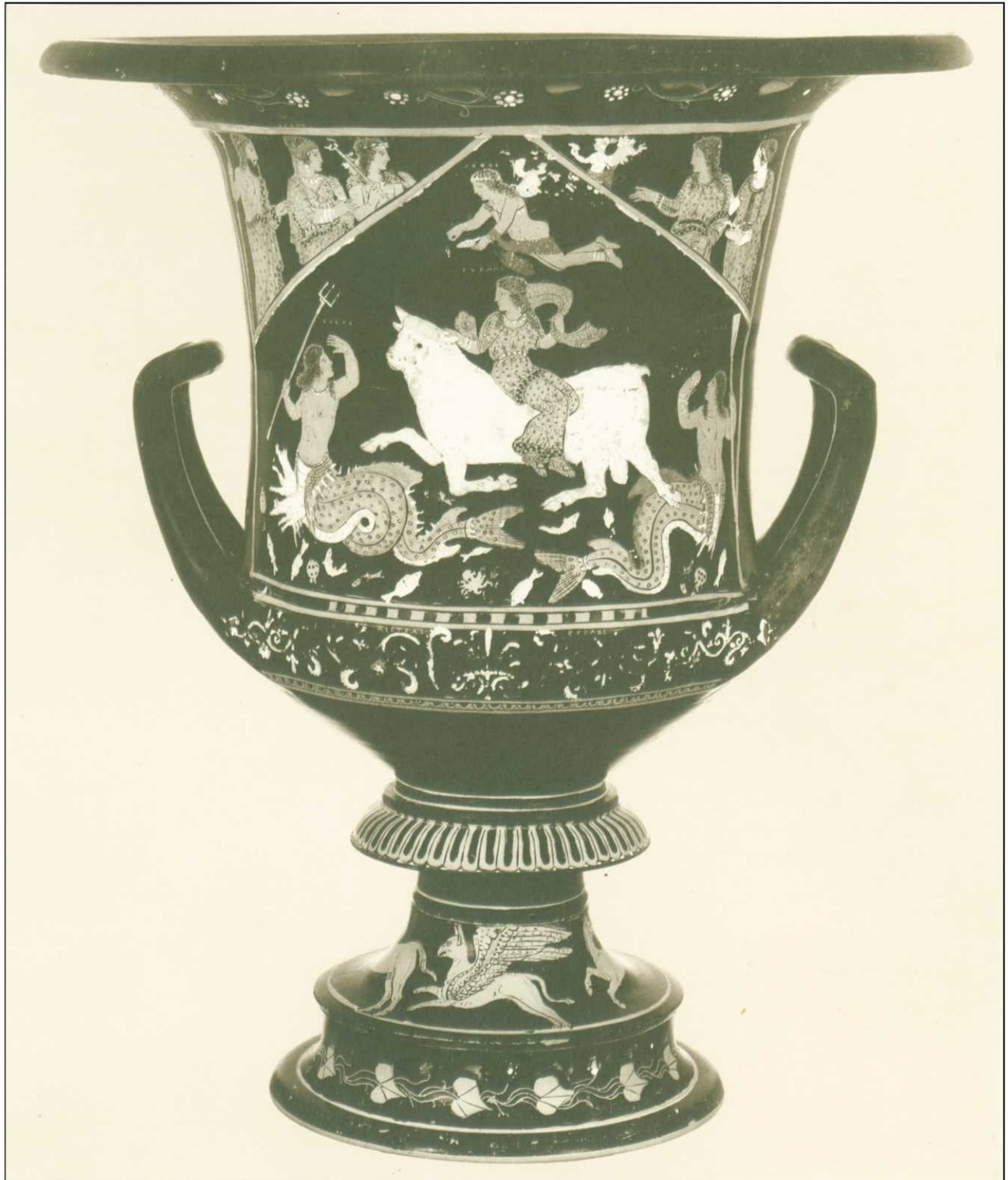


# Greek Vases

In The J. Paul Getty Museum



*Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 1*

# Greek Vases

---

In The J. Paul Getty Museum

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM MALIBU, CALIFORNIA  
VOLUME 1/1983

GREEK VASES 1/1983

© 1983 The J. Paul Getty Museum  
17985 Pacific Coast Highway  
Malibu, California 90265  
(213) 459-2306

Information about other Getty Museum publications may be obtained by writing to the Bookstore, The J. Paul Getty Museum, P.O. Box 2112, Santa Monica, California 9406.

Edited by Jiri Frel and Sandra Knudsen Morgan; designed by Patrick Dooley; typography by Freedmen's Organization, Los Angeles; printed by Gardner/Fulmer Lithograph, Buena Park, California.

Photographs in this book have been provided by the institution that owns the object unless otherwise specified.

Cover: Paestan calyx krater with the Rape of Europa, Malibu 81.AE.78 See article p. 139.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data  
Main entry under title:

Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

(Occasional papers on antiquities; v. 1)

English and German.

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Vases, Greek—Addresses, essays lectures. 2. Vase-painting, Greek—Themes, motives—Addresses, essays, lectures. 3. Vases, Etruscan—Addresses, essays, lectures. 4. Vase-painting, Etruscan—Themes, motives—Addresses, essays, lectures. 5. Vases—California—Malibu—Addresses, essays, lectures. 6. J. Paul Getty Museum—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. J. Paul Getty Museum.  
II. Series.

NK4623.M37G7 1982 738.3'0938'07019493 82-49024

ISBN 0-89236-058-5

# Contents

A Komast Cup	1
<i>Peter J. Connor and H.A.G. Brijder</i>	
Sophilos in the British Museum	9
<i>Dyfri Williams</i>	
Three Notes on Attic Black Figure in Malibu	35
<i>Jiří Frel</i>	
A New Exekian Fragment	39
<i>E. Anne Mackay</i>	
Nicosthenic Athletics	41
<i>Brian Legakis</i>	
Fragments of a Dinos and a Cup Fragment by the Kleophrades Painter	51
<i>Martin Robertson</i>	
The Berlin Painter at the Getty Museum and Some Others	55
<i>Martin Robertson</i>	
New Vases by the Brygos Painter and his Circle in Malibu	73
<i>Marion True</i>	
Mänadengelage und Götterliebe in Malibu	85
<i>Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter</i>	
Satyrspielvasen in Malibu	115
<i>Frank Brommer</i>	
A Vulci Vase in the Getty Museum	121
<i>Shirley J. Schwarz</i>	
An Etruscan Vase with Siren	135
<i>Mario A. Del Chiaro</i>	
A Krater by Asteas	139
<i>Marit Jentoft-Nilsen</i>	
The Turn of the Wheel	149
<i>Toby Shreiber</i>	

*This page intentionally left blank*

# A Komast Cup

Peter J. Connor  
H. A. G. Brijder

The cup illustrated in figs. 1-6 is a komast cup.<sup>1</sup> The word komast, or more properly komastes, is ancient Greek for reveler, a name that derives from the three dancing men painted on each side. The dancers are members of the komos, "a group singing and dancing after a symposion." The name is derived from the decoration, and the figured decoration on these cups can be expected to be dancers; however the name now properly denotes the shape, for it is clear that there are also plain komast cups, without decoration.<sup>2</sup> Although we are accustomed to thinking that this distinctly Attic shape developed from Corinthian models,<sup>3</sup> there is strong reason for tracing it from purely Attic ancestors through Geometric cups and others that can be termed pre-komast cups.<sup>4</sup>

The distinguishing features of this cup are the short offset lip, the deep, baggy body, and the stemless conic foot.<sup>5</sup> The foot is painted black; so too are the all-but-horizontal handles positioned towards the top of the body, where a prominent black line marks the rise of the lip. The inside of both the foot and the handles is reserved. The interior of the cup is also solid black; the paint overlaps the rim and marks a line on the exterior, giving a definite frame for the lip. The lip is generally decorated with either rosettes or a net pattern, though on plain komast cups the lip is of course undecorated. The Painter of Athens 533 (to whom plain cups can also be attributed) produced cups that have figures in the handle zone but no decoration on the lip. The rosettes are sometimes carefully incised with a central heart, with added red on alternate petals, and sometimes, as here, incised with three crossing lines. The Falmouth

Painter preferred the net pattern. Beneath each handle on his cups is a palmette above a large hanging lotus bud with four curling volutes of stalks, two on each side. This floral design is an important part of the canonical decoration of komast cups.<sup>6</sup> Some variety is found in details, and we shall examine closely some of these variations. It is worth drawing attention on the Getty cup (fig. 6) to the "small core" in the palmette and the lotus flower and also to the absence of a conical central petal in the lotus flower.

Between the foot and the broad expanse of the body where the dancers are painted, komast cups have a zone of rays always bounded at the top by three fine parallel lines and at the bottom by a thick black zone. Between this black zone and the rays, there is a band of red; this can be between two white lines (as on Copenhagen 103, figs. 10-11) or separated from the black zone by an incised line.

Although the subject matter is austere and the combination of poses (position of arms, legs, and head) is naturally limited, komast painters do contrive to lend their figures a certain vigor and freshness, over a space of three decades.<sup>7</sup> The continuity of shape and motif has been described by Boardman as being "repetitive production" like Corinthian pottery, whilst Hornbostel points out that these cups were a favourite export article of the early sixth century B.C.<sup>8</sup>

For all the simplicity of subject matter, the appearance of a new komast cup is always an event; for these cups are a significant part of the historiography of Greek vase painting, since they recall the time when Payne, Greifenhagen, and Beazley were establishing the individual Attic style of

1. Komast cup, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 79.AE.128; H. 9.5 cm.; D. (incl. handles) 26.4 cm.; D. (without handles) 20.0 cm. The cup has been restored from numerous fragments; substituted plaster is clearly visible, especially where painted areas have needed restoration.

2. Plain komast cups: see, for example, *Corinth* XIII, 156 no. 199-1; pl.27, fig.20. H.A.G. Brijder will discuss numerous examples of these in a forthcoming work on komast and Siana cups.

3. H.G.G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) 310, suggests a Corinthian cup with offset rim as the forerunner of the komast cup. For the shape, see G. Villard *REA* 47 (1945) 159ff.

4. W. Hornbostel, "Drei neue Schalen der Komastengruppe," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 (1975) 37-64, at 42; A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im*

*VI. Jahrhundert* (Königsberg 1929) 19, for comparative drawings of shapes.

4. This argument is developed in detail by H.A.G. Brijder in his forthcoming book.

5. W. Hornbostel *op. cit.*, 42 described the foot as follows: "einem trompetenartig auswärts gepreizten, kurzem Fuss." But the term "trumpetlike" will be applied to the feet of Siana cups.

6. The handle ornament is discussed by Hornbostel *op. cit.*, 43.

7. See the perceptive comments on the character of these Attic komasts in S. Matheson Burke and J.J. Pollitt, *Greek Vases at Yale* (1975) 22-23.

8. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) 18; Hornbostel *op. cit.*, 41.



Figure 1. Komast cup. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.128. Side A.



Figure 2. Malibu 79.AE.128. Side A.



Figure 3. Malibu 79.AE.128. Side B.

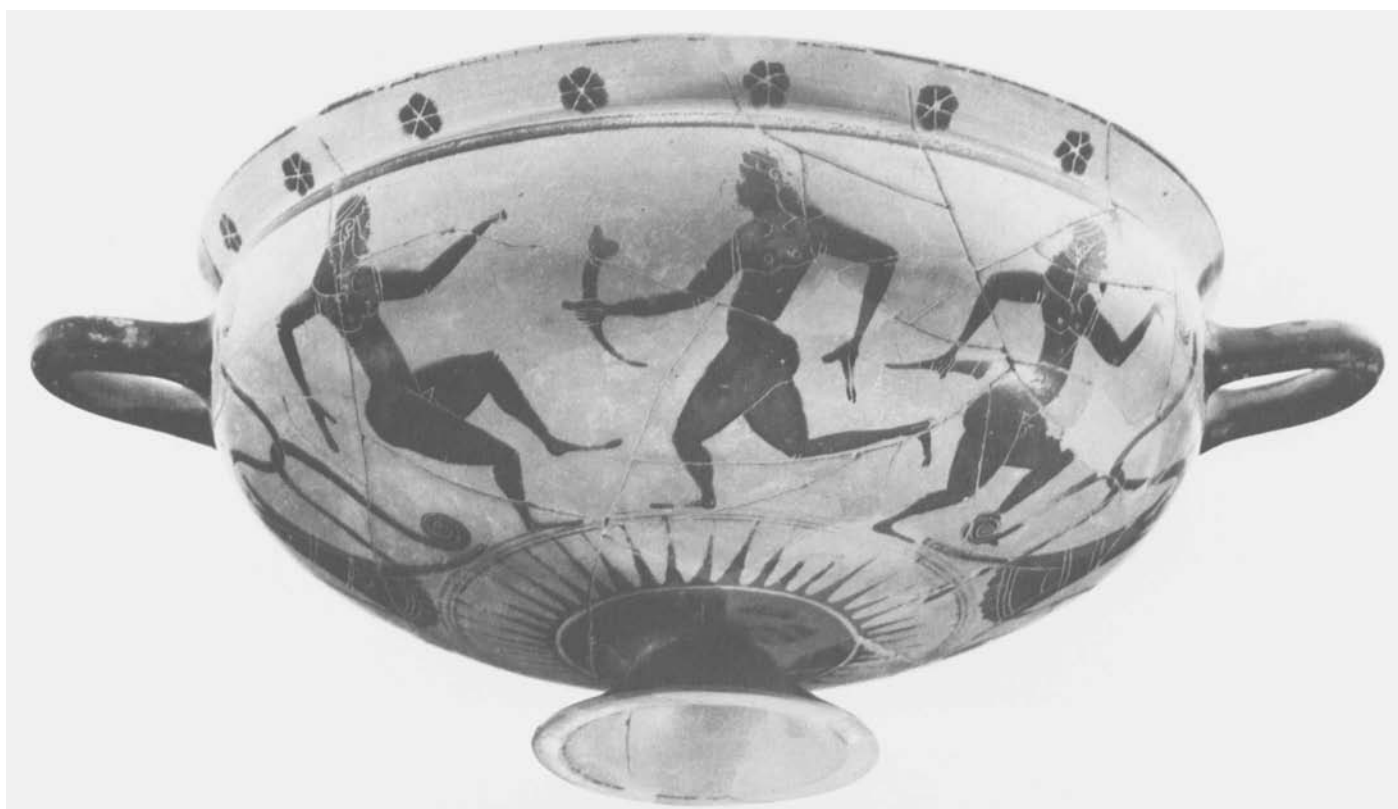


Figure 4. Malibu 79.AE.128. Side B.





Figure 5. Malibu 79.AE.128. Handles.



Figure 6. Malibu 79.AE.128. Handles.

vases that had long been thought to be Corinthian. These scholars showed that though the motifs and often the shapes were based on Corinthian models, they were truly Attic and not merely imitative. Beazley also expressed excitement at the identification of “artistic personalities” within even the limited scope offered by the Early Attic period.

Two of the major figures of this Komast Group were given most unspectacular names by Beazley: the KX Painter and the KY Painter. The K stands for Komast (after the subject matter), whilst the X and Y respectively isolate two different hands. The KY Painter is generally described as the younger colleague of the KX Painter. Another prolific artist was the Falmouth Painter, whose work has been recently studied by W. Hornbostel.<sup>9</sup> Each of the two main artists decorated a range of pots;<sup>10</sup> but there is not a single extant komast cup by the hand of the KX Painter himself. The cups of the KY Painter have komasts with solid bodies, intricately incised hair, and distinctive incised detail round the knees and thighs. By contrast, the Falmouth Painter’s komasts are rubbery; there is hardly an angle anywhere even at knee and elbow, and the hair is shaped into roundly curving bangs.

The Getty komast cup resembles the work of neither of these. Close scrutiny indicates that it is painted in the manner of the KX Painter; that is, not by the leading painter himself, but by someone who worked closely with him and was deeply influenced by his style. Beazley distinguished two groups of pots painted in the manner of the KX Painter (his Group II and Group III; ABV 27-28). For him there were three komast cups in question: New York 22.139.22 (figs. 7-8), which stands apart from the remaining two: Syracuse 26397 and Copenhagen 103 (fig. 11), both by the Painter of Copenhagen 103. On New York 22.139.22 (fig. 8), the left dancer of the three is wearing the jerkin that was the trademark of the dancers on Corinthian vases, showing the connection with some sort of theatrical performances.<sup>11</sup> Somewhere along the line, the theatrical, even subhuman, figures (the early figures are thought by some to be dwarfs) change into completely human participants in a komos.<sup>12</sup>

We would do well to try to define the differences between Beazley’s Group II and Group III, that is between New York 22.139.22 (figs. 7-8) on the one hand and Syracuse 26397 and Copenhagen 103 (fig. 11) on the other. Some differences are apparent at first glance. The New York cup has three dancers on each side; the others have

two dancers each. The lip of the New York cup has rosettes incised with a central heart; the others have rosettes incised with three straight intersecting lines. Perhaps most important of all (figs. 9-10), the flowing tendrils beneath the handles of the New York cup have incised volutes with incised stalks looping around each other, but the other two cups have the curl of the volutes painted, and the stalks meet at the center without overlapping. The band of added red beneath the rays is also different in each case.

In the drawing of the bodies there are many similarities: the short and sharply incised double parallel lines at knee and elbow, the tiny hook for the ankle, the genitals, the chest and nipples, the hair with a ribbon, the scalloped edge over the forehead, the shoulder-length hair with two incised parallel lines horizontally just below the ear, and the parallel incised lines at the juncture of arms and body. This last is the most striking feature of all because, without exception, on one arm of each dancer the lines are two short strokes at the armpit, whilst on the other arm they stretch from the armpit to the top of the shoulder; sometimes this latter is on the right and sometimes on the left. These longer parallel lines at the shoulder are found on the jerked dancers by the KY Painter;<sup>13</sup> on the three cups we are considering (and taking note of the jerked dancer on New York 22.139.22), they must be a relic of the short sleeve of the garment.

In summary, for the dancers themselves, the differences appear to lie in the rather more angular features (longer nose, more raking line of the mouth area) of New York 22.139.22, and in the treatment of the ears. Where the Painter of New York 22.139.22 draws an ear with a sharp curve in the interior, the Painter of Copenhagen 103 makes a markedly fleshy ear with what looks like two lobes, with the curves toward the outer side (this can be observed quite clearly in fig. 11). Nevertheless it is striking what close links there are between these two painters.

The Getty komast cup (figs. 1-6) has three dancers on each side. On each side, the right and center dancers carry drinking horns, the lip of which is distinguished in three cases by two incised lines and in the other by one. As on New York 22.139.22, the volutes of the stalks are shown by incised detail on a broadened roundel of paint at the end of the stem; the stalks interlock at the center, likewise marked by incision, and the volute itself does not rest against the calyx of the lotus. At the rim, the rosettes are formed by three intersecting incised lines like the Group of Copenhagen 103.

9. Hornbostel *op. cit.*, n. 2.

10. Cf. Beazley ABV 23ff.

11. Corinthian dancers are rarely naked; see CVA Würzburg I, pl.31, 7-10.

12. For a recent discussion of these matters, see Hornbostel *op. cit.*, 48 and the *Korrekturzusatz* on p. 64. Oswyn Murray has written about the symposium in *Times Literary Supplement*, November 6, 1981, 1307f.

13. Boardman *op. cit.*, fig.23.



Figure 7. Komast Cup. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.139.22. Rogers Fund 1922. Detail.



Figure 8. New York 22.139.22. Detail.

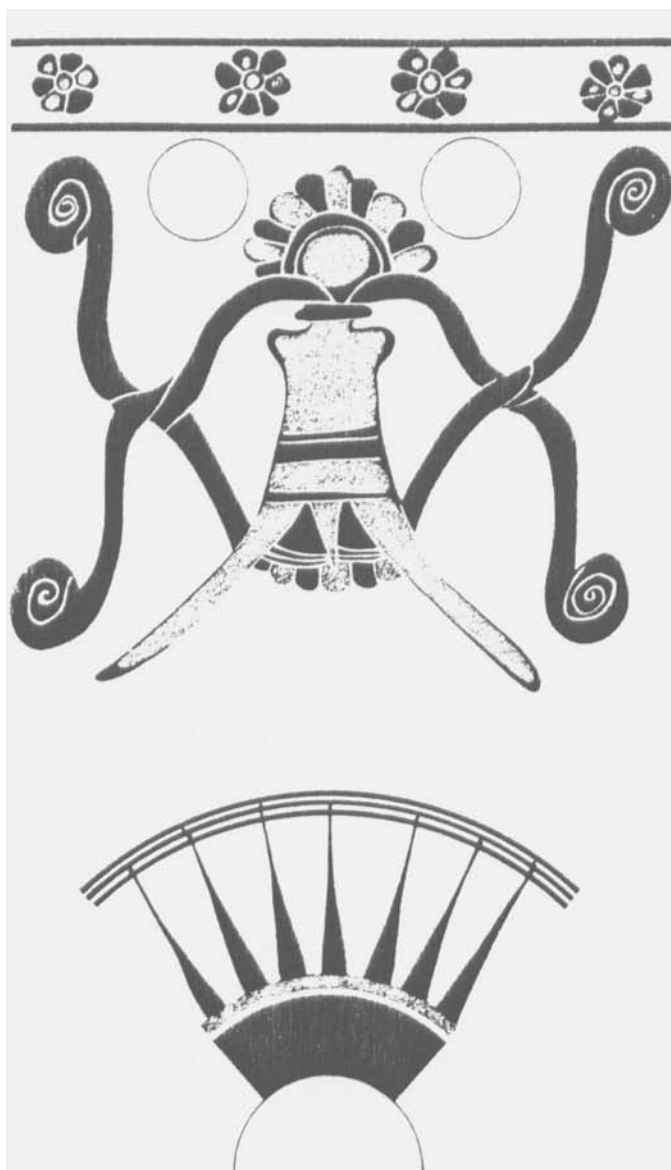


Figure 9. New York 22.139.22. Detail of handle volute.

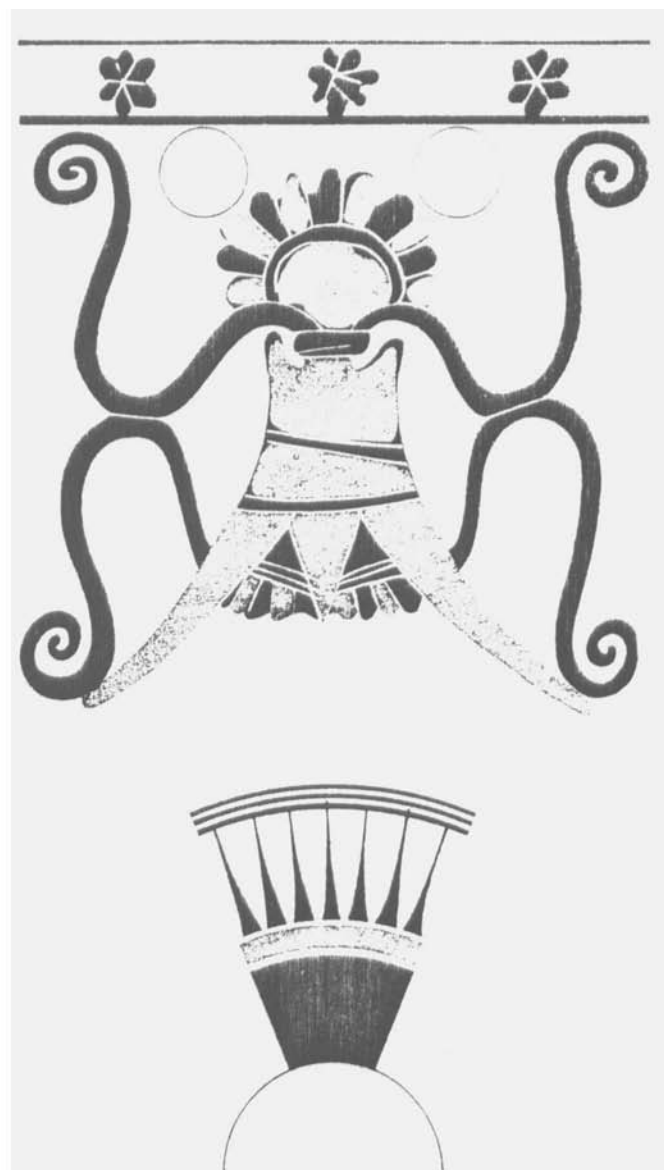


Figure 10. Copenhagen 103. Detail of handle volute.



Figure 11. Komast Cup. Copenhagen, National Museum, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities. Chr. VIII 964 103. Detail.

In style, the Getty dancers are portrayed with exactly the elements outlined above in hair, chest, elbows, knees, fingers, genitals, and ankles. There can be no doubt that the painter is the same as the painter of the Group of Copenhagen 103 (named the Painter of Copenhagen 103). In particular, the ears of the Getty komasts have the same double lobe structure (though perhaps not quite so marked) as those on the komasts of Copenhagen 103. The close links between the two groups are now more firmly established, for we see a sharing of both the style and, especially, the technical details of the volutes and the number of dancers. The New York cup, however, preserves closer links with the KX Painter in, for example, the spiky locks of hair on three of the six komasts, so it would seem prudent to name him senior to the Painter of Copenhagen 103 and to propose that the Getty komast cup is an early work of the Painter of Copenhagen 103, in which he imitates even more closely his slightly older companion, the Painter of New York 22.139.22.<sup>14</sup>

Further details of the Getty komast cup deserve comment. On side A (figs. 1–2), the right-hand dancer has been largely restored round his middle. Nevertheless, just above a prominent diagonal scratch deep into the fabric are two clear parallel lines incised into the black paint; they are without doubt the lower edge of a jerkin such as we see on New York 22.139.22. On the Getty cup this garment is not painted red, but there is red added to other areas: on side A (figs. 1–2), the right-hand dancer has a red face, the dancer in the center has a red chest and a red ribbon in his hair, and his face was originally red although the color has now faded; on side B (figs. 3–4), the left and center dancers have red chests, the left and right dancers have red faces and red ribbons, and the drinking horn of the central figure has a red blob on top.

The Getty komast cup may be dated c. 580–575 b.c.

University of Melbourne  
University of Amsterdam

14. Other attributions may be noted, as follows: Painter of New York 22.139.22, Taranto 110550 (*Boll.d'Arte* 46 (1961) 270–271, figs. 2a, 4–6), Thorikos TC 64.262 (*Thorikos* [1964] II (1967) 94ff., fig.98), three frag-

ments Paris CP 10238 and 10237 bis (ABV 33, belonging to the same cup), and Paris CP 10237 (ABV 33); Painter of Copenhagen 103, Leningrad B 1966g. (K.S. Gorbunova, SA 4 (1970) 199–201).

# Sophilos in the British Museum

Dyfri Williams

In 1971 a splendid Athenian bowl and stand decorated in the black figure technique and signed by the painter Sophilos was acquired for the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> It was promptly given a preliminary publication by Ann Birchall.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this article is simply to accompany a set of detailed photographs, which, it is hoped, will make the vase more widely accessible.

Both the bowl and stand (fig. 1) are mended from many fragments, but the surface is in remarkably good condition and there are only a few, rather minor, lacunae.<sup>3</sup> In 1978, however, five further fragments of the bowl were acquired, three on loan from the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu (figs. 2, 3, 4) and two by purchase on the American market.<sup>4</sup> When these came to be inserted, it was discovered that in the restoration of the vase, which had been carried out before it was acquired for the British Museum, materials unsuitable for the mending of earthenware had been used.<sup>5</sup> This means that any attempt to

dismantle the vase will prove difficult—a particularly unfortunate circumstance since the bowl was allowed to get out of shape during the process of reconstruction, with the result that a number of gaps occurred between fragments that should actually join. The worst of these is the gap that runs through the painter's signature, the legs of the two figures to the left, and the large floral complex in the center of the zone below (see figs. 13, 26).

The upper surface of the bowl's rim (fig. 5) is decorated with a two-sided lotus and palmette chain; both the inside and the outside vertical edges are red. The joint between rim and bowl is marked below with a tongue pattern, alternately red and black, and bounded below with a thin red line. The main decoration of the bowl consists of four elaborate friezes, the upper one filled with figures, the others with creatures from the animal kingdom, both real and mythical, while the bottom of the bowl is covered with a whirligig of six compass-drawn crescents, alter-

In addition to the standard abbreviations, including those of Beazley's lists, the following have been used:

- Bakır *Sophilos* G. Bakır, *Sophilos* (Mainz 1981)  
Beazley *Dev.* J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley 1951).  
Boardman, ABFV J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974).  
Boardman GO<sup>3</sup> J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (3rd ed., London 1980).  
Herrmann I, II H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit, I and II (Olympische Forschungen VI and XI; Berlin 1966 and 1979).*  
Kerenyi *Eleusis* C. Kerenyi, *Eleusis* (New York 1967).  
Schefold *GuH* K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978).  
Simon *GV* E. Simon, M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976).

#### Source of Illustrations:

All photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, except that of the Getty's dinos and stand. Drawing by Miss M. O. Miller with additional work by Susan Bird.

I am very grateful to Brian Cook, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, for agreeing to let me study the Sophilos vase and for reading a draft of this article. Professor Martin Robertson also kindly looked through it. Neither should be blamed for any errors, nor are they to be held responsible for any of the opinions expressed. Finally, I should like to thank Jiří Frel and Sandra Morgan for their help in seeing this article into print.

1. 1971.11-1.1.

2. Ann Birchall, *BMQ* 36 (1971-2) 107ff. with pls.34-37 (and *BM Soc.Bull.* 10 [June 1972] 13f.). It had already been mentioned by B. B. Shefton in P.E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting* (London 1962) pp.285 and 292; a detail of part of the figured frieze before restoration was given in P. Zanker, *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei* (Bonn 1965) pl. 3,1 and noticed on p.38 with note 157; and it was listed in Beazley *Para.* p.19 add as no. 16 bis. It has subsequently appeared in *Arch.Reps.* 1971-72 p.62 fig.8; Boardman ABFV fig.24; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) pl.35a; B. F. Cook, *Greek and Roman Art in the British Museum* (London 1976) fig.37; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos* (Mainz 1978) pl.15,1 (detail of Hephaistos et al.); *Greece and Italy in the Classical World* (Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology; London 1979) pl.36b (detail of Athena and Artemis); P. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst* (Würzburg 1980) pl.11,1 (detail of Hephaistos et al.); H. C. Ebertshäuser and M. Waltz; *Antiken I: Vasen-Bronzen-Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums* (Munich 1981) p.68; Bakır *Sophilos* pls.1-2; *LIMC i sv Amphitrite* 53a, pl.586. Also listed in F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (3rd.ed., Marburg 1973) 320 no.A3; and discussed by A. Stewart in a paper at a symposium on Greek Iconography at Madison (1981; *Acta* forthcoming).

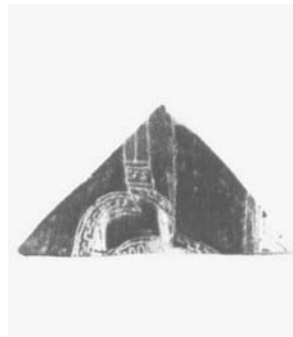
3. Ht. of bowl 28.0; dm. of bowl at rim 32.6; gt. dm. of bowl 41.5. Ht. of stand 47.0; dm. of base of stand 33.1. Total ht. 71.0cm.

4. The Getty Museum fr. 76.AE.126 (Now BM 1978.6-7.1 to 3) in exchange for three Chian fragments from Naukratis (BM.1888.6-1.465b, 1888.6-1.474i and j, and 1924.12-1.763; *BMOcc.Pap.* 22 [1981] p.32f.). 22[1981] p.32f.). The market pieces, BM.1978.6-6.1 and 2 fr. The BM is extremely grateful to Dr. Jiří Frel who recognised that all five fragments belonged to the London dinos. The three Getty Museum fragments have now been generously presented to the British Museum.

5. I am grateful to David Akehurst and Nigel Williams of the Conservation and Technical Services for their advice on this matter.



Figure 1. Sophilos dinos and stand, front view, London, The British Museum 1971.11-1.1.



Figures 2-4. Sophilos dinos, three fragments on loan from the J. Paul Getty Museum.

nately red and black (fig. 6). The funnel like-top of the hollow stand (figs. 21–23) is black, except for the Z pattern (bordered above and below by a thin red line). The baluster is decorated with a two-sided lotus and palmette chain and is framed above and below by a reel or disc, the upper one painted black on its upper surface, the lower one red (the edge of the red marked with a black ring). Below, the stand thickens out into a cylindrical stem, the linking slope marked by a red band and the shoulder itself by a black fillet. This stem and the flaring foot bear the main decoration of the stand, four friezes of animals. Finally, the edge of the foot is elaborately turned: the vertical face between the flaring foot and the first step is marked with a red band, as is that between the step and the black cushion-fillet with which the stand terminates, while the horizontal surface of the step itself is decorated with a second Z pattern (framed by a thin red line on either side). Under the contact edge of the base are a simple, single line graffito and traces of a dipinto inscription (fig. 7). Unfortunately the dipinto is extremely fugitive, no doubt as a result of its exposed position, and little can be made of it (fig. 7).

The shape of the bowl and that of the stand seem to have their ultimate origins in a series of oriental bronze cauldrons and conical stands (fig. 8).<sup>6</sup> The dinos, with its low centre of gravity, is derived from the oriental separate cauldrons with riveted attachments that began to compete

with the native Geometric tripod cauldrons as offerings in the Greek sanctuaries in the later years of the eighth century B.C. The oriental cauldron could sit on a rod tripod stand or on a tall conical one. The latter were often decorated in relief and were surmounted by a pomegranate-like bulb and spreading bloom; this type of stand also served in the Near East and on Cyprus as a support for incense burners.<sup>7</sup> The oriental cauldrons and stands seem to have appealed greatly to the Greeks, and they quickly imitated them, adorning the cauldrons further, it would seem, by adding griffin protomes, for we never see such protomes in oriental depictions. Greek potters working in various areas also began to imitate these new bronze creations,<sup>8</sup> although traditional ceramic ideas naturally continued to affect the results of such imitations both in Greece and in Italy.<sup>9</sup> The potters preferred the new conical stands to the rod type, which the Greek bronzesmiths, however, probably found easier to produce. Furthermore, the potters also attempted protomes and attachments of their own.<sup>10</sup>

Sometime shortly after the middle of the seventh century B.C., however, there seems to have been a change. The bronze protome cauldrons from Olympia become far less common and the period of over-size examples comes to an end,<sup>11</sup> as bronze armour takes over as the major category of dedicatory material.<sup>12</sup> At this time, too, we find that there are no more representations of protome cauldrons

6. The bibliography for these cauldrons and stands is extensive. See especially, Herrmann I and II. Also U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin 1955); H. Kyrieleis, *Zum orientalischen Kesselschmuck* (Marburger Winkelmann-Programm 1966; Marburg 1967); J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) p.362ff.; Boardman GO<sup>3</sup> p.65ff.

7. On incense stands, see most recently, V. Karageorghis, *Two Cypriote Sanctuaries of the end of the Cypro-Archaic Period* (Rome 1977) p.39ff.; p.40 note 1 for Near Eastern types.

8. On the ceramic imitations, Herrmann I, pp.1ff. and 183ff.; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos VI: Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahr-*

*hunderts* (Berlin 1970) 162ff.; J. Boardman, *AK 13* (1970) 92ff.; R. Lullies, *AK 14* (1971) 50ff. The last two articles are reprinted in *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I* (Mainz 1979; eds. E. Berger and R. Lullies) p.206ff. and p.212ff. respectively.

9. On Italic stands, see most recently, C. Scheffer, *Acquarossa II, i: Cooking and Cooking Stands in Italy 1400-400 B.C.* (Stockholm 1981) 58ff.

10. Herrmann II, p.143, note 33; Boardman GO<sup>3</sup> p.270 note 107 adds an Attic clay protome from the Agora.

11. Herrmann II p.154.

12. A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (London 1980) p.105f.



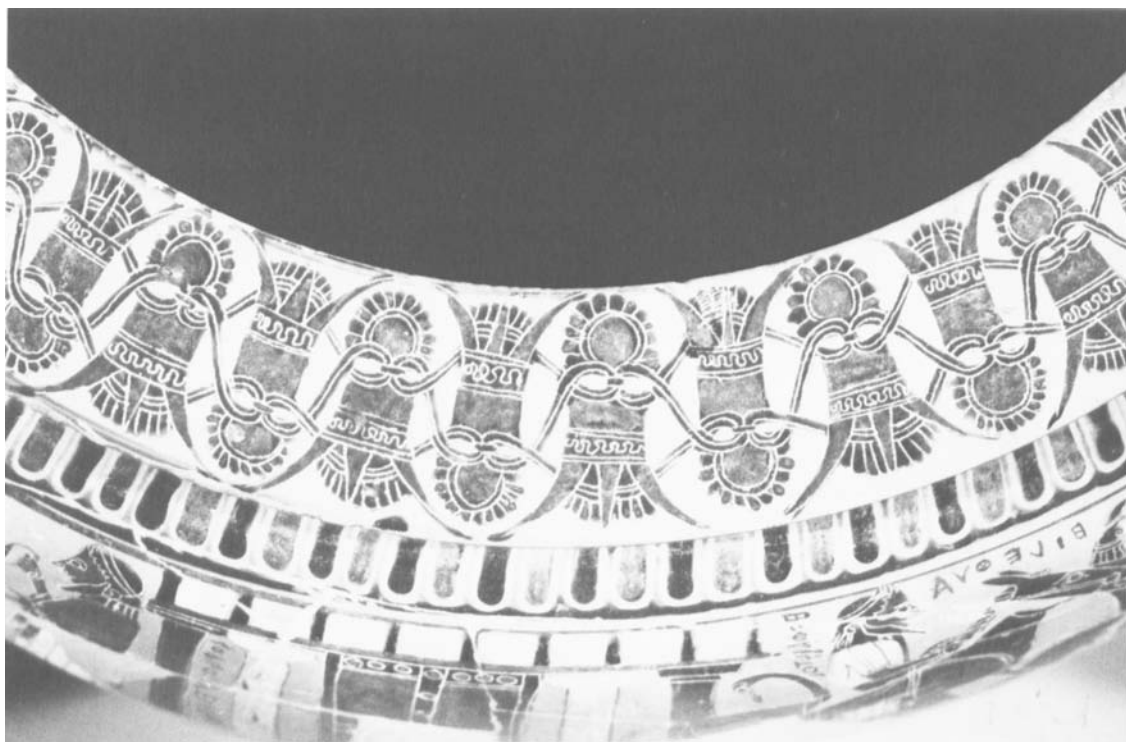


Figure 5. Sophilos dinos, detail of pattern on rim.



Figure 6. Sophilos dinos, detail of bottom.

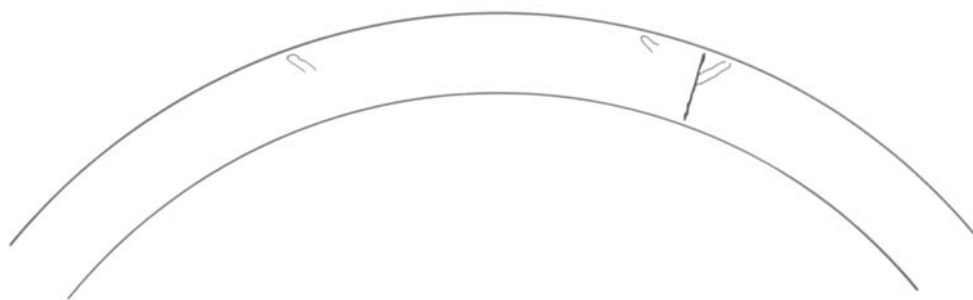


Figure 7. Sophilos stand, sketch of graffito and dipinto under base.

on vases,<sup>13</sup> while the potters actually imitating them cease to attach protomes. This latter development may be merely the result of a change in fashion, but it might also point to a significant change in the use of the cauldrons from impractical *ἀγάλματα* offered in sanctuaries and in tombs to furniture of the feast.

In connection with this, it is perhaps interesting to note that the Greeks seem to have adopted the nomadic custom of reclining at feasts some time in the second half of the seventh century, as a fragment of Alkman reveals, although we do not see it represented in Greek art until the turn of the century.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Alkman is said to have come from golden Lydia,<sup>15</sup> where it seems likely that the custom was learnt and adapted from neighbouring nomads, perhaps even the Kimmerians who had caused the Phrygians to lose their position of power and also continued to harass the Lydians after them. The Lydians, in fact, managed to hold the Kimmerians at bay, possibly with the aid of the Assyrians, who themselves, perhaps as a result, adopted the custom of reclining at feasts around the middle of the seventh century or soon after, as is suggested by the alabaster relief from Nineveh that show us Assurbanipal feasting on a couch in his garden, while nearby is a protomeless dinos on a conical stand.<sup>16</sup>

To return to the clay dinoi on conical stands, we suddenly find at Athens in the first half of the sixth century B.C. a number of dinoi with stands which clearly belong to

a distinct group. The dinoi are deeper and more spherical than their late seventh century ceramic ancestors and have more in common with the earlier bronze prototypes.<sup>17</sup> The shape of the stands, which is also rather different from the various forms seen in the seventh century, now appears to be standardised, and all the examples are decorated with animal friezes. The only published stands are those belonging to the Gorgon Painter's dinos in the Louvre,<sup>18</sup> the British Museum's new dinos by Sophilos, and an unattributed dinos in the Vatican (only part of the base of this stand is in fact preserved).<sup>19</sup> To these we may add a group of fragments from Naukratis, now in the British Museum, which seem to belong to two separate but very similar stands (figs. 9-12).<sup>20</sup> Unexpectedly the rims of the funnels of both these Naukratis pieces were decorated with animals. Furthermore, in the light of the Naukratis fragment with animals on the baluster, one might guess that a small fragment from Old Smyrna, which Güven Bakır has published as being from a pyxis, is really from the baluster of a sixth stand.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the J. Paul Getty Museum was recently presented with a splendid group of fragments from a further stand and its bowl decorated with a gigantomachy which have been attributed to the Kyllenios Painter, a member of the Tyrrhenian Group, by Jiří Frel (part fig. 36);<sup>22</sup> and, according to Dietrich von Bothmer, still another dinos (centauiromachy and chariot race) by the Kyllenios Painter is on the German art market.

13. Herrmann I p.3.

14. On symposia, B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971); and J.-M. Dentzer, RA 1971 p.215ff. Alkman fr. 19 (Page). See now also J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le proche-orient et le monde grec du VIII<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome 1982), esp. p. 51ff.

15. Krates, *ap.* Suidas *sv* Alkman.; cf. Alkman fr. 13.

16. Fehr, *op.cit.*, pl.1 (relief divided between London, Berlin, and Leyden).

17. Cf. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, VI p.164.

18. Louvre E.874; Beazley ABV 8,1; idem, *Para.* p.6; CVA, 2, pls. 15ff.; Simon GV pls.47f.

19. Vatican 306; C. Albizzati, *Vasi Antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome 1925-39) p.101ff. and pl.29; L. A. Stella, *Mitologia Greca* (Turin 1956) p.555 (detail of dinos).

20. a) BM.88.6-1.570d (rim of funnel); 88.6-1.570 a (baluster); 1965.9-30.759 and 88.6-1.570b and c (all joining; baluster, lower disc and stem); 88.6-1.570g (edge of base).

b) BM.88.6-1.570f (rim of funnel); 88.6-1.570e and h (baluster); 1965.9-30.808 (upper surface of base); 1965.9-30.807 (edge of base).

21. Izmir Mus. fr.: Bakır *Sophilos*, no.B.22, pl.81 fig. 162.

22. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Mus. fr. (81.AE.211); inscriptions in red.

On the Tyrrhenian Group, Beazley ABV 94ff. and *Para* 34ff., which owe much to Bothmer's as yet unpublished work on this group. Bothmer has attributed another dinos to his Kyllenios Painter, Bolligen, Blatter fr.: AK 5 (1962) pl.16, 1-3; Beazley *Para.* 42 bottom. Both dinoi seem very close to the best of the Camtar Painter (e.g. Tarquinia RC.5564; Beazley ABV 84,1).

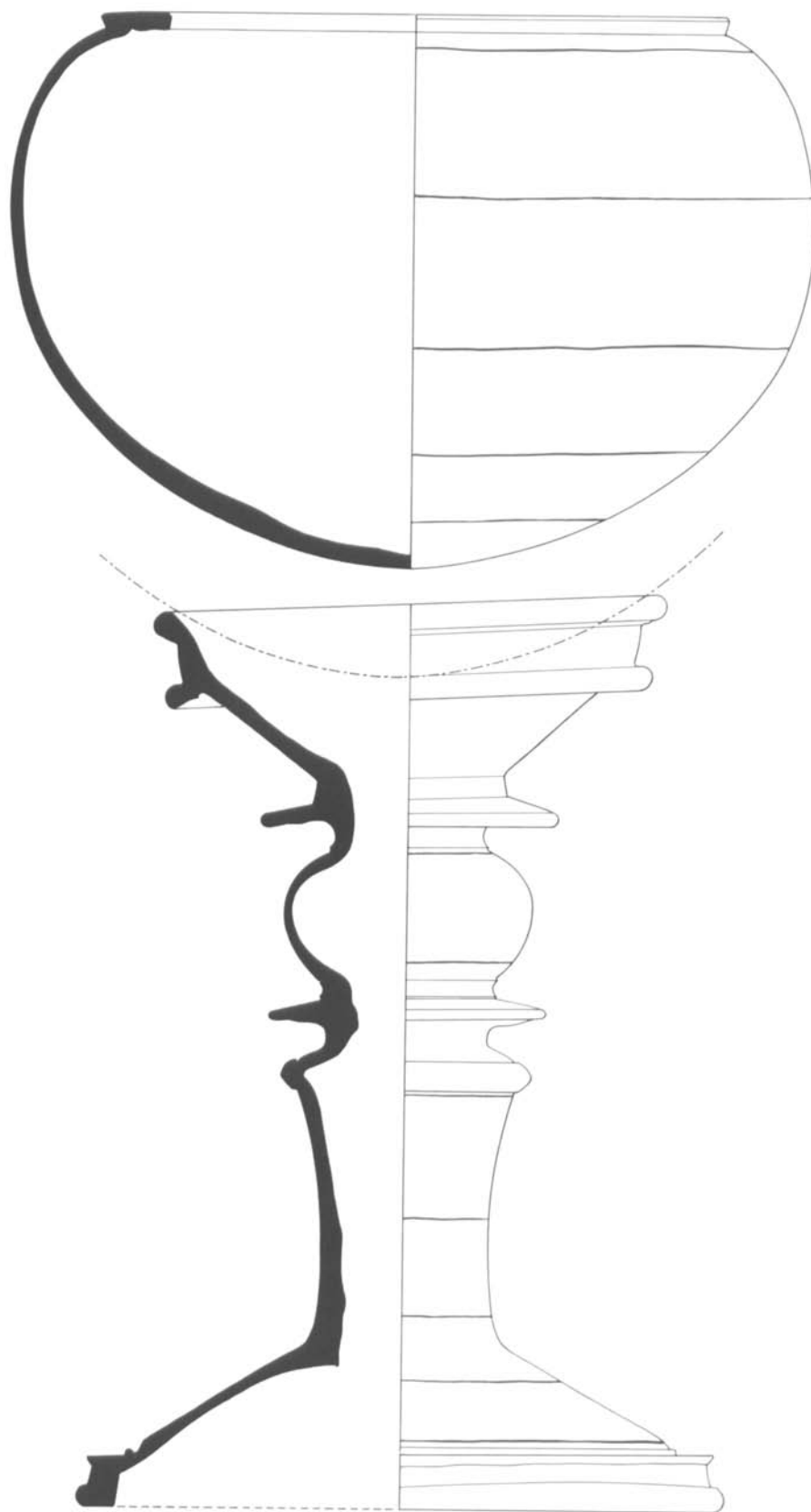


Figure 8. Sophilos dinos and stand, drawing of profile.

The Louvre and London pieces seem to belong around 580 B.C., but the Vatican example might be a little later. The Getty fragments should date from the late 570's or early 560's, while the Naukratis and Old Smyrna pieces might belong nearer 560 B.C. About the middle of the century, however, there seems to have been a change, for we begin to see a greater variety in the shape of the stands, and there appear to be no more decorated examples.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, representations of dinoi and stands on vases from the end of the sixth century (for example on the stamnos in Brussels painted by Smikros, most probably in imitation of a work of Euphronios' like the Munich calyx krater) show that the shape of the Sophilos stand did not die out entirely.<sup>24</sup>

One suspects, however, that Smikros was thinking of a metal dinos and stand when he painted his almost man-sized example. It seems, in fact, very likely that a metal prototype, rather than a ceramic one, lies behind the appearance of the group of ceramic versions in the early part of the sixth century. For, although both Corinthian dinoi and East Greek stands and dinoi display a similar use of animal friezes,<sup>25</sup> the differences in shape, especially the foot of the stand in two degrees—which otherwise we do not see until after the middle of the century on calyx kraters and amphorae of type A—clearly point to renewed influence from metal-working. Unfortunately, it is impossible to decide with any degree of certainty whether the metal prototype was of Corinthian, East Greek, or Athenian design. Nevertheless, since the representations of dinoi on stands depicted on Corinthian vases of the early sixth century exactly match neither the contemporary Athenian ceramic shape nor the metal versions found on later Athenian vases, we can perhaps suggest that it was a native Athenian tradition of bronze dinoi and stands that led to the development of the vessels produced by Sophilos and his fellows.

To return to the decoration of the British Museum's stand and bowl, both have a front view. The centre of the front of the bowl is marked with a large floral complex in the second frieze (fig. 13), an idea which Sophilos uses to great effect on many other vases. This second frieze surrounds the widest part of the bowl, and the symmetrical arrangement of the animals establishes the extremities of

23. For the later stands (and dinoi) see R. Lullies, *AK* 14 (1971). For a new fragmentary dinos by the Kleophrades Painter, now in the Getty Museum, see a forthcoming article by Martin Robertson.

The Antiphon Painter's stand (Berlin 2325; Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 335,1; shape, A. Genick and A. Furtwängler, *Griechische Keramik* [Berlin 1883] pl.15,3) probably held a kothon-like shallow bowl, not a dinos: for the shape of the stand cf. Würzburg 873; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) pl. 251.



Figure 9. Fragment of first stand from Naukratis (rim).



Figure 10. Fragments of first stand from Naukratis (baluster; base edge).

the front view (confronted sirens on either side of the floral; beyond, panthers). The side limits of the figured frieze above are set by the door of Peleus' house on the right and the end of the procession on foot on the left. The animal frieze below the floral complex has a panther on either side of a central goat, which faces in the opposite direction to the flow of movement in the figured frieze (fig. 14). Finally, the symmetry in the lowest row of animals is reduced to a single pair of confronted sirens. One sees, therefore, how carefully the painter has arranged the elements of all the friezes on the front of the bowl both to emphasise the front view and to echo the outline of the bowl.

24. Brussels A.717. Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 20,1; CVA, 2, pls.12f; *AK* 14 (1971) pl.21,1. Compare also the dinos on the black figure side of Munich 2301; Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4,9; CVA,4, pls.156,2 and 158,3. The Euphronios, Munich inv. 8935 etc.: Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1619 add as 3 bis to p.14; *idem*, *Para* 322; *AA* 1976, 505-7, figs. 24-6 (D. von Bothmer). A contemporary, but un-attributed, black figure dinos and stand of the same shape is to be found in Salerno, Mus. Civ.

25. D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Arch.Eph.*1970, p.86ff. argues for a continuation of the Corinthian ceramic tradition at Athens.



Figure 11. Fragment of first stand from Naukratis (baluster and stem).

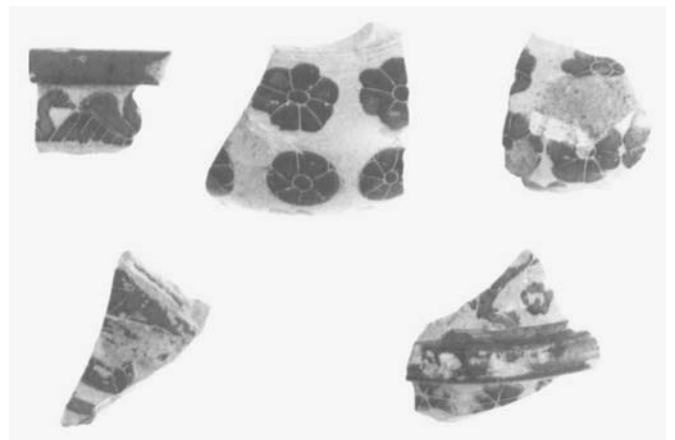


Figure 12. Fragments of second stand from Naukratis (rim; baluster; base; base and edge).



Figure 13. Sophilos dinos, detail of front view.



Figure 14. Sophilos dinos, detail of front view.



Figure 15. Sophilos dinos, detail of first side view.



Figure 16. Sophilos dinos, detail of first side view.

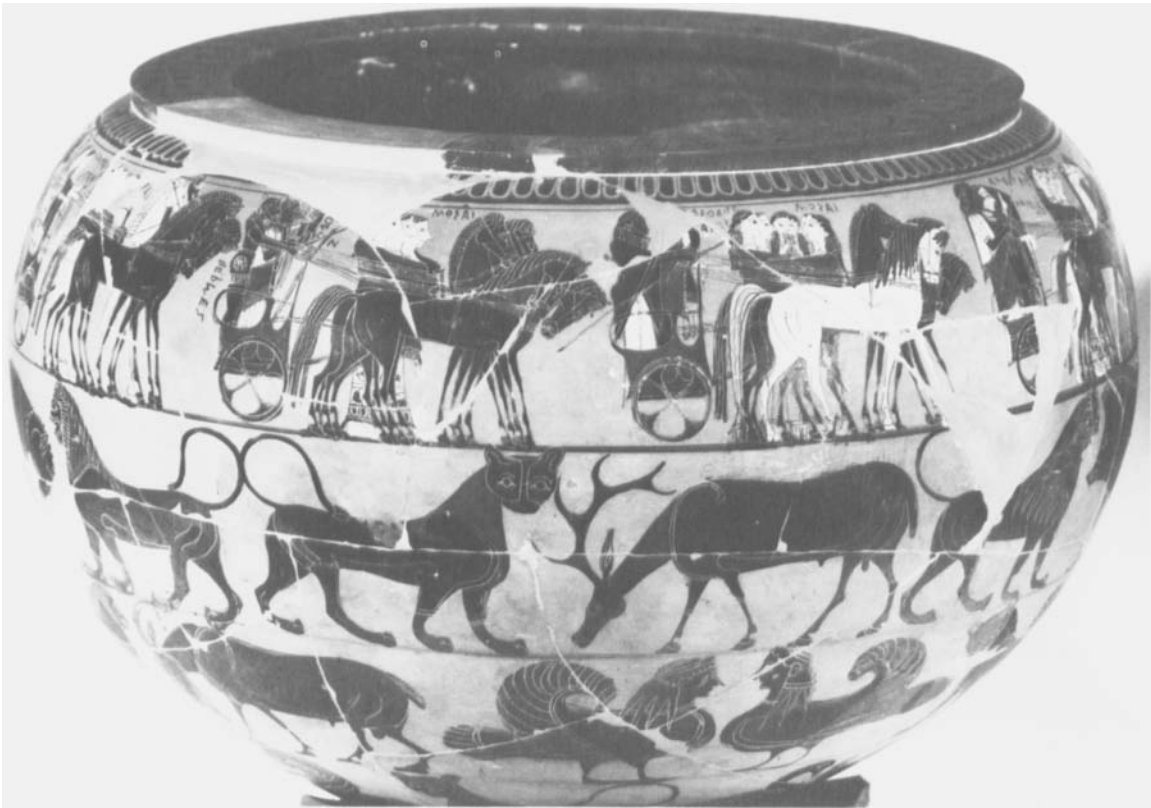


Figure 17. Sophilos dinos, detail of back view.



Figure 18. Sophilos dinos, detail of back view.





Figure 19. Sophilos dinos, detail of second side view.



Figure 20. Sophilos dinos, detail of second side view.



Figure 21. Sophilos stand, front view.



Figure 23. Sophilos stand, back view.



Figure 22. Sophilos stand, detail of front of base.



Figure 24. Sophilos stand, detail of back of base.

The rest of the dinos exhibits a slightly looser approach. The remainder of the figure frieze is divided into three groups, two consisting of two chariots each (figs. 15, 17), and one which is built up of one chariot and a motley assortment of figures of equal “weight” (fig. 19). Each of these three groups corresponds to a further cardinal view of the dinos, and each is echoed in the animal frieze immediately below by a pair of confronted animals (boar and lion (fig. 16); stag and panther (fig. 18); lion and ram (fig. 20). The second animal frieze is more loosely composed beyond the trio at the front, and three rosette filling ornaments are also included. The lowest zone has a little more cohesion in its pairing and leaves a lone panther in the centre of the back of the vase. (fig. 18).

The front of the stand is clearly indicated on the lowest frieze—the most carefully organised of the friezes on the stand (fig. 21). A pair of confronted panthers, each with one raised paw, forms the centre-piece, while in the space below is a small swan-like bird (fig. 22). These panthers are flanked by goats, beyond are sirens and finally panthers again (fig. 23), their tails interlocking at the back of the stand. Seven rosette filling ornaments are also set symmetrically in the field. The next frieze up is also carefully organised, but it is not quite so perfectly symmetrical. A pair of sirens face each other directly over the centre of the lowest frieze. On either side is set a feline—at the left a lion, at the right a panther. Beyond them at the back of the stand a pair of sirens are again confronted, but between them is set a small bearded figure with a staff—a master of the animals (fig. 24).<sup>26</sup> The two friezes on the stem of the stand contain confronted pairs of animals, but these are not aligned with the centre of the two friezes below. One suspects that the painter has preferred to avoid too pronounced a central division in order to give the stem a proper sense of volume. Finally, the bulbous baluster is decorated with a lotus and palmette chain. At the front the incisions are careful and regular, but at the back two new but rather rough decorations of the bulb of the lotus occur, on one teeth, on the other simple vertical lines.

The theme of the upper frieze is the procession of gods to the house of Peleus to celebrate his marriage to Thetis, the daughter of Nereus and Doris. There are only two other certain examples of this theme, one on a fragmentary

dinos painted by Sophilos from the Acropolis, the other on the François vase painted by Kleitias, and we shall occasionally refer to both in the following description.<sup>27</sup> The house or palace is on the extreme right of the front view of the bowl (fig. 25). Its form seems to be distyle *in antis*, although Sophilos has not tried to indicate the wall between the *antae* and the door as Kleitias later did on the François vase. The *antae* are black and the form of their capitals differs from those of the white columns. The architrave is minimal, as are the triglyphs, but the metopes are large and boldly done in white. The double door is shut and is of the same form as that on Sophilos’ other fragmentary version of the scene. It has red panels and red studs, which might indicate bronze. Between the *anta* and the column on the left of the door, we read the artist’s signature, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ:ΜΕΓΡΑΦΖΕΝ (retr.), *Sophilos megraphsen*. Beazley commented that it is “impossible to say whether the name is Σώφιλος, Σοφίλος, or Σόφιλλος”.<sup>28</sup>

In front of the house stands Peleus (ΠΕΛΕΥΖ retr.) greeting his guests as they arrive (fig. 26). He holds up a kantharos in his right hand—its shape suggests a metal version—and his lips part as he speaks the words of welcome, προπίνων οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε.<sup>29</sup> He is dressed in a white chiton, a red cloak with a wavy line border, and red boots. His name is written retrograde, below his outstretched left hand. Facing him is Iris, (ΙΡΙΖ retr.) the messenger goddess of the Olympians. She wears winged red boots and a short red chiton, belted at the waist and held in place across her breasts with ties that meet in the centre in an elaborate ornamental buckle—male dress, as usual, perhaps to emphasize the sexual ambivalence of the go-between. On the Acropolis dinos Sophilos gave Iris an animal skin over her chiton, as did Kleitias on the François vase. The British Museum’s Iris is not without other adornment, for she, like most of the goddesses in the parade, wears large pendant earrings<sup>30</sup> and a necklace. Her staff of office is held in her right hand; her left points back to the divinities who follow.

The first group of guests consists of four goddesses (fig. 27), separated into two pairs, Hestia (ἩΣΤΙΑ) and Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΕ[P]), then Chariklo ([+]ΑΡΙΦΥΟ) and Leto (ΛΕΤΟ retr.). This foursome is repeated on the Acropolis dinos, although there the two pairs are more firmly divided. All four goddesses wear white peploi, richly

26. On these figures, U.-M. Lux, *Beiträge zur Darstellung des ‘Herrn der Tiere’* (Diss. Bonn 1962).

27. Florence 4209: Beazley ABV 76,1; Simon GV, pls. 51–57; (cleaned) *Vaso François* (Boll. d’Arte, Ser. Speciale 1; Rome 1981) esp. detail pls. 74–8 (on pp. 132–136). Athens, Acrop. 587 fr.: Beazley ABV 39,15; Bakır *Sophilos* no. A.2, pls. 3–5 and 89–90. See further Brommer, *op.cit.* (note 2) p. 320 bottom,

with bibliography; and Schefold *GuH* p. 189ff. One wonders if Acrop. 610 fr. (Beazley ABV 82,3; *Hesperia* 4 [1935] 216), from a large dinos, might have shown the same scene.

28. Beazley ABV p. 37.

29. Pindar, *Olymp.* 7,4.

30. For the shape see R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (2nd ed., London 1980) p. 128, type 5a.



Figure 25. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 26: Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 27. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.

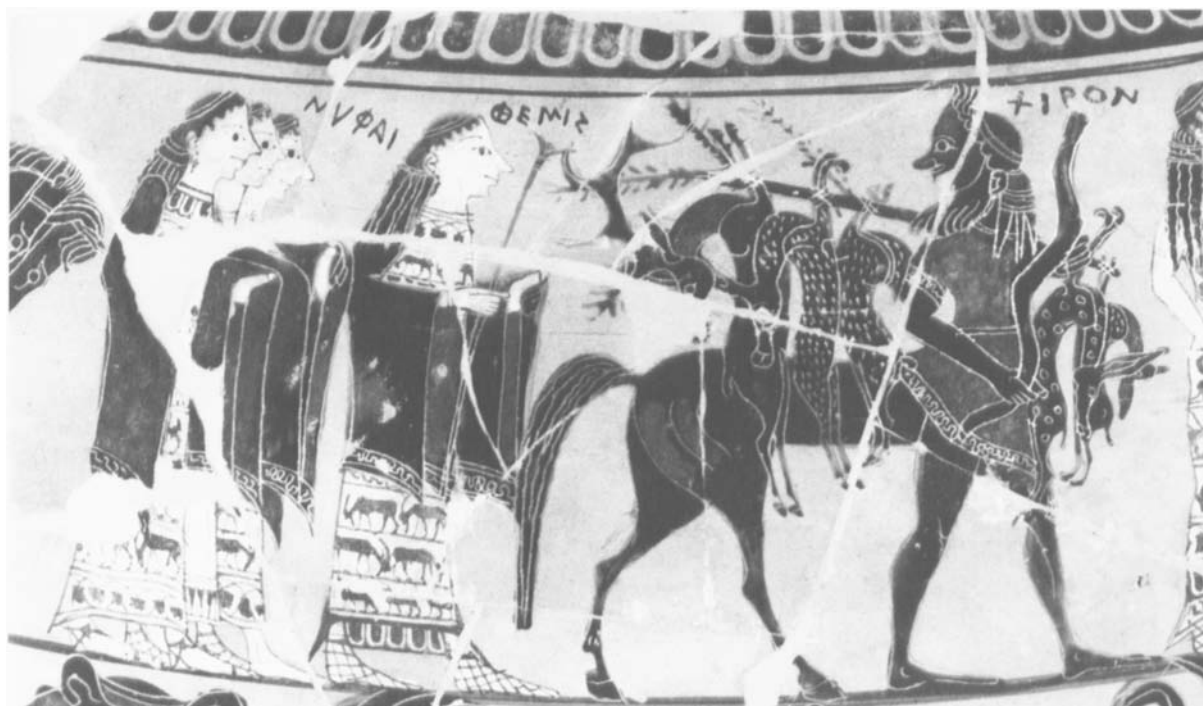


Figure 28. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 29. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 30. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 31. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 32. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



Figure 33. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.

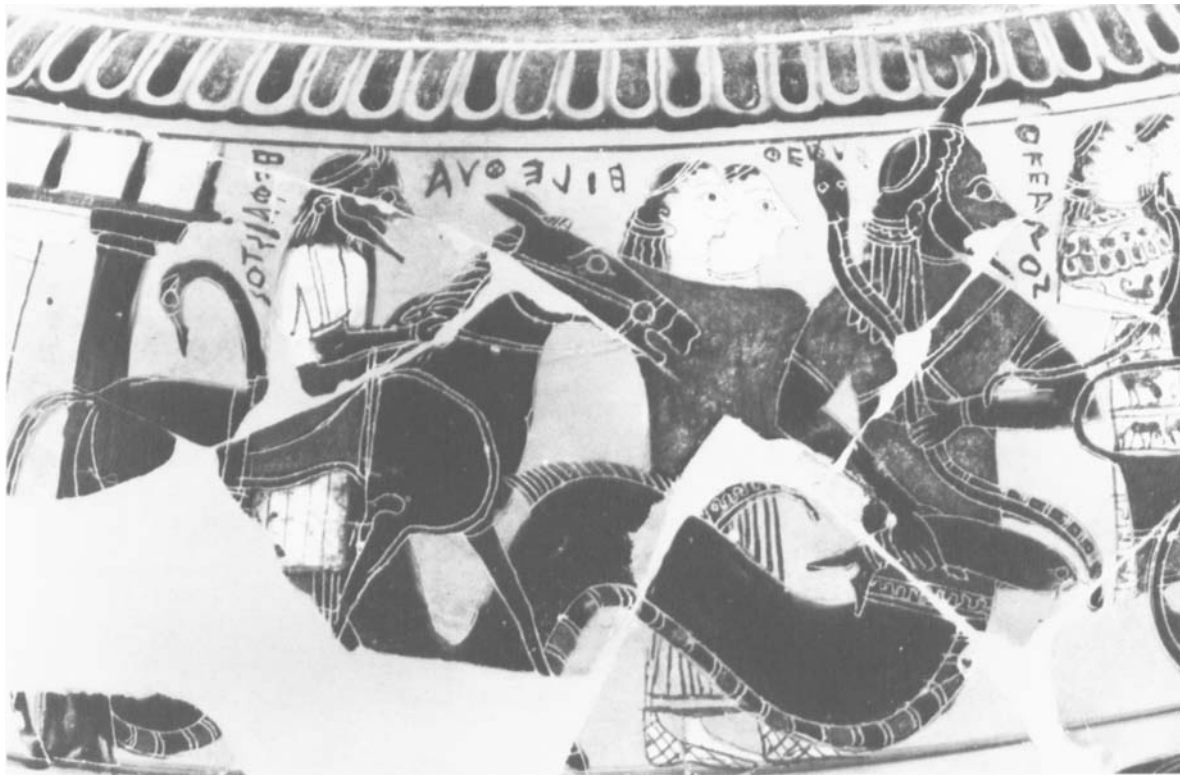


Figure 34. Sophilos dinos, detail of figured frieze.



decorated with red animals, monsters, florals, and other more abstract patterns, while red cloaks are draped around their shoulders. It is interesting to note that behind Leto's head is some preliminary sketch work for a third head, which was left out in the final painting. There are, in fact, many traces of such sketching elsewhere on the vase, but this seems to be the only significant alteration.

Behind these goddesses comes Dionysos ( $\Delta\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{Y}\text{S}\text{O}\text{S}$ ), vine branch in hand. His lips are parted, like Peleus', and he appears to talk across the intervening group of goddesses to Peleus himself. Dionysos is placed directly over the central palmette in the lower frieze, much as on the François vase, and is thus a key figure. He wears a long chiton and himation. The latter is done with black and red in the normal fashion, but the chiton is left the natural orange colour of the fired clay and only outlined in red. One might at first presume that Sophilos has simply forgotten to fill the chiton in with white, but some of the other figures, further on in the procession—the “Horai,” the five Muses, Tethys, and Eileithyia—show that the effect is intentional: Sophilos is deliberately trying to use a fourth colour, in addition to the regular black, red, and white. This idea, like his use of white laid directly on the clay instead of over black, is presumably borrowed from contemporary Corinthian vase painting.<sup>31</sup>

Hebe ( $\text{H}\text{E}\text{B}\text{E}$ ) follows Dionysos. She wears a richly decorated peplos, but no cloak, very elaborate sandals,<sup>32</sup> like a number of other women in the parade and two women on one of the Acropolis fragments, a bracelet and an armband. Next comes Cheiron ( $+\text{H}\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}$ ), the centaur (fig. 28). He wears a short red chiton over his human part and carries over his left shoulder a branch, to which he has tied his catch—a stag, two does, a fawn and a rabbit. In his right hand he holds a thick, gnarled branch that he no doubt used as a club. Cheiron turns his head, with its wild crest of hair, shaggy beard, and full nose, back towards the figures that follow him. The first of these is Themis ( $\text{H}\text{E}\text{M}\text{I}\text{S}$ ) sceptre in hand and dressed in a richly patterned peplos and plain cloak, while the rear of the foot procession is brought up by a trio of Nymphs ( $\text{N}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{P}\text{H}\text{AI}$ ).

The three Nymphs mark the end of the front view of the dinos, and the procession now changes from one on foot to one with chariots. The Nymphs also serve as a link with

the chariot parade that follows, for similar trios on foot punctuate it, adding rhythm and substance. The first chariot bears Zeus ( $\text{I}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{Z}$ ) and Hera ( $\text{H}\text{E}\text{R}\text{A}$ ) (fig. 29), but on the far side of the horses' rumps appears a second trio of ladies on foot. Their names are unfortunately lost; and the edge of the fragment, where one might have hoped to find traces of the names, has sadly been filed away by the restorer, but they were probably the Horai, as Ann Birchall has suggested.<sup>33</sup> Their chitons are left reserved in the same fashion as Dionysos', and the addition of white for their feet makes it quite clear that Sophilos did not simply forget to go back to this area with his white brush. The painter has, in fact, gone to great trouble to try to draw the correct number of reins and to show the trace lines attached to the chariot rail and the pole-stay tied to the top of the breastwork of the chariot. The two sets of reins are not tied together here, although this is the case with Poseidon's and Ares' teams further on in the procession. Zeus, dressed in chiton and cloak, grasps the reins and a goad, while Hera holds her cloak up by her cheek as she steadies herself with her other hand on the top of the chariot's breastwork.

The next chariot contains Poseidon ( $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{E}\text{I}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$ , the last two letters retr.) and Amphitrite ( $\text{A}\text{M}\text{P}\text{H}\text{I}\text{T}\text{R}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ ), accompanied by the three Charites ( $+\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}\text{Z}$ ) (fig. 30). Zeus' team of horses were all proud black steeds; Poseidon's are more fiery, especially the white one which rears its head and stamps one hoof, the only horse in the whole procession to show real mettle and surely a reference to Poseidon's special connection with horses.

Following behind comes the chariot of Ares ( $\text{A}\text{R}\text{E}\text{Z}$ ) and Aphrodite ( $\text{A}\text{P}\text{H}\text{R}\text{O}\text{D}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ ), the immortal pair of illicit lovers, who are often treated as man and wife (fig. 31). Unfortunately the head of Aphrodite is missing. Ares' goad seems longer than the other charioteers', and it is also held at an angle nearer to the horizontal—perhaps it should be thought of as a spear. Behind the horses are grouped five Muses ( $\text{M}\text{O}\text{Z}\text{AI}$ ) in an arc. The central figure is fully frontal and plays a syrinx. All five have the reserved chitons we have seen on Dionysos and others; their feet are in added white. Underneath the maze of legs and hoofs is an interesting technical feature. Sophilos seems to have badly smudged the black slip between the ground line and the

31. Reserved drapery on Corinthian vases, eg. the Cavalcade Painter's cup in Basel (Moretti), Simon GV. pl.28. Another example on a work by Sophilos might be Acrop.585 fr. b (Beazley ABV 40, 18; Bakir *Sophilos* no.A.17, pl.35, fig.65)—Poseidon's chiton—but this is not certain (Graef. p.63). For white laid directly on clay ground, Beazley *Dev.* p.19.

32. For other sandals like these, worn by women, compare the later examples: Louvre G.2 (neck); Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 53,2; Simon GV pl.91 left; *Mus.Helv.* 38 (1981) pl.8,4; and London E.41 (tondo); Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 58,51

(convincingly reattributed to Euphronios by Martin Robertson, *Getty MJ9* [1981] p.26).

33. A. Birchall, *BMQ* 36 (1972) p.109.

34. Cf. also the Lakonian cup from Rhodes, Schefold *GuH* p.32 fig.25, and the calyx krater by the Kleophrades Painter, Louvre G.162; Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 186,47; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos* (Mainz 1978) pl.7,1.

35. Literary traditions, *RE* XIX, 290ff. *sv* Peleus (Lesky). See also M. Heidenreich, *MdI* 5 (1952) 134ff., esp. p.140.

back of the stag in the zone below and has had to rub away part of the surface to conceal his clumsiness. He also attempted to reinforce the lower edge of the ground line at this point by marking it with an incised line.

The next chariot is driven by Hermes (ἙΡΜΕΖ retri.) (fig. 32). His *kerykeion* rests against the breastwork of the chariot box, and he wears a short chiton with a large rosette decoration and a petasos. The tips of his winged boots just show over the top of the chariot box. His passenger is Apollo ([ΑΠ]ΟΛΩΝ) who sings as he plays his kithara. Alongside the horses are three more Muses (ΜΟΥΣΑΙ), making a total of eight. The final team is in the hands of Athena (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) (fig. 33). Her companion is Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΖ), whose finely decorated peplos is fully visible, since, like Hebe, she wears no cloak. Artemis holds her bow, but Athena has no attribute. It is also strange to find Athena driving the chariot from the left-hand side, an oddity which is also noticeable on the François vase (in later black figure, when she drives for Herakles, she stands on the right). Beside the horses walk the three Moirai (Μ[Ο]ΙΡΑΙ).

The rear of the procession is brought up by a rather amorphous group. First is a fish-bodied, bull-horned Okeanos (ΟΚΕΑΝΟΣ) (fig. 34), clutching a fish and a snake. In the background his wife Tethys (ΘΕΤΥΣ) is accompanied by Eileithyia (ΕΙΛΕΘΥΑ retri.). They are followed by Hephaistos (ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ retri.) riding on a mule. It is difficult to decide just how he is perched on the swan-headed saddle, but one frontal foot, drawn like the frontal feet of the Muse playing the syrinx, can be made out below the bottom of his chiton, so he is presumably riding side-saddle, as he does on the François vase.<sup>34</sup>

From this general description, let us turn to the occasion of the procession and Sophilos' treatment of the scene. The parade of deities is coming to the home of Peleus following his marriage to the goddess Thetis. This home is certainly not the cave of Cheiron that we hear of in some literary sources,<sup>35</sup> but rather a temple-like structure that may reflect the painter's idea of both the Thetideion in Thessaly and Peleus' palace. The Thessalian context is perhaps further emphasised not only by the presence of Cheiron, who lived on Mount Pelion, but also by the prominence given to Demeter, who was especially important

in Thessaly, and to Poseidon, who, in his horse aspect, was also centred on the Thessalian plain.

The bridegroom and the divine messenger lead the procession. Next comes a group of four goddesses and then Dionysos (fig. 26). Although Dionysos is clearly intent on Peleus' welcome, the goddesses are not—they seem rather to look to the bride behind the closed door. These are the positions and actions one would expect of a mortal bride's parents and close relatives but for this immortal gathering Sophilos seems to have generalised the ceremony by substituting for the bride's real mother and female relatives a group of four goddesses, who all have maternal aspects, and for the father, Dionysos. This substitution of deities for the bride's proper parents and family continued on later black figure representations of heroic and "heroised" wedding processions, in which immortals also assume the roles of other mortal celebrants, notably Hermes as *προηγητής* and Apollo as musical accompanist to the marriage hymn.<sup>36</sup>

It is a little difficult to be sure at first which name goes with which figure in the first pair of goddesses (fig. 26), but elsewhere on the vase Sophilos always writes the name of the figure in the background above the name of the figure in the foreground, so it is reasonable to assume that the goddess who opens her arms in a moving gesture of greeting is in fact Demeter. Her prominent position and gesture suggest that it is Demeter who is shown along with Dionysos, as Thetis' substitute parent. Neither Dionysos nor Demeter, however, is included among the five deities invoked in the Greek marriage ceremony, nor does either receive any offerings before it;<sup>37</sup> in fact Demeter is actually said by some authors to have hated marriage by reason of her daughter's experiences.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the story of how Demeter's daughter was carried off by Hades, of Demeter's mourning, and of the eventual reconciliation<sup>39</sup> acts in many respects as a mythological archetype for mortal marriages, which at that time included the carrying off of the bride by the groom while the mother mourned as if her daughter had died, followed by the reconciliation of the two families at the feast on the following day.<sup>40</sup> Demeter can thus be regarded as the mother of all brides, who suffers as all mothers do at the loss of their daughters. However, she also had an important role in Greek religion

36. Cf. J. Boardman, *BSA* 47 (1952) p.34.

37. Plutarch, *Rom. Quaest.* 2, 264B.; Diodorus Siculus, 5,73; Pollux 3,38.

38. Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 4,58 and 3,139.

39. For the story of Demeter, see especially the Homeric Hymn with N. J. Richardson's excellent commentary, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974).

40. On marriage see most recently, R. Redfield, *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 181ff.; but add, M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge 1974) p.120ff.; M. Alexiou and P. Dronke, *Stud. Med.* 1971, p.819ff.; and I.D. Jenkins, "Is there life after marriage?—a study of the abduction motif in vase-paintings of the Athenian wedding ceremony," forthcoming in *BICS*.

and mythology as a nurse, especially as the nurse of Demophon, whom she tried to make immortal by fire<sup>41</sup> just as Thetis was to endeavour to protect her own son, Achilles but was similarly stopped.<sup>42</sup>

The choice of Demeter as a substitute mother is in some ways, therefore, particularly suitable. But what of Dionysos? Perhaps the artist paired him with Demeter simply to make the point that Dionysos was the most important male guest because he brings the wine for the feast that the gods have come to attend—the wine that would be mixed in and served from the London dinos itself. Yet this does not explain why Dionysos continued to be shown on later black figure vases in the role of the “satisfied father-in-law,” as Boardman has aptly named him.<sup>43</sup> We might do well, therefore, to look for any connection there might be between Dionysos and Demeter. The story of Demeter and Persephone inevitably leads straight to the heart of the Mysteries; and, although Dionysos’ links with the Mysteries are rather controversial, the case seems, nevertheless, to be persuasive.<sup>44</sup> Dionysos and Demeter are occasionally associated in literature, while on a number of sixth century Athenian vases Demeter and Persephone seem to be found in the company of Dionysos,<sup>45</sup> as is clearly the case on vases of the fifth and fourth centuries,<sup>46</sup> by which time, if not earlier, not only were the identities of Dionysos, Iacchos, and Ploutos merging but also certain Eleusinian officials actually helped in the conduct of both the Lenaia and the Anthesteria.<sup>47</sup>

The cult of Dionysos was particularly strong at Athens, and as that of Demeter grew in importance at Eleusis, there may even have been some rivalry. This rivalry must have been most apparent during the early part of the month of Anthesterion, when both the Anthesteria, the oldest festival of Dionysos at Athens, and the Lesser Mysteries were held.<sup>48</sup> We do not know at what date the lesser Mysteries were first instituted, but their creation probably preceded Athens’ takeover of Eleusis,<sup>49</sup> for afterwards there would have been little need to set up competing Mys-

teries. At first they seem to have been centred on Persephone, no doubt on her marriage in the Underworld, but after Athens’ absorption of Eleusis they may have faded into preliminary purification rites. We know equally little of the mythological content of the Anthesteria, but given its connections with the dead and with Hermes of the Underworld on the second and third days, it would seem very likely that reference was made to Dionysos’ descent into the Underworld to retrieve his mother, Semele, and to her apotheosis and renaming as Thyone.<sup>50</sup> A satyr play by the fifth century dramatist Iophon seems, in fact, to have described Dionysos’ descent into the Underworld, his meeting with Hades, and the exchange of myrtle for his mother, thereby explaining the use of that plant in the Mysteries, and possibly also its use at marriages.<sup>51</sup>

It is also very probable that during the Anthesteria the Athenian state celebrated the Hydrophoria, which involved an offering at the chasm near the Olympieion.<sup>52</sup> Not only is this chasm in the very neighbourhood in which the Lesser Mysteries were held, but H. W. Parke has also suggested that it was originally thought to be an entrance to the Underworld, and only later became associated with Deukalion’s Flood.<sup>53</sup> In the light of this, it is intriguing to recall that Aischylos wrote a play entitled *Semele or the Hydrophoroi*.<sup>54</sup> Did Aischylos set Semele’s *anodos* at this chasm, describe her apotheosis and renaming as Thyone, and thus explain the ritual of the Hydrophoria during the Anthesteria? Since such an enactment of the *anodos* of Semele was regularly held at Lerna,<sup>55</sup> very close to the spot where the Lernaian believed that Hades carried Persephone down into the Underworld,<sup>56</sup> and since we also know that at Lerna Dionysos was officially linked with Demeter and Persephone in the Mysteries,<sup>57</sup> we might well presume that the same was the case at Athens. Perhaps, indeed, the Athenians thought not only that Dionysos passed through the chasm, carrying myrtle to ransom his mother but also that Demeter accompanied him in order to visit Persephone after her marriage to

41. Richardson, *op.cit.* p.231ff.

42. Apollodoros, *Library* 171, Lycophron 178-9.

43. J. Boardman, *BSA* 47 (1952) 34.

44. H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV siècle* (Paris 1951) 249ff.; *idem*, *Recherches sur l’imagerie athénienne* (Paris 1965) 21; Kerenyi, *Eleusis* 52ff.; C. Bérard, *Anodoi* (Neuchâtel 1974) *passim*. G. E. Mylonas has argued against a connection in his *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 275ff. and in *Arch.Eph.* 1960, p.68ff.

45. To the list in Metzger, *Recherches* p.19 nos.38-40, add London B.425 (Beazley ABV 184, lower; C. Kerenyi, *The Gods of the Greeks* [London 1951] p.253), on which we oddly enough see some “reserved” drapery, and London 1928.5-17.1, a neck amphora on which Demeter (head covered) and Persephone (myrtle wreath), together with Hermes and another, attend Dionysos and the Basilinna or Semele who ride in a chariot.

46. The later vases are discussed by Metzger, *BCH* 68-9 (1944-45) 296ff. and in his *Représentations* p.254ff. See also his *Recherches* p.49ff.; and Kerenyi *Eleusis* 155ff.

47. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* III (Oxford 1907) 151 with note b.

48. On the Anthesteria, L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1956) 93ff.; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. Oxford 1968) 1ff.; Kerenyi *Eleusis* 51ff.

On the Lesser Mysteries, Farnell, *op.cit.* p.169ff.; Mylonas *op.cit.* p.239ff.; Kerenyi *Eleusis* p.48ff.

49. Athens and Eleusis, J. Boardman, *JHS* 95 (1975) 3ff.

50. For Semele, H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris 1951) 343ff. Semele on vases, Schefold *GuH* p.46ff. On the large heads of Semele/Kore see also Bérard, *op.cit.* esp.p.72f. Florence 3790 (Beazley ABV 260, 30; L. A. Stella, *Mitologia Greca* [Turin 1956] p.57) shows Thyone (named) beside

Hades (celebrated in the Lesser Mysteries which fell shortly before the Anthesteria), perhaps to bring her back.<sup>58</sup> Such a belief might have led Sophilos and other artists after him to set Dionysos and Demeter in the role of substitute parents for Thetis, as she went through the initiation rite that was marriage.

Let us return from these speculations to the procession of deities on Sophilos' dinos. Beside Demeter stands Hestia, who symbolises both the hearth of Thetis' parents that she has left and the hearth of her new home. Hestia, however, also leads us into the world of the Mysteries, for it is in the fire of the hearth that Demeter tried to ensure Demophon's immortality, rather as Thetis later hoped to protect Achilles. Α παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθεῖς seems to have played an important role in the Mysteries,<sup>59</sup> a role perhaps analogous to that of the παῖς ἀμφιθάλης at weddings.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, in a lighter vein, Hestia seems to have had a connection with feasts, for in the Homeric Hymn to Hestia, we learn that she received offerings both at the beginning and at the end of mortal banquets.<sup>61</sup>

The second pair of goddesses consists of Leto and Chariklo. Leto, perhaps the nearer of the two, was, like Demeter, a mother; but the important part of her story is her wandering before giving birth to Apollo, the result of people's fear of her expected son, which echoes the danger of any son of Thetis, as revealed by Themis to the gods. Leto's connection with birth in general is clearly brought out by the appeal of the Spartan girls celebrating Helen's marriage:<sup>62</sup>

Λατὸ μὲν δοίη, Λατὸ κουροτρόφος, ὕμιν.  
εὐτεκνίαν.

Chariklo was a less important figure in divine circles, but as the wife of the centaur Cheiron she was to be Achilles' foster-mother.

After these two pairs of goddesses comes Dionysos and, behind him, Hebe (fig. 27). She is the epitome of youth and also the wine-pourer of the gods, hence her juxtaposi-

tion with Dionysos.<sup>63</sup> Wine was also a giver of youth and strength.<sup>64</sup> Next come Cheiron and Themis (fig. 28) focusing attention on the future son of Thetis—Cheiron as foster-father and Themis as the revealer of the secret about him. Cheiron's catch would no doubt have been appreciated at the feast, like Dionysos' wine. Themis seems to have had a certain precedence at divine feasts,<sup>65</sup> while her special sceptre may allude to her role as the convenor of divine assemblies, a role emphasised here perhaps because Solon had recently introduced the new Council of Four Hundred.<sup>66</sup>

After Themis the procession changes into a parade of chariots accompanied by groups of women on foot—Horai, Charites, Mousai, and Moirai—all staunch members of divine pageants.<sup>67</sup> Three Nymphs head the parade, then comes the chariot of Zeus and Hera. This pair is the obvious choice for the first chariot, the king and queen of the gods, the divine couple of the Hieros Gamos. The second chariot contains Poseidon and his wife Amphitrite. Poseidon, like Zeus, was a suitor of Thetis until Themis' warning. This pair of chariots forms the visual centrepoint of the first side view of the dinos (fig. 15).

In the third chariot come Ares and Aphrodite (fig. 31), and in the fourth Hermes and Apollo (fig. 32). This pair of chariots, which dominates the back of the vase, is accompanied by the Muses (fig. 17). Apollo sings the *gamelios hymnos* as he strums the kithara, and one Muse plays the syrinx, while the rest perhaps join in the chorus. All is music and festivities, as in the scene painted by the poet of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.<sup>68</sup>

The end of the procession is made up of the chariot of Athena and Artemis, virgins both, and a motley crew of slow-moving stragglers (fig. 19). Okeanos, progenitor of the gods,<sup>69</sup> is given both aquatic and terrestrial attributes, a fish-tail and a bull-horn, as well as a fish in one hand and a snake in the other. This combination alludes perhaps to Okeanos' role as the great river encompassing the earth. His wife, Tethys, who walks close behind, is accompanied

Dionysos at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

51. Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 330; Suidas *sv* Iophon. See also Kerényi *Eleusis* p.64.

52. For the Hydrophoria see E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964) 130ff.

53. H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 117f.

54. *Index fabularum*, cf. schol. on Homer, *Iliad* 4,319.

55. Pausanias 2,37,5f.

56. *Idem* 2,36,7.

57. *CIL* 6, 1780; cf. Pausanias 2,37,2. Links at Sicyon (Pausanias 2,11,3) and perhaps on Acrocorinth (see R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* 37 [1968] 299ff., esp. p.325f., with note 31; and A.D. Ure, *JHS* 89 (1969) 120f.).

58. For the date of the Lesser Mysteries, IGii<sup>2</sup> 1672, 207. Demeter in the Underworld, *Orphic Hymn* 41,6; see also Kerényi *Eleusis* 43.

59. Richardson *op.cit.* 231ff.; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum* (Leipzig 1898) 273ff.

60. R. Flacelière, *Daily Life in Greece at the time of Pericles* (London 1965) p.63 comments on the similarity between this boy's ritual phrase and some of the formulae of the Mysteries.

61. Homeric *Hymn to Hestia* 4ff.

62. Theocritus 18,50f.

63. Athenaeus, 10,425e.

64. Cf. Dionysos Hebon: Macrobius, *Stat.* 1,18,9. See further R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951) p.212ff.

65. Homer, *ibid.* 15,95.

66. Homer, *Odyssey* 2,68. Council of Four Hundred, *Ath.Pol.* 9; Plutarch, *Solon* 18,5.

67. Eg. *Orphic Hymn* 43,7—the Moirai, Horai, and Charites accompany Persephone back to the light.

68. Homeric, *Hymn to Apollo*, 182ff.

69. Homer, *Iliad* 14,201f.



Figure 35. Dinos from Naukratis (B.100 with B.601,26 and Reading 26.ii.1), front view.

by Eileithyia—she need not hurry, for her job is still some months away. At the end rides Hephaistos on his mule, slow and ridiculous.

Alongside Sophilos' evocative treatment of the theme of Peleus' wedding should perhaps be considered its suitability to the vase's function. The procession of deities is coming to attend a marriage feast, and the dinos itself could serve the key role of mixing wine at just such a feast. In fact the vase would have made an excellent wedding gift, brought in the mortal procession on the day of the *epaulia*.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, dinoi are occasionally carried in "heroic" wedding processions on vases.<sup>71</sup> Feasts also occurred in sanctuaries, and the dinos would have made a suitable gift for a deity. Indeed Sophilos' other depiction of

the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, on a vase perhaps even finer than the London dinos, since the tongues above the figured frieze have been replaced by a more complex lotus and palmette chain, was dedicated on the Acropolis. Such a dinos was presumably intended to decorate the public dining rooms (*ἔσπιατόρια*)<sup>72</sup> where symposia were held at festivals, for wine used in libations to the gods was un-mixed. Finally, meals seem to have accompanied burials, so that a dinos would have made a suitable offering in or at a tomb, especially in Etruria where the deceased was sometimes laid out as if at a symposium. These three types of customer were surely in Sophilos' mind when he chose the scene for his dinos. The fact that both the Acropolis and London dinoi ended up in suitable contexts (sanctu-

70. *Epaulia*: *RE* sv. *Epaulia* (Thalheim) and *Hochzeit* (Heckenbach); L. Deubner, *Jdl* 15 (1900) 144ff. See also now J. H. Oakley, *AA* 1982, 133ff.

71. Cf. R. Lullies, *AK* 14 (1971) p.50.

72. On dining rooms in sanctuaries; R. A. Tomlinson, *JHS* 89 (1969) 106ff.; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der achaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Berlin 1977) 174ff. and 157 Note 111.

73. For discussion of painter and market see further my remarks in

*JbBM* 24 (1982) p.28.

74. A. Stewart, "Stesichoros and the François Vase," a paper delivered at Madison (1981, *Acta* forthcoming). I am very grateful to Dr. Stewart who kindly let me see his typescript.

75. A. Rumpf, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 470.

76. Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* 23,92. = Stesichoros fr. 234 (Page).

77. North VI; F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz 1977) pl.58.

ary and tomb) is a tribute to their owners' perception, but it was not always so.<sup>73</sup>

Before leaving the figured scene on the London dinos, we ought perhaps to discuss what external influences may have played a part in its formation. The possibility of the influence of a poem by Stesichoros has been recently raised by Andrew Stewart.<sup>74</sup> He combines Rumpf's suggestion that the amphora carried by Dionysos on the François vase is the golden amphora given by Dionysos to Thetis and by her to her son to receive his ashes<sup>75</sup> with the observations that Kleitias has labeled one of the Muses Stesichore instead of Terpsichore and that a scholiast on a passage in the *Iliad* refers to Stesichoros' description of the golden amphora<sup>76</sup> and, therefore, suggests that both Sophilos' dinoi and the François vase are dependent on an epithalamium for Peleus and Thetis by Stesichoros. Rumpf's theory was based on the fact that the amphora on the François vase has no lid and is held at too great an angle to contain liquid. Vases depicted on vases, however, rarely have lids, while the angle to the vertical at which the amphora is held is not much greater than that of the hydriae held by the youths on the Parthenon frieze.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, it seems much more likely, given the "SOS" decoration of the neck,<sup>78</sup> that Kleitias intends to show Dionysos coming to the feast with both the vine and its product—in particular the Attic variety. (He may already have had a drink or two himself on the way, hence his peculiar gait and his lack of concern over any possible spillage.) Although one can imagine Sophilos or his "source" (and Kleitias) taking heed of the themes embedded in the Homeric epics, performances of which were apparently already regularized at Sikyon in the opening decades of the sixth century,<sup>79</sup> it is more difficult to believe that there were sufficient, accessible recitals of the works of Stesichoros to influence mainland Greek artists. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that Kleitias, at least, had heard of the popularity of Stesichoros in the West.

A second possible source for Sophilos' inspiration is free painting. Around the same time as or a little before the London dinos and other grand works of Sophilos' mature years, a change comes over Corinthian vases, already the source of so much in Attic vase painting of the beginning of

of the sixth century. Humfry Payne noted that the painters of large vases modified their technique by admitting more silhouette work, while also beginning to choose new themes,<sup>80</sup> and he went on to suggest that this might have been due to the influence of free painting. Sophilos not only follows this trend among Corinthian vase painters but actually goes further, adopting some technical details, especially the use of red to outline the white which he has laid directly on the clay ground, the writing of inscriptions in red instead of black, and the use of titles for scenes, all of which seem to point to direct, personal knowledge of free painting, presumably Corinthian.<sup>81</sup> There are, it would seem, three possible conclusions that one could draw from these observations. Either Sophilos visited Corinth (perhaps because of personal connections), or Corinthian panels were exported to Athens, or the welcome that Solon offered to foreign craftsmen was taken up by some Corinthian painters,<sup>82</sup> whose work was studied with interest by Sophilos and some of his companions. If an actual Corinthian painting representing the procession of the gods to the house of Peleus was set up at Athens in the early years of the sixth century, it may have captured Sophilos' imagination. But it was unlikely to have served as the source for the design of the frieze, since that is tailored to the vase; nor is it likely to have provided many of the details for the order of the procession, since Attic religion and the function of the vase itself seem to have played an important role in the painter's choice.

Let us close this discussion of the London dinos and stand with a brief glance at its painter, Sophilos. A number of studies have dealt in detail with this artist, the most recent being the full-scale monograph by Güven Bakır. This is a careful and important work, and the author is scrupulous in distinguishing between pieces by Sophilos himself and those in his manner. Nevertheless, the two other Sophilean pieces in the British Museum that he discusses might receive additional comment here.

Firstly, Bakır has given two previously unattributed fragments of a dinos from Naukratis to Sophilos.<sup>83</sup> The horses on these fragments seem too stiff and bony to be by the painter himself, while the delineation of the chest muscles does not correspond to that seen elsewhere in the painter's oeuvre.<sup>84</sup> Secondly, Bakır would remove from Beazley's list of Sophilos himself the more complete dinos,

78. SOS decoration also occurs on the neck of the hydria held by Polyxena on BM 1899.7-21.2: Beazley ABV 86,8; Boardman ABFV fig.55.

79. Herodotos 5,67,1.

80. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) p.100.

81. See, Beazley *Dev.* p.19; M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva 1959) p.57.

82. Plutarch, *Solon* 24,2.

83. London B.103.14,1-2 fr.; Bakır *Sophilos* no.A.7, pl.64 fig.123.

84. Eg. Louvre E.873; Beazley ABV 39,12; Bakır *Sophilos* no.A.4, pl.48, fig.87.

85. London B.100; Beazley ABV 39,13; Bakır *Sophilos* no.B.1, p.39, pls.66-70.

86. Reading, Ure Museum Inv. 26.ii.1; Beazley, *Hesp.*13 (1944) p.51 no.30 and pl.6,7 (upside-down); *idem*, ABV 41,34; Bakır *Sophilos* no.B.26, pl.81 fig.164 (rotate anticlockwise through 90 deg.).



Figure 36. Kyllenios Painter's dinos and stand, detail of dinos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.211 and 82.AE.86.

also from Naukratis.<sup>85</sup> Beazley wondered if a fragment in Reading, which was supposed to be from Egypt, might belong to this small dinos; but he never seems to have verified the idea.<sup>86</sup> In fact the Reading fragment does join the dinos, providing the left side of the floral complex in the centre of the upper frieze; it also joins the loose fragment of the dinos,<sup>87</sup> giving more of the floral complex and parts of the two confronting sirens below. Jane Gardner of the Ure Museum has kindly made it possible for the Reading fragment to be temporarily inserted in the London dinos, and a new photograph of the whole is included here (fig. 35).

Sophilos was not a careful draughtsman, especially when painting animals, which unfortunately dominated his output. His multifigured scenes, however, are full of colourful charm and a cheerful vitality. As an artist, Sophilos stands close to the Gorgon Painter, his senior and perhaps his teacher.<sup>88</sup> Something of a workshop tradition seems to pass from Sophilos, through painters of the late 570's and early 560's like the Camtar Painter and the Painter of London B.76,<sup>89</sup> both of whom wrote their inscriptions in red,

on through the Tyrrhenian Group.<sup>90</sup> Lydos owed his origins to this tradition, but as he outgrew it, it died.<sup>91</sup>

The London dinos shows us Sophilos at the peak of his powers but also at a crossroads. He introduced a series of wonderful narrative scenes with some unusual technical details but was still fettered by the traditional animal friezes. His technical innovations, which brought him closer to free painting and which were admirably suited to his loose, somewhat spontaneous style, were not widely adopted; and he soon fell back on simple animal friezes, overtaken perhaps by his contemporaries and juniors. Their miniaturist styles consolidated the black figure technique as a vase painter's idiom and, thereby, effectively closed off vase painting from any future participation of a direct nature in the developments to be achieved in the freer medium of large-scale painting, at least until the vase painters reopened the door by experimenting with a white ground.

London

87. London B. 601.26fr.; as note 85.

88. On the Gorgon Painter and Sophilos: S. Karouzou, *AM* 62 (1937) 111ff.; I. Scheibler, *Jdl* 76 (1961) 1ff.

89. For these painters see Beazley *ABV* 84ff. Also Boardman *ABFV*

p.35f.

90. For the Tyrrhenian Group, see note 22 and Boardman *op.cit.* p.36f.

91. For Lydos, Beazley *ABV* p.107ff.; M. A. Tiberios, *Ho Lydos kai to ergo tou* (Athens 1976).

# Three Notes on Attic Black Figure in Malibu

Jiří Frel

## 1. A NEW FRAGMENT BY THE NETTOS PAINTER

Commenting on a krater fragment with a siren by the Nettos Painter,<sup>1</sup> Beazley noted: "There must have been a pair of them, confronted."<sup>2</sup> A new fragment of an amphora, presented to the J. Paul Getty Museum by an anonymous donor (fig. 1),<sup>3</sup> also depicts two sirens, but instead of the usual heraldic decoration, this is a monumental tableau. While one of the sirens stares rapaciously forward, the other bends toward the first one's feet, in a very bird-like attitude.<sup>4</sup> Both appear rather as demonic figures from the dark age of saga than as well-tamed lady birds. For a better appreciation of the grandiose image realized here by the *magnus parens* of Attic vase painting, an attempt to reestablish its original appearance by Zdravko Barov (fig. 2) is presented next to the photograph of the unretouched piece.

## 2. AMASIS AND TALEIDES

Several years ago, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a black figure lekythos signed by Amasis as potter under the foot (fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> His signature also occurs in this location on a fragment without painted decoration<sup>6</sup> but corresponding well to his other signed vases. This is not the case with the Getty lekythos. While the antiquity of the signature is beyond doubt, the lettering is not by Amasis. Closer scrutiny reveals it to be the handwriting of Taleides, and the

Taleides Painter is also responsible for the drawing<sup>7</sup> (boxers between onlookers on the shoulders, enthroned king in the middle of his suite on the body).<sup>8</sup>

Beazley has already observed that an oinochoe signed by Taleides as potter is akin to another by Amasis.<sup>9</sup> The same is true about the lekythoi from both workshops. Perhaps the two craftsmen sat close together, and one day one used, authorized or not, the name of his companion. It may have been a friendly joke, or, less probably, a mocking provocation.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the circumstances, it seems probable that only two people were involved in the story and not four. Thus the idea that the Amasis Painter is identical with Amasis the potter and the Taleides Painter with Taleides the potter becomes still more plausible, even if not fully documented.<sup>11</sup>

## 3. THE MADRID PAINTER AND THE SAPPHO PAINTER

For a fragment of a funerary black figure pinax (fig. 4),<sup>12</sup> Beazley<sup>13</sup> accepted Boardman's attribution to the Sappho Painter. But the profiles of the men appear very close to the heads by the Madrid Painter (especially on the beautiful amphora ex-Castle Ashby<sup>14</sup> and those on the name piece<sup>15</sup>). The conclusion that the Sappho Painter is but a late phase of the Madrid Painter appears inevitable; the whole group deserves further study.

Malibu

1. *Para.* 3.15.

2. *Dev.* 15f.

3. Acc. no. 81.AE.114.30; height, 23.3 cm. Under the sirens, D. von Bothmer recognized the remnants of the cable pattern; added red for the wing bar.

4. Cf. the feeding birds on the neck of the London amphora by the Nettos Painter, *Para.* 2.2.

5. Acc. no. 76.AE.48; height: 18.3 cm. Presented by Bruce McNall.

6. ABV 157, bottom.

7. Cf. already Getty *MJ* 4 (1977) p.75, n. 8.

8. The glaze turned to a great extent to chocolate red. The surface prickled abundantly (because of the oil contained); added red for many details; added white (mostly faded) for female flesh.

9. ABV 176.1.

10. Because of this evidence of one man signing with the name of another, the homonymy of Douris and the Triptolemos Painter is less probable (cf. the comments of Beazley, *Potter and Painter* 41f.; D. von Bothmer kindly informed me of the second example in his collection, signed by Douris and attributed to the Triptolemos Painter by R. Guy).

11. Of course, the Taleides Painter did decorate one vase signed by Timagoras the potter, ABV 174.7.

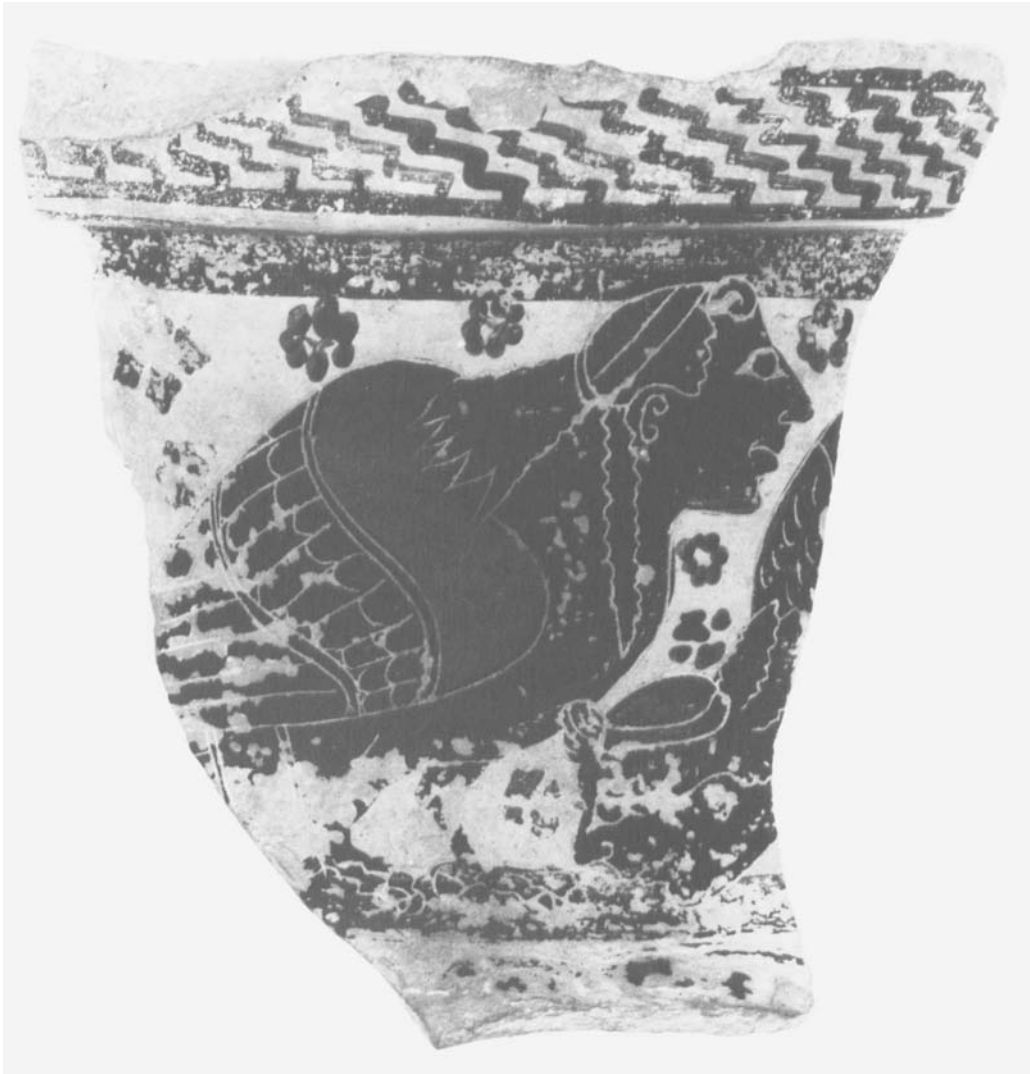
12. Acc. no. 80.AE.101; 12.6 cm. x 12.65cm. x 1.2-1.7cm. (top rim partially preserved). Presented by Malcolm Wiener.

13. *Para.* 247, middle, with previous bibliography, especially for the inscription.

14. ABV 329.5; CVA Castle Ashby, pls.9-10; Christie's, 2 July 1980, lot 95.

15. ABV 329.2.





*Figure 1.* Fragment from the neck of an amphora by the Nettos Painter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.114.30.



*Figure 2.* Retouched photograph of figure 1 by Z. Barov.



Figure 3a. Black figure lekythos by the Taleides Painter, signed by Amasis as potter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.48.



Figure 3b. Other view of figure 3a.



Figure 3c. Other view of figure 3a.

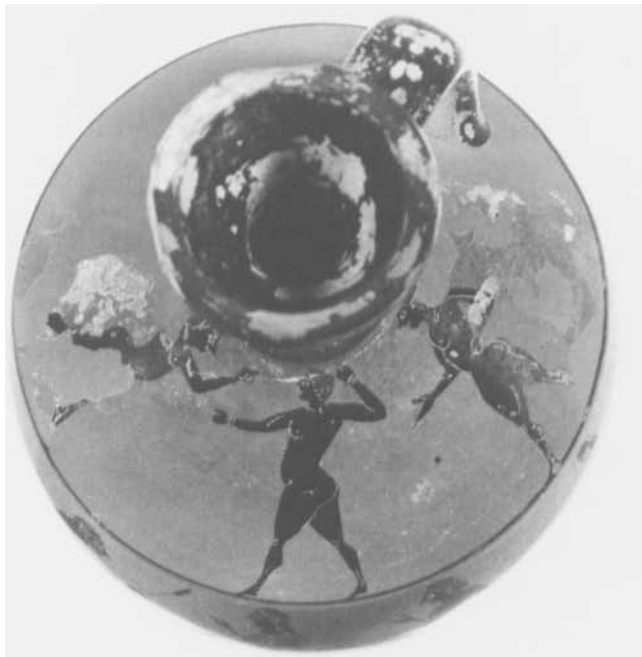


Figure 3d. Shoulders of figure 3a.

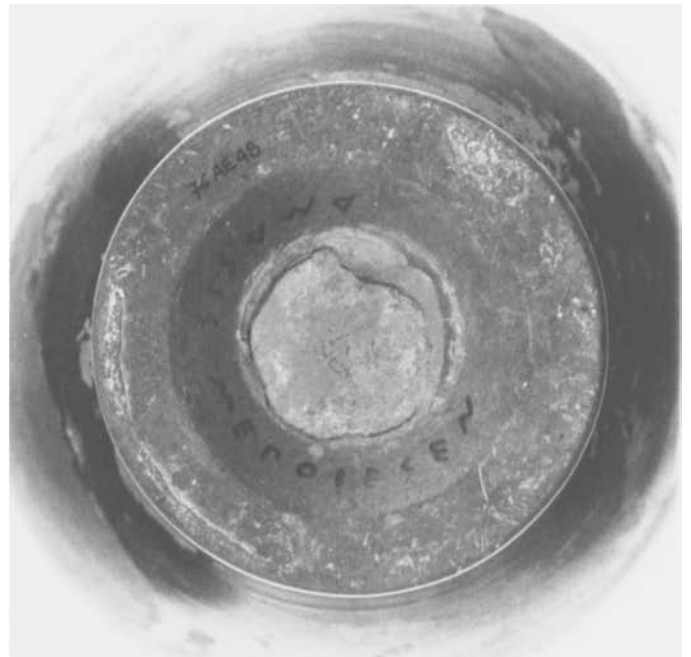


Figure 3e. Signature of Amasis under the foot of figure 3a.



Figure 4. Fragment of a black figure pinax by the Madrid Painter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.101.

# A New Exekian Fragment

E. Anne Mackay

In 1978, a small fragment of a black figure vase was presented to the J. Paul Getty Museum by Bruce McNall (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It preserves part of the figure of a hoplite, facing right, and can be attributed on stylistic grounds to Exekias.<sup>2</sup>

The hoplite, who seems to be identified by the inscription  $\text{AKAMA}[\Sigma]$  as one of the sons of Theseus, wears a black “Corinthian” helmet which probably had a stilted crest; the crown is marked off by an incised line, along which are vestiges of an overlaid stripe of red paint.<sup>3</sup> The usual incised fringe of beard hangs below the cheek piece, curly at the front and straight towards the back. The shield, seen from the inside as it is carried on the hoplite’s left arm, is compass-drawn, with an incised line marking the circumference, another parallel line a little way in from the edge to mark off the rim, and a third parallel line at a similar distance beyond the outer edge, as if Exekias had originally planned a slightly larger shield. Incised lines indicate the handgrip, which is suggestive of plaited thongs, perhaps of leather.<sup>4</sup>

The hoplite wears no body armor but is naked to the waist. He wears a short kilt with an incised chequerboard pattern and a fringe along the hem.<sup>5</sup> The front (or perhaps it is the side) of the kilt is pinned up; it may be worth comparing the shortening of the side pleats of Achilles’ tunic towards the front on the obverse of the London neck amphora (B210) and the similar effect on the tunic of the

man lifting Achilles’ corpse—surely Ajax—on the obverse of the Philadelphia amphora 3442). Perhaps this was a practical consideration in the turmoil of battle where flapping skirts might prove an encumbrance, rather than just the usual late Archaic attempt to show the hemline of a pleated garment.<sup>6</sup>

Of the hoplite’s anatomy, little is preserved. However, there is sufficient to allow comparison with other vases. The eye is rather scratchily incised: the inner ring does not form a complete circle, and the incised triangles to either side do not “grow” from the outer circle as they do on the latest Exekian vases, such as the Vatican amphora (344) and the London neck amphora (B210), yet there is a more obvious attempt to scratch away the small area than appears, for instance, on the New York neck amphora (17.230.14ab). The closest example is the eye of Ajax on the obverse of the Boulogne amphora (558), but on its own this detail does not provide a secure dating criterion, since in all but his latest works, Exekias tends to show little consistent development in his representation of such details of anatomy.<sup>7</sup>

The torso provides a little more evidence: it was represented in profile, and while this in itself is not of particular significance, since even on some of the earliest vases there are profile torsos,<sup>8</sup> yet the incised lines link the fragment with one of the amphorae at Orvieto (Faina 77).<sup>9</sup> Certainly

1. Acc. no. 78.AE.305, consisting of two fragments, cleanly joined; the diagonal from bottom left to top right measures 11.0 cm. Dr. Jifi Frel, to whom I am indebted for information and encouragement, suggests that they were originally part of a one piece amphora. (Attrib. Frel.)

2. The attribution is supported by such generalized observations as the angle of the nose to the forehead and to the upper lip, the swell of the pectoral muscle, the casual expertise in the representation of the left hand, and even the neat and regular letters of the inscription. More specific comment is offered below.

3. Compare A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, Thames and Hudson (1967) 94. There were several instances of added red on the fragment, but now only vestiges remain: around the eye-opening of the helmet (unusual in the works of Exekias), around the incised circle marking the nipple, and around the inner rim of the shield.

4. Compare the handgrip on the shield carried by Diomedes on Exekias’ krater in the Agora museum (AK 1168, AP 1044), and also the second handgrip on the shield carried by the anonymous warrior on the Orvieto amphora (Faina 77). For vases cited in this article, see J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956), 143–146, and *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971), 59–61.

5. The pattern, which consists of small incised squares or circles within the spaces of the incised “chequerboard,” occurs often among the extant works of Exekias, although in the latest works it is used more rarely, and on the less important figures, such as one of the maenads over the handles on the Agora krater. The fringed hem, which occurs frequently on the vases of the Amasis Painter, is rare in Exekian scenes: one of the fragments in the collection of H. Cahn in Basel shows fringing (*AntK* 5 (1962) 77–80), and the “Aethiopian” to the left on the reverse of the neck amphora in the British Museum (B209) has a fringed hem. The latter vase differs in several minor details from the style of Exekias.

6. A similarly broken hemline occurs elsewhere in the works of Exekias: two of the warriors under one handle of the Munich cup (2044) and the third warrior from the left on the reverse of the Agora krater (AK 1168, AP 1044); other warriors within the same scenes have straight hemlines. Although it may be argued that all these examples involve a pleated garment, yet Ajax on the obverse of the Munich neck amphora (1470) has no pleats and a “tucked-up” appearance (Ajax on the reverse does not). Compare also Achilles’ corpse on the Philadelphia amphora (3442). Exekias uses the same bunched effect on the obverse of the Agora krater when he shows Artemis holding up her himation.



Figure 1. Fragment of a black figure one piece amphora by Exekias. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.305.

it may not be grouped with the latest series of Exekias' works, where the profile torsos presage the tortoiseshell-like pattern of a later stage in the development of anatomical representation.<sup>10</sup> The ring of red around the nipple does not occur on extant vases later than the Panathenaic amphora in Karlsruhe (65.45).

The palm of the hoplite's left hand is interesting, as it is almost the same as the hand of Memnon on the London neck amphora (B209), and that of the anonymous warrior

on the reverse of the Orvieto amphora (Faina 77), both of which are also gripping shields.<sup>11</sup>

The precise subject of the scene cannot be identified from this fragment. The hoplite is almost certainly to the left of centre (figures facing right tend to be to the left), and he is taking a small step forward: the wheel marks on the inside face of the fragment run almost parallel with the top edge, so that the torso is not quite vertical. It is not impossible that his right hand held a horizontal spear, but this would be unusual, as normally spears at rest are represented carried diagonally over the shoulder, while in action they are brandished aloft. It is perhaps more likely that the right hand is empty and at rest: Exekias tends to use the line of a spear to some compositional purpose, and a strong horizontal line seldom occurs in his scenes.<sup>12</sup>

A small tongue of black appears on the upper left side of the fragment; it is probably a spear-point—it is difficult to imagine what else would occur at that level with an area of reserved clay directly beneath it (to accommodate the missing  $\Sigma$  of AKAMAS). About eight millimetres above is a tiny speck of black—perhaps part of an inscription?

Any further discussion of the scene becomes purely speculative. It would be satisfying if some link could be forged between this fragment and the Exekian fragment in Lund (655) to suggest a scene involving Theseus and his sons, but this is unlikely,<sup>13</sup> as the Lund fragment would appear to be later, in fact not long before the Vatican amphora (344), as may be seen from a comparison of the respective heads of Theseus and Tyndareos.<sup>14</sup>

As to dating, the Getty fragment seems to belong to a group of vases painted by Exekias a little before the period of his greatest masterpieces. As has been indicated above, there are affinities with amphorae in Orvieto (Faina 77), Boulogne (558), and Philadelphia (3442), belonging to a group which, on criteria not yet published, I would place comparatively a little after the middle of Exekias' painting career.

University of Natal

7. Compare for instance the differentiation of eyes from obverse to reverse on the Louvre and Boulogne amphorae (F206 and 558).

8. There are two profile torsos on the Boston neck amphora (89.273).

9. Compare the child on the obverse and the man at the horses' heads on the reverse. The incised curved line under the pectoral muscle is similar, as is the downward-sloping line marking the lower edge of the ribcage, although the incision on the fragment is less sure.

10. Ajax on the obverse of the Boulogne amphora (558) and Polydeukes and the small slave on the reverse of the Vatican amphora (344) lead to Oinopion on the reverse of the London neck amphora (B210) and the dead Patroklos on the Agora krater (AK 1168, AP 1044).

11. Compare also the hand of the old man on the obverse of Faina 77 and a woman's hand on one of the plaque fragments in Berlin (F1823). Earlier hands represented in this position are less detailed (see Boston 89.273 and Budapest 50.189), while later ones show two lines instead of one (Lund 655, London B210, and Philadelphia 3442).

12. A horizontal spear does occur on the obverse of the Munich neck amphora, but there the heavily-burdened Ajax is obliged to hold both spear and shield in his left hand, and the horizontal line serves to give a sense of direction to an otherwise heavy and static scene. Further horizontal spears appear on the reverse of Philadelphia 3442, where they are almost totally masked by the bodies and armour of their owners.

13. The possibility cannot entirely be ruled out that the "Akamas" fragment may derive from the scene on the reverse, while the "Theseus" fragment comes from the obverse—a precedent for such a divergence in care and quality of execution may be found in the obverse and reverse scenes of both the amphora in the Louvre (F206) and the Boulogne amphora (558).

14. Their eyes are similar, as are their hairstyles; but Tyndareos' hair is more finely incised, and his ear is more developed—in Exekias' latest works such details provide a more reliable set of dating criteria than in the earlier ones.

# Nicosthenic Athletics

Brian Legakis

Athletic competition and its depiction in art are among the principal contributions of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> Although the corpus of existing Greek athletic art is large, it has attracted less attention than other areas of Hellenic studies. The early pioneers in the study of athletics concentrated their efforts on the investigation of agonistic practices rather than on their artistic representations.<sup>2</sup> While athletic art served as visual documentation of literary references for the early students in the field, the factual value of these art objects has remained inconclusive. These conditions have led to certain misconceptions concerning the intentions of Greek artists.<sup>3</sup> These intentions vary according to artist, school, technique, medium, and date of production. An understanding of the peculiar language of Greek athletic art requires these factors to be analyzed in isolation and in conjunction with one another. This article characterizes the athletic contests of an Attic black figure vase painter, Painter N, who was employed in the famed pottery workshop of Nikosthenes. The initial stimulus for this research was provided by a recent acquisition by the J. Paul Getty Museum of a neck amphora decorated with boxers by Painter N (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>4</sup>

The Malibu neck amphora is of the special Nicosthenic variety, with broad ribbon handles connecting the lip and the shoulder of the vessel. Seven areas on the pot are isolated for painted decoration. Dolphins appear on the inside of

the lip; tripods fill the space on the exterior of the handles, two pairs of boxers are shown on the neck; youths holding eyebrows while sitting on stools are on the shoulder, with the signature of Nikosthenes to the side of one youth. There are three bands of design: a meander pattern below the shoulder, and lower down on the vessel, a bud design, above a frieze of rays. These figures and patterns occur in a variety of positions on other Nicosthenic neck amphorae. The free and repetitive use of these subjects, along with satyrs and maenads, animals, youths, men and woman drinking, and athletes, implies that they are decorative rather than narrative. Such an assumption, while largely accurate, masks the inherent innovation and character of the athletic scenes.

The athletic subjects depicted by Painter N are preserved on thirteen neck amphorae and a cup.<sup>5</sup> Scenes of boxers and wrestlers predominate: twenty-nine pairs of boxers and four pairs of wrestlers overshadow the one composition illustrating two foot races and three pentathletes. This unusually large assemblage of similar subjects by the same artist deserves careful scrutiny.

Clearly Painter N specialized in boxers; at least one such event forms part of the decoration of each of the vases, with athletic subjects listed below. Several characteristics of these contests are typical of his work throughout the course of his career: the representation of youths in compe-

1. This article has grown from a chapter on boxing from my doctoral dissertation, *Athletic Contests in Archaic Greek Art* (Chicago, 1977). I wish to thank Jiří Frel for allowing me to study the Nicosthenic vase in the J. Paul Getty Museum and for his kindness and directive remarks in Athens and Malibu. I am also grateful to Mark Davies for reading the manuscript of this article and providing some helpful comments.

The Greeks competed in many forms of physical exercise, including aquatic and equestrian events. Athletic contests are here defined as boxing, wrestling, pankration, foot races, and the pentathlon.

2. The early pioneers in the study of Greek athletics were J. H. Krause, Julius Jüthner and E. Norman Gardiner. Their most important works are: Krause, *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen* (1841); *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien* (1841); *Olympia* (1838); Jüthner, *Über antike Turngeräthe* (1896); *Philostratus, Über Gymnastik* (1909); *Die Athletischen Leibesübungen Der Griechen*, I (1965), II (1968), with a review by Oscar Broneer in *AJA* 75 (1971), 102; Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (1910); *Athletics of the Ancient World* (1930), with a bibliography including many of his own articles in *JHS*.

To these works may be added: A. Furtwängler, *Die Bedeutung der Gymnastik in der griechischen Kunst* (1905); B. Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*

(1927); Carl Blümel, *Sport und Spiel den Griechen und Römern* (1934); *Sport der Hellenen* (1936); J. Ebert, *Zum Pentathlon der Antike* (1963); H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (1964); *Sport in Greece and Rome* (1972); N. Yalouris, *The Olympic Games* (1976); S. G. Miller, *Arete* (1979); and T. Scanlon, *A Bibliography For Greek And Roman Athletics* (forthcoming).

3. Gardiner and Jüthner relied heavily on vase paintings to aid them in reconstructing athletic practices. Harris is less trusting of Greek art as a source of factual information: "Painters so insensitive to the fundamental syntax of physical movement can hardly be regarded as sound authorities for the subtler details of athletic techniques," *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, 30.

4. Malibu acc. no.68.AE.19: *Para*. 106. This vessel has been previously published by Michael Eisman, "Nicosthenic Amphorae: The J. Paul Getty Museum Amphora," *Getty MJ* 1 (1975) 43-54, figs. 1-9. An earlier illustration appeared in Sotheby, 29 November 1965, pl. at p. 58.

5. On Painter N: *ABV* 216-226,690; *ARV* 122; *Para*. 104-106; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, (1974) 65; E. Paribeni, "[NIKOSTHENES], Pittore," *EAA* V, 487; Eisman *op.cit.* (*supra* note 4) 43ff.

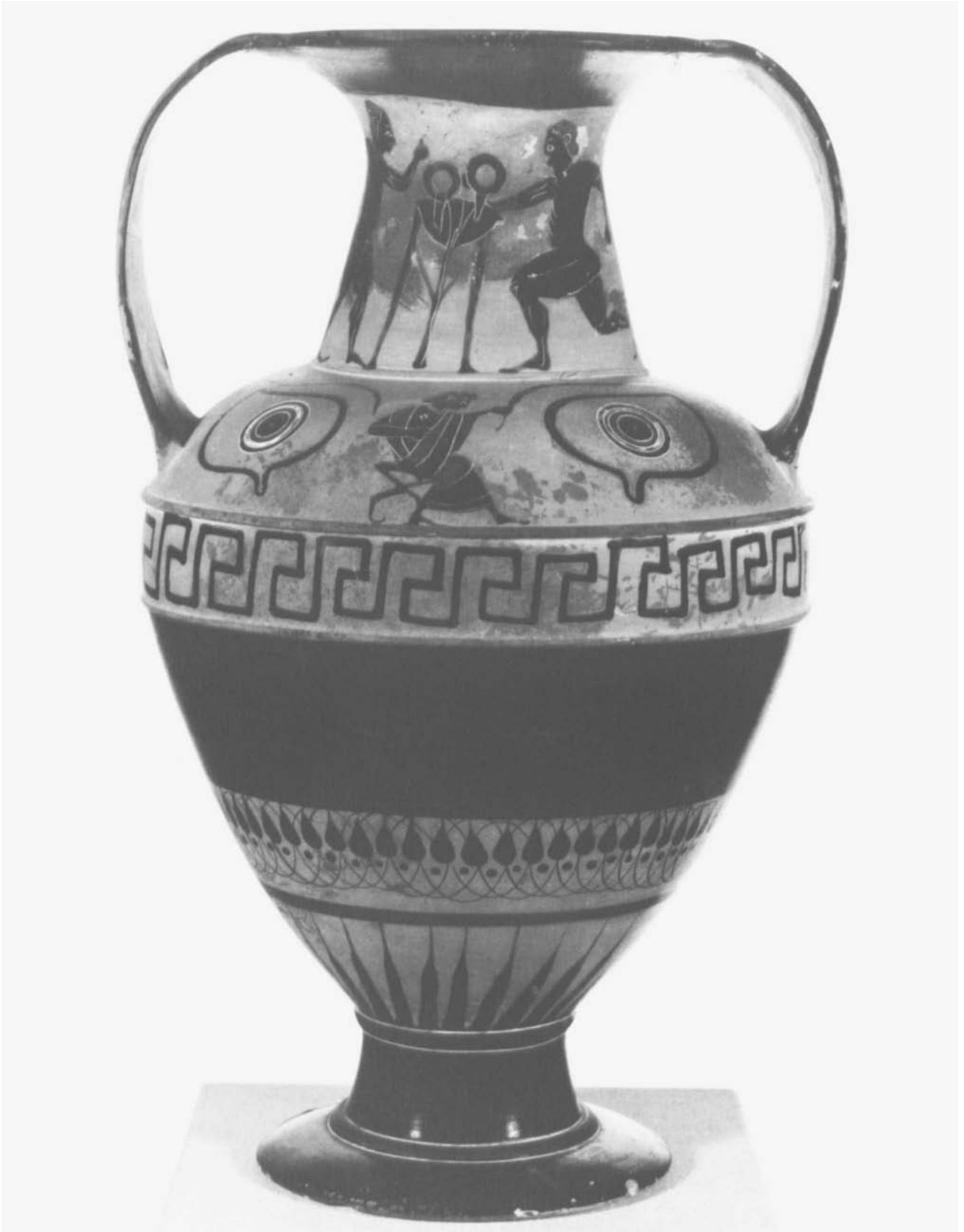


Figure 1. Neck amphora by Painter N. Malibu 68.AE.19.



Figure 2. Detail of Malibu 68.AE.19.

tition (vases 1,3,4,6–13) and the inclusion of prize vessels for the victors (vases 3,4,8,10–13). Other stylistic distinctions developed or changed during his career and helped to define Painter N as an artist. Four types of characteristics distribute themselves into two groups. Group I and Group II characteristics refer to two different approaches in the depiction of boxers. They be summarized as follows:

Group I Characteristics	Group II Characteristics
Placement of the boxers on the shoulder or body of the pot (vases 2–6);	Placement on the neck (vases 7–10)
Boxers accompanied by observers or other athletic contests (vases 1–5, 9);	Boxers competing alone (vases 6–8, 10–13);
Close contact between competitors (vases 1–5, 7, 9);	Little or no actual contact (vases 6, 8, 10–13);
Himantes indicated (vases 2, 3, 5, 7, 8).	No himantes depicted (vases 1, 4, 9,–13).

All the athletic vases known by the author to be the work of Painter N are listed below, with descriptions of the

athletic scenes. These vases have been arranged according to subject matter, not in strict chronological order. Vases 1–5 are decorated according to the scheme of Group I characteristics while vases 10–13 reflect the characteristics of Group II. Vases 6–9 may not be so clearly designated. Vases 7 and 9 split their affinities between the two groups, yet vases 6 and 8 conform more strongly with the vases 10–13 and Group II. All the vases except 1 and 8 are Nicoesthenic neck amphorae.

1. Berlin 1805. Cup, proto A with a Nicoesthenic foot plate (fig. 3).<sup>6</sup>

This is one of the earliest representations of a multiple set of athletic contests in the archaic period.<sup>7</sup> Pictured in a circular frieze between two bands of animals on the interior of the cup, the eighteen figures of athletes and officials resemble the miniature work of the BMN Painter on his Little Master cups.<sup>8</sup> The depiction of iconographic detail is extraordinary. The events are grouped in three categories, each occupying one third of the frieze—two heavy events, two foot

6. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* (1924) 183; U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen, N. Kunisch, *Führer Durch Die Antikenabteilung* (1968) pl.57, and p. 191; K. Schauenburg, "Zu Attisch-Schwarzfigurigen Schalen mit Innenfriesen," *Studien zur griech. Vasenmalerei* (1970) 37, note 47; ABV 223.65; *Para.* 104.

7. Only the pankration is missing. T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in*

*Classical Athens* (1972) 197, places an amphora by the Amasis Painter in Berlin as the earliest example of a multiple palaestra athletic scene: Berlin 3210 (ABV 151.21). Earlier examples exist: Geneva MF 156, Tyrrhenian neck amphora (D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (1957) pl.12: ABV 99.49).

8. See *infra* note 45.





Figure 3. Proto A cup by Painter N. Detail of interior. Berlin 1805

aces, and the three field events of the pentathlon. Half of the composition is made up of all five of the pentathlon events; the sprint foot race and the wrestlers are on either side of the pentathletes taking part in the field events. In the other half of the frieze are the long-distance race and the boxers, the only two events on the cup that are not part of the pentathlon.

Each of the contests is clearly differentiated. The three field event pentathletes are distinguished by their attributes—javelin, discus, and the landing position of the jumper. The foot races are designated as sprint and long-distance, with all the runners moving diagonally.<sup>9</sup> In the two heavy events, the wrestlers are shown bending over, their foreheads touching, while the boxers stand upright and separated. The boxers are smaller than the wrestlers, their stomachs protrude, and they approach each other from a distance. No prizes are indicated for the contests, but the inclusion of nearly all the events usually held during competition suggests that Painter N intended to depict actual competition rather than casual practice in the palaestra.

#### 2. Cambridge 3. 1962. Overlap Group.<sup>10</sup>

The boxers on side A, painted in overlap fashion on the body of the vase, are mature, bearded combatants with leather himantes clearly indicated on their fists. Though



Figure 4. Neck amphora by Painter N. Vienna 3604.

they exchange blows at close quarters, their legs are straight, displaying little movement; their monumentality recalls the larger work by the BMN Painter.<sup>11</sup> The generous space of the shoulder frieze allows a judge and an athlete to bracket the boxers.

#### 3. Vienna 3604. I various (figs. 4–9).<sup>12</sup>

The athletes of this pot, like the previous one, are placed on the body; there are three pairs of boxers and wrestlers. The many officials are grouped as though standing along the fringe of the competition in a designated area. The contestants are represented at various stages of competition. One pair of wrestlers has just begun combat, meeting at the foreheads and grabbing each other's wrists (fig. 5).<sup>13</sup> The most carefully drawn pair shows a more advanced stage of the match: the competitor at the left is on top and in control of his opponent (fig. 6). In the third pair of wrestlers, one youth has secured a strong hold around the chest of his opponent, whose hands are raised as if in defeat at the end of the match (fig. 7).

Two youthful boxers stand on either side of a prize dinos at the initial encounter of a bout (fig. 8).<sup>14</sup> Two bearded antagonists are at a more developed stage: the athlete on the right is delivering a blow to the stomach of the other (fig. 7).<sup>15</sup> One of the third pair is about to strike the other's chin

9. Diagonal running moves right arm with left leg, left arm with right leg as in nature. See Gründel, *Die Darstellung des Laufens in der griechischen Kunst* (1934).

10. *Archaeological Reports* 1965, 46, fig. 4; *Para.* 105, 7.

11. See *infra* note 45.

12. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* 1890–1 pl.1,4, pl.4,3, and pl.6,3; Hoppin, *op. cit.* (*supra.* noter 6) 287; Jüthner, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 2) vol. 1, 181; ABV

221.41; *Para.* 104.

13. For Greek wrestling: Gardiner. *Sports and Festivals* 372–401; idem, *Athletics*, 181–196, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 2); Jüthner, *Pale in PW* (1949) 82–89; Harris, *Athletes op. cit.* (*supra* note 2) 102–105; B Waterman, *Yale Alumni Magazine*, vol. 38 no.3 (1974) 19ff; T. Scanlon, *op. cit.* (*supra.* note 2) G. wrestling.



Figure 5. Detail of Vienna 3604. Wrestlers.



Figure 6. Detail of Vienna 3604. Wrestlers.



Figure 7. Detail of Vienna 3604. Boxers and wrestlers.



Figure 8. Detail of Vienna 3604. Boxers.

(fig. 9); the judge at the left points to him, as if to award the winner prematurely.

On the following three vases the boxers appear on the shoulders of neck amphorae.

4. Rome Vatican 364. Thiasos Group.<sup>16</sup>

On both sides of the pot youthful boxers are flanked by young horsemen. The prize column kraters between the con-

testants do not keep them apart; they rush at one another, aiming blows with both open and closed hands.

5. Kansas City 52-220. Thiasos Group (fig. 10).<sup>17</sup>

These mature boxers compete between seated judges located on both sides of the shoulders of the pot. No prize is present, but himantes are clearly indicated on all hands. the contestants lean into their thrusting punches as they

14. For Greek Boxing: Jüthner, *Tungeräthe op.cit.* (supra note 2) 65-95; Gardiner, *Sports and Festivals* 420ff; idem, *Athletics*, 197ff; *op.cit.* (supra note 2); Jüthner and Mehl, *Pygme in PW Suppl. IX* (1962) 1306-1352; Harris, *Athletes* 97ff. *op.cit.* (supra note 2); W.H. Cook, *Boxing in Greek Art and Literature*, Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1940; T. Scanlon, *op.cit.* (supra note 2) H. Boxing.

15. Gardiner, *Athletics op.cit.* (supra note 2) 204, ruled out blows to the body. Harris counters in *Sport*, 23, 24 *op.cit.* (supra. note 2).

16. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (supra note 6) 277; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (1925-39) pl.48, and pp.149-150; ABV 219.20.

17. *Illustrated London News*, 14 March 1953, 403,4; ABV 219.23; *Para.* 104.



Figure 9. Detail of Vienna 3604. Boxers.

land blows on the jaws of one another.

6. Rome, Vatican 362. Torlonia Group (fig. 11).<sup>18</sup>

The boxers are similar to those on the vase in Kansas City in stance and arrangement; palmettes instead of judges are near the handles. The competitors here are younger and more energetic. The right boxer implies close contention before actual contact as he runs in to the left.

On the rest of the vases the athletes decorate the necks of the amphorae.

7. Baltimore, Archeological Society.<sup>19</sup>

The boxers on both sides of the pot fill the neck region efficiently, leaving no room for observers. The presence of himantes, the lack of a prize, and the spirit of the encounters resemble the pugilists on the Kansas City vase, but the stiff, angular gestures of the figures, along with the unusual decorative patternwork on the body of the pot, are unique.

8. Tarquinia RC 1076. Small neck amphora.<sup>20</sup>

The athletes on this pot resemble the boxers on vases 2, 3, and 5 with their beards and himantes, but their placement and the inclusion of a prize bronze tripod are related more to boxing scenes painted on vases 10–13. The tripods separate the contestants by a considerable distance; the contentious atmosphere is evoked by the running or rushing attitudes of the boxers.

18. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 275; Albizzati, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 16) pl.48, p.147, 149 fig. 84; C. Sweet, "Six Attic Vases in the San Francisco Bay Area," *CalStuClassArch* 2 (1970) 276; ABV 218.12.

19. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 179; CVA *Robinson* I[41] pl.24 [157] 2a, 2b and pl.25 [158] 1a, 1b; C. Sweet, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 18) 276; ABV 220.36.

20. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 197; CVA 2 [26] pl.30 [1179] 5,6; Sweet, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 18) 277; ABV 223.59 and 690; *Para.* 104.

21. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 289 no.73; Giroux, RA (1966) fig. 14–20; *Revue du Louvre* (1967) 38, fig. 3; ABV 225.9; *Para.* 105.

22. An article of clothing, hanging on the wall, is placed between the two boxers where the prize is often shown.

23. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* (1890–1) pl.3, 1a–k; Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note

9. Malmaison 299.<sup>21</sup>

No prize vessels are indicated in either of the two boxing matches shown on this vase, so that as the boxers close in on each other, there is space for observers at the handles.<sup>22</sup> The sharp competition of both pairs of boxers is similar to the athletes on the Baltimore vase, but the agitated movement connects their youthful figures with examples on vases 11 and 12.

10. Rome Torlonia 1879.32. Torlonia Group.<sup>23</sup>

This may be the earliest example of the presence of a prize bronze tripod within an athletic scene on a neck amphora of Nicosthenic shape. The boxers resemble those on the Malmaison pot, but in the tripod and lack of spectators this vase resembles the next three vases.

The next three vases form a concise group of boxer illustrations executed late in the career of Painter N.

11. Malibu acc. no. 68.AE.19. (figs. 1–2).<sup>24</sup>

On both sides of the pot, youthful boxers extend their arms away from their bodies. The large tripods separate the contestants, but they fight vigorously. In both bouts the boxer on the right rushes headlong toward his opponent; on one side (fig. 2) the attacking athlete's stride resembles that of a sprinter, his hands held high, while the boxer on the other side (fig. 1) holds his arms low in the fashion of a distance runner.

12. Göttingen J16. K various.<sup>25</sup>

The activities of the boxers on both sides of the pot are similar to those on the vase in Malibu; the boxer on the right rushes in, while his opponent on the left stands very still, arms up and hands open, waiting for the onslaught.

13. Aachen, Ludwig.<sup>26</sup>

The athletes on this vase compete in a quieter, less active manner than the last two. The left-hand boxer on side B braces himself in a manner identical to those on the last two vases.

14. Rome, Market. Maybe Painter N.<sup>27</sup>

Although I have neither seen nor located this vase, Beazley compares the neck scene with the vase in Torlonia.

Conclusions may be drawn from the distribution of characteristics described above. Painter N may have freely selected from the characteristics of Groups I and II through-

6) 271; ABV 217.8; *Para.* 104.

24. Sotheby, 29 November 1965, pl. at p.58; Eisman, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 4) *passim*; *Para.* 106.

25. P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen* (1912) pl.6,18, and p.13; ABV 222.48.

26. R. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke* (1968) 50–52; *Ars Antiqua AG, Auktion* III, 29 April 1961, Luzern, pl.38; *Para.* 105.43bis.

27. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 292 no.84; ABV 224.1.

28. ABV 217; Eisman, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 4) 44.

29. For the eyes on the Malibu and Aachen amphorae see Eisman, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 4) 45.

30. Black figure boxers in the 530's: A neck amphora in the manner of Exekias in Altenburg, 214 (CVA I[17]pl.18[803–805]; *Para.* 62, 2bis;



Figure 10. Neck amphora, by Painters N. Kansas City 52-22.

out his career. For example, vases 6 and 10 share Group II characteristics and belong to the Torlonia Group of Painter N, an early stage in the career of the artist. Also early Painter N are vases 1-3, but they are painted with boxers exhibiting Group I characteristics.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps a more sensitive conclusion for this distribution into two groups suggests that the artist shifted his emphasis over time from one group to the other, or from Group I to Group II. The Group I characteristics appear to be associated with the early work of Painter N. On the other hand, Group II characteristics, while created early in the career of the artist,

Three amphorae by the the Swing Painter: Tarquinia RC 7205 (CVA 2[26]pl.23[1172],3; ABV 306.44, *Para.* 132; Tarquinia RC2421(CVA 2[26]pl.22[1171]1,4; ABV 306.45, *Para.* 132; Rome, Vatican G. 38(Beazley and Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome 1939) pl.13; ABV 306.46.

31. Early red figure boxers: the cup by the Nikosthenes Painter in Tarquinia, (*infra* note 57); The cup by Epiktetos in Palermo (*infra* note 56); The boxers placed in the tondos of archaic red figure cups should be taken as details of the more expanded scenes on the outsides of the vases. See Bologna 433 (CVA 1[5]pl.1[198]1; ARV<sup>2</sup> 106.2; Athens, Agora P24110 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 76. 86).

Late black figure boxers in crowded and expanded contest scenes: Stamnoi by the Perizoma Group; By the Michigan Painter in Oxford,



Figure 11. Neck amphora by Painter N. Vatican 362

are more frequently represented in his later work.<sup>29</sup>

The Group I characteristics of Painter N are in keeping with the traditional manner of representing boxers in the 530's.<sup>30</sup> Group II characteristics are, however, alien to the conventional manner of depicting pugilists in black figure of the 530's and 520's, and of early red figure. Late black figure and early red figure boxers are usually represented in elaborate palaestra scenes with observers and other athletic events.<sup>31</sup> There is also a tendency in these works to emphasize close and bloody combat. Prize tripods and cauldrons are occasionally included to define the games as official, yet

1965.97 (B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* (Oxford, 1967) pl.11, 1,2; ABV 343.6, *Para.* 156; By the Michigan Painter in Würzburg, 328 (E. Langlotz *Griechischen Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) pl.100; ABV 343.2, *Para.* 156; By the Beaune Painter in Paris, Cab. Méd. 252 (CVA 2[10]pl.77[463]1,2,5; ABV 344.1, *Para.* 158; A stamnos by the Leagros Group: Group of Louvre F314 in Paris, F314 (CVA 2[2]pl.6[78]1-4, pl.8[80]2,3; ABV 388.1, *Para.* 170,1.

32. Prizes for boxers in late black figure: A column krater in Paris, 11281 (CVA 12[19]pl.181[854]1,2; A lekythos by the Phanyllis Group: E in Rome, Villa Giulia (m. 560) P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930) pl.86,3; ABV 466.2; A prize on an early fifth century red figure stamnos by the Troilos Painter in Florence, 3986 (CVA 2[13]pl.47[631]1; ARV<sup>2</sup> 296.9).

they are increasingly out of place in the atmosphere of the training schools.<sup>32</sup> The consistent emphasis of Group II characteristics during a period of innovation along other paths for vase painters suggests that Painter N was in part responsible for his own contribution to athletic scenes.

One of Painter N's most striking attributes is the intense activity of his boxers. Agitated movements are common in his non-athletic figures, suggesting that such activity represents his pictorial style (fig. 10). However, his interest in depicting specific details of athletic iconography<sup>33</sup> indicates athletic rather than stylistic meaning in the lateral movement of his boxers.

Such movement may also express offensive and defensive maneuvers. It was said that Melanchomas, an Olympic boxing champion, was never defeated; he won without striking a blow merely by outlasting his opponents.<sup>34</sup> But that kind of offensive defense requires a more active use of the feet than the arms and would imply an ability to move in all directions. The boxers by painter N move in one direction, forward—that is, toward one another—the kind of movement associated with an offensive drive toward the opponent in landing a punch.

Legend and literature support the idea of such a style. In the fight between Amycus and Polydeuces,<sup>35</sup> Amycus wins by charging his foe. Similarly during the funeral games for Patroclus, Homer sings of the swift power of Epeios as he defeats Euryalus for the boxing prize (*Iliad* 23, 685–691).

τὼ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα,  
 ἄντα δ' ἀνασχομένω χερσὶ στιβαρήσιν ἅμ' ἄμφω  
 σβν ῥ' ἔπεσον, σὺν δὲ σφι βαρεῖαι χεῖρες ἐμιχθεν.  
 δεινὸς δὲ χρέμαδος γενύων γένετ', ἔττεε δ' ἰδτῶς  
 πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων· ἐπὶ δ' ὄρνυτο δῖος Ἐπειός,  
 κόψε δὲ παπτήναντα παρήϊον· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν  
 ἐστήκειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὑπήριπε φαίδιμα γυῖα.

The two boxers begin apart, draw closer for combat, and then Epeios runs in (*ὄρνυτο*) to deliver the victorious

33. *Supra* the Berlin 1805 cup No.1.

34. Dio Chrys. Or XXVIII; Harris, *Athletes* 99 *op.cit.* (*supra* note 2).

35. Ap. Rhod. II. 1ff; Harris, *Athletes* 53–54. *op.cit.* (*supra* note 2).

36. Il. 3.349: ὁ δὲ δεύτερον ὄρνυτο χαλκῷ Ἄτρετῶς Μενέλαος ἐπευζόμενος Διὶ πατρί; other examples: 5.13; 5.17: 5.590; 11.129; 11.343; 16.479; 17.45; 20.158; 20.164; 21.248. Sources collected by R.Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (1924) 300.

37. For warriors see: London A749, Rhodian plate (K. Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (1966) 175 where Menelaos and Hector fight over the body of Euphorbos; The relationship between boxers and warriors may be seen in a Siana overlap cup in Oxford, Mississippi (once Baltimore, Robinson) by the Sandal Painter, (CVA Baltimore 1[4]pl.20[153]1a, 1b, and pl.21[154]1a, 1b; ABV 70.1; *Para.* 28).

38. For Nikosthenes: J.C. Hoppin, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 6) 177–293 S.B. Luce, “Nicostrates: his Activity and Affiliations,” *AJA* 29 (1925) 42ff.; A. Gallatin, “Origin of the Form of the ‘Nikosthenic’ Amphora,” *AJA* 30 (1926) 78; J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure: A sketch* (1928) 23–24;

blow. The same verb, ὄρνυμι, is commonly used in the *Iliad* to describe warriors rushing to attack their opponents in battle, often with spear in hand.<sup>36</sup> The association between boxers and warriors is also common in art. The figure type of many early sixth century B.C. boxers is quite like that of a warrior without his spear and shield. The arms are in the same positions, their gestures symbolic; the front arm is defensive and probing, while the rear arm remains ready for the offensive strike.<sup>37</sup>

Painter N was able to impart a remarkable degree of vitality, accuracy, and intricate detail in athletic scenes otherwise marked by a mediocre level of aesthetic achievement. The study of such an artist of lesser ability is especially rewarding when investigations reveal new information regarding athletic iconography. At the same time questions arise as to the function and purpose of these sporting compositions. A discussion of the intended use of Painter N's athletic subjects should begin with his exclusive partnership with Nikosthenes. Nikosthenes' long career, from 540 to 510 B.C., spans the transition in Attic vase painting from mature to late black figure and the introduction of red figure.<sup>38</sup> During this time he employed a number of black figure and red figure painters of uneven calibre, who also, happened to have acquired a clear interest in athletic subjects.

One of the earliest black figure artists to work for Nikosthenes, and perhaps the best, was Lydos.<sup>39</sup> His involvement with athletic iconography is well documented; nine vases with thirteen scenes of runners, boxers, and wrestlers are preserved.<sup>40</sup> One of these, a fragment from a Panathenaic amphora in Chicago, is decorated with a foot race that indicates both Lydos' experience and his commitment to athletic subjects.<sup>41</sup> The only Lydos vase of athletic decoration securely connected with Nikosthenes is a Little Master band cup in Oxford with two groups of wrestlers painted on the exterior.<sup>42</sup> Lydos captures the forward lean

“Notes on the Vases at Castle Ashby” *BSR* 11 (1929) 6; “Little-Master Cups,” *JHS* 52 (1932) 201 “Groups of Mid-Sixth Century Blackfigure,” *BSA* 32 (1932/3) 22; Beazley and F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielminel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (1939) 64; Beazley, *Development* 72; *ABV* 216ff.; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (1960) 223; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 122; H. Giroux, “Trois Amphores Nikostheniennes à Malmaison,” *RA* (1966) 13ff.; R. Blatter, “Nikosthenische Fragmente,” *AA* (1970) 167ff.; *Para.* 104; Boardman, *Black-Figure* 64–65; idem, *Athenian Red-Figure Vases of the Archaic Period* (1975); Eisman, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 4). D.A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (1976) Chapter 3: “Nikosthenes and Elbow Out”.

39. G. Richter, *Metz.Mus.Stud* 4 (1933) 169–178; A. Rumpf, *Sakonides* (1937); Beazley, *Development* 41ff.; *ABV* 107ff.; *Para.* 43ff.; Boardman, *Black-Figure, op.cit.* (*supra* note 5) 74.

40. Runners in the foot races: Chicago, Univ., Panathenaic amphora frag. (F. P. Johnson, “Black-Figure Pottery at Chicago,” *AJA* 33 (1943) 390, fig. 4; *ABV* 110.34); Hydria fr. in Göttingen and Paris, Cab. Méd. (Beazley, *Development* p.17,2; *ABV* 109.19); Runners on three siana cups

of the combatants as they grab each other's arms at the beginning of the match. The delicate hands and feet are stylistic traits of the artist, yet seem at first to appear incongruous on these paunchy mature men. Such sharp features, augmented by the animation of their expressions and the interest of the spectators, enhance the competitors' intentness.<sup>43</sup> While no immediate outcome of the match is conveyed, these wrestlers portray the spirited grandeur of a heroic duel.

Shortly after Lydos, another black figure vase painter, the BMN Painter, can be shown to have had an even closer relationship with Nikosthenes.<sup>44</sup> Five pots with athletic subjects—two small neck amphorae, an oinochoe, and two band cups—have been attributed to his hand.<sup>45</sup> The signature of Nikosthenes appears on the name vase in London. Boxers and wrestlers appear on opposite sides of body and neck, an unusual attempt to fill both main and subsidiary zones of a black figure pot with athletic subjects. The bold silhouettes of mannered contestants are enlivened by gory details; the blood spurting from the nose and mouth of two boxers indicates a bout that has progressed to a mature stage.

Two small neck amphorae of the Bellerophon shape, in Florence and Berlin, link the artist of these two vessels with the BMN Painter and with Nikosthenes.<sup>46</sup> The Berlin amphora illustrates a foot race on one side and a pair of wrestlers on the other side of the body (fig. 12). The unusually upright stance and the lack of movement of the wrestlers reinforce the massive volume of these athletes. Although the Berlin amphora displays little in athletic narrative, it succeeds in conveying the character type of the wrestler.<sup>47</sup>

One of the more important black figure artists in the late sixth century involved with athletics was the Euphiletos Painter.<sup>48</sup> Two of his hydriae were signed by Pamphaios, the younger partner of Nikosthenes.<sup>49</sup> The London hydria



Figure 12. Neck amphora. Wrestlers. Detail of Berlin 3985.

depicts a racing chariot and horseman on the shoulder frieze. The Euphiletos Painter is best known for having been the first known artist to receive a major commission to produce the prize Panathenaic amphorae for the games in honor of Athena. The variety and complexity of agonistic subjects on the fourteen existing Panathenaic amphorae by this artist are the equal to any comparable works in the sixth century.<sup>50</sup>

Toward the end of the century several black figure artists were employed to decorate the kyathoi of Nikosthenes. On two kyathoi the Painter of Vatican 480 depicted boxers that recall the spirit of Painter N.<sup>51</sup>

Painter N was one of the last black figure artists to work for Nikosthenes. At this time Nikosthenes was enlisting some of the better red figure artists to paint in his workshop, including, Oltos, Epiktetos, and the Nikosthenes Painter.<sup>52</sup> Ten vases with agonistic contests by Oltos are preserved.<sup>53</sup> None of these vases are directly connected with Nikosthenes although three vases with athletic subjects are associated with Pamphaios.<sup>54</sup> The athletes and trainers on the psykter in New York reflect the concern of this artist, and of other early red figure vase painters, with scenes of pentathletes

in Taranto: 4362, 4492, and 20274 (CVA 3[35]pl.18[1561]1-4, pl.19[1562]1,2 ABV 113.72,73; *Para.* 46) Shouldered lekythos in Riehen (K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (1960) 159,139; ABV 111.41; *Para.* 44); Boxers: Ceramicus, hydria (*Delt.* 18 ii pl.25,2; *Para.* 45); Wrestlers: Athens, Acr. 1492 (Graef pl.80; ABV 113.82); Oxford 1966.768, frag. band cup (Boardman, *Black-Figure op.cit.* (*supra* note 5) pl.70; ABV 113.80, 220 top; *Para.* 45, 108).

Related to Lydos is a foot race on a Panathenaic prize amphora in Halle, inv. 560 (Beazley, *Development* pl.17,1; ABV 120 top).

41. The extent to which Lydos was involved with painting prize Panathenaic amphorae is unknown. A second prize vessel by his hand is in Florence—for the victor in chariot racing (Beazley, *Development* pl.18; ABV 110.33). The strict standards of decoration for the Panathenaic amphorae were just beginning to develop in the mid-sixth century (by 530 b.c. they appear to have been fully recognized by artists).

42. *Op.cit.* (*supra* note 8) See especially Beazley, *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer* (1955) 101.

43. Lydos was one of the earliest artists to impart emotional elements

and details of human relationships to many-figured athletic scenes. The runners who look back at their opponents on Lydos' cups in Taranto divide the compositions into two, *op.cit.* (*supra* note 40).

44. ABV 226; Boardman, *Black figure op.cit.* (*supra* note 5) 64.

45. London neck amphora B295 (Jüthner, *Leibesübungen*) *op. cit.* (*supra* note 2, I, pl. 10); ABV 226.1; *Para.* 106); Warsaw 147664, neck amphora (CVA 1[4] pl.18[147]1-5; *Para.* 107.5 bis); Munich 1757, oinochoe, shape 1 (ABV 227.9; *Para.* 107); Rome, Villa Giulia 50472, band cup (P. Mingazzini *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (1930) pl.91.2; ABV 227.16); Basel Market, lip cup (ABV 228.3, near the BMN Painter).

46. Florence (ABV 228.6); Berlin 3985 (ABV 228.5).

47. Dr. Rhode kindly informed me that the Berlin neck amphora no longer exists. A description is given in A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium Berlin* (1885) 1008.

48. On the Euphiletos Painter: ABV 321; *Para.* 142; Beazley *Development* p.91-92.

49. London B 300; ABV 324.39; CVA pl.74,1 and pl.75,1; Cab. Méd 254, ABV 324.38; CVA pl.58, 3-4 and 8 and pl.59.

rather than with the subjects of boxers, wrestlers, and foot racers so popular in archaic black figure. The strong uncluttered figure style of Oltos was well adapted to the depiction of athletes. The New York pentathletes handle their implements with the convincing attitude of seasoned athletes guided by expert trainers.<sup>55</sup>

The existing works of Epiktetos include nine athletic cups and another in his manner. The exquisitely drawn competitors of Epiktetos are portrayed in some of the most successful compositions of kinetic energy since the work of Lydos. The acrobat on a kylix signed by Pamphaios in Berlin sprints with his javelin carried high during the approach run; he conveys the authority of an athlete who was also accomplished in running, a required event in the pentathlon.<sup>56</sup>

Five athletic vases by the Nikosthenes Painter are decorated with awkward yet energetic competitors. The pentathletes on a pyxis in the Villa Giulia, signed by Nikosthenes, and the athletic cup in Tarquinia, signed by Pamphaios, lack the stature of Oltos and the finesse of Epiktetos, yet are successful in other ways. On the Tarquinia cup the Nikosthenes Painter, in portraying a runner, three pentathletes, a pair of boxers, a flute player, and a trainer, has managed to capture the ambience of a crowded gymnasium setting.<sup>57</sup>

50. ABV 322. 1–12; *Para.* 142 bottom; See also Jiří Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras* (1973).

51. For the association of kyathos painters with the workshop of Nikosthenes, see M. Eisman, *Attic Kyathos Painters*, dissertation, 1971, and his article, *Getty MJ* 1 (1975) 48–49 and notes 33–35, 37; The Painter of Vatican 480 kyathoi: Vatican 481 (C. Albizzati, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 18) pl.67; ABV 609.2. In his dissertation, p. 87, Eisman identifies the potter as “Nikosthenes or one of his apprentices”); Rome, Vatican (Astarita 537). (*Para.* 304.2bis).

52. Oltos and Nikosthenes: ARV<sup>2</sup> 54.8 and 55.10,11; Epiktetos and Nikosthenes: ARV<sup>2</sup> 71.8 and 77.87; Nikosthenes Painter and Nikosthenes: ARV<sup>2</sup> 126.26,27 and 127.30; Also Eisman, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 4) 48.

53. Paris F 126 (CVA 10[17] pl.1[755]5–8; ARV<sup>2</sup> 55.13); Rome, Vatican, (Astarita 46) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 55.19); Rome, Vatican (Astarita 492) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 55.22); Oxford 515 (CVA 1[13] pl.5[97]1,2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 56.27); Once Noël Des Vergers 137 (Noël Des Vergers, *L'Etrurie et les Etrusques* (1862–1864) pl.38; ARV<sup>2</sup> 62.84); Heidelberg 3 (W. Kraiker, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst der Universität Heidelberg: i, die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen* (1931) pl.2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 64.98); Amsterdam 2229 (CVA Scheurleer pl.6,5; ARV<sup>2</sup> 64.100); Greenwich, Conn., Bareiss 81, a distance runner on the exterior of side A (S. Burke, and J. Pollitt, *Greek Vases At Yale* (1975) p. 45, no.41), Attributed by von Bothmer; Rome, Torlonia (Des Vergers, pl.37; ARV<sup>2</sup> 59.56); Palermo V 652 (CVA 1[14]pl.5[662]4, pl.6[663]1–3; ARV<sup>2</sup> 57.38. The interior is by Oltos while the athletes are not); A psykter in New York, 10.210.18 (Alexander, *Greek Athletics* 10,15,1 and 31,2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 54.7; *Para.* 326).

54. Paris G3 (CVA pl.27.1–7) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 53.1); Paris G2 (CVA pl.26,1 and 3–7) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 53.2) (*Para.* 326); Altenburg 224 (CVA pl.65 and pl.67,3) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 55.17).

55. G.M.A. Richter, and L. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases* (1936) pl.4,173, and text p.17–19; *op. cit.* (*supra* note 53).

56. Orvieto, Faina 97 inv. 2581 (CVA 1[41]pl.1[185]1,2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 70.1); Paris 8 and Tübingen 37 (CVA 10[17]pl.8[762]7; ARV<sup>2</sup> 71.6); Florence 2B4 (CVA pl.2B4; ARV<sup>2</sup> 71.12); Paris G5 (Jüthner, *Leibesübungen* II,

With the exceptions of the BMN Painter and Painter N, the vase painters mentioned above were guest artists in the Nikosthenes/Pamphaios workshop. Thus the bulk of their work and of their athletic vases were produced outside the workshop. The fact that the guest artists painted athletic subjects is not in itself unusual, as this topic is one of the most popular in the sixth century.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless the guest artists, and Painter N depicted more of these subjects in an innovative and ambitious fashion than was the norm.

Individually these artists may have determined that agonistic subjects would be especially popular illustrations on vases during a period of tremendous growth in the national and local athletic festivals, and especially with the reorganization of the Panathenaic festival in Athens.<sup>59</sup> At the same time Nikosthenes may have encouraged them to portray athletic scenes for his vases. This seems to have been the case with the resident artist, Painter N, who we have seen painted athletic subjects during the entire span of his career. If these had been unpopular in Caere in 530 B.C., there would have been no incentive to continue painting them for another twenty years. In part this may also have been the case for the guest artists. All the guest artists produced at least one athletic vase for Nikosthenes, and these pots seem to have ended up on the export market.<sup>60</sup>

pl.28a; ARV<sup>2</sup> 71.14); Berlin 2262 (Schroder, *Sport* pl.55,1; ARV<sup>2</sup> 72.15, and 1623; *Para.* 328); Palermo V654 (CVA 1[14]pl.7[664]1–4; ARV<sup>2</sup> 74.41); Athens, Agora P24110 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 76.82); Once Canino (Mus. Etr. 793) (Berlin Museum, E. Gerhard's Apparatus of drawings, XVI. 10.3; ARV<sup>2</sup> 76.83); Rome, Torlonia 158 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 78); Paris C10471 (CVA 10[17]pl.11[765]4; ARV<sup>2</sup> 79.5, “Manner of Epiktetos”). Paris G94bis (ARV<sup>2</sup> 80.2, and 1624).

57. The cups: Montaubon 1 (*Revue du Louvre* 50,51; ARV<sup>2</sup> 124.2); Cambridge 1/27 (CVA 1[6]pl.26[264]1a,1b; ARV<sup>2</sup> 124.3); Cambridge N141 (CVA 2[2]pl.27[506]7; ARV<sup>2</sup> 124.4); Tarquinia RC2066 (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (1923) fig. 349–350; ARV<sup>2</sup> 126.23a); The pyxis: Rome, Villa Giulia 21049; Drees, *Olympia* pl. VI; Boardmen *Red Figure*, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 38) fig. 97; ARV<sup>2</sup> 127.30; *Para.* 333).

58. Boardman, *Black Figure*, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 5) 211; idem *Red Figure*, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 38) 220.

59. This growth meant prosperity for many; a forthcoming book by David Young addresses the myth of the amateur in Greek athletics.

60. Lydos band cup, Oxford 1966.768, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 40) from Italy; BMN Painter neck amphora, London B295, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 45) from Agrigento; Bellerophon Class neck amphora, Berlin F3985, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 46) from Etruria; Euphiletos Painter hydria, London B300, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 49) from Vulci; Epiktetos, kylix, Berlin 2262, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 56) from Vulci; Nikosthenes Painter kylix, Tarquinia RC2066, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 57) from Tarquinia.

The problems of artist and patron are complex, especially without literary evidence. T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron* 272–273, mentions the white loincloths of the Perizoma group as elements added for the Etruscan trade. For the subjects painted on export vases, one might mention that in the fourth century B.C. Caeretan red figure Dionysiac subjects were a favorite theme, M.A. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase Painting at Caere* (1974). Also the tombs of sixth and fifth century Etruscans were decorated with scenes of drinking, dancing, and games as part of the funeral practices.

# Fragments of a Dinos and a Cup Fragment by the Kleophrades Painter

*Martin Robertson*

The Getty possesses three fragments from the rim of a vessel decorated in red figure. They were at first thought to come from a column krater, but Jiří Frel observed that the vase was certainly in fact a dinos. The outer surface of the rim, which leans sharply inwards, bears an ivy wreath in black silhouette (fig. 1); the upper surface, a figure scene in red figure; the interior surface running palmettes in red figure.

When I saw these pieces I noted that they must be by the Kleophrades Painter. A little later Dietrich von Bothmer saw them and observed that a small fragment in his possession was from the same vase. He also suggested that fragments in the museum from a black dinos body with patterns on the shoulder almost certainly belonged. He has now given his fragment, and it proves to unite two of the Getty rim-fragments. Some of the body fragments also join this complex (B, below). There are four unattached fragments of the body, three of them with parts of the shoulder pattern. The principal rim fragment also remains unattached (A).

**A.** Acc. no. 81.AE.148.

Greatest diameter 18.1 cm.

Width of rim 4.9 cm.

Height of exterior vertical rim 2.7 cm.

Height of interior palmette-frieze 3.5 cm.

A division comes almost at the right-hand end of the running palmette frieze (fig. 2). To right, beginning of an enclosure line with a rightward volute at the top; to left, enclosure line with a leftward volute at the top, two volutes supporting a down-tipped palmette to right; line continues with three and a half palmettes, tipped alternately up and down, running to left, with rightward volutes at top and bottom (bottom preserved only at left-hand end). See further on B.

The slightly convex upper surface (fig. 3) is decorated with a symposium. Parts of three figures are preserved, reclining, their feet to the left; baskets hanging between (two preserved).

1. Head and shoulder of a youth, asleep, face down on his right hand laid on his upper left arm, left forearm and

hand up over head. Drapery over cushion and round back. Cushion: vertical stripe between relief lines between lines of dots.

2. Complete figure of a youth, looking back and down, his left leg extended (toes across 1's cushion) and lightly bent, left arm under body, right hand holding stick by his right knee; himation wrapped round lower body and left upper arm. Cushion: broad black crenelation.

3. Right hip and leg lightly bent, foot half over 2's cushion. The left leg is perhaps drawn up, and a drapery end appears between the legs, while more drapery is wrapped round the right arm, bent at elbow and disappearing behind the body; but I am not sure that this is a correct interpretation of the remains.

Relief contour throughout except for hair (2, incised; 1, reserved where line exists, at back); also throughout palmette band except for interior of volutes. Dilute glaze: belly markings on 2 (hard to read). Red: wreaths. Much preliminary sketch. Upper surface worn and scratched.

**B.** Acc. no. 76.AE.132.1B

Interior length of rim fragment 13.0 cm.;

greatest diameter of body fragment 22.0 cm.

Inside rim: parts of four leftward palmettes, as on A (fig. 5). Upper surface (fig. 4): from right, left foot and shin wrapped in himation, part of right shin appearing above; foot overlaps cushion on which male reclines: left elbow on cushion; breast and shoulders frontal; right hand holding handle of cup (with low foot and offset rim) in front of lost face which must have been frontal; the fragment with the hand was added by Bothmer. A hooked line across the body, below the breast-line, might be the handle of a second vessel (skyphos?) held in the left hand. Lines across the lower body, below the left wrist, might be the ends of pipes. Drapery end under lower body. The cushion is doubled, with prominent nipples at both ends; alternate stripes between relief lines and lines of dots, the dots bigger and the stripes narrower than on 1's cushion on A. Relief contour: all preserved of right-hand figure; cup and part of upper arm of left-hand figure. The surface is noticeably less worn than on A.



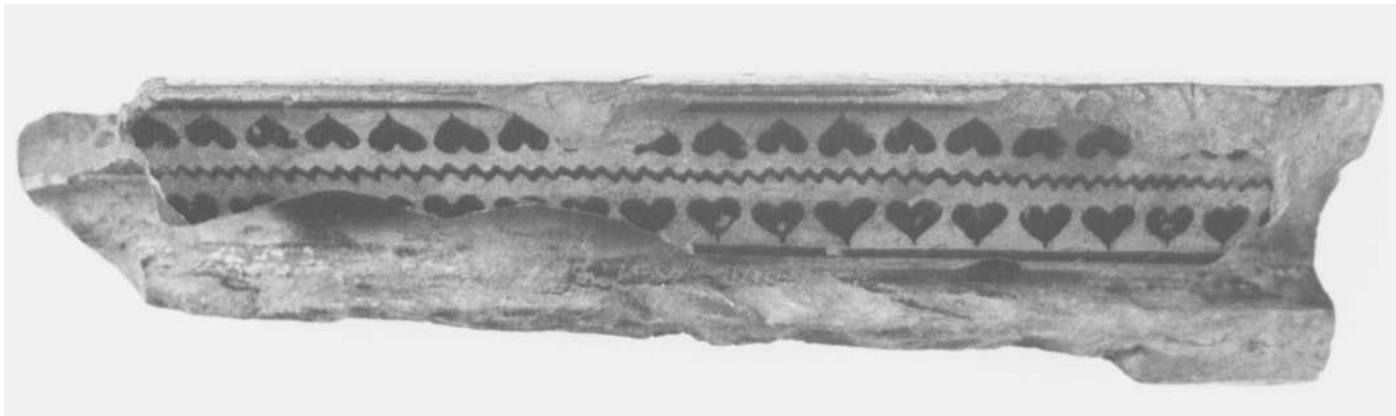


Figure 1. Fragment from the rim of a dinos by the Kleophrades Painter, side A. Malibu 81.AE.148.



Figure 2. Side B of figure 1.



Figure 3. Side C of figure 1.

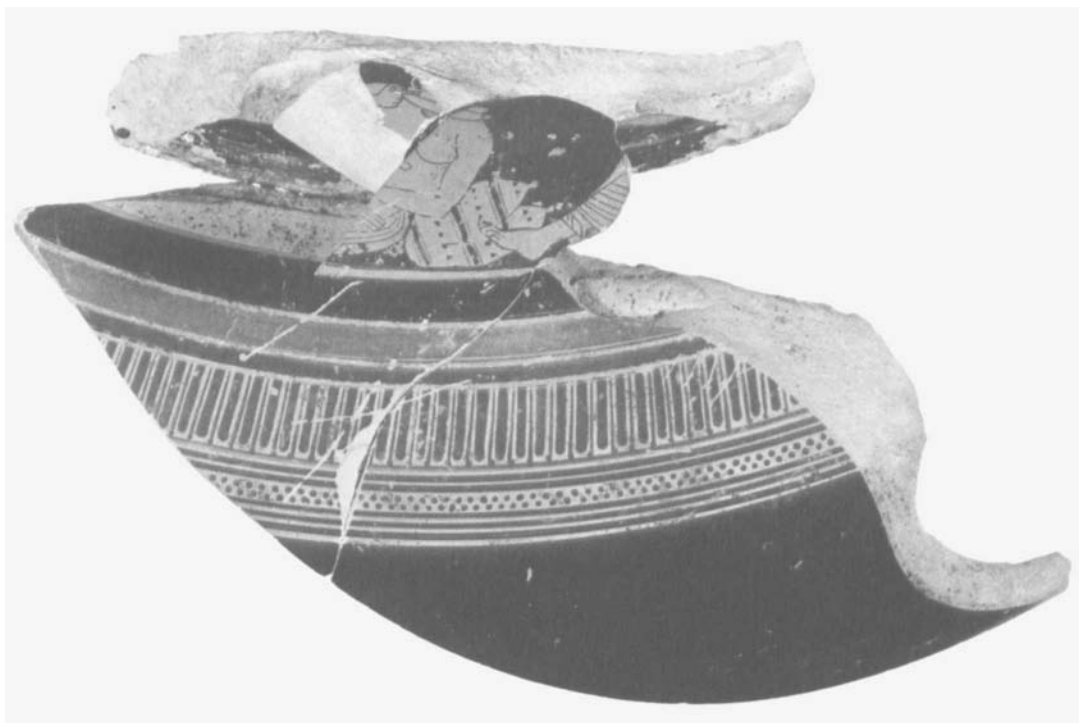


Figure 4. Fragment from a dinos by the Kleophrades Painter. Upper surface. Malibu 76.AE.132.1B.



Figure 6. Fragment of a cup by the Kleophrades Painter. Malibu 77.AE.21.18.



Figure 5. Fragment of inside of figure 4.

Body (fig. 4): reserved band (concealed by overhang of rim); black area; reserved band with broad red stripe; long black tongues separated by relief lines; three lines; double row of dots; three lines; black. Within: broad reserved area under shoulder; shiny black below (fig. 5).

Details of anatomy and drapery, as well as the style in a more general way, point to the Kleophrades Painter; and I have no doubt that the vase is from his hand. The lips are not outlined, but though this practice is regular in the painter's larger work and common in his smaller, there are a great many exceptions even among rather careful pieces like this. The variety (poses, garments, cushions) is marked and delightful. The only comparable sleeping figure I know in his work is a maenad on a very early hydria in Rouen.<sup>1</sup> There is a resemblance, but a far closer parallel to the drawing of our head is found in the dead Hector on a calyx krater fragment from the Kerameikos.<sup>2</sup> Near to our feasters in general character of drawing are the small figures on the interior of the London cup.<sup>3</sup> Both this and the Kerameikos calyx krater are classed by Beazley as "later," and our fragments surely belong to the same time, perhaps around 480 B.C. The stemless cup with offset rim carried by one reveler is similar to black glaze examples from the Agora dated in the first quarter of the fifth century.<sup>4</sup>

Early red figure dinoi are discussed by Lullies.<sup>5</sup> The beautiful vase by the Berlin Painter in the Ludwig Collection,<sup>6</sup> belonging early in his middle period, was then the earliest known, but Lullies remarked that it would be no surprise if an earlier were to turn up.<sup>7</sup> The Getty's is probably now the earliest, but there cannot be much in it. Dinai with black body, figurework on the upper surface of the rim, and decoration of the interior wall, have not previously been found in red figure. This is a black figure tradition,<sup>8</sup> and one remembers that the Kleophrades Painter has a strong black figure side.<sup>9</sup> The black figure dinai have only a band of tongues high on the shoulder. The broader patterned area on our vase resembles the patterning of black kothons (plemochoai). It derives from an old black

figure tradition: the tondo frames of Siana and Gordion cups in the second quarter of the sixth century. Shape and decoration of the outer rim are just as in black dinai with tongues on the shoulder and no figure work, commonly attributed to the second half of the sixth century;<sup>10</sup> perhaps they continued into the fifth.

The symposium would have made a continuous circle all round the rim. Similarly composed must have been the very early red figure picture on the interior of a lip cup rim.<sup>11</sup>

A very closely similar basket is drawn on a fragment of a cup exterior in Florence (CV pl.9, B 67), described by Beazley as "not late." One might hope that further pieces will reveal that cup too as by the Kleophrades Painter.

Two pieces of red figure by the Kleophrades Painter and one of black figure in the museum have been studied by Jiří Frel.<sup>12</sup> The magnificent volute krater belongs very early in the artist's career; the neck amphora fragment with a single monumental figure is a little later. Our vase must be the latest of the three. In scale it is not far from the lively scenes of legend on the volute krater neck, but the subject is quieter and the style neater. It represents the artist in another phase and mood.

To much the same time must belong a small fragment of a cup by the painter (fig. 6), acquired by exchange from Dietrich von Bothmer, who made the attribution. (Acc. no. 77.AE.21.18. Length 3.7 cm.) There is a perceptible trace (observed by Jiří Frel) of offset at the rim of the interior. Inside and outside, reserved line under the rim.

Beardless head to right; Attic helmet (low crest, no cheek pieces; traces of drapery, and of what might be an aegis (Athena) or an animal skin (Amazon).

Ear, eye, and all details show that this is a work of the Kleophrades Painter. The style seems less close to the early Amazon-heads on a similar scale from the great cup in the Cabinet des Médailles<sup>13</sup> or the volute-krater in the Getty<sup>14</sup> than to the Athena of the London cup.<sup>15</sup>

Cambridge

1. Rouen 25, ARV<sup>2</sup> 188 no.68; AJA 40 (1936) 104 fig.7. Herakles robbed by satyrs on another very early hydria from Salerno is asleep, but his face is frontal (ARV<sup>2</sup> 188 no.67; *Apollo* (Salerno) 3-4, 8; Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente* pl.26,2).

2. Kerameikos Museum; ARV<sup>2</sup> 180 no.45; *Anz.* 1937, 185.

3. E 73; ARV<sup>2</sup> 192 no. 106; Getty MJ 1 (1974) figs.1-8 (interior, figs. 1-4).

4. Sparkes and Talcott *Agora* 11, 98f., 266f. nos. 446-455, pl.21.

5. *AntK* 14(1971) 49-53.

6. *Ibid.*, pls.17-20.1; fig.1.

7. *Ibid.*, 51, mentioning the possibility that Oltos, Phintias, Euthymides, or the Kleophrades Painter might have painted dinai.

8. *Ibid.*, 51.

9. ABV 404-6; ARV<sup>2</sup> 192. See also below with n.12.

10. *Ibid.* 51, pl.27,3.

11. London E 134<sup>2</sup> 159, below, no.2; *JHS* 52 (1932) 202 fig.19. Cf. also the symposium on Euthymides' volute-krater neck from Serra Orlando: ARV<sup>2</sup> 28 no.10; AJA 63 (1959) pl.43 fig.24 and pl.44.

12. Getty MJ 4 (1977) 63-76, figs.1-12 (volute-krater), 13-15 (neck-amphora), 16-19 (Panathenaic).

13. Cabinet des Médailles 535; ARV<sup>2</sup> 191 no.103. Beazley *KL*. pls.11-12, 30.5.

14. Above, n.12.

15. Above, n.3; Athena: Getty MJ 1 pl.14 B.

# The Berlin Painter at the Getty Museum and Some Others

Martin Robertson

The Berlin Painter is not represented at the J. Paul Getty Museum by any piece from the period of his prime. However, there are fragments from a superb calyx krater painted at the very beginning of his career (A); another calyx krater from almost the same time, no less fine, other pieces of which have been recognized in other collections (B); and a fragmentary but substantially preserved hydria of great charm which finds a place among his last works, painted some forty years later (C).

A Calyx krater Acc.no. 77.AE.5.1-4,6,7 and 9-12 (on 5 and 8, see below pp. 58-59).

1-6 are decorated fragments,

7 a small black piece,

8 a slightly larger piece from which the exterior surface is entirely gone,

1. Small fragment from rim (upper part of lower register) (fig. 1). Length 3.4 cm. Parts of three leaves of palmette with enclosing tendril; spiral; top of central lotus-petal. See on 2.

2. Large fragment, composed of seven sherds (fig. 2). Length 18.0 cm. Glaze discolored and iridescent. Inside: reserved band immediately below rim; another, narrower, 7.0 cm. down (see also 10).

Rim: upper register, convex and black; lower, between reserved steps, palmette and lotus band 3.5 cm. wide. Seven-leaved palmettes, supported on volutes which curl over and round, enclosing small reserved circles and supporting lotuses, then curve up and divide, enclosing the palmettes and forming volutes which flank the lotuses; reserved dot at bottom, below each lotus and each palmette. Of the picture there remains, from left: part of left forearm (aegis, with snake rearing at wrist) and left hand of Athena, outstretched to right with low-crested Attic helmet facing her; on right, remains which are in fact part of the back of Achilles' corpse carried by Ajax (see 4). Relief contour: everything preserved. Dilute glaze: flecks on aegis; the helmet has dots on the vizor, crenelation on the crest-holder, and feathering at the bottom of the crest, probably only the last in dilute, but the discoloration



Figure 1. Small fragment from the rim of a fragmentary calyx krater (A) by the Berlin Painter. Malibu 77.AE.5.1.

makes it hard to be sure. Red: line bordering the crest; letters—to left of helmet ΑΘΕΝΑ; to right of helmet Σ. This should be the end of ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ retrograde, but the letter is not written retrograde. The four-bar sigma is rare on Attic vases at this time, and so far as I know unparalleled in the Berlin Painter's work. I wonder if the painter may have written the name retrograde, put the three-bar sigma the wrong way round, and added a fourth bar in an attempt to correct.

3. Fragment composed of six sherds (fig. 3). Greatest diameter 8.5 cm. Glaze discolored. Athena to right: mouth, chin, throat, left shoulder and upper arm extended; aegis over chiton; spear across body, held in right hand, part of lower edge of which is preserved; gorgoneion on aegis, much ruined (at junction of four existing and one missing fragment). Just to right of spear, a diagonal relief line running out from under the snake fringe marks the front of the body and shows that the figure was leaning forward in movement. To the left of this are groups of chiton folds; to the right the reserved area is plain—the interior of the far side of the aegis, hanging from the extended arm. Relief contour: all that survives (lips, chin, throat, shoulder, upper arm). Dilute glaze: line on neck; flecks on aegis; continuation under snake fringe of front group of three fold lines in relief on chiton; the next three stop at the fringe, the fourth is carried on in relief, a group of five further back stops. It is not very easy to distinguish lines in dilute glaze here from indented preparatory sketch,<sup>1</sup> but I think that all these are certainly dilute. Preparatory sketch lines can be seen in groups of folds between two groups of relief folds on the chiton. No added color.

4. Large fragment composed of six sherds (fig. 4). Greatest

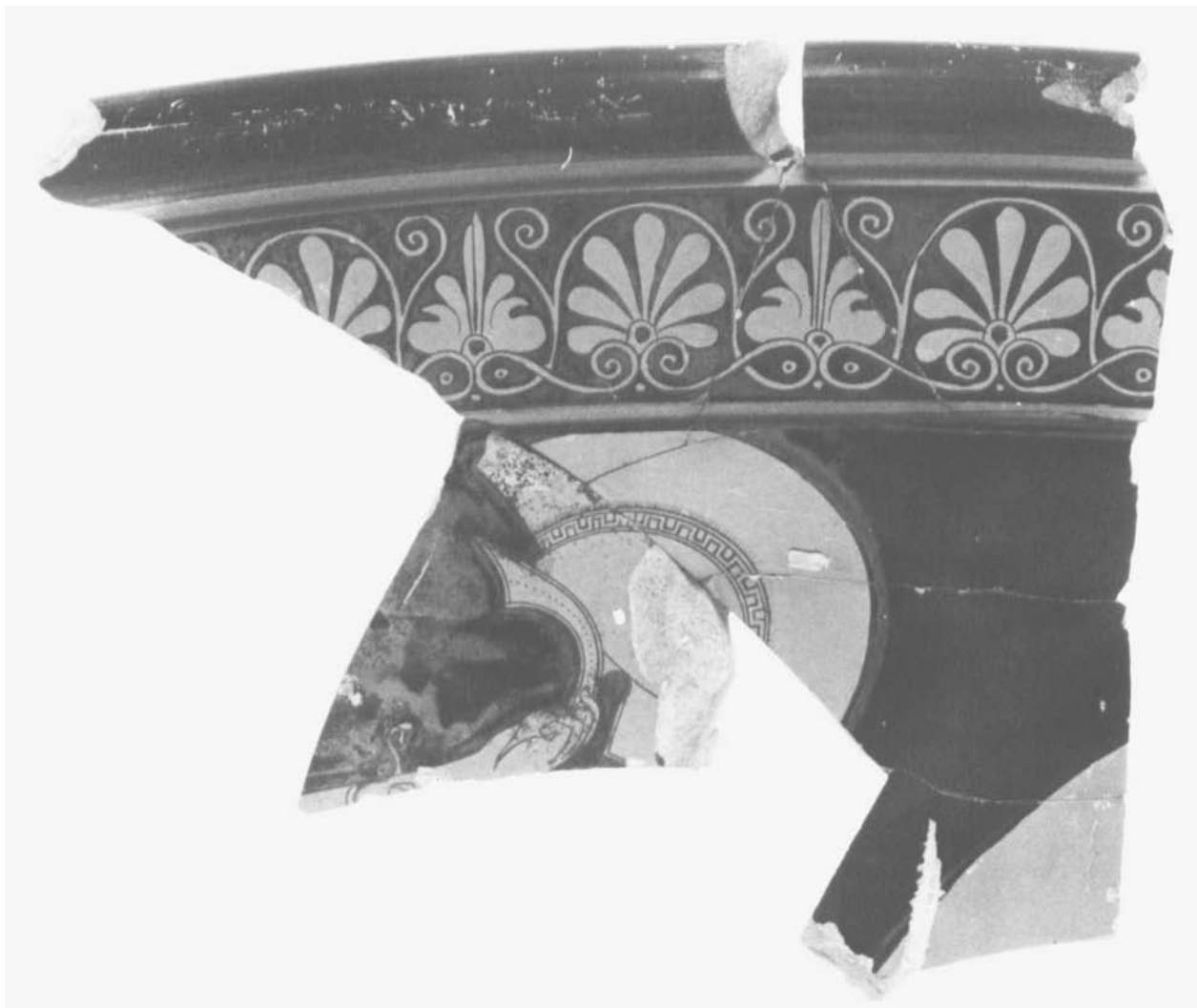
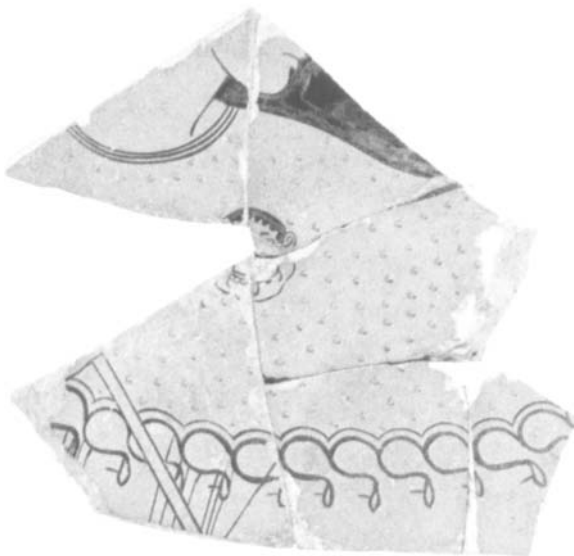


Figure 2. Large fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.2.

Figure 3. Fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.3.



diameter 18.0 cm. Reserved area at bottom, upper contour sloping down very slightly to left, more than 4.0 cm. long by at least 9.0 cm. deep without any markings: shield on ground? Sloping up to left from this spear (Athena's; cf. 3). Rump and part of right thigh of a warrior moving to right, stooping forward; above, the lower legs and left foot of a warrior carried on the back of the first: Ajax with the body of Achilles. The legs are greaved, the left (below) in profile, the right three-quarter front. Ajax wears a short chiton and corselet with belt and double row of skirt flaps; the scabbard end of a girt sword projects beyond the buttock. Relief contour: throughout preserved part, including

1. On this problem cf. CV Castle Ashby text to pl.36.

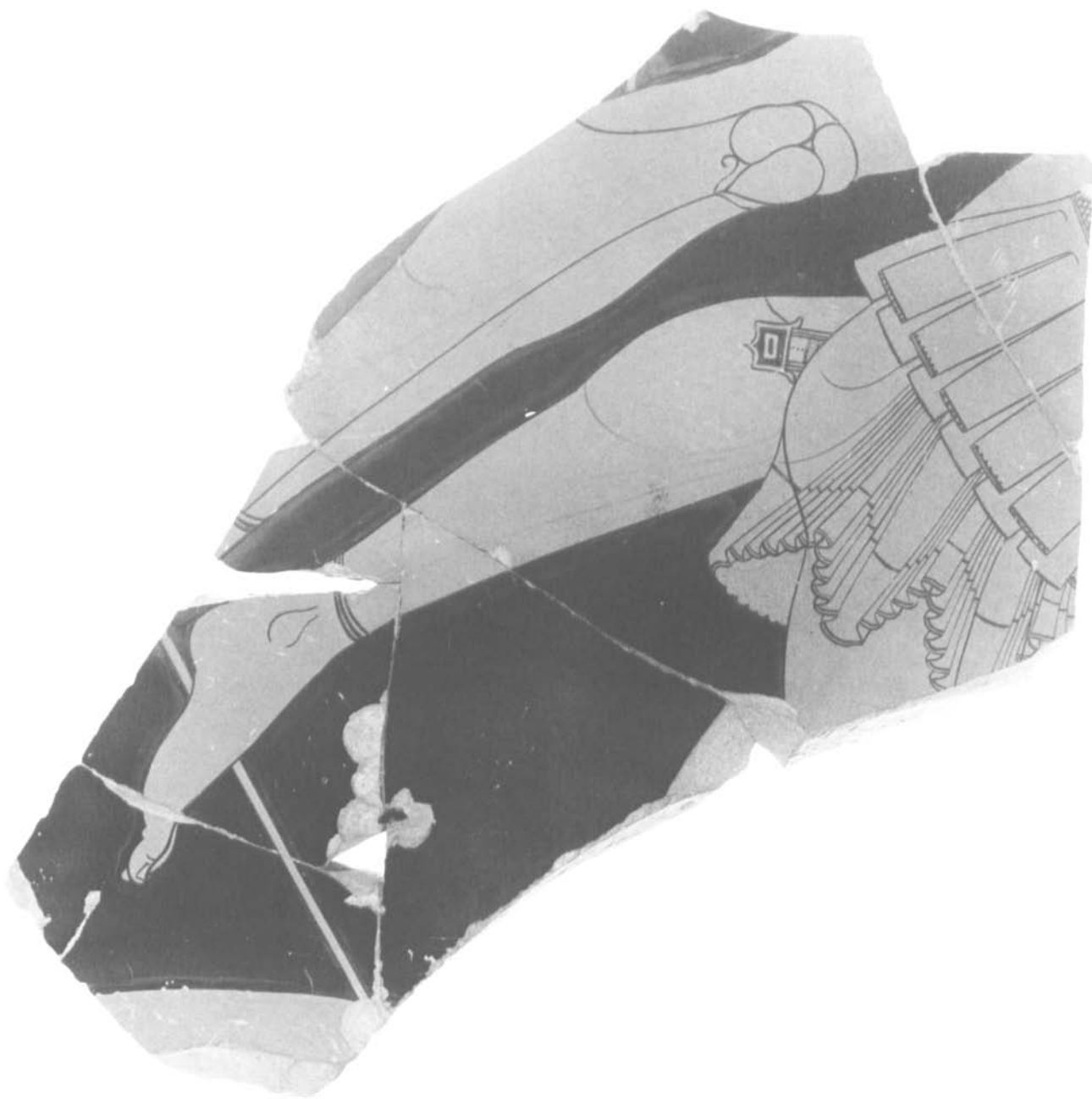


Figure 4. Large fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.4.

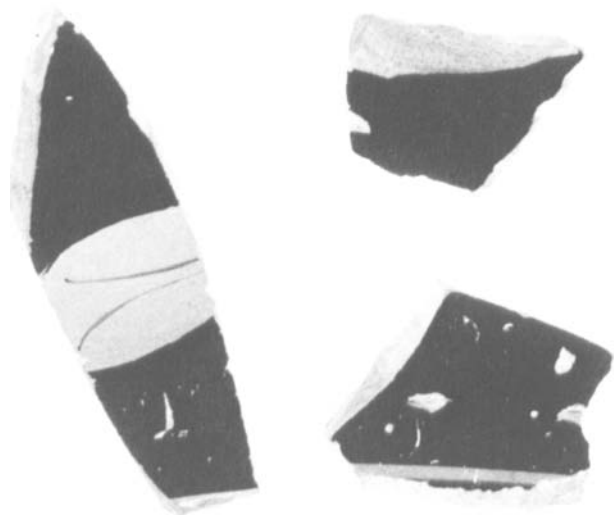
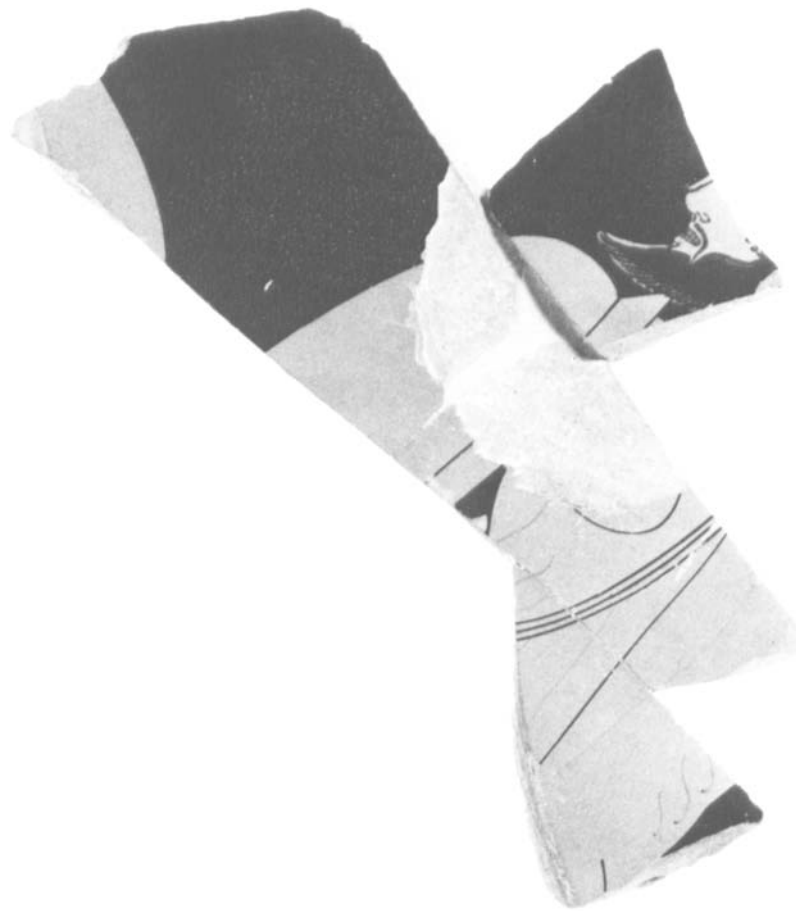


Figure 5. Fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.6.

Figure 6. Large fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.7.

Figure 7. Black fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.9.

Figure 8. Fragment from calyx krater A. Malibu 77.AE.5.10.

scalloped lower edge of chiton interior. Dilute glaze: musculature on Achilles' right thigh and both greaves and Ajax's right thigh; folds on chiton interior and between groups of relief folds on exterior. The corselet belt is cross hatched in relief lines, which are used also on outer skirt flap ends, with dots alternately above and below. These dots, and the dots and lines between relief lines on the scabbard, together with the non-relief decoration of the chape, seem to be in black that is not dilute. No added color.

5. Single fragment (fig. 5). H. 7.3 cm. Offset below (not above, because of thickness and the lack of a reserved line within; cf. 2 and 10). No border at junction of picture area and cul. Male upper arm.

Relief contour above and below. Dilute glaze: musculature (two addorsed arcs).

On the position of this fragment, see below p.00.

6. Large fragment composed of four sherds with lacunae; the piece with the face was joined to the rest by Bothmer). (fig. 6). Greatest diameter 13.0 cm.

From left: lower end of hoplite shield in profile to right (at-

tacker); part of his opponent falling away to right, body in back view, shield in profile raised on left arm, face (lower part preserved) lifted in profile to left, teeth bared. the nose piece of the helmet is preserved but no more, and the amount of the face revealed shows that it was of Chalcidian type with cheek pieces raised. No trace of device on either shield. The figure is naked except for helmet and sword-belt, though he may have worn greaves. relief contour throughout preserved part except for the beard. Dilute glaze: teeth; line on either side of spine (relief-line); ribs on both sides (extended on left, foreshortened on right). No added color (the sword-belt is in three relief lines).

9. Black fragment (fig. 7). Greatest diameter 3.5 cm. No decoration.

10. Fragment (fig. 8). Greatest diameter 4.7 cm. Outer surface entirely flaked away. Inside, at bottom, reserved stripe. This is the only fragment besides 2 on which this feature is preserved; 3 begins just too low.

Side A (figs. 2-4) shows Ajax with the body of Achilles and Athena accompanying him as he carries it from the field; side B (fig. 6) a fight. 1 (fig. 1) and 7-8 (figs. 7-8) cannot be placed on A or B. 2-4 belong to A; 6 to B. 5 is a problem. It seems too near the ground to be the right arm of the falling figure on B. There could have been a third figure, already fallen, on that side; or what appears to be a shield lying on the ground on A (4) might belong to a fallen figure.

The vase is certainly a very early work of the Berlin Painter. The attribution (Frel's) is made sure by the general style as well as detailed renderings (ankle, addorsed arcs on upper arm, markings on greaves, gorgoneion, rim-pattern). The drawing is very careful and very fine, but it is also clear that the draughtsman is not yet fully master of his art. The back view of the defeated figure on B (like his bared teeth something taken directly from the *Pioneers* of the generation before) is a grand effort but not an entirely successful one. There are similarly primitive traces in the potting technique: the discoloration of the glaze on 2 and 3, impurities in the pot wall (though the hole among the chips below Achilles' left ankle on 4 seems not to be an exploded particle but a drill hole for an ancient repair). The comparison suggests that the Berlin Painter and the "Berlin Potter"<sup>2</sup> may have been the same man, and this in turn might have a bearing on the Gorgos problem.<sup>3</sup> I owe



Figure 9. Fragment from a fragmentary calyx krater (*Ater*) by the Berlin Painter. Malibu 77.AE.5.5.

these thoughts to Jiří Frel. The elaborate finesse of the drawing is combined with a curious austerity: the absence of shield-devices, extreme restraint in the use of added red and scarcely less of dilute glaze. This sets it off from most of the artist's other work and might possibly be another sign of his youth.

A fairly close parallel in dress and movement to Athena on A (2 and 3) is furnished by the picture of the goddess on the London volute krater,<sup>4</sup> though there she is on a small scale, is wearing rather than carrying her helmet, and does not lean quite so far forward. One may compare also the Athena of the east gable at Aegina.<sup>5</sup> The gorgoneion (3) is a ruin, but one can still see that it conforms to the painter's distinctive type.<sup>6</sup> The elaborated anatomizing of the greave knee can be paralleled on a neck amphora of the painter's middle period in London,<sup>7</sup> and on a very fine fragment in Florence.<sup>8</sup> The painter favors the Chalcidian helmet with cheek pieces up (7).<sup>9</sup>

*Ater*. Acc. no. 77.AE.5.5 and 8.

These two fragments were acquired with the above (and a number of others; see below p.00) and were thought to belong to the same vase. 5 certainly does not, and 8 seems to belong with 5 rather than with the vase.

5. (fig. 9). Height 7.0 cm. Front of thigh and greaved knee of warrior in short chiton (just visible at top of fragment)

2. On the Berlin Potter see Bloesch in *AntK* 1962, 18-29; Philippaki *Stamnos* 31ff.

3. Robertson in *AJA* 62 (1958) 55-56; Beazley in *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne, 1964) 12f. and *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 206 no.132. Cardon in *AJA* 83 (1979) 169-173; Pinney in *AJA* 85 (1981) 145-158; Kurtz (forthcoming).

4. E 468; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 206 no.132; Beazley *Berl.* pl.31,1.

5. Cf. *JHS* 98 (1978) 209.

6. *AJA* 62 (1958) 64f.

7. E 269; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 197 no.27; *CV* 1 pl.19, B 25.

8. 19; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 213 no.229; *CV* 1 pl.19, B 25.

9. Cf. Beazley *Berl.* pls.19, right (ibid., left, not worn, with cheek-pieces down); 22,1; 24,1; 28,2; 30,3 (30,2, down); 31, 2 and 3.



advancing to right; part of shield, left upper arm and back of warrior lying fallen to right, in back view. Relief contour for small surviving part (shield). No dilute glaze; lines on thigh and greave are preliminary sketch;<sup>10</sup> ornament on corselet which is not in relief line is in undiluted black. Red: letters in field along edge of shield. ΜΦΙ

8. Small black fragment. Length 3.1 cm. The interior glaze is rather dull and seems closer to that of 5 than to that of the other pieces. At bottom right (or top left?) is the "eighth of an inch stripe" marking a figure.

The back view of the corselet of the fallen figure on 5 can be understood by reference to complete examples in the work of the Kleophrades Painter. At the bottom left of the fragment is the beginning of a patterned back strip overlapped by a side-flap.<sup>11</sup> The star is on the back of the shoulder.<sup>12</sup> At the bottom right of the fragment, crossing the upper edge of the corselet, is the beginning of an upright neck flap.<sup>13</sup> The neck flap is not generally patterned, as it evidently is here, but some do carry a design, though different from this and only at the top.<sup>14</sup>

The composite fastening of the tassel within the shield is likewise precisely paralleled in the work of the Kleophrades Painter.<sup>15</sup> This form is never to my knowledge used by the Berlin Painter, who always draws a simple circular stud (regularly used by other painters and frequently by the Kleophrades Painter too).

We have seen that there could have been a fallen figure on side B of the Berlin Painter's vase, but this is not it. The scale of the figures on this fragment is certainly smaller than that of those on fragments 2-7, the drawing has not the extreme precision found there, and the line is more fluid. I have no doubt that this is from a vase of slightly later date and the work of the Kleophrades Painter. The subject was probably a combat over the body of a dead hero (names beginning *Amphi* . . . are not uncommon, but there is no obvious legendary identification), as in the Tyskiewicz Painter's masterpiece (which might well be modeled on a krater by the Kleophrades Painter).<sup>16</sup> An alternative possibility is a scene from the Iliupersis: compare Ajax approaching Cassandra across the body of a fallen Trojan on the Vivenzio hydria.<sup>17</sup>

The shield rim appears not to be compass drawn, so was either a foreshortened hoplite shield or a Boeotian one.<sup>18</sup>

Other fragments of calyx kraters were acquired with these. They have no connection with the Berlin Painter and cover a wide period, but for completeness they are listed in an Appendix (p.67).

Very close in character to the Berlin Painter's calyx krater A are fragments of at least one no less large and splendid piece of the same shape in Corinth, likewise from the painter's earliest period.<sup>19</sup> At the end of his exemplary publication of the five fragments, Boulter asks how many calyx kraters they represent, and answers "Scarcely as many as five, possibly as few as one." It seems to me highly probable that one is the true answer, at most two. The principal fragment shows a collapsing warrior at the right-hand edge of the picture: strong and exquisite drawing, exactly like the warriors on the Getty fragments. Another piece shows part of Athena in aegis moving to the right, again very close indeed to the Athena of the Getty vase. Another piece has a right hand held high, near a helmet crest, and thrusting down with a spear to the right; a fourth the lower right leg of a male striding to the right; and the fifth a left foot advanced to the right and planted firmly on the ground, confronted by a right foot to the left, the heel off the ground. On a stamnos by the painter of rather later date, Athena moves to the right, helmet extended in her left hand, a spear held diagonally across her body in the right,<sup>20</sup> very much like the figure on our fragments except that she looks back to the left and does not extend the aegis. She is between a young warrior attacking with lifted spear and a bearded one falling wounded, perhaps Achilles and Hector. Boulter proposes a similar composition for the Corinth vase but suggests the alternative possibility that Athena is herself the attacker and the scene a Gigantomachy. I prefer this explanation. The pyramidal composition of the stamnos picture is much less suited to a calyx krater wall, and the falling warrior's huge beard seems to me to mark him as no ordinary man but of the race of the Giants. The confronted feet, which as Boulter notes cannot belong to this picture if Athena is a third figure in the center, may very well be hers if she is herself the attacker, and the hand with spear and helmet crest

10. See above, with n.1.

11. Cf. Beazley *Kl.* pl.32,1.

12. Cf. *ibid.* pl.28,2, right.

13. Cf. *ibid.*

14. Cf. *ibid.* pls. 10,1 and 19, left.

15. Cf. *ibid.* pls.25,1; 27; 28,2; 29,1; 32,1.

16. Calyx-krater, Boston 97.368; ARV<sup>2</sup> 290 no.1; Caskey-Beazley ii pls.35=6.

17. Naples 2422; ARV<sup>2</sup> 189 no.74; Beazley *Kl.* pl.27.

18. Foreshortened hoplite shield: cf. Beazley *Kl.* pls.25,27; Boeotian, *ibid.* pl.32,1.

19. Corinth CP 436, 1671, 2617, 1675 and 1716; ARV<sup>2</sup> 205 nos.115, 116; *Para.* 342 and 344 nos. 115bis to quater; Boulter in *Hesp.* 35 (1966) 310-16, pls.73f., 76.

20. Munich 2406; ARV<sup>2</sup> 207 no.137; CV pls.238-40; Boulter (l.c. last note) pl.75.

21. ARV (1942) 145 no. χ1; Florence 4226.

22. See Getty *MJ* II (1975) 60.

may be hers also. Boulter notes that the color of the glaze on the fragment with the male leg sets it off from the others, and that it must therefore in any case (if it belongs to this vase at all) be from the other side. Beazley once cited a calyx krater in Florence as "Almost entirely modern; what little is ancient recalls the Berlin Painter."<sup>21</sup> The subjects are: A, Poseidon and a Giant; B, Athena and a Giant. The Corinth vase might possibly have had the same scenes. I see a character similar to that of the Corinth warrior but differently expressed in the teeth-baring victim of the Getty fragments and would suppose him a Giant too. His opponent with the profile shield may perhaps have been a male god rather than Athena.

There are differences between the Corinth and Getty fragments. The offset of the cul on Getty fragment 5 shows no sign of decoration, but perhaps there is not enough to be sure that it was black. Under the confronted feet, the Corinth vase is adorned with a careful "squared" ovolo.<sup>22</sup> The rim-pattern is basically the same in the two vases and extremely close in detail, only at Corinth alternate lotuses are given different forms. One lotus indeed, presumably at the point where the artist completed the circle, is different from either of the regular alternations. Those on the Getty vase are not quite like any of these. None of the technical troubles seen on the Getty vase can be traced on the Corinth fragments, and I am left with the impression that it was made and painted just a little later.

The subject of the principal picture on the Getty vase, Ajax with the body of Achilles, is a favorite in sixth century art, and there are very many examples in Attic black figure by greater and lesser artists. In red figure it is extremely rare. Brommer lists only two examples,<sup>23</sup> and I know of only two that have appeared since, both in the Getty Museum: this krater and a slightly earlier cup. The pieces listed by Brommer are a bilingual neck amphora in Vienna,<sup>24</sup> where the red figure style is of primitive character and plainly the work of a black figure artist, and an early cup by Douris.<sup>25</sup> The Getty cup, a ruin, stands very close to the mature work of Oltos, but it can be attributed with certainty to the young Euphronios.<sup>26</sup> If one must give absolute dates, the neck amphora cannot, I suppose, be very much later than 520 B.C., the Euphronios surely before 510

B.C., the Douris and the Berlin Painter from the years around 500 B.C., the Berlin Painter perhaps slightly the earlier.

On the neck amphora and in Douris's cup tondo, the Ajax and Achilles are alone, as they often are in earlier representations. Euphronios places the scene on the exterior of his cup and adds several figures: in front a man, seemingly old, and a mourning woman—surely Phoenix and Thetis—and behind, a warrior, presumably Odysseus. Such extra figures are seen in a number of black figure pictures.<sup>27</sup> I have not found an Athena, but there is nothing at all improbable in her presence. Ajax was not among her favorites, but Achilles was; and the Berlin Painter loves her.

This choice of an old-fashioned subject and its treatment in an essentially traditional way is found again in the painter's work: Achilles and Ajax playing dice;<sup>28</sup> Achilles and Polyxena at the well;<sup>29</sup> Peleus bringing the baby Achilles to Chiron;<sup>30</sup> and Europa on the Bull.<sup>31</sup> None of these is unique in the Berlin Painter's time, but they are not favorites, and he has not the obviously forward-looking character of his great rival the Kleophrades Painter. Nevertheless he transmutes what he touches into something wholly his own and of his own time.

The Berlin Painter's calyx krater A must have been painted around 500 B.C., more probably before than after. A fragment of another vase of the same shape which can be very little later is in the collection (B), and other pieces of the same magnificent pot have been recognized in the Louvre and in the collection of Herbert Cahn in Basel.

#### B. Calyx krater Acc. no. 77.AE.105.

Presented by Bruce McNall.

Composed of seven fragments, with some filling (fig. 10). Greatest diameter 16.2 cm.

From left: buttocks, thighs and part of arched tail of satyr in three-quarter back view to left; his torso must have been leaning sharply forward; thyrsus almost vertically across advanced left thigh. Behind him, her advanced right knee behind his right knee, a maenad moves to left. She wears a chiton, the front contour of her left (rear) leg showing through it, and himation and carries a thyrsus diagonally

23. Brommer *Vasenlisten* (197) 373-6.

24. Vienna 3722; ARV<sup>2</sup> 11 no.3.

25. Cab. Med. 537 and 598; ARV<sup>2</sup> 429 no.19.

26. Inside, floral; B, chariot. Getty MJ 9 (1981) 25ff. figs. 7-10.

27. E.g. Thetis: neck amphora, Berlin 1718, ARV 144 Exekias no.6; warrior: neck amphora, Munich S.L.58, ABV 259 Manner of Lysippides Painter no. 18, CV 7 pl.359,1; both: neck amphora Louvre F 428, ABV 269 Antimenes Painter no.46; CV pl.43,6; neck amphora, Louvre F 201, ABV 274 Antimenes Painter no. 120, CV 4 pl.39,5.

28. Hydria, New York 65.11.12; ARV<sup>2</sup> 1634 (to 210) no.175bis.

29. Hydria, Leningrad 628; ARV<sup>2</sup> 210 no.174; Berl. pl.24,1.

30. Stamnos, Louvre G 186; ARV<sup>2</sup> 207 no.140; CV 2, pl.20,1-4, Cf. Peleus bringing his bride to Chiron on stamnos Palermo V 762; ARV<sup>2</sup> 207 no.139; CV pls.29.30.

31. Hydria, Oxford 1927.5402; ARV<sup>2</sup> 210 no. 172. CV 2 pl.61,4; Beazley Berl. pl.23,2. A different and surprising treatment on the bell krater Tarquinia RC 7456; ARV<sup>2</sup> 206 no.126; JHS 31 (1911) pl.10,2.

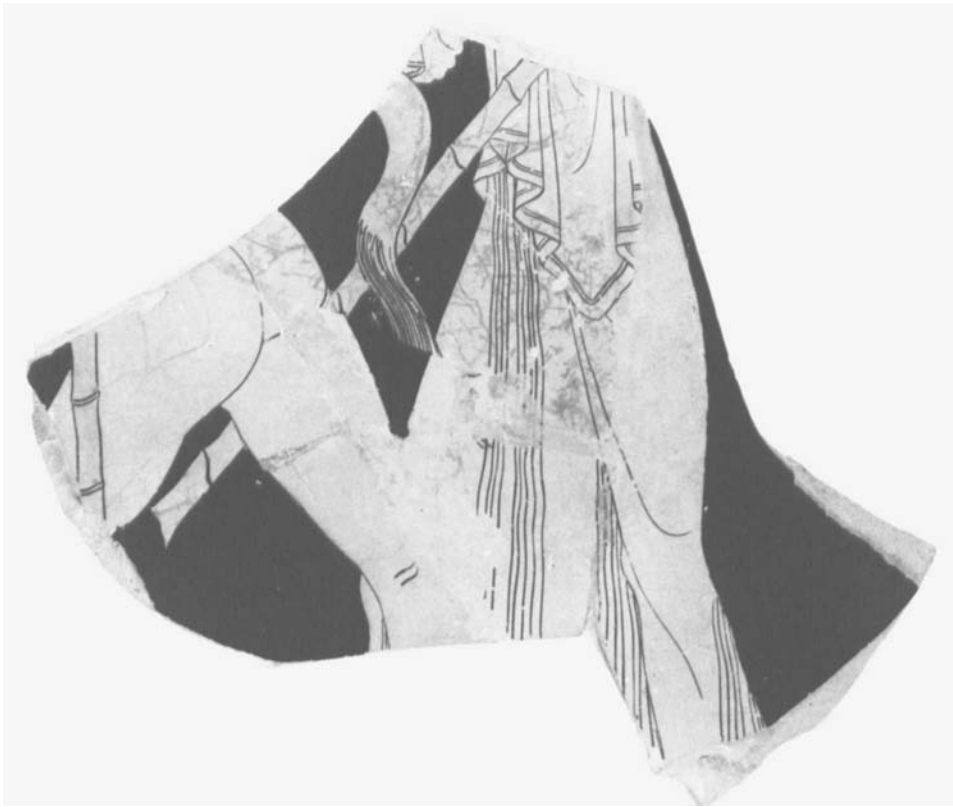


Figure 10. Fragment from a fragmentary calyx krater (B) by the Berlin Painter. Malibu 77.AE.105.



Figure 11. Fragment from calyx krater B. Paris, Louvre G 193.

Figure 12. Fragment from calyx krater B. Paris, Louvre G 193.



Figure 13. Fragment from calyx krater B. Basel, H. Cahn i.

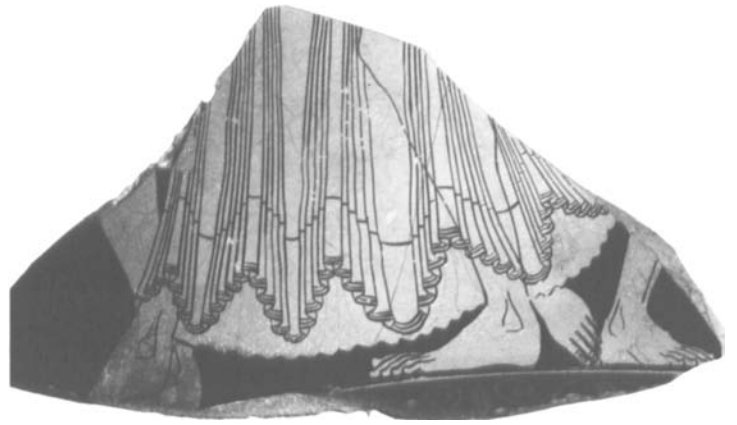


Figure 14. Fragment from calyx krater B. Basel, H. Cahn ii.

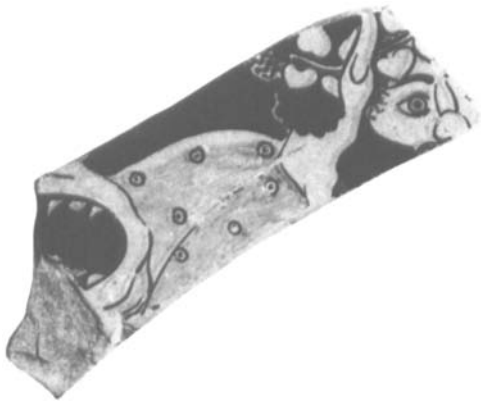


Figure 15. Fragment from calyx krater B. Basel, H. Cahn iii.



Figure 16. Fragment from calyx krater B. Basel, H. Cahn iv.

across her body, passing behind the satyr's tail and right thigh. The contour of her back and buttock is wrongly restored; it should be much fuller. Relief contour throughout preserved part. Dilute glaze: satyr's musculature (the wrinkles at the back of the right knee are drawn in two relief-lines). No added color. Two fragments, in the Louvre (G 193) certainly belong to the same vase as the piece in Malibu.

a (fig. 12).<sup>32</sup> Middle part of maenad advancing swiftly to left, right arm extended forward, left hand holding thyrsus leaning on shoulder. She wears a sleeved chiton, the skirt of which flies behind, and a himation with patterned overfall. Behind her thigh appears the end of a satyr's tail, the figure evidently behind her and moving in the same direction. Behind her is part of the lower leg of a male moving to right; above it is part of the leg and hanging claw of the animal skin he wears ("leopard" since the paw is marked with dot-in-circle spots; the pelt above the paw is covered with close set relief lines). Above the skin, below the maenad's elbow is a reserved area with curved contour, evidently belonging to the figure in the animal skin, but I do not know what it is. This fragment joins Cahn's fragment ii; see below.

b (fig. 11). On the left part of a head (engrailed contour, wreath in added red), with elbow of arm bent up behind it, thyrsus head and almost vertical shaft. On the right, trace of a figure and, vertically downwards beside it, an inscription (retrograde): KAVI+OPA. On the question whether this is the front or back of the head, see below.

Cahn has four fragments (two joining):<sup>33</sup>

i. (fig. 13) From left, part of handle floral: enclosed palmette (ribbed leaves), spiral, buds; pipe-case ("leopard"-skin: thin wash, dot-in-circle spots) hanging vertically; knuckles of closed or half-closed left hand; above this (between hand and pipe-case) is a trace of something. Below is the sharply bent right knee of a male advancing to left, the thigh crossed by ends of drapery and thyrsus. On the lower right this joins ii, (fig. 14) which gives the lower leg and heel of the male, overlapped by the advanced lifted right foot and skirt of a female moving fast to the left. Her left foot is planted on the ground, and behind it appears the extended frontal left foot of the male figure. To the right, beyond this, is the three-quarter right foot and lower leg of a male to right. Below is part of the cul of the vase, with lotus and palmette (ribbed leaves). This fragment joins Louvre a (see below).

iii. (fig. 15). Part of head and shoulder of a satyr to right

but face turned frontal (or possibly in attempted three-quarter); reserved ivy-wreath; "leopard"-skin (dot-in-circle spots) over shoulders, the open jaws hanging upside-down behind; there is a thin wash over the pelt.

iv (fig. 16). On the right part of handle floral (enclosed palmette with ribbed leaves, spirals and buds, lotuses). To the left legs and feet of a male, left in profile to right, right frontal; the upper part of the figure is likely to have been turned left, towards the picture. He wears a chlamys, ends hanging, and boots with tongues and lacing; a thin wash over boots. Below, beginning of vase cul with enclosed palmettes (ribbed leaves) and spirals.

Cahn's fragment ii, which at its upper left joins his fragment i, at its upper right joins, as Bothmer has seen, Louvre a. This combination gives us the left-hand group of the picture, next to the handle floral: a maenad running or dancing to left; beyond her, a satyr moving in the same direction. His left leg, stretched back, is hidden except for the frontal foot by the maenad's skirt, and so evidently was his fork (only the end of the tail appears); but he must have been leaning steeply forward (nothing of him appears in front of the maenad on the upper part of Louvre a), so that all the upper part of his body would have been visible above his bent right knee, between the maenad and the floral. His right hand, or possibly hers, may have held the hanging pipe-case; the fingers of his left hand are closed or closing, probably holding something; his face was probably turned back towards the maenad, or possibly frontal. Cahn's fragment iii surely gives us some of the upper part of the satyr in the animal skin back to back with the maenad. The upright thyrsus on Louvre b may well be the same as the one crossing the satyr's thigh on the Malibu piece. If so, the Malibu maenad with the sloping thyrsus will be the Kallichora of the Louvre fragment. The head and arm on Louvre b are probably not the satyr's but those of a maenad (the owner of the upright thyrsus) whom he is embracing or assaulting. It is not clear whether the remains on Louvre b give the front or back of the head, but the figure is most easily restored as facing right, head bent forward, left arm raised behind it with the elbow up, the right hand holding the thyrsus. The attitude of the satyr is very like that of the satyr in the left-hand group, but seen from the back instead of the front. The space beyond the leg of the Malibu maenad suggests that she may be the last figure. If the maenad with the upright thyrsus comes immediately in front of the satyr in the "leopard"-skin, this would give a seven-figure composition

32. Louvre fragments, Pottier *Cat.* nos.42-5; and see *AJA* 62 (1958) 60 n.41.

I am most grateful to the museum authorities for photographs and per-

mission to publish them. See further below, n.37.

33. I am most grateful to Dr. Cahn for photographs and permission to publish them.

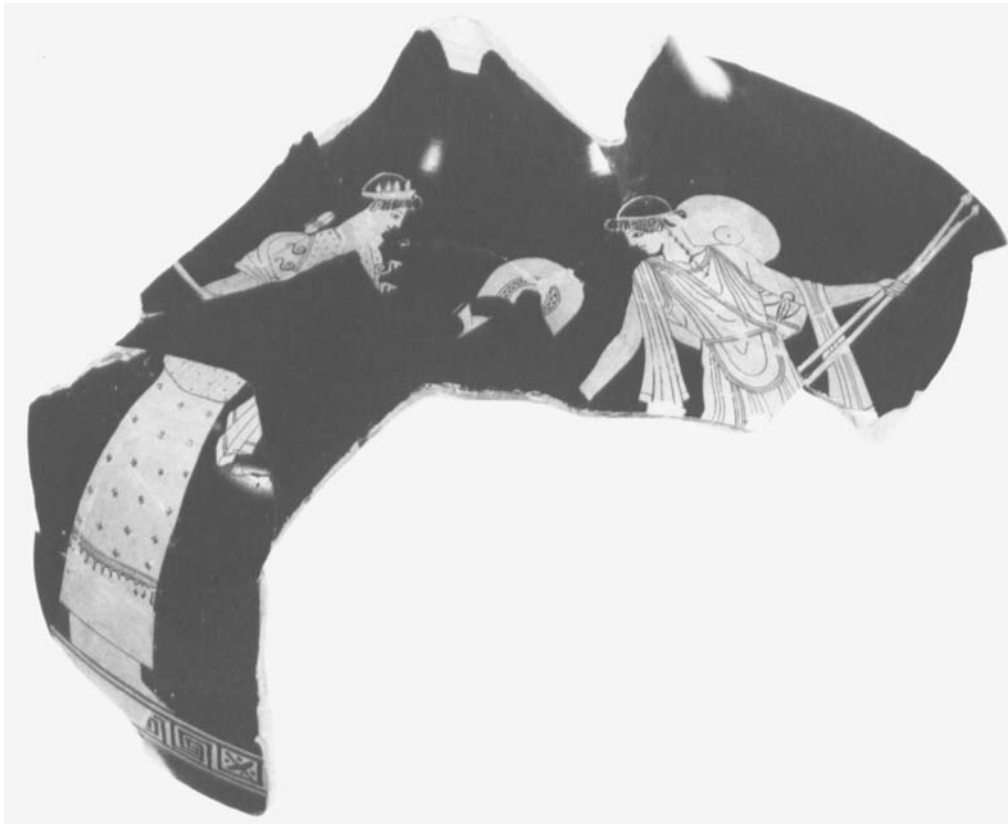


Figure 17. Fragment of a hydria by the Berlin Painter. Bareiss Collection 29, on loan to the Getty Museum, Malibu S80.AE.185.

(three satyrs and four maenads) which seems quite convincing, but there are alternatives. The male on Cahn iv could conceivably be a satyr in cloak and boots, perhaps a "Hermes" as on Douris's psykter.<sup>34</sup> Such a figure might follow on the Malibu fragment, and one could then restore either an eight-figure Dionysiac scene on one side of the vase, which would be perhaps impossibly long, or suppose that Cahn i-iii and Louvre a belong to one picture, Louvre b, Malibu, and Cahn iv to the other. Alternatively Cahn iv could belong with the first group. It seems to me most likely, however, that a seven-figure Dionysiac scene occupied one side of the vase and a different subject the other, Cahn iv not being a satyr. This might have been a mythological scene, and so perhaps the "front" of the vase, though it cannot have been more finely and elaborately drawn than the "back." If Cahn i and Cahn iv are from opposite sides of the vase, they give the two edges of one palmette complex, that was asymmetrically designed, but there is nothing impossible in that.

34. British Museum E 768; ARV<sup>2</sup> 446 no.262. FR. pl.48; CV pl.105; Buschor GV 164f.

35. See Beazley in *JHS* 31 (1911) 288.

The maenad's thumbnail on Louvre a and the satyr's toe-nails on Cahn ii are things the Berlin Painter does not very often draw,<sup>35</sup> but here the elaboration is extreme throughout. The pattern on the overfold of the maenad's himation reminiscent of some Acropolis korai) is not common in red figure after the very earliest period. There is a simpler example on Euphronios's Dionysiac calyx krater in the Louvre,<sup>36</sup> a vase which has some resemblances to the Getty's. This vase indeed is very much in the Pioneer tradition, standing particularly close to Phintias in its elaboration and in other things, especially the stylization of the satyr-mask. Phintias was almost certainly the Berlin Painter's first master, and this was surely painted under his immediate influence and is in particular reminiscent of his masterpiece, the Dionysiac scene on the Tarquinia amphora. Both stylizations and style, however, are unmistakably not Phintias' but the Berlin Painter's. Beazley knew the Louvre pieces and wondered if they might not be very early work by the Berlin Painter;<sup>37</sup> the evidence of the other fragments seems to me conclusive.

36. Louvre G 33; ARV<sup>2</sup> 14 no.4; Pottier pl.105; CV pl.1,3 and 6, 2.4.

37. *AJA* 62 (1958) 60 n.41. "I have wanted the Louvre fragments to be very early Berlin Painter, but have never been able to persuade myself. They are by a very good man." (J.D.B. to M.R., December 1947).

The Berlin Painter's most creative period seems to lie in the decades between 500 and 480 B.C. After that his drawing tends to become stiffer, more conventional, and later careless and often insensitive. The "middle period" is taken to cover roughly the seventies, the "late" the sixties. The last piece by the painter in the Getty, a fragmentary hydria (C), belongs to the very end of his career, but it has a freshness and charm only rarely found in the work of this phase.

### C. Hydria fragment.

1 Acc. no. S.80.AE.185, Bareiss 29 (fig. 17)

Attributed by Bothmer.<sup>38</sup>

(on loan from the Bareiss Collection).

Height 21.5 cm.

Mouth, foot, and handles are missing with much else, but the fragment gives the contour of the vase from the lower part of the neck, above the picture, to the lower part of the body below it.

The two-figure picture is set on the body, overlapping the shoulder. It is unframed but with a band of pattern below: stopped maeander (two units preserved) with saltire squares. One cannot be quite certain from the remaining part, but it was probably what Beazley called ULFA ("upper, lower, facing alternately"), a symmetrical maeander design largely confined to the work of the Berlin Painter and his following.<sup>39</sup> On the left stands Athena, to right, left foot forward, left arm extended, the hand holding her Attic helmet with stilted crest, the right holding her spear horizontally at waist level. She wears a stephane with leaves (reserved) and her hair in a bag on her neck, sleeved chiton with overfall, an *ependytes* over it,<sup>40</sup> aegis, and round her back and over the upper arms, a cloak. There are dots on the chiton, dotted saltires and an arcade pattern on the *ependytes*, and dots between double lines on the helmet crest. Missing are the lower part of the chin with the throat, much of the aegis with both arms and hands, and lower part of the *ependytes* with chiton skirt and feet except for the left toes. Relief contour: lips and chin; aegis breast with snakes, except heads; both edges of spear immediately behind elbow; lower edge of cloak on shoulder and cloak ends at front and on chiton skirt and overfall. No added color. On the right stands a youth, head turned left towards the goddess, body frontal. The

legs are entirely lost but almost certainly showed him moving to right, away from her. He wears a wreath (reserved), chiton with deep overfall, cloak over right shoulder and left arm, traveler's hat on left shoulder. He is girt with a sword. His right arm is stretched out towards Athena; his left, the other way, holding two spears almost horizontally. His hair lies in a fringe on his brow and is rolled up behind, one long lock hanging behind the ear. Missing are a small part of the front hair, the right hand, the lower part of the doubtless short chiton with the legs from mid-thigh and the feet, and the ends of the cloak. Relief contour: chin and throat, both edges of cloak hanging below right arm and where it hangs behind as well as the inner edge where it hangs over the left arm and the outer edge above and below the spear, both edges of both spears behind hand, the chiton skirt. Dilute glaze: front hair and long lock, lines on neck and arms. No added color; the sword-belt is in relief lines. This figure can probably safely be called Theseus.

The round-bodied hydria (*kalpis*) is a favorite shape with the Berlin Painter from the very beginning of his career,<sup>41</sup> but most, including all those from his early period, are decorated on a different principle: the picture on the shoulder, unframed but with a pattern-band below, and only two figures, often with an object between them. One elaborate piece from his middle period has the figures rising from the body over the shoulder like the Getty piece, but that is a six-figure composition, the picture going all round the vase, and has a pattern-band above as well as below.<sup>42</sup> Very like the Getty hydria fragment is another late vase in Graz.<sup>43</sup> There, on a maeander-band (ULFA), Triptolemos in his winged car and Demeter face each other, elongated figures rising from the body over the shoulder. A jug held by the goddess occupies much the place of the helmet on ours. The sceptre, held vertically by the seated Triptolemos, and the foot-plate of his car occupy more space between the figures at the bottom than anything that is preserved on the Getty vase, and one may wonder if there was not something, perhaps an altar, between Athena and Theseus.<sup>44</sup> The extreme elongation of the figures seems even greater on the Malibu vase than on that in Graz. It can partly be accounted for as counteracting the foreshortening over the sharply curved shoulder, but it is also perhaps a kind of mannerism, found at this time in a good

38. Para. 345 (to ARV<sup>2</sup> 210) no.183ter; [S. Matheson, J. Pollitt, *Greek Vases at Yale* (New Haven, 1975) 54, no.47.

39. Beazley *Berlin Painter* (Melbourne, 1964) 7.

40. But see below.

41. ARV<sup>2</sup> 209f., nos.169-183. The New York vase no.169 is among the artist's first works. In it he has not yet developed what was to become his regular practice for composing the short picture on the shoulder: two detached figures with an object between them; see Beazley *Berlin Painter*

(Mainz, 1974) 5.

42. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not in Beazley. *Auktion N und M* 51 (1975) no.155: Hermes, Nike, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Athena; attributed by R. Hecht.

43. Graz inv. G 30; ARV<sup>2</sup> 1634 (to 210) no.183bis; G. Schwarz in *ÖJh.* 1972/3, 125-133.

44. Cf. the fawn between Dionysos and a maenad on the very similar hydria by Hermonax: London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4816-1858;

deal of work outside the Mannerist workshop.

The restraint in the use of dilute glaze and the total absence of added color are analogous to A, but whereas there the phenomenon is united with an exquisite precision and elaboration of drawing, here it seems part of a quick, careless execution.

Theseus' hair style recalls that of the Kritian boy.<sup>45</sup> The short chiton with long overfall belted above seems an early classical fashion,<sup>46</sup> and so is the hair-bag on Athena's neck, something especially popular with the Pan Painter.<sup>47</sup> Her stilted helmet crest and her *ependytes* recall the great goddess of the Basel amphora.<sup>48</sup> That cannot have been painted very long after 480, while the Getty vase surely belongs to the sixties. On the Basel figure the arcading is the fringe at the bottom of the *ependytes*; here it is just a pattern, and it is possible that there is not after all a second garment here but simply an elaborately patterned chiton. One may compare the Athena on the stamnos in Munich,<sup>49</sup> where I feel a similar uncertainty.

The freshness and a rather childish charm set the drawing off from most of the artist's late work, which tends to the harsh and mechanical. One wonders if it might conceivably be the work of a young pupil, but it does not seem possible to separate it from the master's own.<sup>50</sup>

#### APPENDIX

The following calyx-krater fragments were acquired with those of A (see above, p.55).

1. Acc. no. 77.AE.5.5 and 8, See above, pp.59–60.
2. Two fragments (a [76.AE.108.10] and b [76.AE.102.10, figs.18–19] with a possible third (c). Orange clay; shiny glaze (fine fabric).



Figure 18. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.108.10.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 489 no.104: AJA 51 (1947) pl.52A.

45. Kritian boy: Athens Acr.698; Payne and Young *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* pls.109–12; Schrader *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* pls.120–7; Langlotz and Shuchardt *Archaische Plastik von der Akropolis* pls.42ff.

46. Cf. Webster *Niobidenmaler* pl.11A (pelike, Würzburg 511; ARV<sup>2</sup> 604 no.48).

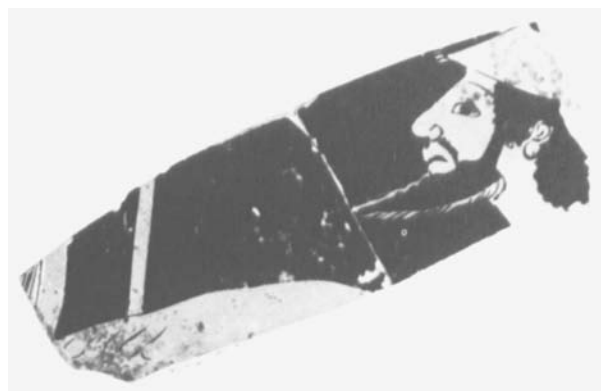


Figure 19. Fragment from the calyx krater in figure 18. Malibu 76.AE.102.10

a. Rim. Length 11.0 cm. Inside: reserved line. Upper register convex and black. Lower register: below reserved step, red figure pattern band (volute, lotus?).

b. Length 8.2 cm. From right: bearded head thrust forward; thick lips, blunt nose, Corinthian helmet up on hair. Below this on left part of horizontal body (ribs marked). Behind it, vertical shaft (spear) and at extreme left shield rim (interior; tassel). Relief contour: throughout ornament and figures, except beard (relief strokes along lower edge; incised strokes for hair escaping at front of helmet). No dilute glaze (ribs in relief) or added color. Incision at inner and outer edges of shield rim. I cannot reconstruct the rim ornament. The warrior must be lifting the body. The features seem deliberately barbarian (Negroid), so it is not Sleep and Death with Sarpedon but Memnon lifted by two Ethiopians, as for instance on a black figure lekythos by the Emporion Painter.<sup>51</sup> The Ethiopians there are not dressed as Greek warriors, nor are they usually, though Memnon himself regularly is so. The shield and spear should belong to a figure standing still, facing right, at the center of the composition.

A third fragment may belong to the same vase:

c. Part of foot (76.AE.102.9). Length 9.5 cm.

Underneath, graffito (see fig. 20)

About 500. Pezzino Group (Guy).

3. Acc. no. 76.AE.102.17 and 18. Two fragments.

A. Greatest diameter 6.2 cm. (fig.21) Bent knee to right No relief contour, dilute glaze, or added color.

47. E.g. Beazley *Panmaler* pls.1, 14.1, 25.1: Follmann *Panmaler* pl.5.3. It is also frequent in the work of his imitator the Alkimachos Painter.

48. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1634 (to 196) no.1bis; *AntK* 2 (1961) 49–67, pls.21–6.

49. Above n.20.

50. But cf. Hermonax's hydria, above n. 44

51. CV Gela 3 pl.23. On Sarpedon and Memnon see now Bothmer in Hyatt, *The Greek Vase* (New York, 1981) 63–80.



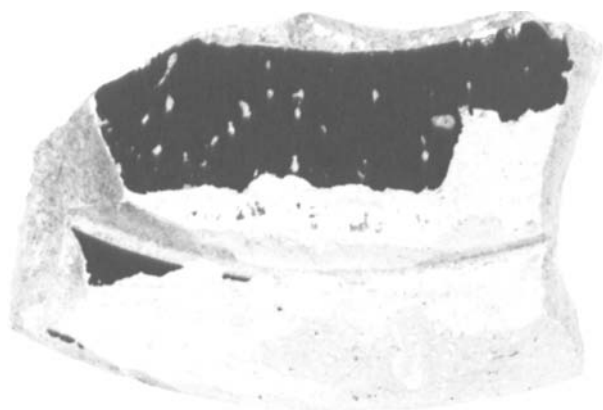


Figure 20. Fragment that may belong to the calyx krater in figure 18. Malibu 76.AE.102.9



Figure 23. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.102.3.

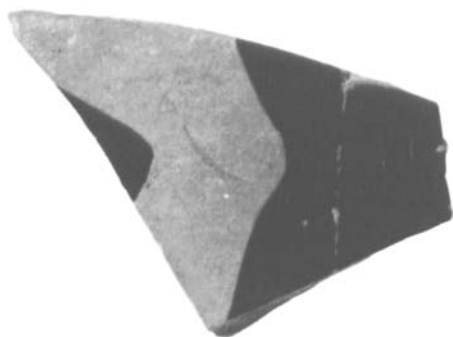


Figure 21. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.102.17.

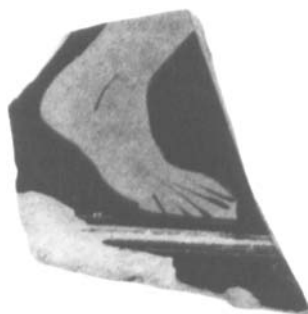


Figure 22. Fragment from the calyx krater in fig. 21. Malibu 76.AE.102.18.

B. Height 4.0 cm. (fig.22) Offset of cul. No pattern. Right foot back, toes only on ground, of figure in movement to right. No relief contour, dilute glaze, or added color. Ankle and six toes roughly indicated in a relief line.

A and B could show parts of the same leg. Six toes are found in Myson and the Pan Painter, but this cannot be by the latter, hardly by the former.

Late archaic. Rough work.

4. Acc. no. 76.AE.102.13. (fig.23) Height 5.2 cm. Ruined surface: black almost entirely gone from fold lines, but they are still partly traceable. Woman to right neck to waist, in chiton and himation, left hand forward, muffled in himation. Relief contour: neck, upper line of breast. Dilute glaze: line on neck. No trace of added color. Late archaic or early classical.

5. Acc. no. 76.AE.102.7 (fig.24) Rim fragment. Greatest diameter 8.0 cm.

Inside: reserved line below rim; another, very thin, 5.5 cm. down. Upper register convex and black. Lower register, between reserved steps, palmette and lotus band 3.5 cm. broad: volutes supporting seven-leaf palmettes (small leaf below) curl round, enclosing small reserved circles, and support lotus, then rise and divide, enclosing palmettes



Figure 24. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.102.7.



Figure 25. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.102.6.

and forming volutes backing on lotus. Relief contour: central leaves of palmette and lotus, outer edge of spirals and bottom of enclosing tendrils.

No trace of design in picture area.

The pattern is a commonly-used poor version of that employed by the Berlin Painter in A (Acc. no. 77.AE.5.1 and 2).

Perhaps early classical rather than late archaic.

6. Acc. no. 76.AE.102.6. (fig.25) Rim-fragment. Length 12.8 cm. Glaze brown-red and very worn.

Inside: reserved line below rim; another 6.5 cm. down. Upper register convex and black. Lower register: between reserved steps, lotus and palmette band 3.0 cm. broad. Volutes support lotus and circle round to enclose nine-leaf palmette.

Picture area: white slip; no trace of design.

Early classical. White calyx kraters in this period are decorated by the Villa Giulia and Methyse Painters.

7. Acc. no. 76.AE.132.4A and B. Fragments of cul and handles, smoothed off above in antiquity. Glaze: black outside, grey-green inside.

A, composed of three sherds. (fig.26). Length 15.0 cm. Complete handle. Stopped meander at top of cul on both sides.

B, composed of three sherds (fig.27). Length 17.0 cm. Part of handle; beginning of meander to left.

Early classical or classical.

8. Acc. no. 77.AE.133 1 and 2

1. (fig. 28). Composed of nine sherds. Height 39.0 cm.

Complete contour from bottom of offset rim to bottom of cul, with roots of the second handle.

2. (fig.29). Composed of eleven sherds. Height 20.0 cm.

Complete handle with part of cul; at top of cul, end of row of enclosed upright palmettes.

Side A. At top of cul, upright enclosed palmettes (seven leaves; no relief line). At left-hand edge of picture, back right foot and lower leg in greave to right. No relief contour, dilute glaze, or added color.

Side B. At top of cul, running, sloping palmettes. From right-hand edge of picture: back left foot and part of right foot of figure standing to left; forward left foot of figure standing to right. Relief contour: instep of rear foot of first figure, toe and heel of foot of second figure. No dilute glaze or added color.

I speak of "A" and "B" because the first is evidently an action scene (battle, or possibly arming or warrior's departure) while the quiet stance of the figures on the second suggests a reverse scene, though they cannot have been mantle figures.

Classical (Perhaps Achilles Painter—Frel).

Cambridge

#### POSTSCRIPT

Krater A by the Berlin Painter will be completed to a considerable extent: a set of fragments soon to be presented to the Getty Museum was identified by R. Guy.

Another fragment belonging to krater B was lent to the Getty Museum in 1982.

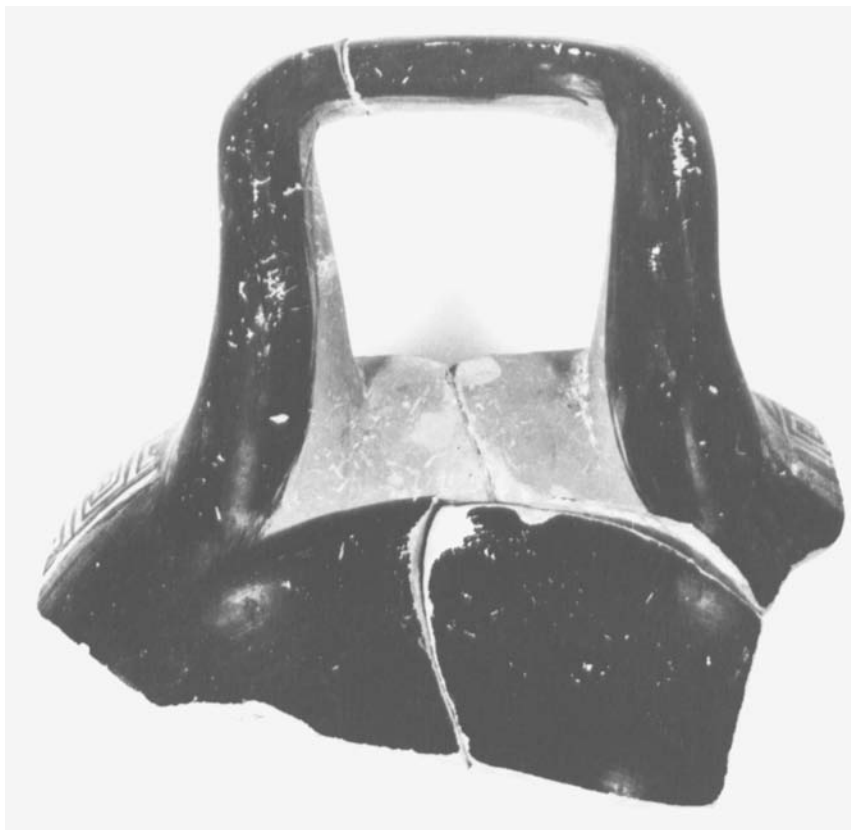


Figure 26. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.132.4A.



Figure 27. Fragment from the calyx krater in fig. 26. Malibu 76.AE.132.4B.



Figure 28. Fragment of a calyx krater. Malibu 76.AE.133.2.



Figure 29. Fragment from the calyx krater in fig. 28. Malibu 76.AE.133.1.

# New Vases by the Brygos Painter and His Circle in Malibu

Marion True

Over the past few years, a number of red figured drinking vessels have found their way to the J. Paul Getty Museum as acquisitions, gifts, and works on loan for restoration. Six of these pieces form an important group in our growing collection of Attic vases in that they represent different aspects of the style associated with one influential artist, the Brygos Painter. As new attributions to the artist or as products of his workshop, all find their place among the known works of the Brygan circle. This article serves to introduce these vases and to offer some suggestions for their placement.

As fortune would have it, one of the museum's smallest fragments of Brygan work is also the earliest in date and the most beautifully drawn (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Composed of eight sherds from the rim and bowl of a shallow kylix, the piece preserves nothing inside but the slight reserved edge of the tondo frame. However, the exterior offers some consolation. Within the protective porch of a building stands a small boy. He wears a dotted, black-bordered himation draped diagonally over his chest and a red fillet around his tousled blond hair, the color of which is rendered skillfully in dilute glaze. Behind him are the remains of a heavy door; to his left is a fluted Doric column. In the field above his head is the letter C in added red. While his left arm encircles the tall shaft, his right extends rather nervously to one side, and he fingers a bit of vine as he watches the awesome events taking place before him. Here rushes Iris, wings outspread and right hand behind her firmly gripping the kerykeion near its finial. Only the corners remain of her finely pleated chiton and black-edged, dotted hima-

tion, and there are still a loop and the ends of the long red fillet tied around her head. Hardly the delicate Olympian messenger who alights with her herald's staff held ceremoniously before her, this Iris is a powerful force who moves to the right with apparently aggressive purpose.

Attribution of this fragment to the Brygos Painter can be made without hesitation. The architectural elements recur in other compositions by the artist,<sup>2</sup> and the black-bordered, dotted himatia are standard Brygan garments. Another child appears together with a winged figure on a fragment in the collection at Bryn Mawr,<sup>3</sup> though the presence there of a third, bearded figure<sup>4</sup> suggests that the subject was more likely Iris with Ganymede and Zeus. The wing of the Bryn Mawr Iris shows the same regular rows of tiny dots on the covert and the same black-tipped secondary feathers across the center as that of the goddess in Malibu. Similar also is the treatment of the wings of the horses who draw the chariot of Selene within the tondo of the kylix in Berlin.<sup>5</sup> But most convincingly Brygan is the figure of the child. "And, if more were needed, the droll figure of the half-grown boy, with his blond hair, snub nose, drooping nether lip, and twisted pose, has in itself almost the value of a signature."<sup>6</sup> Thus L. D. Caskey described the closest parallel to the Malibu child, the slave boy on the Boston skyphos with athletes and trainers.<sup>7</sup> As Caskey's description fits almost every feature of the child on the Getty fragment, so, too, does his attribution to the Brygos Painter. A date of 490–480 B.C. would place the piece most appropriately among the artist's strongest works.

I owe my thanks to Jiří Frel for providing me with both the opportunity to publish these vases and his constant supportive advice. I should like to express my gratitude as well to Dietrich von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum who gave most generously of his time and criticism and who allowed my use of his photographic archives.

1. Getty Museum acc. no. 81.AE.206.11. Restored diameter: 34.5 cm.
2. For the door, see the kylix in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 2301, ARV<sup>2</sup> 378, 129; for the column, the kylix in Tarquinia, RC 6846, ARV<sup>2</sup> 369, 4.
3. Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P-952, CVA U.S.A. 13, fasc. 1, pl.11,3.
4. Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, no. P-953, *ibid.*, pl.11,2.

5. Staatliche Museen, no. 2293, ARV<sup>2</sup> 370, 10. A second kylix by the Brygos Painter with Selene in the tondo was found in Athens in 1967 together with a large number of cups and skyphoi by the artist and his disciples. Unfortunately the few published photographs do not offer any evidence for the same dotted pattern on the horses' wing coverts [ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, 23 (1968), pl.43,b.] but the find promises to provide much information for our knowledge of these artists.

6. L. D. Caskey, "Brygos as a Painter of Athletic Scenes," *AJA* XIX (1915) 135.

7. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 10.176, ARV<sup>2</sup> 381, 173. Jiri Frel first observed that the child is a slave, distinguished by his unkempt hair.

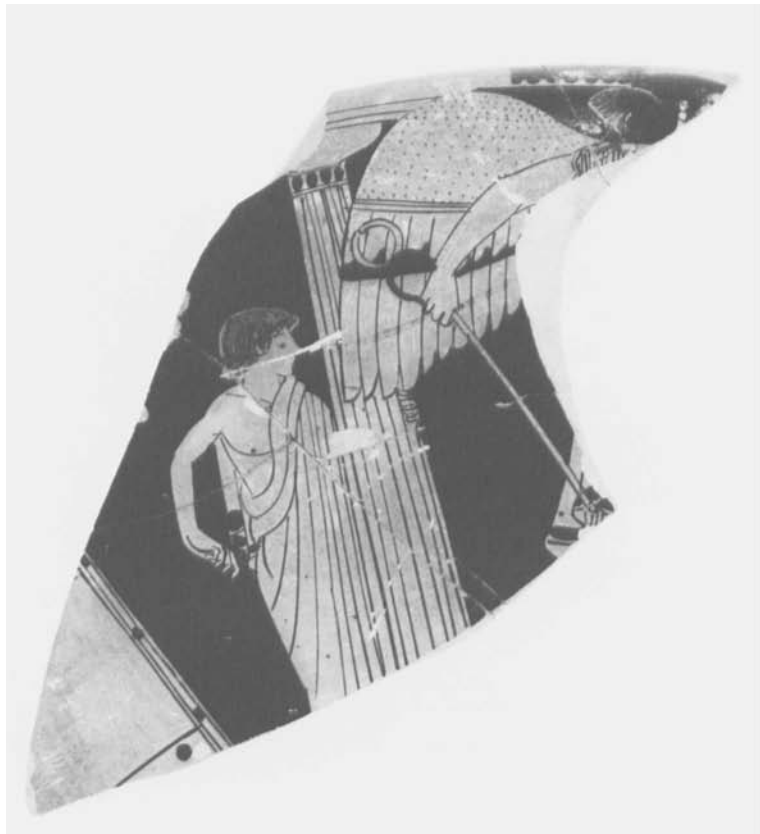


Figure 1. Fragment of a kylix by the Brygos Painter. 490–480 B.C. Exterior. Scale 1:1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.206.11.



Figure 2. Fragments of a kylix by the Brygos Painter. 480–470 B.C. Scale 1:1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.206.12 Tondo.

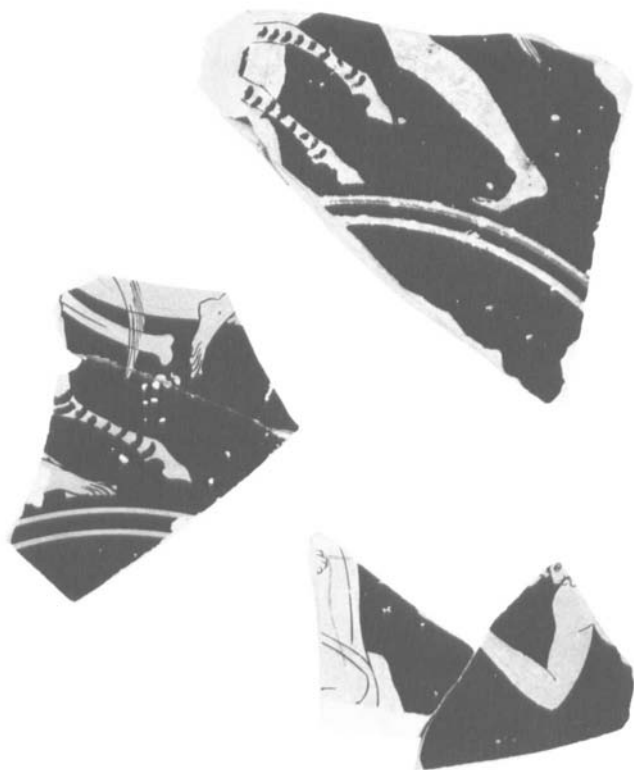


Figure 3. Malibu 81.AE.206.12. Exterior.

No clue remains to the right of the goddess to suggest what might be the anticipated confrontation beyond. Iris appears in the *Iliad* as Olympian messenger to the palace of Priam,<sup>8</sup> and the Brygos Painter eloquently employed scenes from the Trojan War in the decoration of several of his finest vases.<sup>9</sup> Iris appears also in the artist's work on a kylix of type C in London, signed by Brygos as potter.<sup>10</sup> There, however, she is clearly on the defensive, trying desperately to fend off the advances of two aroused satyrs.

Even without additional information on the exact subject of the cup, the observing child is perhaps a fair indicator of the scene's intensity. Several times, the Brygos Painter used the figure of a child to provide a convenient frame for some more important central scene.<sup>11</sup> Yet, as Beazley remarked in his description of the same Boston boy mentioned by Caskey, the Brygos Painter presented there "one of the first, one of the only, real children in vase painting."<sup>12</sup> A superior draughtsman who exploited the expressive possibilities in human gesture, the Brygos Painter could not neglect the opportunity to convey through the device of the child's posture some information about his youthful response to the primary event. On the Boston cup, the little attendant watches as his master practices his jump. On the Malibu fragment, the anxious absorption of the small, sheltered onlooker offers some reflection of the dramatic encounter which originally occupied the center of the composition.

Another encounter, but one of a far less serious nature, once filled the tondo of a second kylix, of which only six fragments survive, that may also be attributed to the Brygos Painter (figs. 2,3).<sup>13</sup> Only the horse-like tail of one figure and the foot and edge of the chiton skirt of the other remain within the maeander border, but this evidence is enough to reconstruct a well-known couple—the amorous satyr and the fleeing maenad who rejects his pursuit. At least one of the pair, most likely the maenad, wore a feline skin, for a paw and part of a tail survive behind the satyr's tail. The maenad carries her thyrsos with its leafy head down by her skirt; she may also hold a snake, the curving tail of which would be the object that hangs down before her forward left foot.

In what survives of the exterior scenes (fig. 3) a group of

satyrs cavorts around a pair of donkeys upon a double groundline. The only fragment left from side A (composed of one large sherd and one small chip) preserves the tail and legs of a satyr running to the left and the boldly striped forelegs of one of the donkeys. Facing the satyr, the animal lifts his left hoof. Two joining fragments from Side B show the second donkey, which is ithyphallic, with a little satyr riding on his back. Only the hindquarters of the animal are left, but the rear legs show the same zebra-like horizontal stripes that distinguish the forelegs of the creature on side A. Beside the donkey follows a second satyr of whom only the right foot has survived. Two joined fragments belong to the cup as well. Most probably from side B, they carry the chest of the donkey, the knees and rein-bearing right hand of the mounted satyr-boy with the rein in added red, and the right arm and shoulder of a satyr plus the left profile of his face.

Unfortunately, the upper body on this last sherd cannot be demonstrated to belong to any one of the three figures whose hand, feet, and legs remain. However, it does preserve a face with the snub nose, heavy overhanging brow, and coarse lips characteristic of many satyrs' faces by the Brygos Painter. Especially close are the features of the satyr who dances to the right of Dionysos in the tondo of a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>14</sup>

The same kylix offers further evidence for the attribution to the Brygos Painter on side A of its exterior. There, beside the god Dionysos, walks a donkey with similar stripes around his knee joints, hock joints, and lower legs. The Brygos Painter was hardly the only artist to employ this decorative feature. As Beazley noted in his description of a she-mule on a vase in Boston, ". . .the dark rings or bars on the legs are seldom absent in red-figure pictures of donkeys."<sup>15</sup> However, this artist did apply his stripes in a consistent, recognizable manner. Even the markings on the legs of the poor cheetah being held up by the tail in front of the Cabinet des Médailles donkey and the stripes on the dangling paw of the leopard skin worn by the satyr who follows behind Dionysos on the Paris cup show the same treatment. So too do the stripes of the half-hidden feline on the fragmentary Circe cup by the artist in Athens.<sup>16</sup>

8. One of the most appropriate passages occurs in Book II, lines 786–806.

9. See for example the skyphos in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 3710, ARV<sup>2</sup> 380, 171; the kylix in London, E 69, ARV<sup>2</sup> 369, 2; the kylix in the Walter Bares Collection, no. 346 (now on loan to the Getty Museum), *Para.* 367, 1 bis.

10. No. E 65, ARV<sup>2</sup> 370, 13.

11. See the child to the right of Achilles on the Vienna skyphos, no. 3710, mentioned in note 9; also the child on the right side of the battle scene on side B of the kylix in the Louvre, G 152, ARV<sup>2</sup> 369, 1; the little

servant who leads the procession of revelers on side A of the skyphos in the Louvre, G 156, ARV<sup>2</sup> 380, 172.

12. L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part I (1931) p. 20.

13. Getty Museum acc. no. 81.AE.206.12. The attribution to the Brygos Painter was first suggested by Dietrich von Bothmer.

14. Inv. no. 576, ARV<sup>2</sup> 371, 14.

15. L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *op. cit.*, part III (1963) p. 42.

16. Acropolis no. 293, ARV<sup>2</sup> 369, 5.





Figure 4. Kylix by the Briseis Painter. 480–470 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.131 and 81.AE.77. Tondo.

Other typically Brygan elements on the Getty sherds, the double groundline and the berries surrounding the leaves of the maenad's thyrsos picked out in black against the reserved pleats of her skirt, are not conclusive indicators for attribution by themselves. They appear as well on works by the artist's followers. Still, their presence here in combination with the individual treatment of the satyr's features and the animals' markings is valuable affirmation of the attribution. The hastily drawn foot and drapery on the inside and the rather careless execution of the meander border suggest a date somewhat later than the cups in Paris and Athens, in the decade between 480 and 470 B.C.

Satyrs and maenads are common subjects for the artists of the Brygan circle, who loved to depict revelry in any form, human or mythological. Two pairs of playful silens chase female partners around the outside of a third, more complete kylix in the museum's collection (figs. 4–6).<sup>17</sup> The foot and scattered fragments of the bowl are missing, and one handle does not actually join any preserved edge on the cup. In addition, the surface has suffered considerable damage. Areas of both black and reserved ground have

worn away on the exterior, obscuring finer details, especially the articulation of the satyrs' bodies.

Between the handles on either side, two satyrs frisk around the central figure of a dancing maenad. All six figures move together, though not with equal momentum, to the right. This forward motion finally halts before a fantastic rock formation which forms a sort of punctuation point behind the right satyr on side B. (fig. 5). Inside the cup (fig. 4), a coarsely drawn meander border surrounds the single elegant maenad. Running to left, she turns her head back toward an unseen pursuer, conveniently filling the center of the tondo with her frontal torso and wide-spread arms.

All three maenads are dressed alike in finely pleated chitons bound up with red tasseled cords and decorated above the woven selvages of the skirts with a narrow black stripe. The two who preserve their heads wear patterned sakkoi over their dark hair, and the maenad inside the cup also wears a large disc-shaped earring with a central boss. The spotted snakes and large thyrsos carried by all three and the leopard skins knotted around the shoulders of the two women on the outside distinguish them as Bacchic

17. Getty Museum acc. nos. 76.AE.131 and 81.AE.77; diameter: 22.5 cm.; width with handles (approximate): 31 cm.



Figure 5. Malibu 76.AE.131 and 81.AE.77. Side B.

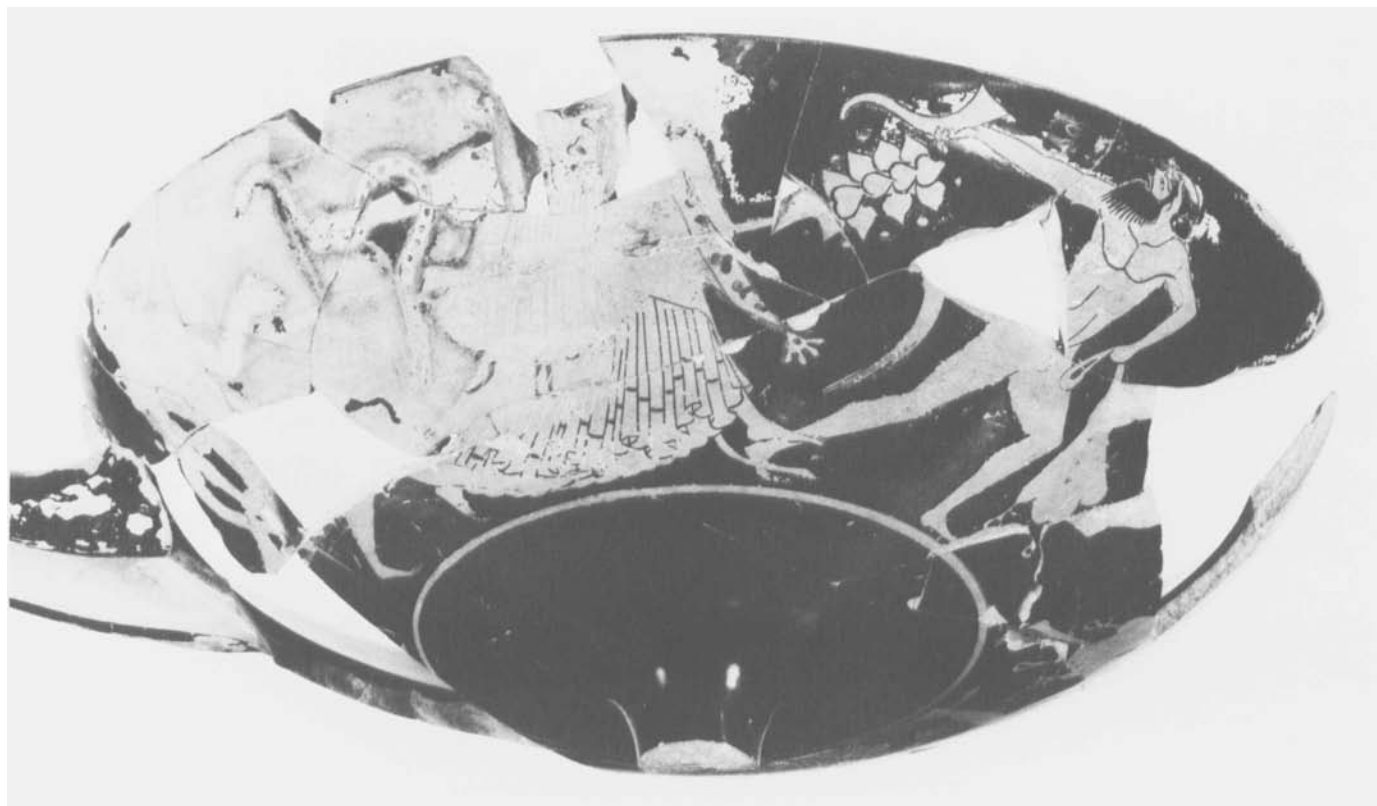


Figure 6. Malibu 76.AE.131. and 81.AE.77. Side A.

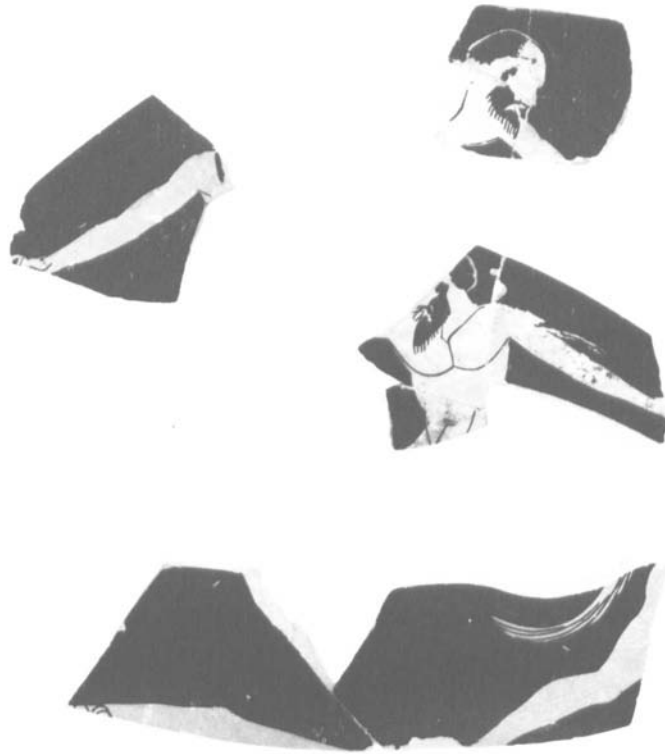


Figure 7. Fragments of a kylix close to the Brygos Painter.  
Scale 1:1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum  
81.AE.206.14.

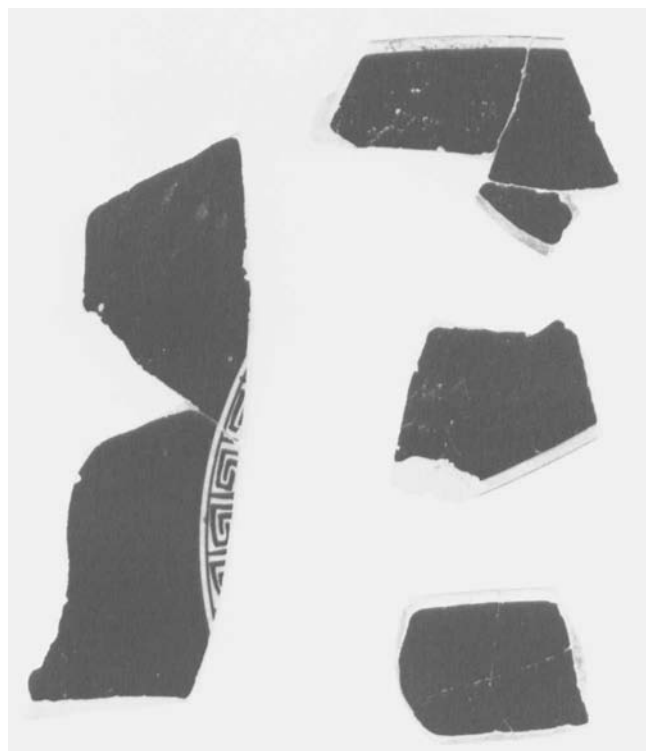


Figure 8. Malibu 81.AE.206.14. interior, with edge of meander border.

revelers. The satyrs wear only wreaths of delicately entwined red vines and carry or drag half-empty wineskins (two are inscribed *KAVOS*). The right satyr on side A holds a drinking horn as well, which he offers to the maenad who dances in front of him.

The inscribed wineskins, unnatural rock, spotted snakes, and leafy thyrsos with their haloes of berries are typical features of Brygan revels,<sup>18</sup> as are the nonsense inscriptions with recognizable letters running around the figures both inside and out.<sup>19</sup> The flattish, balding heads of the Malibu satyrs with hair bound up at the nape of the neck, little horn-like, forward-pointing ears, snub noses, and carefully delineated lower lips find many parallels on works accepted as the artist's own.<sup>20</sup> Further, the wiry body of the best preserved satyr, on the left of side B, shows in the fine articulation of its musculature a close relationship with human figures too, especially the central dancer on the neck of an oinochoe in Orvieto.<sup>21</sup> The Orvieto oinochoe may be dated among the later works of the Brygos Painter. Similarly, the tondo figure of the Malibu cup with her delicate profile and elongated proportions has close relatives among the running maidens whose splayed skirts and frontal torsoes fill the tondos of several of the painter's late cups.<sup>22</sup> Even the coarse drawing of the pattern on her sakkos<sup>23</sup> and the surrounding maeander border<sup>24</sup> have parallels to support attribution to the late Brygos Painter, the artist of 480–470 B.C., in whom, as Beazley observed, "the fire burned down."<sup>25</sup>

There does exist one feature which is troublesome for the acceptance of this cup as a work by the Brygos Painter himself—the use on the exterior of the single groundline beneath the dancing figures. The Brygos Painter used the single groundline on other vase shapes, but no kylix of Type B<sup>26</sup> as yet attributed to the artist shows this important detail. The single groundline does sometimes appear on the Type B cups of his closest followers, rarely with the Foundry Painter<sup>27</sup> and more commonly with the Briseis

Painter,<sup>28</sup> and these artists certainly employed the features considered standard among the Brygan revels since they would have learned them at the side of the master. Though the appearance here of the single groundline may not actually outweigh the evidence in favor of an attribution to the late Brygos Painter himself, it does suggest that the cup may be better assigned to the hand of a pupil, at least until another cup with this specific feature appears to confirm an attribution to the teacher. Since the best parallel for the unnatural rock formation on side B is, in fact, to be found on a cup by the Briseis Painter,<sup>29</sup> this pupil seems to be the best candidate for the attribution.<sup>30</sup> Whether it represents a unique occurrence or the chance survivor of many examples, this groundline has a simplicity which is well-suited to the rather tired quality of both the overall composition and its execution.

In a group of ten related fragments from another kylix, the evidence for attribution is even less conclusive (figs. 7,8).<sup>31</sup> Parts of at least four frolicking satyrs survive here on the outside. The right hand of one appears to hold the loop of wineskin and another lies stretched out, infibulated, beneath one handle, the root of which begins just above his shin. Inside, the edge of a maeander border that once framed the tondo scene remains. Not one figure approaches completeness, and though the features of the two partially preserved heads resemble the satyrs on the more complete vase just discussed, none is complete enough to support an attribution more specific than Brygan.

Brygan is a term which has also been applied to an important class of plastic vases, the animal head rhyta of the so-called Brygan Class.<sup>32</sup> These vases are not numerous—only sixteen certain examples have been published<sup>33</sup>—and they take their name from the fact that they are, with three exceptions, attributed to the Brygos Painter. Two new examples can now be added to this list. One is in the Getty Museum's collection (figs. 9–11),<sup>34</sup> the other was re-

18. For the wineskins, Metropolitan Museum head vase no. 12.234.5, ARV<sup>2</sup> 382, 183; for the rock, Metropolitan Museum skyphos no. 29.131.4, ARV<sup>2</sup> 381, 176; for the snakes and thyrsos, the Munich kylix, no. 2645, ARV<sup>2</sup> 371, 15.

19. J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (1928) p. 25.

20. For comparison, see the satyr heads reproduced together in Max Wegner, *Brygosmaler* (1973) pl. 38.

21. Inv. no. 490, ARV<sup>2</sup> 385, 225.

22. For example, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 2303, ARV<sup>2</sup> 380, 168; Walter Bareiss Collection, no. 52, *Para.* 367.

23. Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P-186, CVA U.S.A. 13, fasc. 1, pl. 11, 7.

24. London E 71, ARV<sup>2</sup> 372, 29.

25. ARV<sup>2</sup> 368.

26. Although the foot of the Getty kylix is lost, the unbroken curve between the stem and the bowl is preserved, and the small diameter of

the remaining piece of the hollow stem (2.1 cm.) is not appropriate to the stouter proportions of kylikes of Type C. The inside lip of the cup is sharply offset.

27. ARV<sup>2</sup> 401, 11, and 403, 26. I thank D. von Bothmer for this information, as well as the next two notes.

28. ARV<sup>2</sup> 406, 1, 2, and 6; 407, 10, 15, 17, and 18; 408, 25.

29. ARV<sup>2</sup> 406, 2.

30. This attribution was first proposed by D. von Bothmer.

31. Getty acc. no. 81.AE.206.14. Restored diameter: 20.5 cm.

32. H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-Figured Rhyta* (1962) pp. 10–12, pls. II–III.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–12, nos. 5–16; H. Hoffmann, "Attic and Tarentine Rhyta; Addendum," *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (1979) p. 93; G. Robert Guy, "A Ram's-Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos," *Arts in Virginia* 21 (1981) p. 5, figs. 9–11 (from a private collection in Massachusetts, attributed by Dietrich von Bothmer).

34. Getty Museum acc. no. 79.AE.22.



Figure 9. Hound's head rhyton by the Brygos Painter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.22. Side A.



Figure 10. Malibu 79.AE.22. Side B.



Figure 11. Malibu 79.AE.22. Side C.

35. I have not had the opportunity to study the Mexican rhyton first hand. However, the piece was restored by Mrs. Penelope Potter, now with the museum's photography department, and she has provided valuable information on many details as well as numerous photographs of the vase in the process of restoration. Unfortunately, I cannot provide any documentation of inscriptions at this time. The Mexican rhyton is purported to have been found at Vulci, and it is likely that the Getty rhyton was originally found there as well.

36. Aléria no. 10.127.84, *Para.* 367. See also J. and L. Jehasse, *La*

stored and photographed in the museum's conservation laboratory before it entered a private collection in Mexico (figs. 12–14).<sup>35</sup> Both are hounds' heads with a single handle set beneath the chin along the axis of the head, comparable in form to the hound excavated at Aléria in Corsica.<sup>36</sup>

The condition of the new pair of rhyta is too fragmentary to confirm that they were made from the same mould as the Aléria hound and, perhaps, also the two other examples in the Villa Giulia<sup>37</sup> and Leningrad.<sup>38</sup> The dimensions which are preserved, however, are close to the other three.<sup>39</sup> All five are also similar in their general scheme of decoration. The Mexican rhyton shows especially clearly an articulation of the features of the alert black head comparable to the three published hounds: long white whiskers at the muzzle, shorter tufts around the jowls and in front of the ears, lobed lines around the outer edges of the orbital cavities also done in white, exaggerated double tear ducts in added red, and red around the soft edges of the mouth. Like the other three, both of the new heads preserve the purplish-red paint for the insides of the ears and the collars that separate the red-figured rims from the

*Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria* (1973) p. 471.

37. Inv. no. 867, ARV<sup>2</sup> 382, 187.

38. Inv. no. 679, ARV<sup>2</sup> 382, 188.

39. The diameters of both the Getty piece and the Mexican rhyton are approximately 11.2 cm. Since the rims were wheel-made and added separately, they cannot be direct evidence for the size of the molds; however, the rim size depends closely upon the size of the opening left when the two sides of the head are joined, and the other three examples are all slightly more than 11 cm. across at the rim.



*Figure 12.* Hound's head rhyton by the Brygos Painter. Mexico City, private collection.



*Figure 13.* Mexico City rhyton. Side A.



*Figure 14.* Mexico City rhyton. Side C.

plastic heads. In all five examples, this collar is decorated diagonally with wavy, fine white lines. The purplish-red paint on the interior of the heads below the black inner rim and the cyma patterns around the rims' outer edges are decorative details shared with all rhyta of the Brygan Class.

Such consistency in the decorative schemes of the plastic parts suggests at least the controlling influence of one artist. The red figure decoration on the rims confirms this suggestion and narrows it down to a firm attribution. Beazley has already attributed the painting of the three known hounds' heads to the Brygos Painter himself. Thus, it is not surprising that the two new examples fit comfortably within this artist's style.

The Getty rhyton is decorated around the rim with a symposium. Two seminude youths recline comfortably on either side of a bearded man. While the youth on side A entertains on the double flutes, the central figure turns to his other companion, his finger crooked around the handle of his drinking cup in preparation for a game of *kottabos*. This third fellow is busily engaged in tying a fillet around his curly head. On the wall behind each hangs his basket of provisions, suspended from a red cord and decorated with red tassels, and his walking stick (the basket on side C is lost, but the bottom of the stick remains). In added red in the field near each figure is inscribed *KAVOΣ*.

One of the artist's favorite subjects for the decoration of kylikes, the symposium scene appears as well on the hound's head rhyta from Aléria and the Villa Giulia, and on two of the Brygan stemmed rhyta with plastic rams' heads.<sup>40</sup> The black-bordered himatia draped around the lower bodies, striped cushions, provision baskets, and walking sticks are all standard paraphernalia for these gatherings. Of the three figures, the flutist (fig. 9) especially finds numerous parallels among the Brygan symposiasts. The same details of extended cheeks and relief lines which define the two closely held pipes and cross through the outlines of the musician's widely spread fingers appear, for example, in the figure on side A of the stemmed ram's head rhyton in Genoa.<sup>41</sup> The bearded man on side B of the same Genoese cup resembles in pose and profile what remains of the central figure on the Getty cup (fig. 10), though the Genoa man appears simply to hold his kylix with his little finger genteelly extended rather than to prepare for rowdy gaming. The third companion on the Getty rhyton (fig. 11) has his right leg drawn up beneath him

with the foot shown in the same awkward frontal perspective as that of the youth on side C of the Aléria hound's head. It is his gesture of binding the fillet around his head that has no parallel among the published Brygan vases.<sup>42</sup> More commonly identified with proto-Panaitian artists,<sup>43</sup> this pose does appear in the tondo of a kylix in the Louvre attributed to Onesimos.<sup>44</sup> Since vase scholars have long speculated on a close working relationship between Onesimos and the Brygos Painter at some point early in the latter's career, the Getty fillet binder may serve as another affirmation of this important association rather than as an objection to the proposed attribution. Together with the related rhyta in Genoa and Aléria, the Getty vase can be dated to the decade 480–470 B.C.

It is not one gesture that is unusual in the decoration of the rim of the hound's head now in Mexico, it is the entire composition—the only known palaestra scene on a rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter (fig. 12). On side A is a trainer clothed in a himation and soft, low shoes (fig. 13). Around his head he wears an unusual red wreath with a single long tendril that curls above his forehead. He sits with his left leg drawn back and at least one arm extended to hold the walking stick before him. Against the background wall are various pieces of palaestra equipment: the discus bag, the crossed javelins, even a knotted fillet. A bearded judge stands on side B, between a small, bushy tree and a fluted half-column. Dressed like the trainer except for the simpler wreath around his head, he leans to the right on the knotted stick propped under his left armpit. With his left hand he holds a long, straight rod, and with his right he greets the athlete who approaches him on side C (fig. 14).

This athlete is the victor, distinguished by the long taeniae tied around his head, upper arm, and left thigh. Bending forward, dropping the walking stick from his right hand, he seems to be laying down the leafy branches which he carries, perhaps tokens he has gathered from the appreciative crowd who witnessed his victory. Again the background is littered with implements of the exercise field: the pick used to prepare the earth for jumping and the halteres.

Though Hartwig's original impression that the Brygos Painter executed no athletic subjects<sup>45</sup> has been revised by a century of discoveries and attributions, scenes of the palaestra are still relatively rare among the artist's vases. Fortunately, one, the Boston skyphos referred to above,

cup by the Brygos Painter in Brauron with the figure of Danae binding a fillet around her head in a remarkably similar fashion.

40. Genoa inv. no. 1158, ARV<sup>2</sup> 382, 186 and the ram's head now in a private collection, mentioned in note 33.

41. See note 40.

42. E. Simon, *Die Griechische Vasen* (1976) p. 120 (notes on the Tripolemos Painter's calyx krater in Leningrad) mentions an unpublished

43. I am indebted to D. von Bothmer for this information.

44. Louvre C11338, ARV<sup>2</sup> 326, 88.

45. P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfiguren Stiles* (1893) p. 364.

proves to be a generous source for parallels with many of the details on the Mexican rhyton. The strange curling wreath of the trainer of side A, the discus bag with its black crescent-shaped strap attachments and furry surface subtly indicated in dilute wash, the four-legged stool, pick, crossed javelins, and halteres (in use) all reappear in comparable form, along with the bearded, standing judge. The trainer on side A is also closely related to the seated youth on side B of the Brygos Painter's kylix in Copenhagen,<sup>46</sup> who is similarly dressed and seated. As for the appearance in the Brygan palaestra of a half-column and a tree with leaves indicated in red along either side of its spiky branches, a single fragment attributed to the artist in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum can offer evidence for both features.<sup>47</sup> All of these comparisons suggest a date somewhere around 480 B.C. for the Mexican example, contemporary with the Getty hound's head.

Only the pose of the victorious athlete finds no comparison among the known athletic scenes by the Brygos Painter. However, a parallel does exist for it in the bending figure of a youth within the tondo of an earlier cup in Warsaw, attributed by Beazley to the Thalia Painter.<sup>48</sup> Likewise decked out in a long fillet and wreaths, he carries a walking stick under his arm and offers leafy branches in his outstretched hands. What is not certain is the reason for this youth's adornment. The exterior of the Warsaw cup is decorated with a komos scene, and the tondo figure may well be a reveler rather than a victorious athlete, since fillets and wreaths are common and prominent elements in many scenes of carousing. But victory is surely just cause for revelry, and whether reveler or victor, the festive appearance of each of these elaborately filleted youths is well-suited to decorate the rim or bowl of a wine cup.

Since all of the Brygan vases discussed here are wine cups, the types of vases from which the style of the artist is best known, in conclusion it seems most appropriate to give a resumé of the contributions that these new pieces make to our knowledge of the work of the Brygos Painter and his followers. The most complete kylix, though given here to the Briseis Painter, has introduced the possibility that the Brygos Painter himself may have used a single groundline in his exterior compositions on kylikes of Type B, a feature hitherto unknown among his accepted cups. The two hounds' head rhyta have almost doubled the tiny number of known Brygan Class rhyta of this type and add a new theme, the palaestra scene, to the subjects found on rhyta

rims attributed to the Brygos Painter. Although the fillet binder on the Getty rhyton and the bowing athlete on the hound's head in Mexico are figure types known from works by other artists, they are new among the published works of this painter. Finally, the fragment with Iris and the observing child adds another original composition to the Brygos Painter's list of cups which treat mythological, and perhaps more specifically, Homeric subjects. Its beauty also encourages the hope that additional fragments may eventually be added to complete the unfinished scene.

Malibu

#### POSTSCRIPT

Since this article went to press, two fragments pertinent to the vases discussed here have been identified in the Getty collection. The first (figs. 15 and 16) belongs with the Brygan cup fragments 81.AE.206.14, illustrated in figs. 7 and 8. Although the sherd does not join the others, a band of greenish misfired glaze in the black area around the maeander border inside is present at exactly the same level in the bowl as it appears on the inside of the two other fragments which include part of the tondo's maeander border. In addition to the edges of the three maeander squares within, the fragment preserves outside the remains of a bearded satyr who has both of his forearms within the mouth of a very large, low vessel, perhaps a basin or a column krater.<sup>49</sup> Its number will be the same as the other pieces.

The second fragment (figs 17 and 18, Getty acc. no. 81.AE.206.13) came as a surprise. From the outside, it looked like an addition to the cup 81.AE.206.12. On a double groundline with exactly the same spacing between its lines as 81.AE.206.12 is the hoof and striped lower leg of a donkey or mule moving to the right with a human foot beside it, both very similar in style to the figures on the exterior of 81.AE.206.12. Inside is the proof that this is a different cup. The remains of the tondo composition, a corner of rock or wineskin, the tail and foot of a satyr, and the edges of the black-bordered himation and finely pleated chiton of a maenad, show that the subject within both cups was the same. However, the maeander border has a smaller diameter, and the drawing of both the maeander pattern and the figures is much more careful. The pattern of folds along the chiton's edge and the foot and tail of the satyr recall some of the Brygos Painter's finer compositions<sup>50</sup> and a date ca. 480 B.C. would seem correct for this new piece.

406, 11 bis. Figures with both arms in a vessel are usually bathing rather than dipping wine, but one comic exception with arms, shoulders and head in a giant pithos appears on Getty no. 73.AE.150

50. Parallels for all details can be found on the Cabinet des Médailles cup 576, mentioned above in note 14.

46. Thorvaldsen Museum no. 112, ARV<sup>2</sup> 374, 60.

47. No. 22.139.80, ARV<sup>2</sup> 374, 60.

48. Inv. no. 198514, ARV<sup>2</sup> 113, 4.

49. For an example of a figure with one arm in a krater, see the Acrocup now given to the Dokimasia Painter (though once thought to be by Brygos Painter), Berlin Staatliche Museen 2309, from Capua, *Para.*,



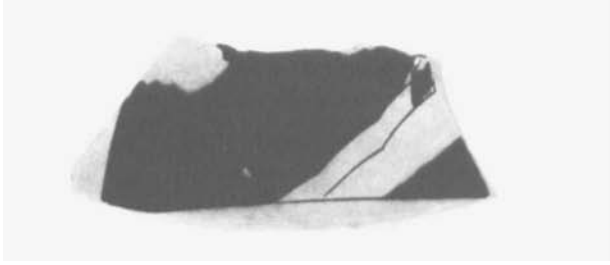


Figure 15. Fragment of a kylix (figs. 7 and 8) Scale 1:1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.206.14. Exterior.



Figure 16. Malibu 81.AE.206.14. Interior.



Figure 17. Fragment of a kylix by the Brygos Painter. Ca. 480 B.C. Scale 1:1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.206.13. Exterior.



Figure 18. Malibu 82.AE.206.13. Interior.

# Mänadengelage und Götterliebe in Malibu

## Zu einem Komplex attischer rotfiguriger Fragmente aus Etrurien im J. Paul Getty Museum

Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter

Die klassische Vasenforschung wäre ohne den Marchese Campana um eines ihrer Lieblingsspiele ärmer: das Aufspüren von Fragmenten nämlich, die nach der Verhaftung des Marchese 1857 in Rom über ganz Europa und Nordamerika verstreut wurden. Gian Pietro Campana, 1807–1880, war Direktor der Pfandleihanstalt Monte di Pietà in Rom und hatte in Südetrurien, vor allem Cerveteri, Keramik ankaufen lassen.<sup>1</sup> Wegen finanzieller Schwierigkeiten wurde er verhaftet und seine berühmte und große Sammlung aufgelöst. Die fragmentarischen Teile der Keramik blieben meist bis ins 20. Jahrhundert unbeachtet, bis J. D. Beazley in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren die Zusammenhänge entdeckte und die Scherben zu neuem Leben erweckte.<sup>2</sup> In den letzten Jahren tauchen vermehrt wieder Fragmente auf, die das Kombinationsspiel neu beleben.<sup>3</sup>

Unter die rund zwei Dutzend heutiger Aufbewahrungsorte von Campana-Fragmenten und solchen, die sie ergänzen, kann sich seit wenigen Jahren auch das J. Paul Getty Museum reihen. Es erhielt von Gordon McLendon eine Anzahl Fragmente zum Geschenk, die hier vorgestellt werden sollen.<sup>4</sup> Das Spiel mit den *disjecta membra* ist erst perfekt, wenn man Fragmente vom einen Ort mit solchen von einem anderen Ort zusammenfügen kann. So auch

hier. Vier der Malibu-Vasen können durch Fragmente des Museums der Villa Giulia in Rom ergänzt werden, die aus der noch unpublizierten Fragmentensammlung Castellani herrühren.<sup>5</sup>

### KATALOG.

Der wohl mehr oder weniger zufällig zusammengewürfelte Komplex wird in ungefähr chronologischer Abfolge aufgezählt. Er besteht zur Hauptsache aus vier Kannen des Mannheimer Malers, zwei Kannen des Schuwalow-Malers, von denen die eine, als einzige Vase des Komplexes, in ausreichenden Teilen vorhanden war, um in Fuß und Körper zusammengefügt werden zu können, aus einer Pelike des Frauenbad-Malers und aus einigen wenigen, nicht näher identifizierten Fragmenten. Bilder im Maßstab 1:1, Zeichnungen 1:2.

#### I. MANNHEIMER MALER.

##### 1. Kleine Oinochoe. Abb. 1.3.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.105A 1–5

Form: Die vorliegenden Fragmente und diejenigen der Katalognummern 2–6 sind alle auf die gleiche Variante einer Weinkanne, wenn auch von unterschiedlicher Größe, zurückzuführen, vgl. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup>1. Va.

2. J. D. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence*, 1933. Zu den Aufbewahrungsorten siehe S.35, heute z.T. wieder verändert?

3. etwa: AntK 7, 1964, Taf. 14 und Tübingen E 415 (Robert Guy 1977).

4. J. P. Getty Museum Pamphlet: *Greek Vases*, Jan. 1–April 3, 1977, Nr. 50.52–55; dort noch als von Aison gemalt bezeichnet. Ian McPhee machte mich auf die Fragmente aufmerksam. Jiří Frel verdanke ich die Aufforderung zur Publikation und einen Aufenthalt in Malibu, um den Komplex in Ruhe studieren zu können. Marit Jentoft-Nilsen fügte einige Fragmente zusammen. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi las den Text; verbleibende Fehler sind meine eigenen. Das Manuskript war in wesentlichen im Februar 1981 abgeschlossen.

5. zur Sammlung Castellani s. P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* I, 1930, S. VII und II, 1971, 7. Die Fragmente sind zum Großteil (?) in Beazley, ABV und ARV<sup>2</sup> aufgenommen. Sie sollen in ihrem archaischen Teil von Lise Hannestad publiziert werden. Der klassische Teil wird in kommander Zeit von J. Robert Guy bearbeitet werden. Dass die Castellani Fragmente mit der Sammlung Campana zusammenhängen, scheint heute nicht mehr so sicher zu sein, vgl. v. Bothmer, oben Anm. 1, 214.

Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Paola Pelagatti für ihre Erlaubnis danken, die Fragmente zu sehen und zu publizieren.

Neben den Abkürzungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts für Publikationen (*Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1977, 673ff.) und Zeitschriften (*Archäologische Bibliographie* 1979, Xff.) werden folgende Abkürzungen verwendet:

-Kaempf-Dimitriadou = S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jh.v.Chr.* (11. Beiheft Antike Kunst 1979.)

-Kerameus 2 = A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler. Eine Kannenwerkstatt der Parthenonzeit.* (Kerameus 2, 1976.)

Die Aufnahmen der Vasen in Malibu stammen von Don Hull, diejenigen der Fragmente in der Villa Giulia und die Zeichnungen vom Autor.

Abb. 45 Photo Chuzeville Paris.

1. Zum Marchese Campana: S. Reinach, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Collection Campana*, RA 1904, 179–200; 363–384 und idem 1905, 57–92, 208–240, 343–364. Zur Sammlung Campana zuletzt: D. v. Bothmer, *Les vases de la Collection Campana*, RLouvre 1977, 4, 213–221, sp. 213–214. Zuletzt zu Cerveteri: Gli Etruschi e Cerveteri, la prospezione archeologica nell'attività della Fondazione Lerici, Milano 1980. S. auch: Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale, Museo di Villa Giulia, 1975, 5–31.



Abb. 1. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 1). Malibu 76.AE.105 A 1-5.

Abb. 2. Mannheimer Maler, Fragment der kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 1). Villa Giulia.

Abb. 3. Wiederherstellung der kleinen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 1) (Abb. 1-2).

Schlanker Körper über Wulstfuß. Kantig abgesetzte Schulter, runde, stark hervorspringende Mündung. Breiter Henkel, der auf der Mündungshöhe mit seitlichen Fortsätzen im Rand verschmilzt. Vgl. *Kerameus* 2, 16ff.

Zustand: 9 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus dem Körper. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis. Innenseite des Körpers leicht gerippt und strähnig braun gefirnißt. Höhe des größten Teiles 8,0, Wanddicke beim Mäander 0,3 cm. Höhe der Figuren ergänzt ca. 10,5. Höhe des Gefäßes vermutlich um 22 cm.

Dazugehöriges Fragment Villa Giulia: Abb. 2-3. Ein Fragment aus dem Körper. Tonbeschaffenheit wie oben. Höhe 3,2, Wanddicke beim Mäander 0,3 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: Libationsszene. Erhalten sind Teile eines Mannes, in seinen Mantel gehüllt, der nach rechts gewandt, einen gebogenen Stock in der rechten Hand hält. Vor ihm steht, mit dem Rücken zu ihm, eine Frau in Chiton und Peplos. Im Vergleich zu 2 und zur fragmentarischen Kanne Va im Louvre (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 67a; ein Fragment in New Yorker Privatbesitz wurde ihr kürzlich "beigefügt") ist der Mann links außen bärtig und wohl bekränzt oder mit einer Tanie im Haar zu ergänzen. Seine spiegelbildliche Verdoppelung schließt die rechte Bildseite ab. In der Mitte steht die Frau und gießt aus einer Kanne

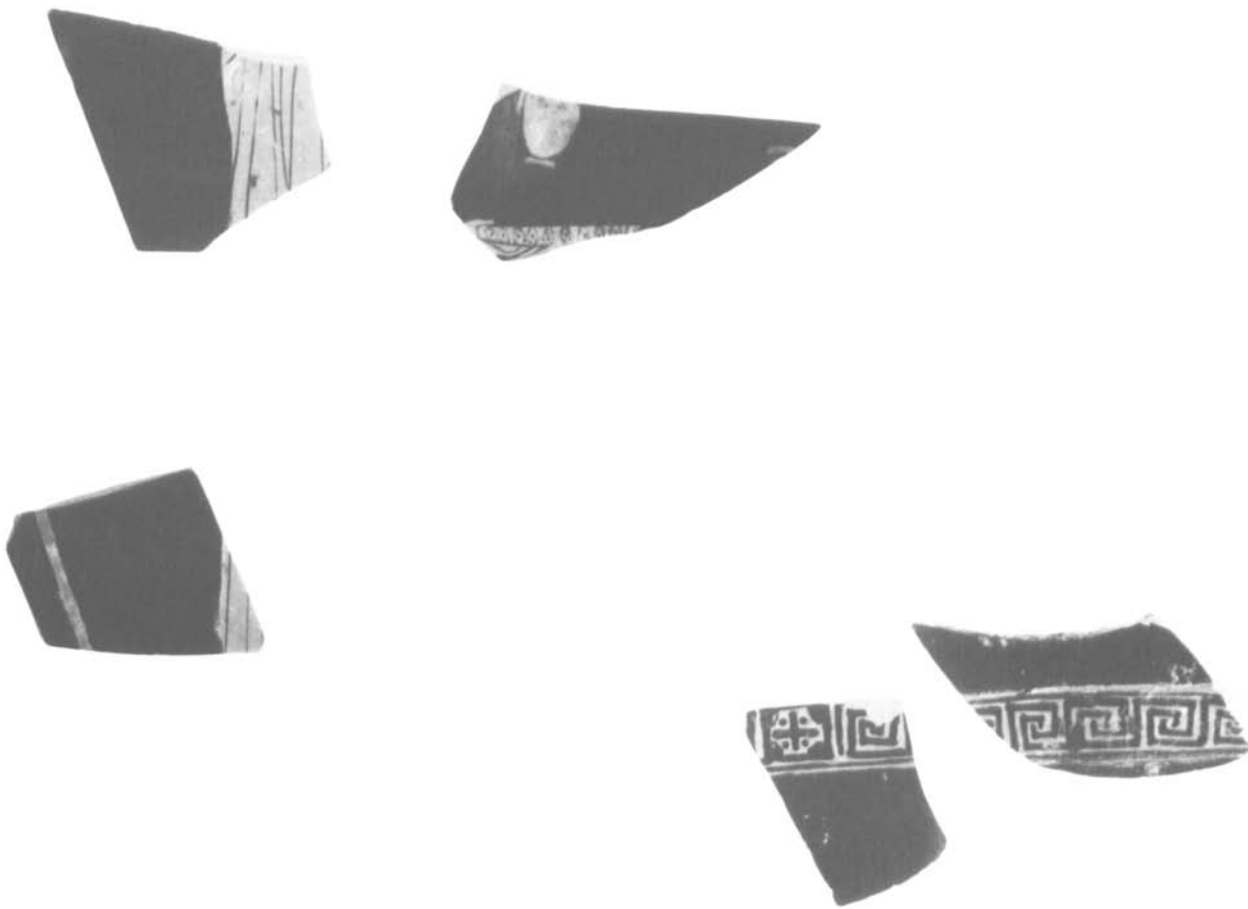


Abb. 4. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 2). Malibu 76.AE.105 B 1-5.

Wein in eine metallene Phiale. Die Figuren weisen keine Reliefkontur auf.

Ornament: rechtsläufiger, einmal gebrochener Mäander.

Zuschreibung an den Mannheimer Maler: vgl. zum Mann mit dem Stock die Kanne Kunsthandel (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 65c) und Kanne Hannover (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 176b (Bilder b und c vertauscht), zur Frau die gleichen Kannen (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 65c und 66b).

Datierung: um 460–450 v.Chr.

Replik von 2.

2. Kleine Oinochoe. Abb. 4–5.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.105 B 1–5.

Form: Va, wie 1.



Abb. 5. Wiederherstellung der kleinen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 2) (Abb. 4).

Zustand: 5 nicht aneinander passende Fragmente aus dem Körper. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis. Innenseite wie 1. Länge "Phialefragment" 5,1, Wanddicke beim Mäander 0,3 cm. Höhe der Figuren ergänzt wie 1.

Figürliche Verzierung: erhalten sind Teile des Stockes in der Hand des Mannes im Bild links außen, Teile des Peplos der Frau in der Mitte, Teile ihrer Hände, die links eine Phiale, rechts eine Kanne halten, aus der, in Ritzlinie gezeichnet, der Wein fließt. Auf dem selben Fragment ist das Stockende des Mannes rechts außen zu erkennen. Ergänzung des Bildes wie 1. Keine Reliefkontur. Die Buckel in der Phiale mit verdünntem Firnis gezeichnet.



Abb. 6. Mannheimer Maler, Fragment der kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 3). Malibu 76.AE.106 B 1-3.

Ornament: rechtsläufiger, einmal gebrochener Mäander, unterbrochen durch eine punktierte Kreuzplatte.

Zuschreibung: wie 1.

Replik von 1.

Bemerkung: die Verteilung zwischen 1 und 2 der Fragmente aus der Peplosfigur und dem Mäander ist in diesem Zustand nicht letztlich zu entscheiden.

### 3. Kleine Oinochoe. Abb. 6.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.106 B 1-3.

Form: Va, wie 1.

Zustand: drei nicht aneinander passende Fragmente aus Schulter und Hals. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis, aufgemaltes Weiß. Halsinnenseite bis auf Schulterknick schwarz gefirnißt. Länge größtes Fragment 5,3, Wanddicke beim Myrtenzweig 0,25 cm.

Wohl dazugehörnde Fragmente Villa Giulia: Abb. 7. 6 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus Mündung, Hals und Schulter. Tonbeschaffenheit wie oben. Ergänzter Durchmesser Mündung 9-9,5 cm.

Ornament: auf der Mündungslippe punktierte Eierstab, auf der Schulter rechtsgerichteter Myrtenzweig mit weiß aufgemalten Stielen und Beeren.

Zuschreibung an die Werkstatt des Mannheimer Malers: ein Myrtenzweig als Schulterverzierung ist zwar im bisher bekannten Oeuvre des Mannheimer Malers neu (vgl. aber

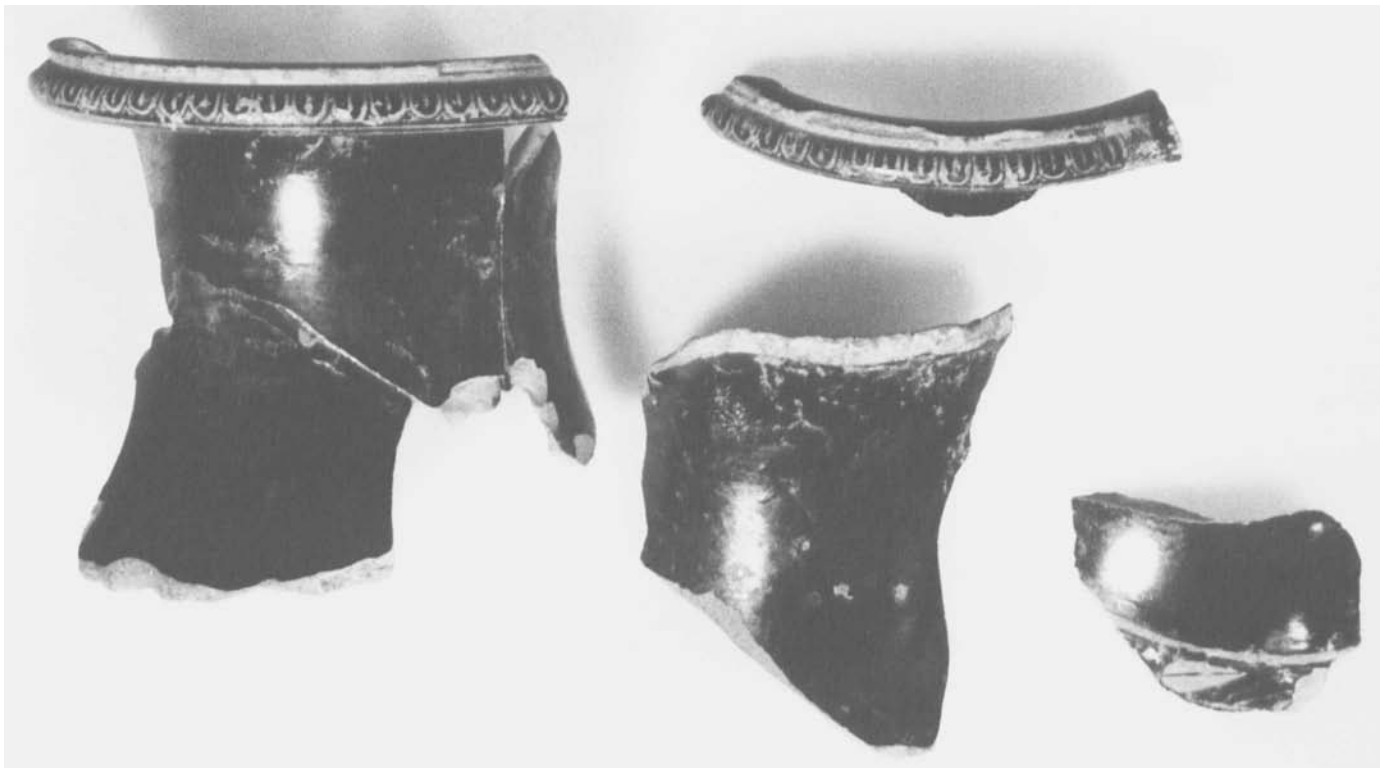


Abb. 7. Mannheimer Maler, Hals einer kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 3). Villa Giulia.



Abb. 8. Fragment der kleinen Oinochoe  
(Nr. 4). Malibu 76.AE.106 A.

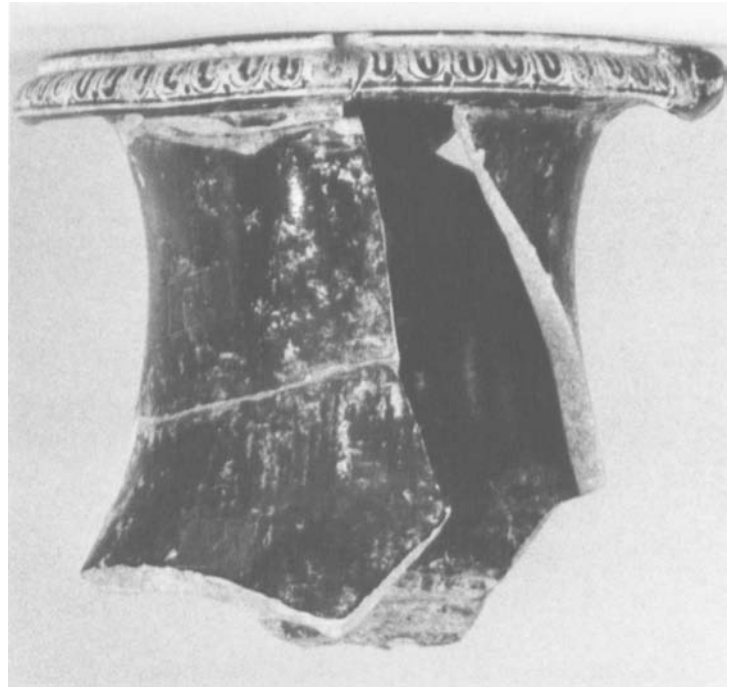


Abb. 9. Hals der kleinen Oinochoe (Nr. 4). Villa Giulia.

den Myrtenzweig auf Kannen Va des Schuwalow-Malers, *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 107a–b), der Eierstab und die Gefäßform sind jedoch so typisch, daß eine Zugehörigkeit zu dieser Werkstatt ausser Frage steht.

Bemerkung: dieses Oberteil einer Kanne könnte zu einer der beiden Kannen 1 oder 2 gehören.

#### 4. Kleine Oinochoe. Abb. 8.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.106 A.

Form: Va, wie 1.

Zustand: einzelnes Schulterfragment. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis, innen auf Halsteil braun gefirnißt. Länge 5,6, Wanddicke beim Eierstab 0,25 cm.

Ornament: auf der Schulter punktierter Eierstab.

Zuschreibung an die Werkstatt des Mannheimer Malers: dieses Schulterornament ist ebenfalls "neu" in dieser Werkstatt, erscheint aber wieder auf den großformatigen Kannen dieses Ateliers, liegt dann aber unterhalb des Schulterknickes (vgl. *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 68–69, und hier 5 und 6).

Bemerkung: könnte zu 1 oder 2 gehören.—In der Villa Giulia gibt es Hals und Mündung einer Oinochoe, wie alle anderen aufgeführten Fragmente der Sammlung Castellani ebenfalls ohne Inventarnummer, die nach Form und Ornament hierher gehört und die vielleicht mit dem Schulterfragment 4 in Verbindung gebracht werden könnte: Abb. 9. Durchmesser Mündung 9,5, Höhe erhalten 8,1 cm. Auf der Mündung punktierter Eierstab.

#### 5. Grosse Oinochoe. Abb. 10, 15, 17–19.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.104 A 1–10.

Form: Va, wie 1.

Zustand: 17 z. T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus Körper und Hals. Oranger Ton, starker Miltos, schwarzer, auf der linken Gefäßseite grünlich verfärbt. Körperinnenseite stark gerippt und strähnig hellbraun, Schulterknick kaum, Hals dunkler gefirnißt. Höhe größter Fragmente-komplex 13,4, Wanddicke beim Eierstab 0,25, beim Mäander 0,4 cm. Höhe Figuren Schulter ergänzt ca. 5,5, 6 und 4,5 cm, Figuren Körper ca. 12 cm. Höhe des Gefäßes vermutlich um 29 cm.

Dazugehörige Fragmente Villa Giulia: Abb. 11–14, 16–19. 12 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus Mündung, Hals und Körper. Tonbeschaffenheit wie oben. Rötlicher Fehlbrand auf linker Gefäßseite. Höhe erhalten 9,7, Durchmesser Mündung 11,9 cm. Wanddicke beim Mäander 0,4 cm. Mündungs- und Halsfragment bereits abgebildet in: *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 66,c–e; Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1065,3.

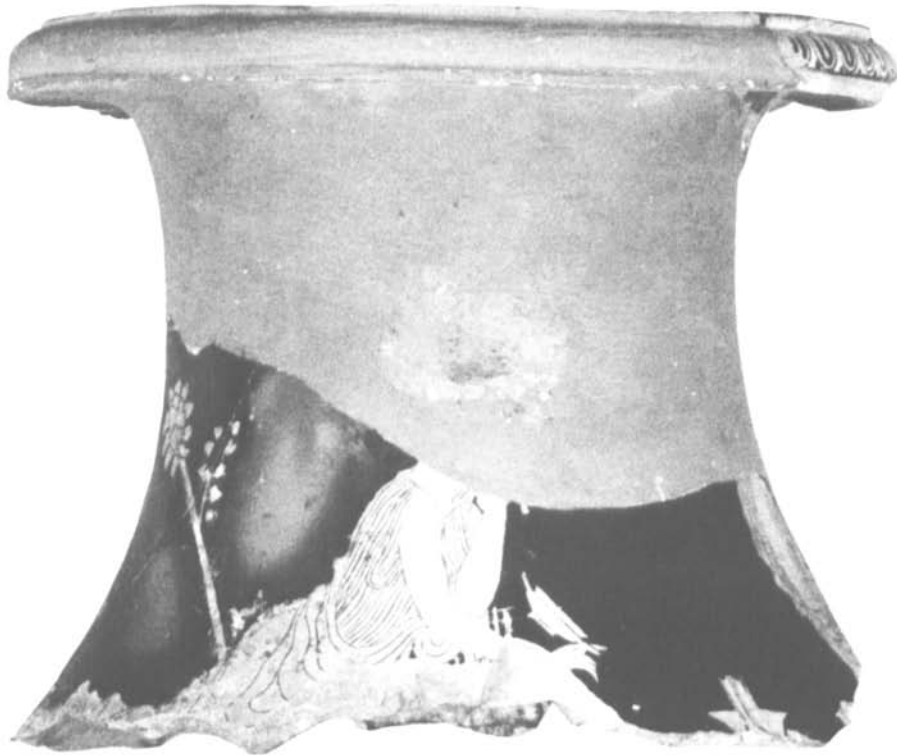
Figürliche Verzierung: Hals: drei Mänaden beim Gelage. Zur Mitte gewandt liegt links eine in Chiton und Mantel gehüllte Mänade auf ein gestreiftes Kissen hingelagert. Das Kinn liegt in der einen Hand, mit der anderen hält sie den Henkel einer niederen Schale, bereit zum Kottabos-Spiel. Hinter ihr ragt, rechtwinklig abstehend, ein Thyrsos mit Seitenzweig hervor. Vor ihr am Boden steht ein Kantharos in ungewohnter Ansicht; die Henkel überschneiden sich.



*Abb. 10.* Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 5). Malibu 76.AE.104 A 1-10.







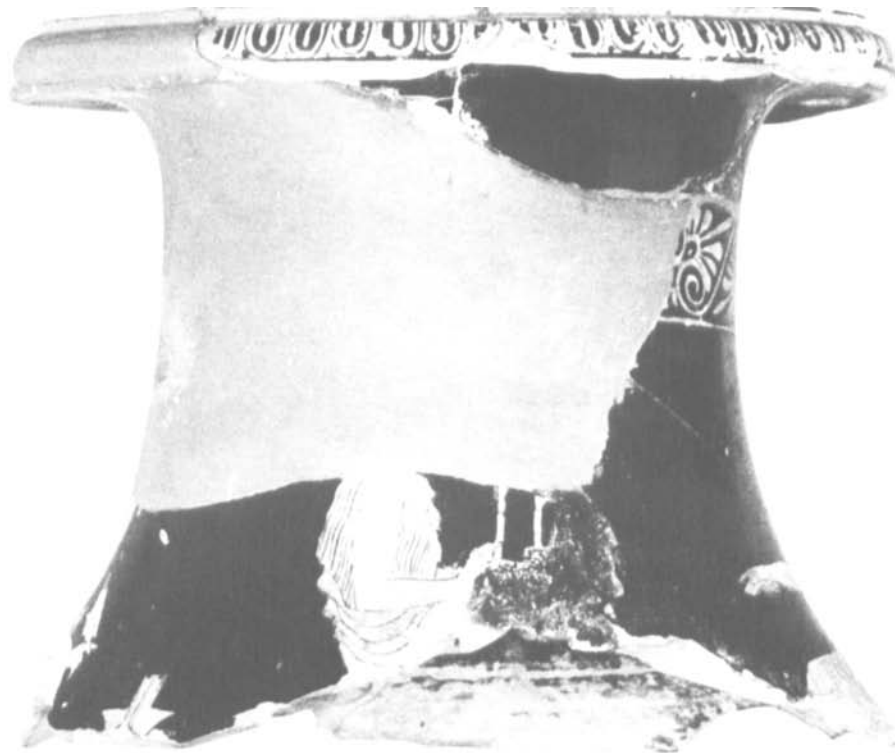


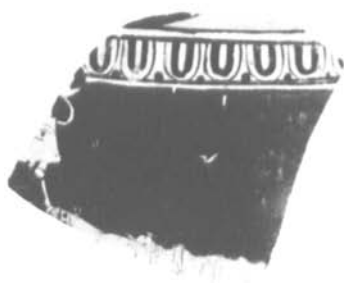
Abb. 11-14. Mannheimer Maler, Hals der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 5). Villa Giulia.



*Abb. 15.* Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 5). Malibu 76.AE.104 A 1-10



*Abb. 16.* Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 5). Villa Giulia.



In der Mitte des Bildes sitzt auf einem Felsen eine gleichgekleidete Mänade, in den Händen zwei Auloi. Am rechten Bildrand sieht man wieder eine gelagerte Mänade. Ihr Haar ist in einem Band zusammengenommen. Den linken Arm auf ein großes efeu- und streifenverziertes Kissen abgestützt, streckt sie ihre Rechte aus. Auch hinter ihr ragt ein Thyrsos in den Hintergrund.

Bauch: Poseidon verfolgt ein Mädchen, zwei weitere fliehende Mädchen. Im Zentrum verfolgt Poseidon ein Mädchen nach rechts. Der Gott ist bekrönt und trägt einen "kteontos" Chiton. Vom linken Arm, mit dem er wahrscheinlich das Mädchen berührte, hängt ein Mäntelchen, mit der Rechten trägt er den Dreizack. Die Verfolgte, wie auch ihre Gespielinnen, sind mit Chiton und Mantel bekleidet; von ihrem Kopf allein hat sich ein Fragment erhalten, das zeigt, daß sie die gleiche Haartracht trägt wie die dritte Mänade. Eilend schaut sie zu Poseidon zurück. So tun auch die beiden anderen Mädchen an den Bildrändern, die aufgeregt gestikulierend vor dem Angreifer davonestieben. Das Fragment mit dem Dreizack könnte eventuell auch nach hinten gerichtet sein. Profil ganz,

Füße und Hände nur teilweise mit Relieflinien konturiert. Für Beinmuskeln des Poseidon verdünnter Firnis.

Inscript: Poseidon-Fragment Villa Giulia: Abb. 16: vor seinem Kopf haben sich möglicherweise die Reste zweier weißaufgemalter Buchstaben erhalten, beide ungleich groß. Der erstere könnte ein Pi, der letztere ein flüchtiges Ny sein. Platz wäre jedoch nur für ein "Posidon" oder "Posedon" vorhanden. In anderen Inschriften schreibt der Maler jedoch "ei" anstelle von "i" oder "e" (vgl. FR Tf. 168,1 und Richter-Hall Taf. 108).

Ornament: an der Mündung punktierter Eierstab. An der engsten Stelle des Halses ein umlaufendes Band von schräggestellten gegenständigen Palmetten, deren Ranken unter dem Hankel in zwei Spiralen enden, s. Abb. 11. Unterhalb des Schulterknickes punktierter Eierstab. Als Bildleiste am Bauch ein linkskäufiger doppeltgebrochener Mäander, meist nach dreien, einmal nach vier Gliedern durch eine Schachbrettplatte (zwölf- bis sechzehn Felder) unterbrochen. Zum Henkelornament vgl. 6.

Zuschreibung an den Mannheimer Maler: s. 6.

Datierung: um 450–440 v. Chr.

Replik von 6.

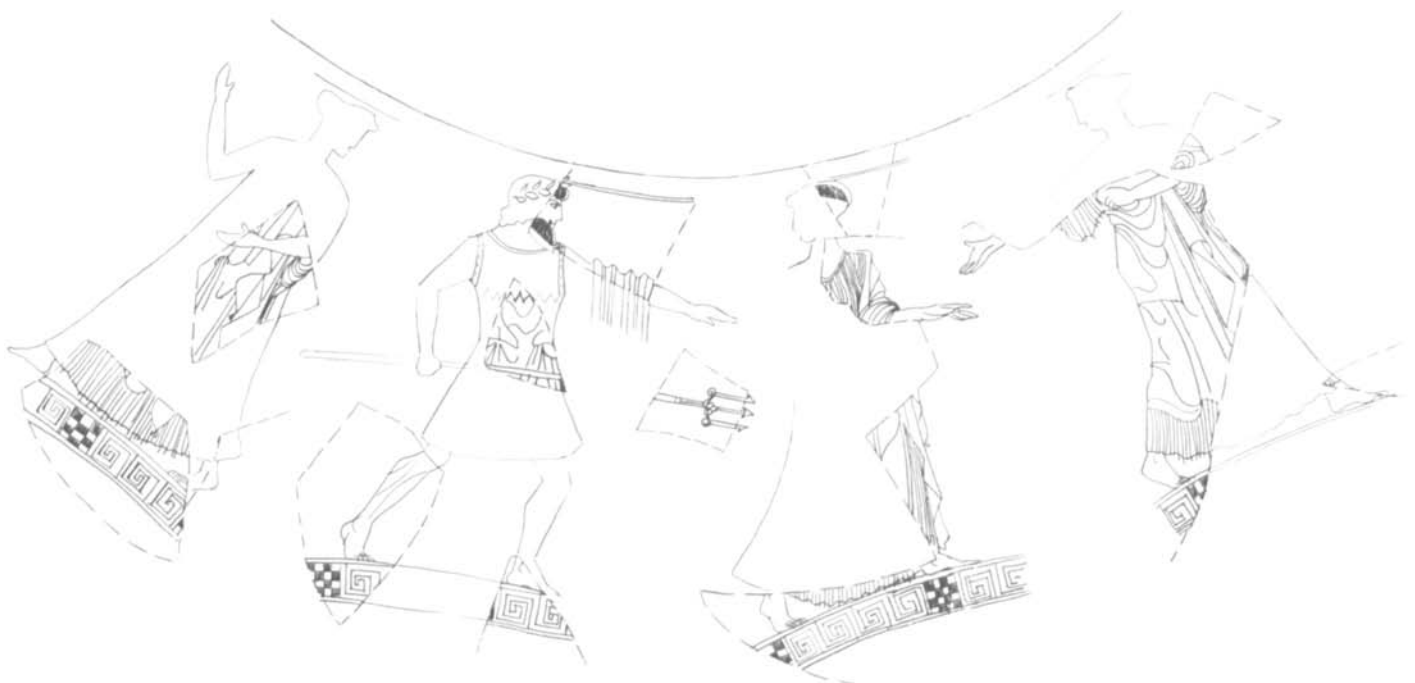


Abb. 17. Wiederherstellung des Körpers der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 5).



Abb. 18. Wiederherstellung der Schulter der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 5).

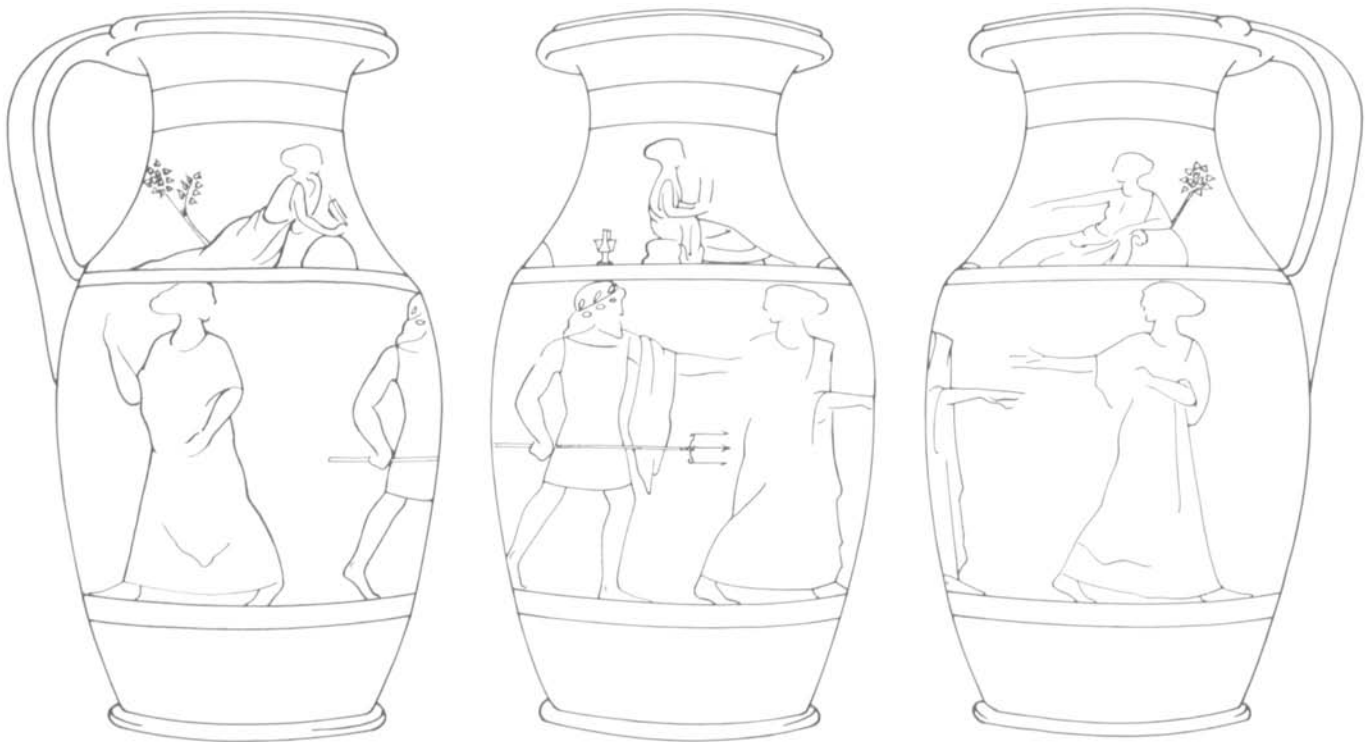


Abb. 19. Wiederherstellung der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 5).

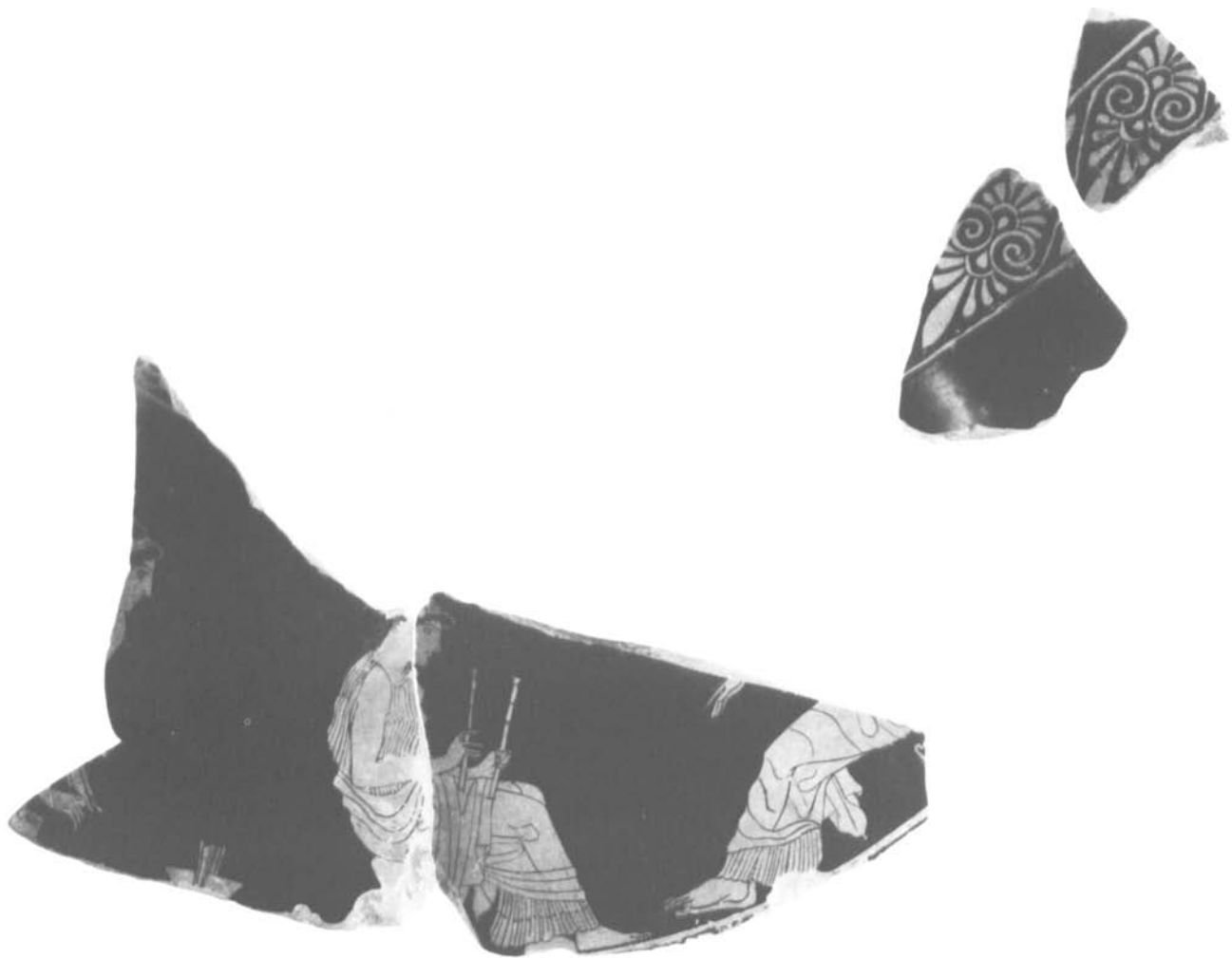


Abb. 20. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Malibu 76.AE.104 B 1-13.

**6. Grosse Oinochoe.** Abb. 20, 22-26.  
Inv. Nr. 76.AE.104 B 1-13.

Form: Va, wie 1.

Zustand: 22 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus Hals und Körper. Oranger Ton, starker Miltos, schwarzer regelmäßiger Firnis, aufgemaltes Weiß. Innenseite stark gerippt und heller gefirnißt wie 5; Hals bis auf Schulterknick dunkelbraun gefirnißt. Größte Höhe Schulterfragment 7,2, Wanddicke beim Eierstab 0,25, beim Mäander 0,4 cm. Höhe der Figuren Schulter ergänzt ca. 5,5, 6 und 5 cm, Figuren Körper ca. 12,5 cm. Höhe des Gefäßes vermutlich um 30 cm.

Dazugehörige Fragmente Villa Giulia: Abb. 21-23,25, 27. 6 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente. Tonbeschaffenheit wie oben, aufgemaltes Weiß. Länge des größten Fragmentes 9,4, Wanddicke beim Mäander 0,4-0,5 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: drei Mänaden beim Gelage. Im Gegensatz zu 5, liegen die beiden seitlichen Mänaden nicht auf Kissen, sondern direkt auf der Erde, die mit weißen Geländelinien angedeutet ist. Die Mänade links spielt wiederum Kottabos, die Hand lässig unter das Kinn gestützt, ihre Füße ebensolässig übereinander geschlagen. Vor ihr der Kantharos in Seitenansicht. Die auf dem Felsen sitzende Mänade ist besser erhalten und so sieht man, daß sie die Flöten auf dem Schoße aufstützt. Von der dritten Mänade bleibt nur wenig erhalten, so die ausgestreckte Hand, die der Flötistin das Zeichen geben mag, mit dem Spiel erst wieder zu beginnen, wenn die erste Mänade mit dem letzten Schluck Wein glücklich den Kantharos getroffen hat. Unter ihren Oberschenkeln ist ein Teil eines ungedeuteten Gegenstandes zu sehen. Von den Thyrsoi ist keine Spur geblieben.

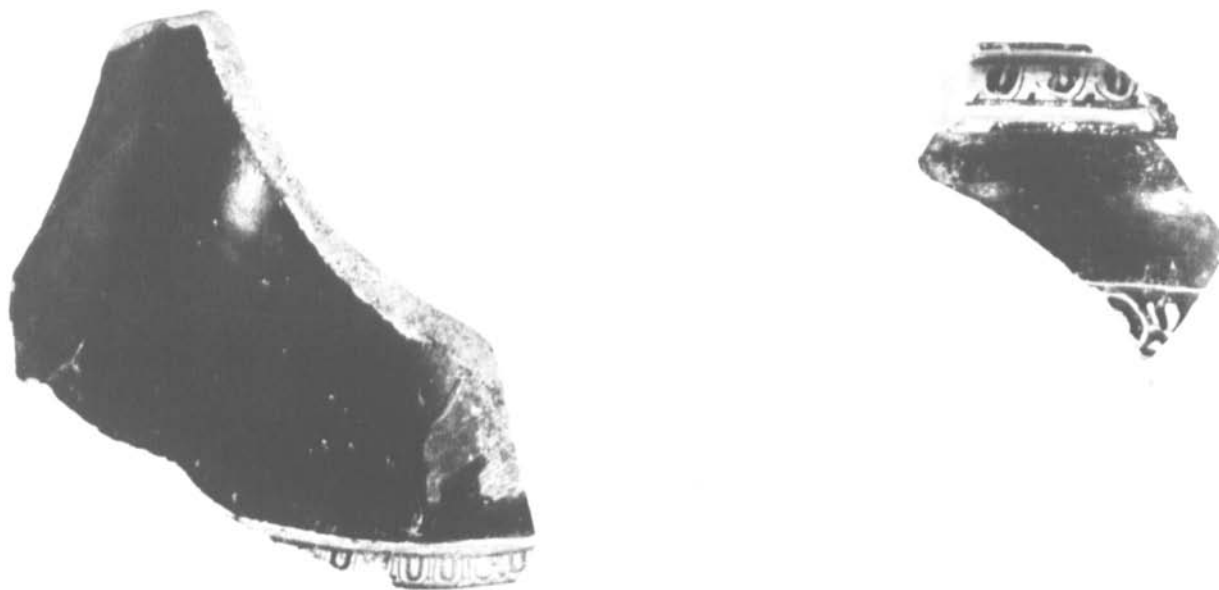


Abb. 21. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Villa Giulia.

Bauch: Poseidon verfolgt ein Mädchen, zwei weitere fliehende Mädchen zu beiden Seiten. Neben der Fliehenden links erscheinen hier die Spitzen des Dreizacks nach hinten gewandt; die selbe Stelle auf 5 bleibt leer. Ebenso leer bleibt die Stelle über dem linken waagrechten Arm der Verfolgten. Der rechte Arm des dritten Mädchens muß steiler abgewinkelt gedacht werden wie auf 5. Gesichter und Hälse sind vollständig, Arme, Hände und Füße teilweise mit Relieflinie konturiert.

Ergänzung der Fliehenden links außen: seit Bekanntwerden der Malibu-Fragmente ist mir im *Louvre* eine weitere Kanne aufgefallen, die ebenfalls dem Mannheimer Maler zugeschrieben werden muß: Abb. 45 und unten S. 103. Sie gibt die gleiche Ikonographie wie auf den Körpern der Kannen 5 und 6 wieder, fragmentarisch auch sie, aber spiegelbildlich. Vom verfolgenden Mann blieb nur der linke Fuß erhalten, kein Dreizack ragt hinter ihm her; das von ihm weg fliehende Mädchen weist mit ihrem rechten Arm die gleiche Stellung auf wie die Fliehende links mit ihrem linken Arm auf dem Kannenpaar. Vielleicht läßt sich für unsere Fliehende die rechte Hand analog zur derjenigen im *Louvre* ergänzen. Die *Louvre*-Figur trägt im übrigen einen ärmellosen Chiton und eine andere Haartracht.

Ornament: wie 5, mit dem Unterschied, daß bei 6 der Eierstab unterhalb des Schulterknickes bedeutend schmaler ausgefallen ist.—Im gesamten Komplex hat sich ein Fragment erhalten, das Teile einer recht großen Palmette zeigt, vgl. Abb. 28. In Tonqualität, Wanddicke und Firnis-

überzug der Innenseite scheint es ziemlich sicher zu 6 zu gehören. Im Vergleich mit den kleinformatigen Kannen des Mannheimer Malers läßt sich eine Hängepalmette mit zwei liegenden S-Spiralen ergänzen, die optisch Henkelansatz und Gefäßkörper verbindet (vgl. *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 65 b). Das dem Kannenpaar 5 und 6 am nächsten verwandte, gleich große Kannenpaar des Mannheimer Malers in der Villa Giulia und im Britischen Museum (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 38. 68–69), auch es aus Cerveteri, weist in der Henkelzone ein viel reicheres Ornament auf, die Oberseite des Henkels ist sogar mit Schuppen gemustert. Aus dem Mündungsfragment von 5 in der Villa Giulia (Abb. 11), wo der obere Henkelansatz teilweise noch vorhanden ist, wird ein solches Schuppenmuster nicht ersichtlich.

Zuschreibung an den Mannheimer Maler: die Villa Giulia-Fragmente von 5 wurden bereits von Beazley zugeschrieben (vgl. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1065,3). Vgl. etwa zu den Chiton/Mantel-Figuren (doppelt gerandeter Halsausschnitt, schwere Mantelfalten über den Hüften): Oinochoe VII Vatikan (*Kerameus* 2, Taf. 176 g) und Oinochoe VII *Louvre* (*Kerameus* 2 Taf. 176 h). Vgl. zum Kopf des Poseidon mit dem charakteristischen Schnauz: sämtliche Männer des Mannheimer Malers (z.B. *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 176 a–c); zum Kleid des Poseidon: Penthesilea auf der Kanne New York (*Kerameus* 2 Taf. 71 c).

Replik von 5.

Erwähnt in: *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece, Exhibition at Loyola Marymount University California*, 1979, Nr. 34 (dort noch 76.AE.106).



Abb. 22. Wiederherstellung des Halses der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 6).



Abb. 23. Wiederherstellung des Körpers der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 6).



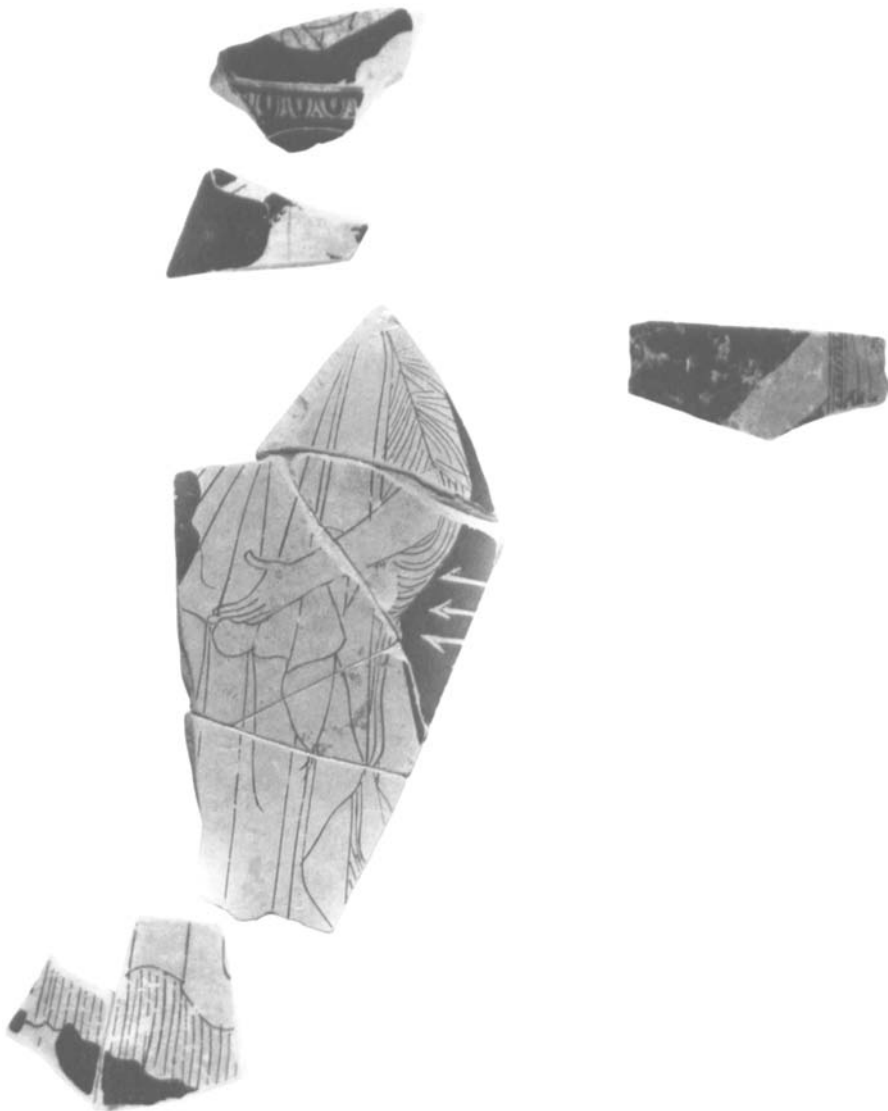


Abb. 24. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Malibu 76.AE.104 B 1-13.



Abb. 25. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Malibu (L), Malibu (M), Villa Giulia (R).

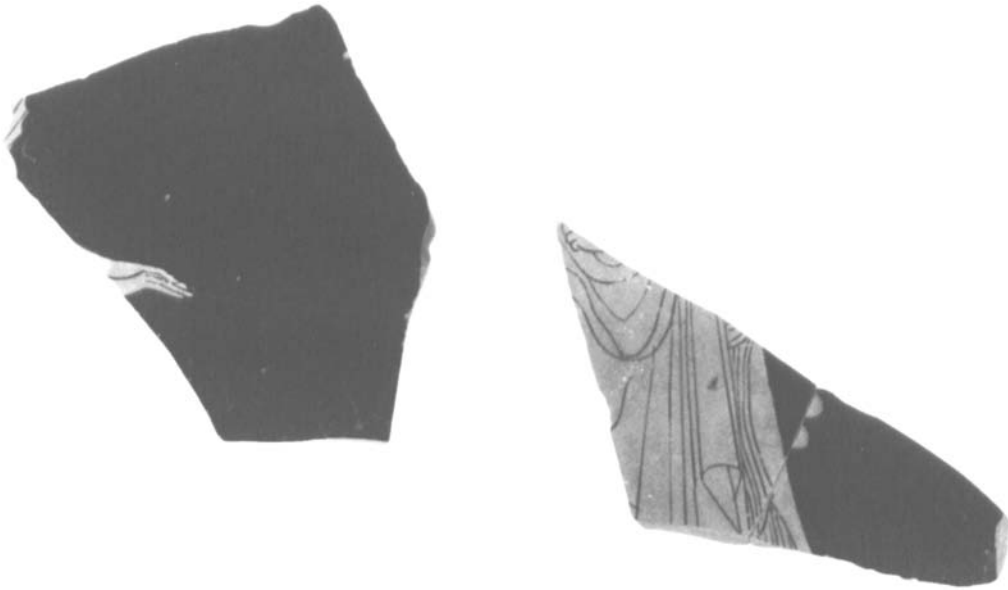


Abb. 26. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Malibu 76.AE.104 B 1-13.



Abb. 27. Mannheimer Maler, Fragmente der grossen Oinochoe (Nr. 6). Villa Giulia.

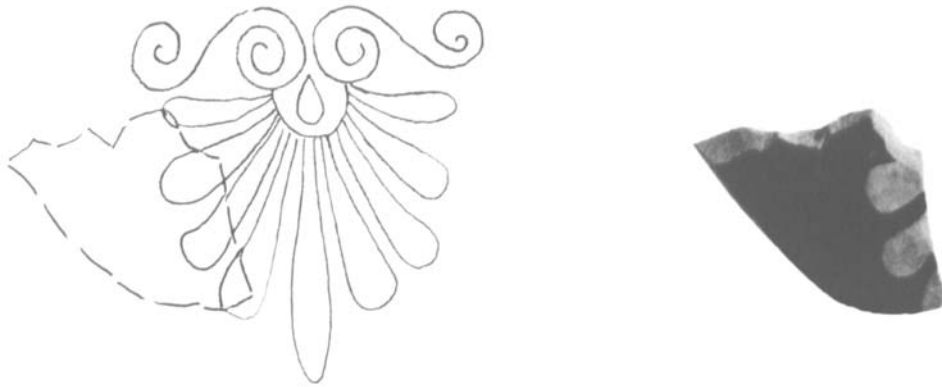


Abb. 28. Fragment einer Palmette der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers Nr. 6. Malibu.

ZU DEN BILDERN DES GROSSEN KANNENPAARES  
DES MANNHEIMER MALERS (KATALOG 5 UND 6).

ABB. 17-18, 22-23.

Schulterbild:

Mit den beiden so eng sich wiederholenden Bildern von den drei Mänaden beim Symposion sind dem Mannheimer Maler zwei der anmutigsten Mänadenbilder wohl der ganzen Vasenmalerei gelungen. Man kennt diese sonst eher als wildtanzende Begleiterinnen des Dionysos oder ernst in eine Kulthandlung vertieft. Daß sie nun einmal ihrem eigenen Vergnügen nachgehen, sich für ein paar Stunden draußen in der Natur niedergelassen haben und nach allen Regeln der Kunst einem Gelage fröhnen, ist wirklich unerhört.—So hübsch der Einfall des Malers, so selten ist er auch. Meines Wissens gibt es ein Bild gleichen Inhaltes nur noch ein zweites Mal. Auf einem Askos des Makron liegen sich zwei Mänaden beim Trinken gegenüber.<sup>6</sup> Beide Maler stellten Mänaden auch noch in einem vierten, ebenso ungewöhnlichen Zusammenhang dar: eine Mänade, vom wilden Treiben zerzaust und erschöpft, liegt eingeschlafen auf der Erde und wird von zwei lüsternen Satyrn überrascht.<sup>7</sup> Doch welch' ein Unterschied zwischen dem archaischen und dem klassischen Bild. Der Preis für die Lebendigkeit fällt eindeutig Makron zu. Umgekehrt wäre sicherlich der ausgewogeneren, ruhigeren Darstellung der zechenden Mädchen durch den Mannheimer Maler den Vorrang zu geben.

Bauchbild:

6. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 480,338. D. Butron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections*, 1972, Nr. 48. und H. Hoffman, *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit*, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper 34,1977, Taf. 8,3 (als Mänade und Hetäre bezeichnet). S. auch K. Schauenburg, *Silene beim Symposion*, *Jdl* 88, 1973, 1-26.

7. Makron: Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 461, 36; *Para.* 377. Caskey/Beazley (s. unten unter XIII der Replikenliste) III Taf. 78, Nr. 138. Mannheimer Maler:

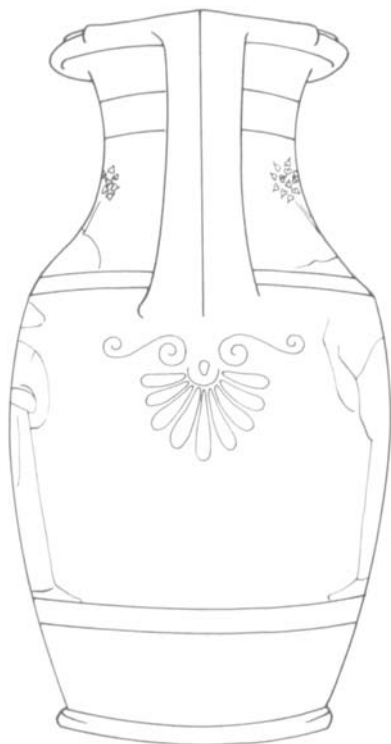


Abb. 19bis. Wiederherstellung der grossen Oinochoe des Mannheimer Malers (Nr. 5).

Ging der Mannheimer Maler im Schulterbild ikonographisch eigene Wege, so folgte er im Bauchbild dem geläufigen Schema eines Gottes, der ein Mädchen verfolgt.<sup>8</sup> Der Gott des Meeres, Poseidon, ist dank seines Dreizackes eindeutig zu erkennen, man muß sich nicht auf die unsichere Beischrift verlassen. Die von ihm Auserwählte pflegt meist durch ein Attribut als eine bestimmte Heroine gekennzeichnet zu sein. Beidemale ist die linke Hand der Verfolgten auf dem vorliegenden Kannenpaar erhalten—beidemale leer. Wenn sie einen Gegenstand trug, dann in ihrer rechten Hand. Aber gerade dort bestehen beidemale recht empfindliche Lücken. Ob sie jemals durch weitere Fragmente geschlossen werden können?

Zur Identifizierung der von Poseidon Verfolgten ist schon viel Tinte geflossen.<sup>9</sup> Da der Mannheimer Maler mit Beigaben geizte oder der Zufall nicht günstig gesinnt war, kann dazu nicht viel mehr als eine Vermutung ausgesprochen werden.

Die Verfolgte, Auserwählte wird nicht allein überrascht, sie befindet sich inmitten einer Mädchenschar. Hat der Mannheimer Maler eine inhaltlich zusammenhängende Bemalung dieses Kannenpaares angestrebt? Nicht nur ist die Kanne ein Weingefäß, auch die Mänaden führen in die dionysische Sphäre. Poseidon sah Amphitrite mit ihren Schwestern, den Nereiden, auf der Insel Naxos, um deren Besitz Dionysos im Kampf mit Poseidon siegte, tanzen und von dort nahm er sie, um sie zur Mitherrscherin über die Meere zu machen.<sup>10</sup> Sehen wir auf den Oinochoen Malibu/Villa Giulia das Bild von Poseidon, wie er Amphitrite aus dem Kreis ihrer Schwestern entführt?

Hängen Schulter- und Bauchbild inhaltlich zusammen? Bei diesem Kannenpaar ist man versucht, dies zu bejahen. Das Hauptbild kann als Todesallegorie, die Entrückung durch einen Gott in ein besseres Dasein, interpretiert werden.<sup>10a</sup> Die erotische Grundstimmung wird im Nebenbild durch Kottabos- und Aulosspiel aufgenommen, mit dem die Frauen ein unbeschwertes Dasein nach dem Tode feiern. Beide Bilder sind zudem vereint auf einem Gefäß, das wohl beim letzten Gelage Verwendung finden sollte.

#### DIE KANNE LOUVRE Cp 11154. Abb. 45.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Ergänzung der einen Mädchenfigur des Kannenpaares 5 und 6 (oben S. 89–99) wurde eine Oinochoe, heute im Louvre, erwähnt, die mit



Abb. 29. Schuwalow Maler, Fragment der Oinochoe (Nr. 7). Malibu 76.AE.89 B.

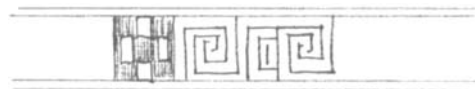
einem Teil der Sammlung Campana dorthin gelangte und die hier zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht werden kann.<sup>11</sup>

Form: Oinochoe Va, S. Katalog Nr. 1

Zustand: aus drei Fragmenten zusammengesetzt, circa die Hälfte des Körpers, Hals, Mündung und Henkel fehlend. Firnis auf der Rückseite absplittierend. Fuß stark bearbeitet. Höhe erhalten 14,2 Durchmesser Fuß 9,2, Höhe Figur ca. 9,5 cm.

Bild: nackter linker Fuß eines Mannes nach links. Gestikulierend fliehendes Mädchen nach rechts (Chiton, Mantel, Ohrring, Halsband). Es handelt sich sicher um den rückwärtigen Teil einer Verfolgungsszene, vielleicht um einen Vorläufer der Kannenbilder 5 und 6? Relieflinien für Gesicht, Hals und Teile von Armen und Beinen.

Ornament: Schulter: schwarzfiguriges Lotosknospensband (ebenfalls "neu" im bisherigen Repertoire des Mannheimer Malers). Reste einer Hängepalmette am Henkelansatz. Als Bildleiste rechtsläufiger Schachbrettmäander mit 9 und 16 feldrigen Platten. Mäanderverschluß hinten links:



Datierung: um 450–440 v. Chr.

Eine gesamtheitliche Uebersicht über den Mannheimer Maler und sein Oeuvre mit den seit *Kerameus* 2 neu hinzugekommenen Stücken soll zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt vorgelegt werden.

Oinochoenpaar Villa Giulia und London, s. unten unter VIII der gleichen Liste.

8. s. etwa Kampf-Dimitriadou passim; dieselbe in: *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Amphitrite.

9. Listen und Bibliographien bei F. Brommer, *Göttersagen in Vasenlisten*, 1980, 37–40.

10. U. Heimberg, *Das Bild des Poseidon in der griech. Vasenmalerei*, Diss. 1968, 35–7.

10a. zuletzt: C. Isler-Kerényi, "Un nuovo Stamnos del pittore di Achille," in: *Quaderni ticinesi* 8, 1979, 25–35. Vgl. auch unten Anm. 23.

11. Mein Dank geht an Hubert Giroux, der das Studium im Magazin ermöglichte und an Alain Pasquier, der sie reinigen, photographieren liess und die Publikationserlaubnis erteilte.



Abb. 30. Schuwalow Maler, Oinochoe (Nr. 8). Malibu 76.AE.89 A.

## II. SCHUWALOW-MALER.

### 7. Oinochoe. Abb. 29.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.89 B.

Form: IV, vgl. 8.

Zustand: ein Schulterfragment. Oranger Ton, Reste von Miltos, schwarzer Firnis. Innenseite ohne Schulter braun gefirnißt. Länge 6,0 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: bekränzter, in seinen Mantel gehüllter bärtiger Mann, der wohl ein Szepter in der rechten Hand hielt, nach links gewandt. Wohl dritte Figur rechts außen in einem Abschieds- oder Verfolgungsbild. Kontur in Relieflinien für nackte Teile, Haar und Teil des Szepters in verdünntem Firnis.

Zuschreibung an den Schuwalow-Maler: vgl. *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 102ff.

Datierung: um 430–425 v.Chr.

### 8. Oinochoe. Abb. 30–31.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.89 A.

Form IV: mehrstufig abgesetzter Fuß mit gerippter Außenseite, kugelige Körper. Die Mündung ist rund, der Henkel bandförmig und gerippt, über den Mündungsrand hinausragend zu ergänzen. Vgl. *Kerameus* 2, S. 15 f.

Zustand: Fuß ungebrochen. Körper aus rund 50 Fragmenten zusammengesetzt, ca. ein Viertel, vor allem in den Figuren und im Henkelornament ergänzt. Hals, Henkel und Mündung fehlen. Oranger Ton, auf Unterseite starker Miltos, schwarzer Firnis, der auf der rechten rückseitigen Hälfte einem rotbraunen und grünlichschwarzen Fehlbrand Platz macht. Bauch innen braun gefirnißt. Höhe wie erhalten 14,2, Durchmesser Fuß 8,2, Durchmesser Bauch ergänzt 14,5, Höhe Figuren 8,9,5 und 7,5 cm.



Abb. 31. Schuwalow Maler, Oinochoe (Nr. 8). Malibu 76.AE.89 A.

Figürliche Verzierung: Polyneikes besticht Eriphyle mit dem Halsband der Harmonia. Links eine Dienerin mit zwei metallenen Phialen. Sie trägt einen schweren, dunkelgesäumten Peplos. In der Mitte steht Polyneikes, der soeben (nach vergleichbaren Bildern) eine hier nicht erhaltene Kette aus seinem Weidenkästchen zieht, um damit Eriphyle zur Preisgabe des Versteckes von Amphiaraios zu bewegen. Petasos und Mantel sind so drapiert, daß der nackte Körper sich davor abhebt. Lanzen und Reisestiefel vervollständigen seine Ausrüstung. Eriphyle, elegant in Chiton und Mantel gekleidet, mit Ohrringen geschmückt, erhebt sich eben aus ihrer zurückgelehnten Sitzhaltung, um sich die Kette näher zu betrachten. Von ihrem Chignon ausgehend ist ein hell sich vom Firnis abhebender Geistermäander zu erkennen, nicht derselbe wie auf der Bildleiste, vgl. Abb. 32. Er entstand durch Berührung mit

einer anderen Vase in noch ungebranntem Zustand. Reliefkontur für Gesichter, z.T. für Arme und Füße, für Gegenstände. Knie und Waden von Polyneikes mit verdünntem Firnis eingezeichnet. Die Relieflinien im Gewand der Dienerin meist abgesprungen.



Abb. 32. Zeichnung nach der Oinochoe des Schuwalow-Malers (Nr. 8)

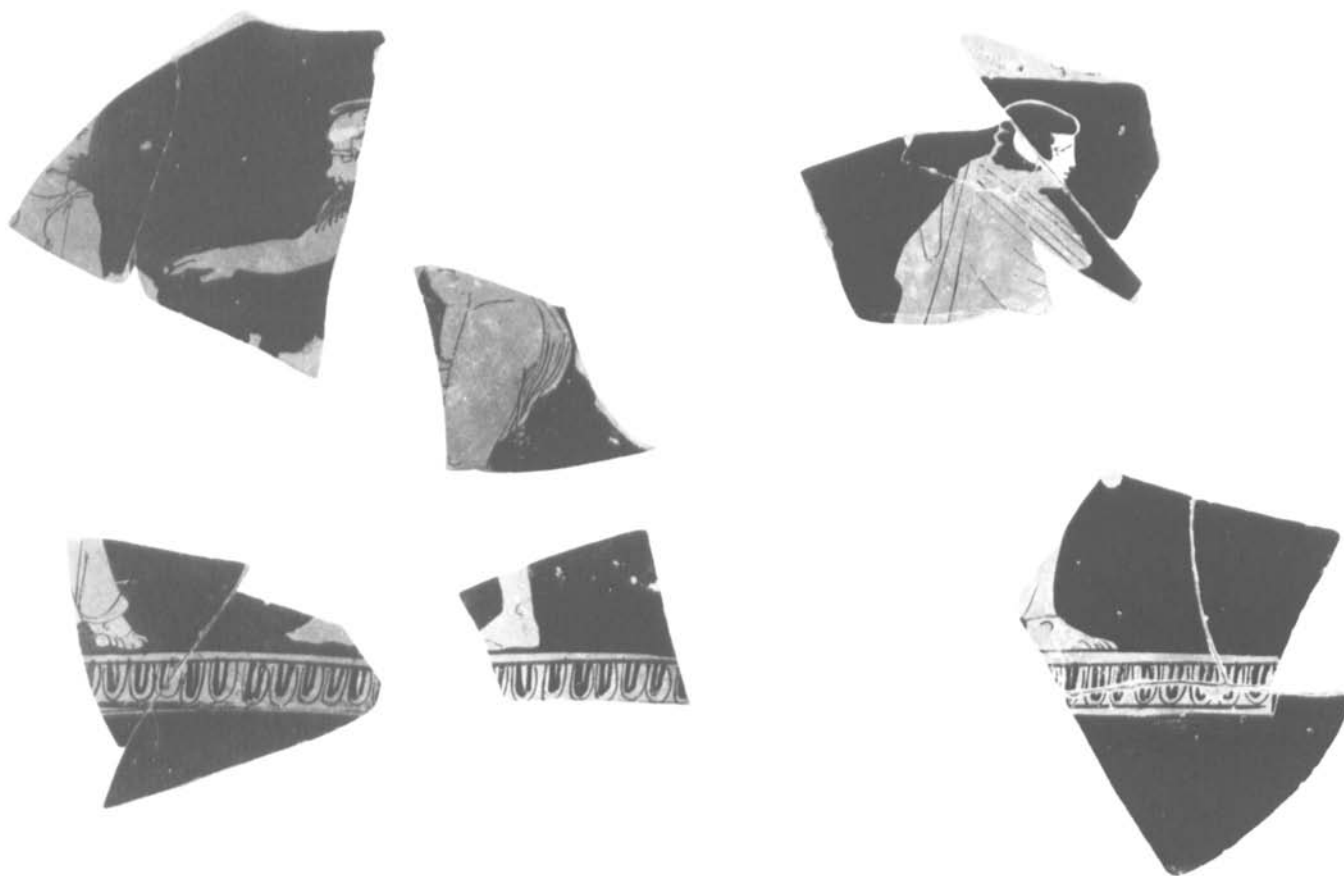


Abb. 33. Frauenbad-Maler, Fragmente der Pelike (Nr. 9). Malibu 76.AE.108 A 1-6.



Abb. 34. Wiederherstellung der Pelike des Frauenbad-Malers (Nr. 9) (Abb. 33).

Ornament: als Bildleiste ein linksläufiger, zweifach gebrochener Mäander, der jeweils nach drei Gliedern von einer Schachbrettplatte (neun Felder) unterbrochen wird. Vom Henkelornament sind Reste der seitlichen Blüten, der mittleren unteren Palmette und eines schwebenden Kreises erhalten, vgl. *Kerameus 2*, Taf. 51 c zur Ergänzung des Ornamentes.

Zuschreibung an den Schuwalow-Maler: Jirí Frel. Vgl. *Kerameus 2*, Taf. 115 zur Ikonographie, Taf. 113 zur Stilstufe.

Datierung: um 425–420 v.Chr.

### III. FRAUENBAD-MALER.

#### 9. Pelike. Abb. 33–34.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.108 A 1–6.

Form: der Frauenbad-Maler benutzte verschiedene Pelikenformen. Welcher die vorliegenden Fragmente entsprechen, kann nicht sicher entschieden werden.

Zustand: 13 z.T. aneinander passende Fragmente aus dem Körper. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis, aufgemaltes Weiß. Hals schwarz-, Bauchinnenseite meist braun gefirnißt. Höhe größter Komplex (B-Seite) 6,9, Wanddicke beim Eierstab 0,25–0,3 cm. Höhe Figuren ergänzt ca. 9–9,5, vermutliche Höhe des Gefäßes um 18 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: A-Seite: Satyr belästigt Mänade. Die in einen Peplos gekleidete Mänade flieht nach links vor einem mit einer weißen Tanie bekränzten Satyr, der seinen rechten Arm nach ihr ausstreckt. Im Vergleich mit anderen Beispielen, ist der Satyr leicht vorgebeugt, in ruhiger Haltung zu ergänzen, das rechte Bein leicht erhöht vorgestellt (die Vorzeichnung läßt keine Bodenerhebung erkennen). Der linke Arm hängt nach Vergleichsbeispielen kraftlos nach unten, wie wenn er sich auf dem Knie aufstützen möchte. B-Seite: ein in seinen Mantel gehüllter Jüngling mit einer weißen Tanie im Haar. Keine Reliefkonturen. Verdünnter Firnis für Haupthaar und Bauchmuskulatur des Satyrn.

Ornament: beidseitig flüchtig gemalter, beschränkter Eierstab.

Zuschreibung an den Frauenbad-Maler: vgl. Pelike Laon, CVA 1, Taf. 33,4,7, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1130,148 (seitenverkehrt; Mänade anders gekleidet und mit Fackel in der Hand). Zum Jüngling ebenfalls Pelike Laon, CVA 1, Taf. 33,1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1129,132.

Datierung: um 430 v.Chr.

Bemerkung: vgl. auch 10 und 16.

#### 10. Fragment wohl einer Pelike. Abb. 35.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.108 B.

Zustand: zwei aneinander passende Fragmente aus der Gefäßwandung. Oranger Ton, Miltos. Innenseite leicht gerippt und braun gefirnißt. Höhe 3,0 cm.

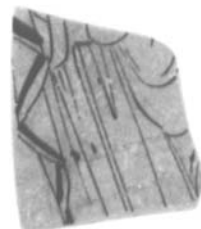


Abb. 35. Fragment der Pelike des Frauenbad-Malers (Nr. 10). Malibu 76.AE.108 B.

Figürliche Verzierung: Teil einer Peplosfigur. Man erkennt den Ueberfall, den offenen schwarzgesäumten Rand links im Fragment, rechts die durch das linke Bein angestauten Falten. Die Frau, die diesen Peplos trug, muß wohl als nach links in Bewegung dargestellt gewesen sein.

Zuschreibung an den Frauenbad-Maler: vgl. Tanzlehrerin auf Hydria London, CVA 6, Taf. 88,3.

Datierung: um 430 v.Chr.

Bemerkung: könnte allenfalls zu 9 gehören. Vgl. auch 16.



Abb. 36. Fragment (Nr. 11). Malibu 76.AE.107 B 1.

### IV. UEBRIGE FRAGMENTE.

#### 11. Rotfiguriges Fragment. Abb. 36.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 B 1.

Zustand: ein Wandfragment eines geschlossenen Gefäßes. Oranger Ton, verdünnter Firnis für Mantelsaum. Matte Oberfläche. Innenseite dunkelbraun gefirnißt. Länge 3,35 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: Reste wohl einer Mantel- oder Peplosfigur.

Datierung: wohl zweite Hälfte 5. Jh. v.Chr.



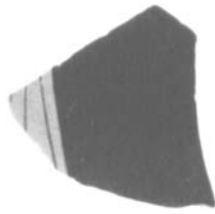


Abb. 37. Fragment (Nr. 12). Malibu 76.AE.107 B 2.

**12. Rotfiguriges Fragment.** Abb. 37.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 B 2.

Zustand: Wandfragment eines geschlossenen Gefäßes. Oranger Ton, matter schlecht gebrannter Firnis. Innenseite hellbraun und strähnig gefirnißt. Höhe 2,75 cm.

Figürliche Verzierung: Reste einer Mantel- oder Peplosfigur.

Datierung: wohl zweite Hälfte 5. Jh.v.Chr.

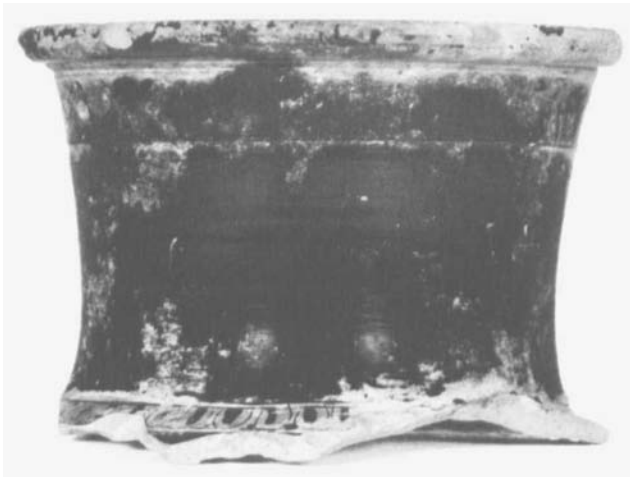


Abb. 38. Hals einer Oinochoe (Nr. 13). Malibu 76.AE.107 A 1.

**13. Oinochoe.** Abb. 38.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 A 1.

Form: IV, siehe 8.

Zustand: Schulter, Hals und Teil der Mündung. Sinterreste. Oranger Ton, Miltos. Innen und außen schwarzer Firnis. Durchmesser Mündung ergänzt ca. 9,5, Höhe erhalten 6,4 cm.

Verzierung: ein Fingerbreit unterhalb der Mündung eine Rille. Auf der Schulter punktierter Eierstab, dessen Zentren gefüllt sind. Er ist dort, wo einmal der Henkel den Hals optisch überdeckte, unterbrochen. Der Eierstab liegt auch nicht wie meist üblich überhalb, sondern unterhalb des Ueberganges von Hals zu Schulter.

Datierung: wohl drittes Viertel 5.Jh.v.Chr.

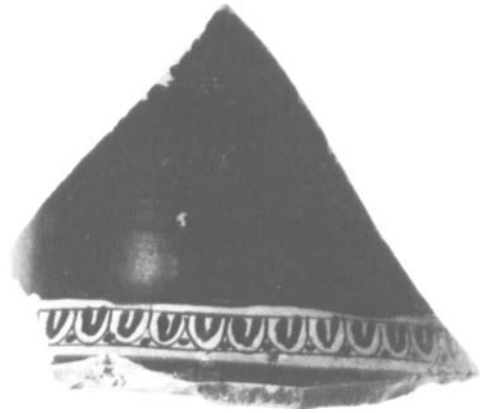


Abb. 39. Fragment einer Oinochoe (Nr. 14). Malibu 76.AE.107 A 2.

**14. Oinochoe.** Abb. 39.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 A 2.

Form IV: s. 8.

Zustand: ein Fragment aus Schulter und Hals. Oranger Ton, Miltos, schwarzer Firnis innen und außen bis auf Schulteransatz innen. Länge 6,45 cm.

Verzierung: ein knapper Zentimeter unterhalb des Mündungsansatzes verlaufen zwei vertiefte Rillen, was bei Oinochoen dieser Form eher selten vorkommt. Um den Hals, bevor er zur Schulter umbiegt, liegt ein punktierter, flüchtig gemalter Eierstab.

Datierung: wohl drittes Viertel 5. Jh.v.Chr.

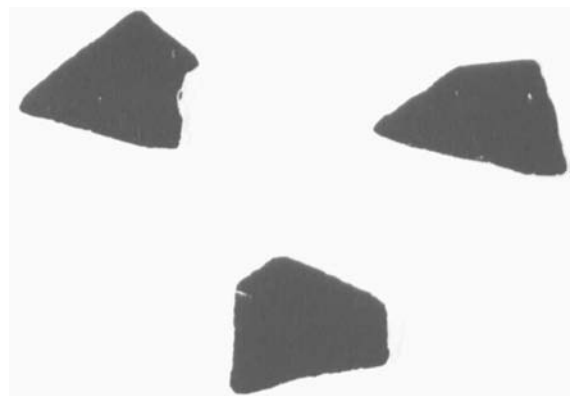


Abb. 40. Drei Fragmente (Nr. 15). Malibu 76.AE.107 C 1-3.

**15. Drei Fragmente.** Abb. 40.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 C 1-3.

Zustand: drei nicht anpassende Fragmente eines geschlossenen Gefäßes. Oranger Ton, schwarzer Firnis, innen braun gefirnißt. Auf einem der Fragmente (Länge 2,6 cm) Reste eines Kopfumrißes, vielleicht einer Frau.

Datierung: zweite Hälfte 5.Jh.Chr.

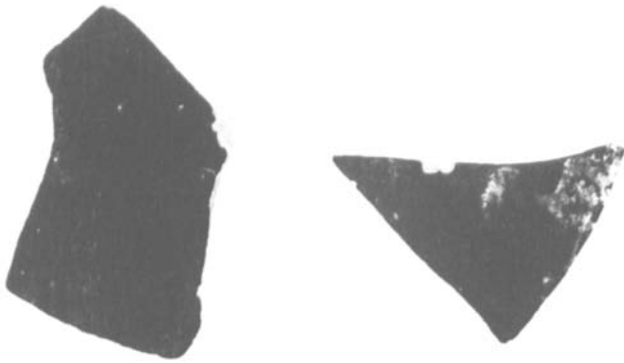


Abb. 41. Zwei Fragmente (Nr. 16). Malibu 76.AE.108 C 1-2.

**16. Zwei Fragmente.** Abb. 41.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.108 C 1-2.

Zustand: zwei nicht anpassende Fragmente eines geschlossenen Gefäßes. Oranger Ton, schwarzer Firnis, innen dunkelbraun gefirnißt. Größtes Fragment Höhe 5,2 cm. Die nicht sorgfältig ausgearbeitete Oberfläche deutet darauf hin, daß diese Fragmente von einem Seitenteil einer Vase, am ehesten von einer Pelike stammen. Die Pelike 9 weist auf ihrer B-Seite den Anfang einer solchen Oberfläche auf. Vielleicht gehören diese Fragmente dazu.



Abb. 42. Fragment (Nr. 17). Malibu 76.AE.107 D 1.

**17. Fragment.** Abb. 42.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 D 1.

Zustand: ein Fragment, vermutlich vom Hals eines geschlossenen Gefäßes. Stark oranger Ton, beidseitig schwarzer Firnis.

Verzierung: linker Teil einer liegenden Lotosblüte, deren Spitzen überfirnißt sind. Links wohl der ansteigende Henkelansatz, unten der Beginn eines Halswulstes, darüber, ebenfalls halbwegs überfirnißt, eine tongrundige Leiste. Höhe erhalten 3,5 cm.

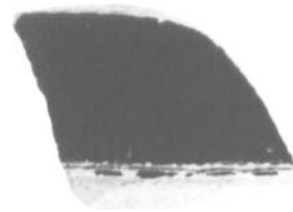


Abb. 43. Fragment (Nr. 18). Malibu 76.AE.107 D 2.

**18. Fragment.** Abb. 43.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 D 2.

Zustand: ein Halsfragment. Stark oranger Ton, beidseitig sorgfältig schwarz gefirnißt. Halswulst. Höhe erhalten 2,7 cm.

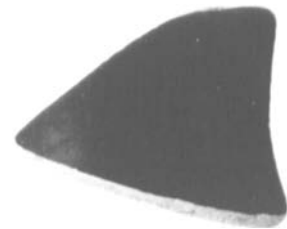


Abb. 44. Fragment (Nr. 19). Malibu 76.AE.107 D 3.

**19. Fragment.** Abb. 44.

Inv. Nr. 76.AE.107 D 3.

Zustand: ein Halsfragment. Oranger Ton, schwarzer Firnis, innen nur in der oberen Hälfte. Beginn einer Rille erhalten. Oinochoe? Höhe 2,9 cm.



Abb. 45. Mannheimer Maler, Oinochoe. Paris, Louvre Cp 11154.

#### PAARE. EXKURS ÜBER GEFÄßPAARE IN DER ATTISCH-ROTFIGURIGEN VASENMALEREI.

Im vorliegenden Fragmentekomplex kommen gleich zwei Kannenpaare vor, beide vom Mannheimer Maler bemalt (Kat. Nr. 1 und 2, 5 und 6). Aus seinem Oeuvre ist bereits seit langem ein Paar bekannt und berühmt, das den Oinochoen 5 und 6 sehr nahe steht. Es sind die Kannen gleicher Form in der Villa Giulia und in London.<sup>12</sup>

12. s. E. v. Mercklin, *RM* 38/39, 1923/24, 94–114 und unten unter VIII der Replikenliste.

13. zuletzt: K. Schauenburg, *Zu Repliken in der Vasenmalerei*, *AA* 1977, 194–201. S. auch V. M. Stročka, *Variante, Wiederholung und Serie in der gr. Bildhauerei*, *Jdl* 94, 1979, 143–173. Und: P. J. Connor, *Replicas in Greek Vase-Painting: The Work of the Painter of Louvre F6*, *BABesch* 56, 1981, 37–44.

14. Stročka (vorige Anmerkung) 67.

15. 71.AE.297. Beazley, *Para.* 257 oben. Höhe 36,9 cm. *Treasures of the Ancients: A Selection of Greek Vases from the J. P. Getty Museum*, Univ. of Cal. at Riverside, Exhib. 1978, Nr. 10, A-Seite abgeb. S. 12.

16. 76.AE.16.1 und 76.AE.16.2. Durchmesser 1: 33,6, Durchmesser 2: 32,0 cm. *Getty MJ* 6–7, 1978/79, 131–138. Die Art, wie die Lotosblüten auf 1. nur zur Hälfte von der Ranke umschrieben sind, scheint mir zumindest merkwürdig; es widerspricht den üblichen Ornamentregeln.

Das paarweise Auftreten von Gefäßen als Grabbeigaben ist seit geraumer Zeit aufgefallen. In den letzten Jahren ist den “Repliken” wieder vermehrt Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden,<sup>13</sup> wobei das Schwergewicht der Untersuchungen auf den vielfältigen Kombinationsmöglichkeiten, die die “variationssüchtigen Athener”<sup>14</sup> auf den Gefäßwänden ins Bild umsetzen, lag.

Der Zufall will es, daß das Getty-Museum mehrere Beispiele dazu in seinen “römischen” Mauern birgt.

Auf einer schwarzfigurigen Pelike des Theseus-Malers<sup>15</sup> ist nicht nur im selben Bild zweimal die gleiche Figur (ein flötender Satyr in Begleitung eines Geißbockes) wiedergegeben, sondern zu allem Überfluß wiederholt die Rückseite das Bild der Vorderseite: viermal die gleiche Gruppe, mit den für die attische Vasenmalerei üblichen kleinen, durch freihändiges Wiederholen entstandenen Abweichungen. Da es sich hier jedoch nur um eine einzige Vase handelt, kann man höchstens von Bildrepliken reden.

Vier Paare anderer Art sind aus drei verschiedenen Epochen erhalten. Zum ersten sind es ein Paar archaischer Omphalos-Schalen, die exklusiv mit Ornament verziert sind. Neben einem Eierstab am äußeren Mündungsrand ziehen sich um den Nabel je zwei Reihen Ornamente, deren eines, das Spiralmuster, mit der Werkstatt des Berliner Malers in Verbindung gebracht wurde.<sup>16</sup> Ein Vasenpaar gleicher Form, gleicher Ausmaße, gleichen Verzierungssystems, jedoch im Detail des Dekors verschieden. Dies scheint für viele Paare, wohl die Mehrzahl, das Grundmuster zu sein.

Dies gilt auch für das Kannenpaar aus hochklassischer Zeit, das seit kurzem als Leihgabe im Museum steht (Abb. 46–49).<sup>17</sup> Nach Form und Machart von der gleichen Töpferscheibe stammend, ist es wohl auch, gemäß der Regel, vom gleichen Maler bemalt. Die zweite Kanne läßt die Hand des Malers von München 2335 erkennen. Dieser Maler schien sich oft um die Qualität seiner Figuren wenig gekümmert zu haben, so daß Beazley von einer “shocking difference between this artist’s best and his worst” spricht.<sup>18</sup>

Auch sind die Ranken, die die Palmetten auf 2. umschreiben, nur einseitig reliefiert, ein Umstand, den man im späteren 5.Jh. sonst eher bei quatsarmer Massenware antrifft. Ist dies auch für die erste Jahrhunderthälfte zu belegen?

17. L80.AE.72 A und L80.AE.72 B. A: Höhe 23,4 Durchmesser Mündung 10,0, Bauch 12,7, Fuß 9,55 cm. Ungebrochen, Firnis abblättern, grünlich und rötlich verfärbte Fehlbrandzonen. Auf der linken Seite Teil eines “Geister-Oelzweiges.” Gesichtprofile ohne Relieflinien. Oelzweig der Schulter geht über Henkel hinweg. B: Höhe 22,35, Durchmesser Mündung 9,7, Bauch 12,6, Fuß 9,6 cm. Mehrfach gesprungen, Firnis abblättern, grünliche und rötliche Fehlbrandstellen. Keine Reliefkonturen. Myrtenzweig der Schulter geht über den Henkel hinweg.—Hier zum ersten Mal abgebildet.

18. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1161.

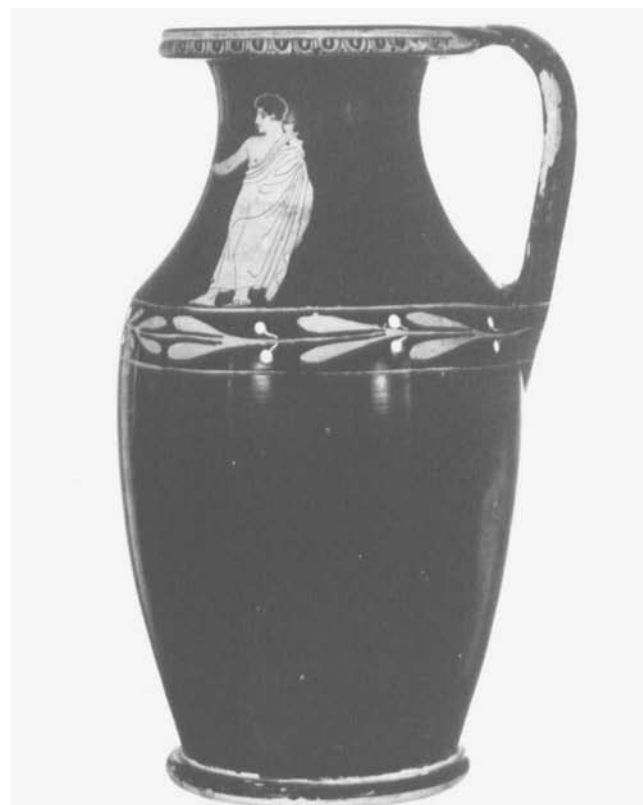
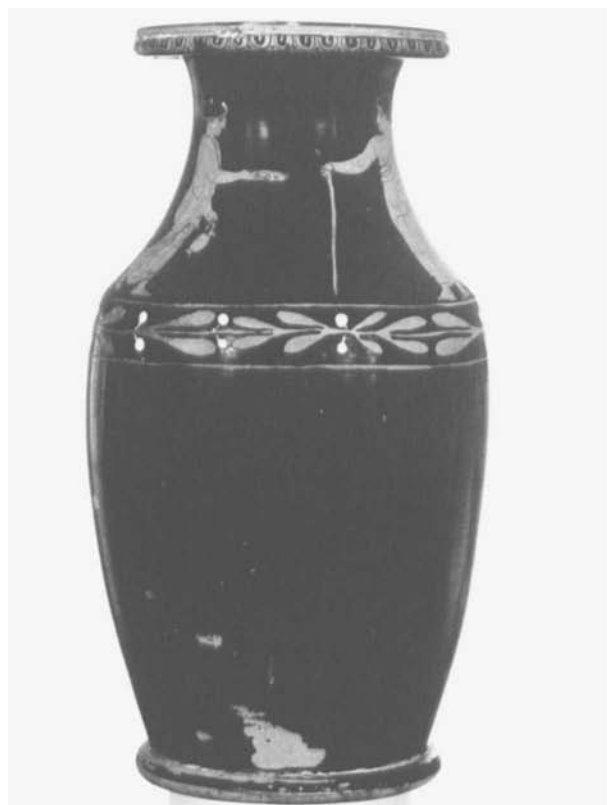


Abb. 46-47. Oinochoe. Malibu L80.AE.72.A.

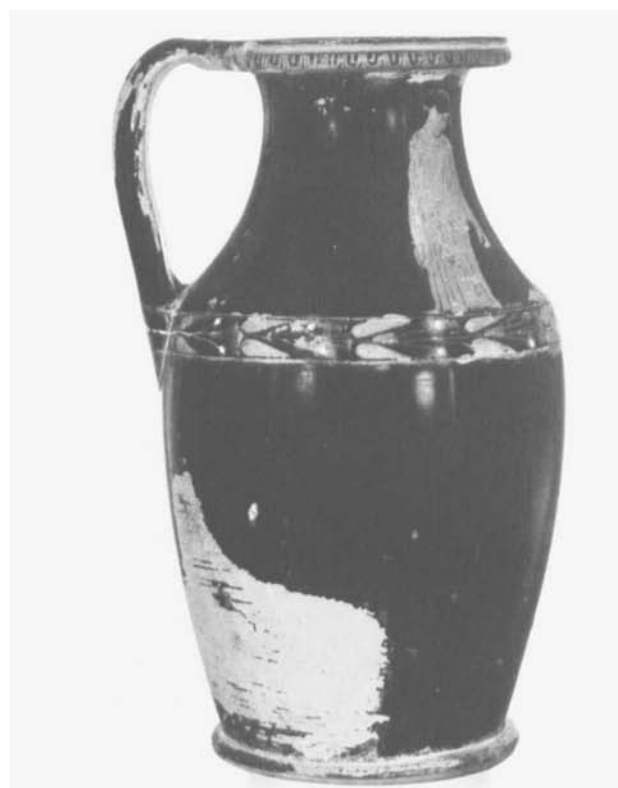
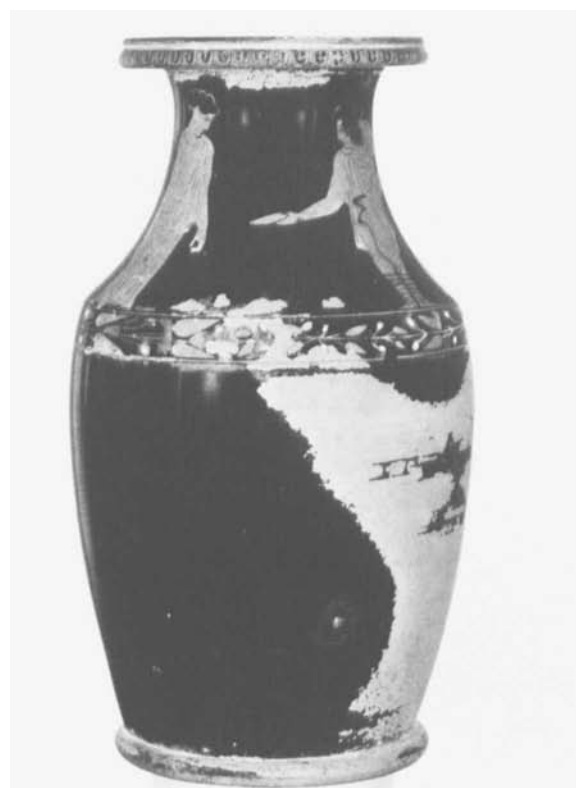


Abb. 48-49. Oinochoe. Malibu L80.AE.72.B.

Die erste Kanne ist sorgfältiger gemalt, hier kommt der Maler, wenn er es wirklich ist, anderen Schülern des Achilleus-Malers nahe.<sup>19</sup> Zum sich entsprechenden Dekorationsschema gehört auch das gleiche Bildthema: ein Mädchen und ein junger Mann spenden Wein zum Abschied. Beidemale steht das Mädchen links mit der Kanne, einmal hält es die Phiale selber (A), das andere Mal hält ihm der Aufbrechende das Spendegefäß entgegen. Ein sich ergänzendes, wohl zusammen gefertigtes Paar, aber von Replik kann nicht die Rede sein.

Soviel zu dieser freieren Art von Vasenpaaren.—Aus dem Kerameikos des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. stammt eine kleine Serie von Gefäßpaaren, die in Form und Bemalung jeweils so eng zueinander gehören, sich nur in kleinen Details, Haltungsweise und Überschneidungen der Figuren unterscheiden, daß meist ein einmaliges Hinschauen nicht genügt, um die Zwillinge auseinander zu halten. Hier allein ist der Begriff "Replik" angebracht.

Zu dieser Kategorie gehören die Kannenpaare des Mannheimer Malers; ein drittes Replikenpaar, vom Villa Giulia-Maler, befindet sich ebenfalls in Malibu. Es folgt, zur besseren Übersicht, eine Liste der mir bekannten Replikenpaare, ungefähr chronologisch geordnet.

- I. 1. Halspelike Ferrera T 867. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 205, 114. 1633; *Para.* 342. Höhe 33 cm. CVA 1 Taf. 1,1–3.
2. Halspelike Ferrera T 41D. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 205, 114 bis. Höhe 33,8 cm. N. Alfieri, *Spina, Museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara*, 1. (Musei d'Italia—Meraviglie d'Italia), 1979, fig. 19–20.  
A: Löwe B: Löwin. Berliner Maler. Aus Spina. Tatenstellungen der Tiere übers Kreuz verschieden. Verschiedene Kymatien.
- II. 1. Spitzamphora (ex?) Berlin F 2165. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 496,1; *Para.* 380. Höhe 55 cm. Kaempf-Dimitriadou Nr. 393, Taf. 31,3–4.
2. Spitzamphora München inv. 2345. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 496,2; *Para.* 380. Höhe 58 cm. Kaempf-Dimitriadou Nr. 393, Taf. 31, 3–4.  
Boreas entführt Oreithyia. Oreithyia-Maler. Aus Vulci. Wie weit die Gefäßformen übereinstimmen, läßt sich nicht überprüfen. Kleine Unterschiede im Ornament, in der Hand- und Kopfhaltung, Kleider einiger Personen.
- III. 1. Stamnos Orvieto, Faina 66. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 483,5. 1655. Höhe 36 cm. B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos*, 1964, Taf. 46,1.

19. Zur Verbindung des Malers von München 2335 mit der Werkstatt des Achilleus-Malers etc. s. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1162, 14–16. Zur Werkstattordnung der beiden Kannen, s. *Kerameus* 2, 16–17.

20. Vgl. auch Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 542, 29–30, zwei Kolonnettenkratere des Florentiner Malers mit Komosdarstellungen und ARV<sup>2</sup> 917, 192–3, zwei Phialen vom Maler von Bologna P. 417 mit zwei verschiedenen Entfüh-

2. Stamnos Boston 01.8031. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 483,6. Höhe ergänzt 35,5 cm. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, 1973<sup>2</sup>, 21.

Jüngling entführt ein Mädchen. Hermonax. In *einem* Grab bei Orvieto gefunden. Zweimal von Hermonax signiert. Laut Philippaki, 47, sind die Gefäßfüße nicht letztlich formgleich. Soweit aus den Abbildungen ersichtlich, sind Unterschiede im Bild gering: einmal Peplos statt Chiton, leicht veränderte Überschneidungen der Figuren.

IV. 1. Pelike Rom, Villa Giulia 20846. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 494,2. Höhe 47 cm. Kaempf-Dimitriadou Nr. 234.281 Taf. 18,6–7.

2. Pelike Rom, Villa Giulia 20847. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 494,3. Höhe 47 cm. Kaempf-Dimitriadou Nr. 235.282. *MonAnt* (L) 42, 1955, 294 fig. 48BA. 293 fig. 48A. 292 fig. 47B.

A: Poseidon entführt Amymone. B: Zeus entführt Mädchen. Maler der Athena-Geburt. Aus Grab 9 Cerveteri, Banditaccia. Unterschiede liegen im fehlenden Eros, veränderten Diademen, Gürteln, Säumen. Das Paar hat eine an Verwechslungen reiche Geschichte hinter sich. Schon der Maler fügte auf beiden Rückseiten dem Zeus und seiner Geliebten ein "Poseidon/Amymone" hinzu. Sämtliche Publikationen vor Kaempf-Dimitriadou haben Vorder- und Rückseitenbilder übers Kreuz verbunden, s. dort für korrekte Verweise. So auch: *StEtr* 1, 1927, Taf. 37a = 1. Taf. 37b = 2. Vgl. auch Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 495,6–7, ein Stamnospaar des gleichen Malers.

V. 1. Pelike fragmentarisch, Malibu 77.AE.12.1. Höhe erhalten 40,4 Durchmesser Fuß 23,8 cm. *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece, Exhib. at Loyola Marymount University (Cal.) on loan from the J. P. Getty Museum*, 1979, Nr. 30 mit Abb. und Frontispiz.

2. Pelike fragmentarisch, Malibu 77.AE.12.2. Höhe erhalten 40,0 Durchmesser Mündung 22,2 cm. *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece etc.* Nr. 31 mit Abb. A.: Leto, Apollon Kitharodos und Artemis bei einer Spende. Als Henkelornament gegenständige Leiern, darüber Akroterpalmette mit Seitenpalmetten und Ranken. Villa Giulia-Maler [Jiri Frel]. Unwesentliche Unterschiede in Kleider- und Gegenstandedetails, Variationen im Ornament.

VI. 1. Oinochoe Va fragmentarisch, Malibu 76.AE.105. A 1–5 und Rom, Villa Giulia o.Nr. Hier Katalog Nr. 1.

2. Oinochoe Va fragmentarisch, Malibu 76.AE.105 B 1–5. Hier Katalog Nr. 2. Libationsszene. Mann-

rungsbildern sowie Eros und Dionysos mit seinem Gefolge.—Beazley wendet den Begriff "replica" meiner Ansicht nach nicht immer konsequent an (er fehlt z.B. bei den oben angeführten Beispielen II.IX.X), er braucht ihn aber in der Werkstatt der "Penthesileer" für Vasen, die schon fast mechanisch ihr Repertoire wiederholen (etwa Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 941, 39.40, nur das Innenbild) oder 949, 22–23, L. Massei, *gli askoi a figure*

heimer Maler. Zu fragmentarisch, um Bildunterschiede zu erkennen.

- VII. 1. Oinochoe Va fragmentarisch, Malibu 76.AE.104 A 1–10 und Rom, Villa Giulia o.Nr. Das Villa-Giulia-Fragment: Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1065,3. Hier Katalog Nr. 5.

2. Oinochoe Va fragmentarisch, Malibu 76.AE.104 B 1–13 und Rom, Villa Giulia o.Nr. Hier Katalog Nr. 6.

Schulter: Mänaden beim Gelage. Bauch: Poseidon verfolgt Amphitrite(?). Mannheimer Maler. Mänaden liegen einmal auf Kissen, einmal auf weißen Geländelinien. Haltung der Arme und des Dreizackes im Bauchbild variieren.

- VIII. 1. Oinochoe Va Rom, Villa Giulia o.Nr. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1065,2. Höhe 29 cm. *Kerameus* 2 Taf. 68.

2. Oinochoe Va London E 555. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1065,1. Höhe 30 cm. *Kerameus* 2 Taf. 69.

Schulter: zwei Satyrn beschleichen eine schlafende Mänade. Bauch: Kriegers Aufbruch. Mannheimer Maler. Aus Cerveteri. Beide Vasen tragen das Graffito XE. Ausser minimen veränderten Abständen zwischen Figuren und Gegenstände keine wesentlichen Unterschiede.

- IX. 1. Stamnos München inv. 2415. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1143,2. 1684. Höhe 44 cm. CVA 5 Taf. 256,1.258,1–3. *WissZRostock* 19,1970, Taf. 13–14. 16,1. 17,1.3.

2. Stamnos Leningrad Б 1148. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1143,3; *Para.* 455.517. Höhe 42,5 cm. A. A. Peredolskaja, *Krasnofigurnije Attischeskiye Vasi*, 1967, Taf. 142, Nr. 210. *WissZRostock* 19, 1970, Taf. 15.16,2.17,2.4.

A: Kriegers Abschied. B: drei Mantelfiguren. Kleophon-Maler. 1. aus Vulci, 2. ex Sammlung Laval. Auf beiden Vasen gleiches Graffito:  $\Psi T$  und  $\Psi P$ . Kleine Verschiedenheiten im Kopfputz.

- X. 1. Stamnos Kopenhagen, Ny Carlsberg inv. 2693. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1144,8; *Para.* 455. Höhe 38,5 cm. *Arte Antica e Moderna* 20, 1962 Taf. 108b.109a–b.

2. Stamnos Leningrad Б 2353. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1144,7. 1684; *Para.* 455.517 Höhe 38,5 cm. Peredolskaja (oben unter IX.2) Taf. 141, Nr. 209.

Komos. Kleophon-Maler. 1. aus Orvieto, 2. ex Sammlung Depoletti. Auf 1 Graffito:  $\Psi P$ . Kleine Unterschiede in Überschneidungen, Bärten.

- XI. 1. Halsamphora Leningrad Б 237. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1128,96; Paralipomena 517. Höhe 24,2 cm. Peredolskaja (oben unter IX.2) Taf. 150, 3–4, Nr. 222.

2. Halsamphora Havanna, Sammlung Lagunillas. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1128,97. Unpubliziert.

A: Eos verfolgt Kephalos. B: Manteljüngling. Frauenbad-Maler. 1. aus Sammlung Pizzati. Soweit ich mich erinnere, sind die Bilder sehr nahe beieinander.

- XII. 1. Bauchlekythos Gela V 1751. Höhe 10 cm. *NSc* Supplemento 1971, fig. 152a.

2. Bauchlekythos Gela V 1752. *NSc* etc. fig. 152b. Auf der Vorderseite (!) rotfiguriges Henkelornament. Aus Vassallaggi (Sizilien). Nur ein Eierstab punktiert.

- XIII. 1. Schale Boston 00.344. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1319,2; *Para.* 478. Höhe 13,3 cm. L. D. Caskey/J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* III, 1963, Taf. 103.104, Nr. 171. Vgl. *Kerameus* 2, 118, 0 27. Von Erginos als Töpfer, von Aristophanes als Maler signiert.

2. Schale Boston 00.345. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1319,3; *Para.* 478. Höhe 13,3 cm. Caskey/Beazley III Taf. 103.105, Nr. 172. Vgl. *Kerameus* 2, 118, 0 28.

I: Herakles kämpft mit Nessos um Deianeira. AB: Kampf der Lapithen und Kentauren. Aristophanes. Aus einem Grab in Tarquinia. Verschiebungen zwischen den Figuren. Unterschiede im Kopfputz und Saum der Deianeira. Kopf von Aithion auf 2 herausgedreht, andere Huf- und Armstellungen. Aristophanes unterschied die beiden Außenseiten jedoch durch Beisetzen von verschiedenen Namen.

- XIV. 1. Oinochoe VII Louvre G 571. Höhe 26 cm. *Kerameus* 2, Taf. 161.

2. Oinochoe VII Privatbesitz. Höhe 26,6 cm. W. Hornbostel u.a., *Kunst der Antike*, Hamburg 1977, Nr. 294, Abb. S. 344–6.

Hals: Sphinx. Bauch: Kampf zwischen einem Griechen und Asiaten. Art des Stier-Malers. 1. stammt aus der Sammlung Campana. Die Bogenschützin links trägt auf 1. zusätzlich eine Pelta. Unterschiede in den Kleidermustern und in der Pelta des "Persers".

Von den vielen, hier nicht ausführlich ausgebreiteten Möglichkeiten von Paaren, habe ich nur die zwillingsgleichen Vasenpaare, Repliken im eigentlichen Sinn, eingehender aufgeführt. Ein gutes Dutzend sind es, alle aus der attisch rotfigurigen Malerei; zeitlich durchqueren sie das ganze 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Immer wieder sind die selben Formen bevorzugt: Peliken, Stamnoi, Oinochoen, Schalen, einmal Spitz- und Halsamphoren und Bauchlekythen, vielleicht auch der Kolonnettenkrater<sup>20</sup>, Gefäße vorwiegend also, die dem Gelage im Jenseits oder der Totenspende dienten. Die Herkunftsorte, soweit bekannt, führen auffälligerweise immer wieder nach Italien: Etrurien

rosse nei corredi funerari delle necropoli di Spina, 1978, Taf. 41,1, die kaum mehr zu echten Repliken gezählt werden können. Der Extremfall eines zum Massenproduzenten abgesunkenen Malers bildet der Eckige Maler (Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 952ff.). Ebenso wenig würde ich das konstant wiederkehrende Bild auf einer späten Pelikenserie noch als Repliken bezeichnen (Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1265, 4–10).

21. Beazley ARV<sup>2</sup> 1667 zu 707,8<sup>5</sup> und *Para.* 408 zu ARV<sup>2</sup> 707,8<sup>6</sup>, zitiert ein Replikenpaar, von dem die eine Vase aus Griechenland kommen soll. Beschreibung und Photo sind jedoch nicht übereinstimmend genug, um dies Paar zu den echten Repliken zu zählen.

22. A. Oliver Jr., *The reconstruction of two Apulian Tomb Groups* (5. Beiheft *AntK* 1968), S.7f. und Taf. 3; S. 10f. und Taf. 7, 2–3.

vor allem, weniger oft nach Spina, einmal nach Sizilien, das auch in Bezug auf die Gefäßauswahl sich von den etruskischen Städten abhebt.<sup>21</sup>

Paarweises Mitgeben von Vasen in Gräbern griechischer und davon beeinflusster Kulturen, ist wohl so alt wie das Bewußtwerden, daß der Mensch zwei Augen, zwei Hände, zwei Füße hat. Daß die echten Repliken in der Maße der heute erhaltenen bemalten Keramik so selten sind, mag davon herrühren, dass Aufträge dieser Art im Kerameikos nicht eben beliebt, wohl für langweilig oder umständlich gehalten wurden. Doch die Beispiele sind alle von guter Qualität und scheinen bei den hauptsächlich etruskischen Käufern ihren Wert gehabt zu haben. Die Repliken sind wohl von Anfang an als zusammengehörende Grabbeigaben gemacht worden, auch wenn sie hie und da im Bestimmungsland auseinandergerissen wurden. Die Bestimmung für das Grab läßt sich "rückwirkend" etwa aus dem Apulien des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. schließen: bei jenen Paaren fehlt manchmal der Gefäßboden.<sup>22</sup> Ja auch die Bilder der Vasen selber, die am häufigsten die Entführung oder Entrückung einer Heroine, oder eines Heros, eines

Kriegers Abschied oder eine Spende, gar den Kampf mit fremden Naturen zeigen, mögen auf diesen letzten Zweck hindeuten.<sup>23</sup> Leider ist über die Lage der Replikenvasen im Grabe selber wenig bekannt. Vom Grab 59 in Vassallaggi weiß man, daß je ein Exemplar des Vasenpaares dem Toten links und rechts vom Kopfe lagen. Dies wird wahrscheinlich von Landschaft zu Landschaft variieren.

Ein zweites mag beim Lesen der Liste ins Auge gefallen sein: Drei Paare allein sind vom Mannheimer Maler bemalt. Der Töpfer dieses Malers hatte um 460 v.Chr. etwa eine Kannenwerkstatt gegründet, die mit den zeitbedingten Wechseln in Gefäßformen, Malern und Sujets, über längere Zeit zu verfolgen ist. So gehören auch die Replikenpaare XIII und XIV zu dieser Tradition. Da scheint sich eine Werkstatt einem besonderen Bedürfnis angenommen zu haben, da sie neben den expliziten Repliken auch andere, ikonographisch lockerer aneinander gebundene Paare, wie etwa das Kannenpaar des Malers von München 2335 jetzt in Malibu, hervorgebracht hat.<sup>24</sup>

Bern

23. Vgl. etwa E. Langlotz, *Der Sinn attischer Vasenbilder*, *WissZ-Rostock* 16, 1967, 473–79, und oben Anm. 10a.

24. Vgl. *Kerameus* 2, etwa Taf. 72c–d. 73. 75 und 79c. 84–85. 96–97. 116c–d. 123. 155(?). 160. 168. 174b–d.

# Satyrspielvasen in Malibu

Frank Brommer

Von allen griechischen Satyrspielen, die es einmal gab, ist nur ein einziges erhalten, nämlich der "Kyklops" des Euripides. Von einem weiteren Satyrspiel, den "Ichneutai" des Sophokles, kennen wir einen Teil, von allen übrigen nur Titel und spärliche Bruchstücke. Das ist so wenig, dass bei einigen antiken Dramen nicht einmal entschieden werden kann, ob es sich um Tragödien oder Satyrspiele handelt.

Bie dieser Sachlage kommt den bildlichen Nachklängen, vor allem in der Vasenmalerei, große Bedeutung für die Erkennung von Themen und für ihre Datierung zu. Die Zahl dieser Satyrspielbilder ist ständig gewachsen und hat sich im Verlauf der letzten 45 Jahre verdreifacht.<sup>1</sup> Sie kann auch jetzt wieder vermehrt werden, obwohl an dieser Stelle erst vor wenigen Jahren ein Nachtrag erschienen ist. Nicht zuletzt ist das Getty-Museum selbst am Erwerb solcher neu auftauchender Bilder beteiligt. So sind zwei im letzten Nachtrag aufgeführte Vasen inzwischen in den Besitz des Getty-Museums gelangt,<sup>2</sup> nämlich die schwarzfigurige Pelike mit Silenen und Ziegen, so wie das rotfigurige Schalenbruchstück, das aus dem Frankfurter Kunsthandel über die Sammlung Bareiss in das Museum kam (Abb. 1).

Das Innenbild dieser um 440 v. Chr. entstandenen fusslosen Schale stellt einen Silen dar, der auf einem niedrigen Schemel hockt und in der Rechten ein Gerät, in der Linken einen kugelförmigen weißen Gegenstand hält. Weiße Striche befinden sich auch unter dem Gerät. Im Verlaufs-katalog von Deppert (Mai 1975) sind diese Striche für Feuer gehalten und ist die Vermutung ausgesprochen worden, daß der Silen Kastanien röste. Der weiße Gegenstand in seiner Linken ist jedoch gewiss keine Kastanie, ist auch zu gross dafür, und der Gegenstand, den er so leicht in seiner Rechten hält, sieht geflochten aus. Ein Feuer

würde man auch in roter, nicht weißer Farbe erwarten. Man sieht auch keine züngelnden Flammen. Zum Rösten würde man ein Blech vermuten, das fest aufgestellt und nicht lose mit einer Hand gehalten wird. Es ist also eher zu vermuten, daß der Silen ein Sieb schüttelt und daß die wenigen Striche darunter die gesiebte Maße darstellen. Da über dem Silen ein Weinschlauch hängt und unter ihm ein einhenkliges Trinkgefäß steht, liegt es nahe, daran zu denken, daß seine Tätigkeit mit der Weinbereitung zu tun hat, doch ist mir keine Parallele bekannt. Denkbar wäre, daß es sich um Gips handelt, der in der Antike<sup>3</sup> bis in die Neuzeit als Zusatz zum Wein verwandt wurde.

Ebenfalls aus der Sammlung Bareiss stammen die Fragmente einer rotfigurigen Amphora (Abb. 2),<sup>4</sup> die dem Eucharidesmaler zugeschrieben wurden. Auf dem größten Fragmentkomplex hält ein Silen in der Linken eine Pelta, von der ein Fell herabhängt. Er ist nach rechts gewandt, sodaß man in das Innere der Pelta blickt. Auf weiteren Scherben derselben Amphora sieht man noch eine Pelta mit Fell, diesmal nach links gewandt, also die Aussenseite, darüber einen Phallos. Ein Unterschenkel mag dazugehören, vielleicht auch ein behelmter Kopf. Silene mit Pelten sind schon mehrfach bekannt, weitere können hier nachgetragen werden.<sup>5</sup> Sie sind wohl meist auf die Gigantomachie zu beziehen, wo sie dem Dionysos beistehen, begegnen aber auch einmal im Kampf gegen Iris und mehrfach im Waffentanz. Daß die Amphorascherben auf das Satyrspiel zurückgehen, ist dadurch gesichert, daß bei dem einen Silen der Schurz des Theaters erhalten ist. Die Zahl der Bilder von solchen Schurzsilenen<sup>6</sup> wird damit um ein neunzehntes Exemplar vermehrt. Unter den bisher bekannten Schurzsilenen befanden sich bereits zwei bewaffnete Silene. Der Schurz ist mit verdünntem Glanzton gemalt,

1. Verf., *Satyroi* (1937):117 Vasen.-Verf., *Satyrspiele* (1944):204 Vasen.—*Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> (1959):252 Vasen.-Verf. *GettyMusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 144ff.:328 Vasen. Hier jetzt 363 Vasen.

2. *GettyMusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 146 Nr. 54,69. Folgende Museumsangaben haben sich geändert: *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> Nr. 38: Neapel 2562. Nr. 39: Neapel H 1767. Nr. 52: Bari 6332 (P 142). Nr. 58 a: Philadelphia, Pb. Nr. 75: Toronto, ROM Nr. 81: Bari. Nr. 102: Baltimore, Art Museum. Nr. 194: Verschollen. 209: Athen, NM. 18567 BCH 92 (1968) 550ff. Nr. 27 fig. 34. Nr. 233: Lugano, Donati (März 1981) LCS 105 Nr. 552 Taf. 54,3,4 Vgl. *GettyMusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 146 Nr. 68 (*Astragalspiel*).

3. *Plinius, n.h.* XIV 24,120 dazu mit Belegen für die Neuzeit (J. Koder—Th. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (1980) 78f. Anm.

24–29.—Zum Sieb vgl. das Bild auf dem Untersatz in Toledo (OHIO) *Par.* 169 "uncertain subject: two naked men at a fire, one pouring something from a basket onto it, the other using a sieve?" CVA (1) Taf. 16, dort als Fächeln des Feuers gedeutet. Vgl. auch den sf. Skyphos, auf den mich A. Greifenhagen aufmerksam machte: *Ure, Sixth and Fifth Cent. Pottery from Rhitsona* 61 Nr. 18.100 Taf. 18, dort als Erzschnelzen gedeutet. Vgl. auch Florenz PD425 rotfiguriges Schalenbruchstück. CVA (4) 125,1.

4. Hier S. 00 Nr. 329.

5. *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> Nr. 29 (Abb. 17), zu Nr. 186, 229.—*Getty MusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 114f. Nr. 14 b, 42–51. S.a. hier Nr. 329–334.

6. Schurze: *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> Nr. 1–14 a, 23.—*GettyMusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 144 Nr. 1,2 (darunter bewaffnet Nr. 11 und *GettyMusJ* Nr. 1).





Abb. 1. Bruchstück einer attisch rotfigurigen Schale. Malibu, Sammlung Bareiss S.81.AE.1.



Abb. 2a-c. Fragmente einer attisch rotfigurigen Amphora. Malibu, Sammlung Bareiss S.80.AE.175.

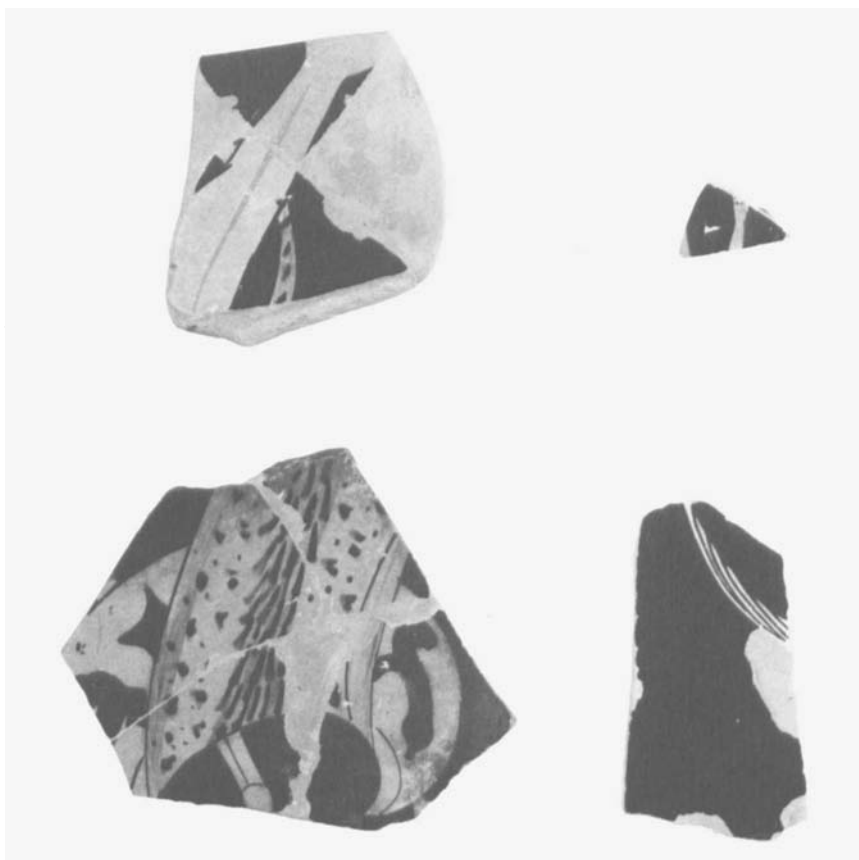


Abb. 2b.

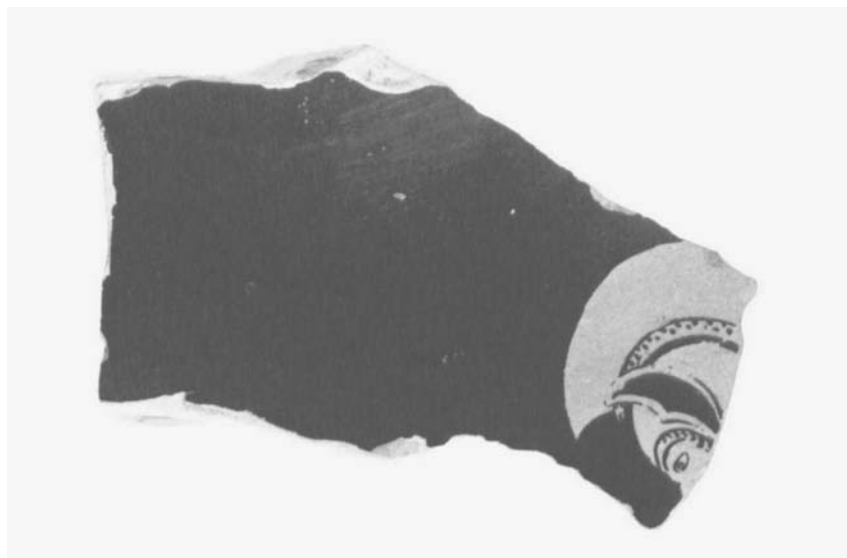


Abb. 2c.

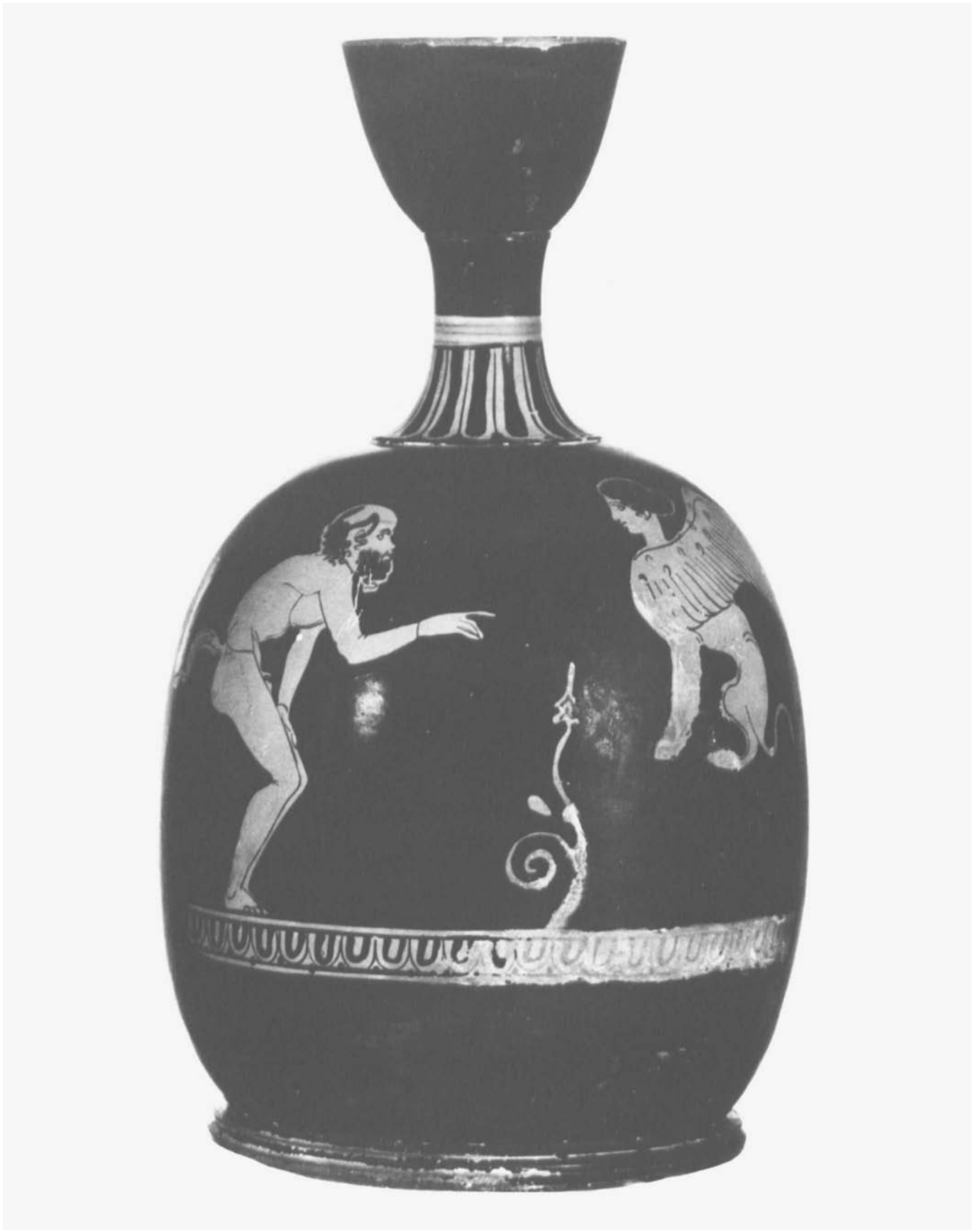


Abb. 3. Attisch rotfigurige bauchige Lekythos. Malibu, Sammlung Bareiss S80.AE.34.

wie die Pelta auch. Er ist glatt, ohne Fell, wie die Schurze vor der Pronomosvase allgemein. Es handelt sich zusammen mit den Stamnosbruchstücken desselben Malers im Louvre, wo der Körper der Silene allerdings gefleckt ist, um die früheste bisher bekannte Darstellung des Satyrspielschurzes.<sup>7</sup> Das Amphorabild ist um 480/70 v.Chr. zu datieren.

Aus der Sammlung Bareiss stammt auch eine dritte Satyrspielvase (Abb. 3).<sup>8</sup> Es handelt sich um eine rotfigurige bauchige Lekythos, die etwa um 430 v.Chr. in Athen gemalt wurde. Ein Silen steht in leicht gebückter Haltung, leicht in die Kniee gegangen mit geschlossenen Füßen nach rechts gewandt da. Er hat die Linke auf den Oberschenkel gestützt und streckt die Rechte mit abgespreizten Zeigefinger nach rechts aus. Dort sitzt etwas erhöht eine Sphinx und blickt ihn an. Zwischen beiden wächst eine Pflanze

zum Zeichen, daß sich der Vorgang im Freien abspielt.

Der Nachklang eines Sphinx-Satyrspiels ist schon seit Jahrzehnten in unteritalischen Vasenbildern des 4. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt.<sup>9</sup> 1979 tauchte im Kunsthandel eine Hydria auf,<sup>10</sup> die um 460 v. Chr. entstanden ist und somit leicht auf das 467 v. Chr. aufgeführte Satyrspiel "Sphinx" des Aischylos zurückgehen könnte. Das neue Vasenbild im Getty-Museum bietet ein drittes Echo eines Sphinx-Satyrspiels. Es ist zeitlich zwischen den beiden bisher bekannten Echos anzusetzen. Offensichtlich handelt es sich um drei verschiedene Spiele. Das Vogelmotiv der unteritalischen Vasen ist den beiden früheren Dramen unbekannt. Auch sonst werden ja im Drama alte Themen immer wieder aufgegriffen und neu gestaltet.

Im folgenden werden weitere Satyrspielvasen nachgetragen:

329	Getty-Museum S80.AE.125	Amphorafr	Silene mit Pelten und Schurz. Abb. 2.
330	Düsseldorf, Hoetgens Mus. 1955, 1	Halsamphora	CVA Taf. 15. Silen mit Pelta.
331	New York 46.129.3	Amphorafr	Silen mit Pelta.
332	New York, Love	sf. Lekythos	ABV 474,162 Silen mit Pelta und Wagen.
333	Rom, Villa Giulia	sf. Skyphos	MonAnt 1955 fig. 201 Silen mit Pelta.
334	Kh. Schweiz 1980	Schale	Silen mit Pelta.
335	Athen, NM. o.Nr.	sf. Lekythos	BCH 92, 1968, 550ff. Nr. 29 fig. 36,37 Silene im Waffentanz. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 209,210.
336	Kh. Palladion 1981	Lekythos	Silen, leicht in die Kniee gegangen, beide Hände auf den Knien, blickt n. r. oben zu Höhle.
337	Laon 37 1033	Skyphos	CVA 52 A+B bekleideter Silen.
338	Wien 152	Schale	CVA (1) 22,1 Silen im Mantel mit Efeuzweig.
339	Kopenhagen 13917	Glockenkrater	ARV <sup>2</sup> 1145,35 bekleideter Silen.
340	Pb.	Skyphos	MM Auktion 22 Nr. 177.—AntK 6, 1963 Taf. 2 bekleideter Silen.
341	Leningrad 774	Kelchkrater	ARV <sup>2</sup> 1144,14.—Peredolskaja Taf. 143 bekleideter Silen.
342	Kh. 1980	Kelchkrater	MM Auktion 56 Nr. 108 Silen bei Herakles-Stier, bekleidete Silene. Vgl. hier Nr. 355.
343	Basel, Cahn 574	Fragment	Silen mit Herme. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 133-8.
344	Münster 784	sf. Lekythos	<i>Boreas</i> 2 (1979) Taf. 21.—Stähler, <i>Heroen</i> Nr. 14. Hermes führt gefesselte Silene. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 82— <i>Getty MusJ.</i> 6/7 (1978/9) 140 Abb. 2-4.
345	Getty-Mus. 71.AE.444	Lekythos	<i>GettyMusJ</i> 6/7 (1978/9) 139ff. Abb. 1 Mädchen Huckepack auf Silen.
346	Kyrene	Glockenkraterfr.	<i>AntK</i> 22, 1979, 40 Taf. 15,4,5. Silene berauben Herakles. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 67.

7. *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> Nr. 23.—ARV<sup>2</sup> 228,32.

8. Getty-Mus. S80.AE.34, Hier Nr. 357.

9. *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> Nr. 178-181 a Abb. 47,48.

10. *GettyMusJ* 6/7 (1978/9) 146 Nr. 73; E. Simon, *Sb Heid AD* 1982.

- |     |  |                              |   |
|-----|--|------------------------------|---|
| 347 | Basel, Lg. Dr. R. Bloch                    | Halsamphora                  | Silen trägt Schemel. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 139-144.  |
| 348 | Kh. 1980                                   | Kelchkrater                  | MM <i>Auktion</i> 56 Nr. 107 Silen bei Opfer für Apoll.   |
| 349 | Melbourne, Nat. Gall.                      | kamp. Glocken-<br>krater     | Trendall, <i>20 years</i> ; <i>Med Rome</i> 43, 1981, 85 Abb.<br>Silensfamilie im Boot.   |
| 350 | Louvre K 537                               |                              | luk. Nestoris <i>LCS</i> 170 Nr. 960 Taf. 75, 2.3 Silen bei<br>Herakles-Nessos.   |
| 351 | Boston 01.8024                             | Schale                       | ARV <sup>2</sup> 173,9 Silen balanziert Kantharos auf Phallosspitze.<br>Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 119.   |
| 352 | Kopenhagen NM<br>Chr. VIII 1               | it. Volunten-<br>krater      | Prometheus mit bärtigem Silen auf jeder Seite. Vgl.<br><i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 187-199 a.   |
| 353 | Budapest, Mus. d.<br>schönen Künste 54.230 | sf. Skyphosfr                | Szilagyi, <i>Acta antiqua</i> Ac.Sc. Hung. 25 (1977) 359-370<br>Silene mit Kithara Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 222 und folgende<br>Nr.   |
| 354 | Berlin 1966.1                              | sf. Halsamphora              | 3 Silene mit Kithara Vgl. Nr. 353.  |
| 355 | Kh. 1980                                   | Oinochoe                     | Christie 11.VI.80 Nr. 270 Silen und Stier. Vgl. Nr. 342,<br><i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 99-101, 162-164.  |
| 356 | Cambridge GR 2-1977                        | Schale                       | <i>Fitzwilliam Report</i> (1977) Taf. 2.A:4 gewandete Silene,<br>einer hält einen Kranich. B:3 gewandete Silene, einer<br>hält eine Leier, Jüngling. Vgl. Bruchstück aus Olympia<br>mit 3 vogeltragenden Jünglingen <i>Gymnasium</i> 88 (1981)<br>110 Taf. 7. |
| 357 | Getty-Mus. S80.AE.34                       | bauch. Lekythos              | Silen bei Sphinx. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 178-181 a.— <i>Getty<br/>MusJ.</i> 6/7 (1978/9) 146 Nr. 73; <i>Festschrift Hausmann</i> Taf.<br>51,3. Hier Abb. 3.   |
| 358 | Adria B c 2                                | Schalenbruch-<br>stück       | CVA 7,1.—ARV <sup>2</sup> 875,3 satyr (as Atlas?) holding an<br>apple. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 92 Abb. 29.   |
| 359 | New York L 69.11.38<br>(Bareiss)           | Schalenbruch-<br>stück       | ARV <sup>2</sup> 478,310 Silen hält in der Rechten Skyphos.<br>Zwischen seinen Füßen eine Muschel.  |
| 360 | Würzburg H 5341                            | Hydria                       | CVA (2) 25. Silen beim Morraspiel.  |
| 361 | Freiburg, Kh.                              | Schale                       | <i>Puhze Kat.</i> 4 Nr. 200. Silene bei Iris. Vgl. <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr.<br>28-34, zu 36,186.   |
| 362 | Agrigento                                  | Kelchkrater<br>(Doppelzonen) | Silene mit Stöcken wie <i>Satyrspiele</i> <sup>2</sup> Nr. 145-147. Vgl.<br>Verf., <i>AntK</i> 11, 1968, 50 ff.   |
| 363 | Lipari T 1552                              | Kelchkrater<br>(Doppelzonen) | Ein Silen mit Stock. S. Nr. 362.  |

# A Vulci Vase in the Getty Museum

Shirley J. Schwarz

Dr. Frel has kindly asked me to comment on an Etruscan black figure vase in the J. Paul Getty Museum. It is a neck amphora, purchased on the New York art market, that can be attributed to the Group of Munich 892. Other than Donati, Camporeale, and my own work on the Orvieto Group,<sup>1</sup> recent scholarship has done little to expand Dohrn and Beazley's attributions of artists to Etruscan black figure workshops. Yet the number of vases published since then, particularly significant where they have been found with datable material, warrants re-evaluation and new investigation. Such studies are made more urgent because so little is known of Etruscan manufacturing centers. By comparing evidence from secure find spots, invaluable information can be gleaned not only to identify these centers but also to date their products more precisely.

For these reasons, I have carefully described, fully illustrated (figs. 1–3), and compared the Getty vase with known examples and have also examined the larger workshop relationships. As a result the number of vases that

can be attributed to the Groups of Munich 892 and 883 (both a part of the Vulci production) is expanded, and I believe that their attribution to Vulci is more firmly established. Moreover, as little attention has been paid to the way in which Etruscan workshops operated, I discuss this question and examine the relationships between decorators (those who painted the less important subsidiary ornament) and the more important group masters, or figurative painters.<sup>2</sup>

## I. THE GROUP OF MUNICH 892

The Getty vase, no. 245,<sup>3</sup> belongs to a large class of late Etruscan black figure vases that has not been adequately studied. The shape and ornament are as follows: it has a cylindrical neck, echinus mouth, and is flat on top where it is also unglazed. It has a groove and ridge at the juncture of the mouth and neck, and the body is ovoid with a torus foot. The triple roll handles are attached at the top of the neck and on the shoulder. It is glazed inside the mouth down ca. 8.0 cm. and outside down to the groove on the

1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel for permission to study the Getty neck amphora and discuss its context here. I am also grateful to Roger Edwards of the University Museum for permission to photograph the University of Pennsylvania collection and Gus Van Beek and Victor Krantz of the Smithsonian for their excellent assistance and permission to publish the collection.

The following abbreviations are used; all others conform to those found in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Albizzati	C. Albizzati, <i>Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano</i> (Rome 1925–39).
Bizzarri I	M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo in Orvieto," <i>StEtr</i> 30 (1962) 107.
Bizzarri II	M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo," <i>StEtr</i> 34 (1966) 3–109.
Bocci	P. Bocci, "Stamnos Viennese 318," <i>EAA</i> 7 (1966) 473–4.
Calò	A.L. Calò, "Una fabbrica orvietana di vasi etruschi nella tecnica a figure nere," <i>StEtr</i> 10 (1936) 431–9.
Camporeale	G. Camporeale, <i>La Collezione alla Querce materiali archeologici Orvietani</i> (Florence 1970) 24–8.
Dohrn I	T. Dohrn, <i>Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der Zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts</i> (Berlin 1937).
Dohrn II	T. Dohrn, "Die etruskischen schwarzfigurigen Vasen," <i>StEtr</i> 13 (1938) 279–90.

Donati	L. Donati, "Ceramica orvietana arcaica con Fregi ornamentali," <i>Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria</i> 43 ns 19 (1978) 3–40.
EVP	J.D. Beazley, <i>Etruscan Vase-Painting</i> (Oxford 1947).
Emiliozzi	A. Emiliozzi, <i>La Collezione Rossi Danielli nel Museo Civico di Viterbo</i> (Rome 1947).
Langlotz	E. Langlotz, <i>Griechische Vasen Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg</i> (Munich 1932).
Minto	A. Minto, "Vasi dipinti della necropoli di Canicella (Orvieto)," <i>StEtr</i> 14 (1940) 367–75.
RG	J.D. Beazley and F. Magi, <i>La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco</i> (Città del Vaticano, 1939).
Schaal	H. Schaal, <i>Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen</i> (Frankfurt am Mainz, 1923).
Schwarz	S. Schwarz, "The Pattern Class Vases of the 'Gruppo di Orvieto' in the U.S. National Museum Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.," <i>StEtr</i> 47 (1979) 65–84.
SH	J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, <i>Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München I. Die älteren nichtattischen Vasen</i> (Munich, 1912).

2. A detailed comparison of potters must be omitted from this study due to the inaccessibility of accurate measurements.

3. The Getty vase, acc. no. 71.AE.249, measures: height, 46.8 cm.; diameter, 28.3 cm.; lip diameter, 20.5 cm.; foot diameter, 13.9 cm.



Figure 1. Etruscan black figure neck amphora, Group of Munich 892. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.249. Side A.



Figure 2. Side B of Malibu 71.AE.249.





Figure 3. Profile of Malibu 71.AE.249.

neck, on the exterior surface of the handles, and on the upper surface of the foot. The remainder is reserved and decorated as follows: the neck on A and B has three sets of two opposing palmettes alternating with two opposing lotus flowers divided in the center horizontally by a chain of circles with dot centers. On A (fig. 1) the lotus flowers have white on two outside petals; and there is a glaze line at the juncture of the neck and shoulder. On the shoulder there are tongues and, outside, a continuous scalloped line. Outside of this there are dots at each indentation of the scallop wave. Side A has a white line over each tongue. Encircling the vase, under the picture zone, there are three horizontal, dilute glaze lines enframing one bold glaze line above. Below this is a band with a connected chain of reversed palmettes and ivy leaves with dots on either side of a pair of ivy leaves. Below this is a band with a zig-zag with

dots in the interstices. Rays are at the base. Under the handles (fig. 3) are interlaces of four circumscribed palmettes on spiral tendrils with a lotus pointed down, located in the center. At the middle of the interlace to the left, there is a lotus in the field; and to the right is a palmette and dot. The clay is reddish-yellow, and the glaze, black to brown.

The picture zones are decorated with compositions containing two figures. On A (fig. 1) there are two men, standing and frontal. While the left turns back and raises his right hand, he extends a wreath in his left. The right figure leans on a staff under his right arm. Both are dressed in a himation and have a mantle draped over the left arm. Each has forehead hair that projects away from the face and a knot at the nape of the neck. White paint is added for the fillets, eyes, and the himation and mantle borders. A lotus on an undulating stem springs from the ground between the two figures. On B (fig. 2) two women face each other, both dressed in three-quarter length sleeved chitons. The woman at the left holds her chiton skirt, with its long overfold, in her left hand and a wreath to the side in her right. The woman at the right raises her arms above her head, gesturing. White is added for hair bands and the chiton overfold, as well as neck and sleeve hems and the wreath.

The anatomy is poorly articulated. All four figures have elongated proportions and sloppy, undulating contours. Details, such as the facial profiles, consist of summary curves. Noses and chins are only "suggested" in a general way. The hands are either blobs of paint or flat shapes from which a thumb projects.

The shape and ornament of the Getty vase are characteristic of a larger group of late Etruscan black figure vases that are closely related to Munich amphora 892,<sup>4</sup> the Groups of Munich amphora 883, and Vatican amphora 265.<sup>5</sup> The group is characterized by the use of details such as double palmettes divided by a central chain on the neck, shoulder tongues with a wave and dots outside, hesitant drawing and rude figures, summary facial profiles, projecting forehead hair, knotted neck hair, and white added for hair bands, eyes, and hems.

The Getty vase is more closely related than vases of the other two groups to the Painter of Munich 892 by the manner in which the neck is decorated. The three opposing palmettes divided horizontally at mid-point by a chain of circles on Munich 892, is repeated on the Getty vase with two small differences. The Munich example has vertical lines instead of a lotus alternating with the palmettes,

4. *EVP* 18-23.

5. For Munich 892, *SH* 120, fig. 133; Dohrn II, 290 E; *EVP* 18; Emiliozzi, 156-7, no. 201; for Munich 883, s.v. *SH* 118, fig. 133, pl. 37; *EVP* 18,

and there are no dots in the circles. The second, closely allied, group of Munich 883 is distinguished by dry, elongated opposed palmettes that indicate a different decorator, but one who most certainly belongs in the same workshop as both the Munich 892 and Getty vases.

The Group of Munich 892 can be expanded and divided as follows:<sup>6</sup>

#### Neck Amphorae

1. Munich, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen und Glyptothek 892, from Vulci. Neck: opposing three palmettes divided vertically by a line, and horizontally by a chain of circles; A-B, woman between two satyrs; *SH* 120, fig. 133; Dohrn II, 290E (assigns to Lotus Bud Group); *EVP* 18 (doubts Dohrn's conclusion); Emiliozzi, 156–7, no. 201.
2. Florence, Mus. Arch. 70997, from Pescia. Neck: same as previous; A-B, biga, charioteer and man; Dohrn II, 290, pl. 56, 1–2 (same hand as Munich hydria 899); Magi, *StEtr* 16 (1942) 555, pl. 49, 1–2.
3. Viterbo, Mus. Civ. inv. 337/228, from Viterbo. Neck: same as Munich 892; A-B, two women; A. Scattoli, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti* (Rome, 1920) 380f., figs. 574, 575; A. Gargana, "Schedario del Museo Civico. Note sui vasi atticizzanti ed etrusco-laziali," *Buletino municipale di Viterbo* (June 1934) 4f., no. 3, fig. 2; L. Rossi Danielli, *Gli Etruschi del Viterbese Scavi I. Ferento* (Viterbo, 1959) 38, fig. 9, 47, fig. 20 (right); Emiliozzi, 156–7, no. 201 (assigns to the same class as Munich 892, but indicates that the figures differ).
4. Basel, private collection, from Vulci. Neck: same as Munich 892; A-B, two women; R. Hess, *Raccolta R.H. Aus einer privatsammlung Basel* (Stuttgart, 1963) no. 41 [figure similar to a Viterbo vase as well as Giglioli, pl. 130, 4; *SH*, fig. 131–2 (Munich 882–883)].
5. Richmond, Virginia Mus. of Fine Arts, 62.1.8, no prov. Neck: same as Munich 892, A, Herakles and Lion; B, Dionysos, satyr, maenad; *Art Quarterly* (1962) 164, fig. 3, 165 (A only); *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (1973) no. 133.
6. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Mus. acc. no. 71.AE.249, art market. Neck: opposing palmettes alternating with lotuses; divided horizontally by a chain of circles. A, two men; B, two women; unpublished figs. 1–3.

#### Stamnos

7. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, no no., no prov. Neck: black; A-B, two athletes; unpublished.

#### Column krater

8. Florence, Mus. Arch. 73342, from Bisenzio. Neck: black, A, centaur, warrior; B, two warriors in combat; Magi, *StEtr* 16 (1942) 555–6, figs. 3–4.
9. Toledo, Museum of Art 12.1240, no prov. Neck: plain; A, satyr, woman, B, two women (?); left plays aulos, right,

dancer; unpublished.

#### Hydria

10. Munich, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen und Glyptothek 899, no prov. Neck: chain of ivy leaves with points to the left; shoulder: banquet scene: two reclining symposiasts and a servant with a large amphora and tripod in the center; body: soldier between two women; *SH*, 123–4, fig. 141 (body) pl. 56, 1, 4 (shoulder); Dohrn II, 290 C, pl. 56, 1, 4 (shoulder), (manufacture attributed to Caere; same painter as Florence 70997).

#### Oinochoe

11. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1222, no prov. Neck: opposing palmettes alternate with lotus buds, divided horizontally by a chain of circles; body: two soldiers; E. von Mercklin, *StEtr* 11 (1937) 372–3, no. 16, fig. 7.

#### Olpai

12. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, H 150, no prov. Lip and neck: rows of ivy leaves, zigzags and dots, zigzag, lozenge with dots in the interstices, vertical lines; body: two soldiers, F. Poulsen, *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1928) 51.
13. Heidelberg, Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst, inv. 64/4, no prov. Neck: ivy, dots, vertical lines; body: satyr with lionskin and kithara, dog; R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Katalog der Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst des Archaeologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg II. Neuerwerbungen 1957–1970* (1971) 45, no. 72 (dated 470 B.C.)

#### Kyathos

14. Munich, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen und Glyptothek 960, no prov. Two women, two youths playing auloi, horse and rider; *SH*, p. 143, pl. 43.

#### Closely Related to Groups of Munich 892 and 883:

##### Neck Amphorae

15. Munich, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen und Glyptothek 887, no prov. Neck: upright palmette between two florals (as on Munich 883); A-B, youth in a himation; *SH* 119, pl. 38; A. Magi *infra*, no. 16 (same figures as Munich 887).
16. Florence, Mus. Arch. 4138, no prov. Neck: two opposing palmettes flank opposing lotuses; A-B, two men: A. Magi, "Anfore etrusche a figure nere del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze," *StEtr* 15 (1941) 318–9, fig. 4, pl. 37, 3, 4 (same figures as Munich 887).
17. Orvieto, La Collezione alla Querce, inv. 373, from Orvieto. Neck: opposing palmettes alternate with florals divided horizontally by a chain of circles; A-B, dancing satyr and maenad; Camporeale, 28–29, pl. 5, a–c (vicinity of Munich 886).

296; and for Vatican 265, *EVP* 19, 296 and new discussion by the present author in another forthcoming article.

6. *EVP* 18, no other vases are assigned to the painter by Beazley and Dohrn II 290 incorrectly placed Munich 892 in the Lotus Bud Group.

The first tentative classification of the Group of Munich 892 was proposed by Dohrn in 1938 when he recognized the same hand at work on Florence 70997 and Munich 892.<sup>7</sup> Magi followed in 1941 and noted a close relationship between Florence 4138 and Munich 887.<sup>8</sup> Camporeale in 1970 published an amphora from Orvieto (no. 17) which we have added to the group.<sup>9</sup> Finally, Emiliozzi in 1974 correctly identified a close relationship between Viterbo 337/228 and Munich 892.<sup>10</sup> Until now, however, no one has attempted to clarify the relationships among the artists of the workshop in a more definitive manner.

The first fourteen vases in the group share a close stylistic relationship, and the last three display traits related to both Groups of Munich 892 and 883. In each of the three groups, discrete distinctions between the artists' hands are difficult to define. Certain differences in the subsidiary decoration, however, allow one to attribute the neck and handle florals to three decorators; other artists were at work on the figurative scenes. The differences between the figures on Munich 892 and 883 could either be the result of the maturation of a single painter or possibly of two artists working side by side. The Group of Munich 892, however, appears to be the work of a single painter.

Careful observation of the distinctions between the two groups and their artists is informative about the manner in which workshops operated, particularly the relationship between the less important decorators and the master figurative painter. Close parallels for the form of the Getty vase exist in the Group of Munich 892. The shape is identical in Munich 892, Florence 70997, and Basel, Hess no. 41 and not far from Viterbo 337/228 and Richmond 62.1.8, both of which exhibit the slightly more elongated body and sloping shoulder similar to the last three vases of the group, namely Munich 887, Florence 4138, and Orvieto, Querce 373.<sup>11</sup> The latter differs in that the belly has a slight hollow below the mid-section and is more bulbous at the base. We might surmise that the workshop had three potters. Other shapes found in the group—the hydria, oinochoe, and olpe—closely follow Attic black figure prototypes of the second half of the sixth century B.C. The hydria, in particular, depends on Attic prototypes of the Leagros Group.<sup>12</sup>

The elongated petal forms of the neck palmettes of the Getty vase parallel those on Munich 892, Florence 70997, Viterbo 337/228, Basel, Hess no. 41, and Richmond 62.1.8. Each has three opposing sets of palmettes and a chain of circles dividing the mid-section horizontally. There are no exact parallels for the alternate lotuses of the Getty vase, as most examples display a vertical line separating the palmettes. Hamburg oinochoe 1222, Florence amphora 4138, and Orvieto amphora 373, however, have a lotus floral variant, and, like the Florence amphora, have circles that are not joined in a chain. Munich 887 displays a single palmette flanked by simple florals; it is similar in this detail to vases that can be assigned to the Group of Munich 883.<sup>13</sup>

The shoulder ornament of a wave line outside of tongues on the Getty vase also appears on Munich 892 and Viterbo 337/228.<sup>14</sup> Outside dots are omitted on the Viterbo and Florence vases,<sup>15</sup> while the wave becomes an outline around the tongues. Ivy leaves replace the outside dots on Munich 892. Simple tongues are on the Basel and Richmond vases, and tongues alternate with lines on the Orvieto vase.<sup>16</sup> The horizontal bands encircling the Getty vase beneath the picture panel are less common. All three groups utilize a variety of motifs in this zone. Still, the most common solution is a plain broad glaze band with two narrow bands on either side, below which are rays. Another motif on Munich 892 is the broken maeander that can be found on Viterbo 337/228, Richmond 62.1.8, and Basel, Hess, no. 41 as well.<sup>17</sup> Two types of lotus buds alternate on Florence 70997.<sup>18</sup> The handle floral most closely resembles that on a vase that we cannot include in the Munich 892 Group, Florence amphora 80677.<sup>19</sup> Both vases display connected double loops, but there are crosses with ivy leaves or dot circles on the Getty vase. The lotus at the left of center and the palmette to the right on the Florence example is supplanted with crosses or degenerate buds on the Getty vase, and there is a similar lotus at the base. No vase in the group, however, has the circumscribed palmettes of the Getty vase. All of the decorative elements rely on prototypes seen in late Attic black figure vases.<sup>20</sup> Still, none of the Attic works displays the busy conglomerate of motifs used by Etruscan imitators.

7. Dohrn II, 290.

8. A. Magi, "Anfore etrusche a figure nere del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze," *StEtr* 15 (1941) 318–19.

9. Camporeale, 28–9.

10. Emiliozzi, 156–7.

11. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 3, 5 and 15–17.

12. Cf. for example, J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (Oxford, 1974) figs. 201–204. Hydria type I, cf. G.M.A. Richter and M. J. Milne,

*Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) figs. 78–79; oinochoe, cf. *ibid.*, fig. 124, ours has lip knobs: and olpe, cf. fig. 115 also lacks lip knobs.

13. Nos. 11, 16, 17, 15; see discussion of Munich 883 below.

14. Nos. 1, 3. This element also appears on Washington, D.C., U.S. National Mus. of Natural History cat. no. 136415, Group of Vatican 265, article forthcoming by this author.

A panel composition including two figures appears on most examples of the Munich 892 Group. On Florence 70997, however, the narrative encircles the vessel; and Munich 892, 899, and the Richmond vase display three figures. The themes are primarily genre and include youths, athletes, a chariot race or combat scenes, women, and a symposium. In addition, there are two vases that illustrate mythological scenes of satyrs, maenads, centaurs, Dionysos, and Herakles.<sup>21</sup> The figures are rendered in silhouette and characterized by exaggerated elongation; drawing is crude, and interior details are either simplified or completely lacking. The facial profile is facile, the forelocks project, and a knot of hair is at the nape of the neck. White paint or incision is used for the eyes, muscles, and mantle borders, which form a cascade of zigzag folds descending along the interior edge. Arms are straight, and the thumb is drawn separately as on the left male figure of A and right female figure on B of the Getty vessel or rolled into a small ball as on the Richmond vase.<sup>22</sup> Prototypes for the zigzag drapery pattern can be found on late sixth century Attic vases by Phintias, Oltos, Psiax, and the Painter of Hermaios to name a few examples.<sup>23</sup> The volume and modeling in the Attic works is, however, reduced to flat, linear surface patterns in Etruscan imitations.

## II. THE GROUP OF MUNICH 883

Closely allied with the Group of Munich 892, the Group of Munich 883 can be expanded as follows:<sup>24</sup>

### Neck Amphorae

1. Munich, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen und Glyptothek 883, from Vulci, Neck: upright palmette flanked by stem and flower. A-B, horse and rider, *SH* pl. 37, 118, fig. 132; *EVP*, 21 (attributed to Group of Munich 883).

2. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, H 149, no prov. Neck: same as preceding vase, A-B, two athletes; F. Poulsen, *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1928) p. 50; 21 (Group of Munich 883).

3. Geneva, Giraudon 4016, A, satyr, maenad; *EVP* 21 (Group of Munich 883).

4. Geneva, Giraudon 4005, A-B, bull; *EVP* 21 (Group of Munich 883).

5. Braunsweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Mus. Löbbecke coll., no prov. Neck: black, A-B, warriors; *Werke antiker Kunst* (Berlin, 1930) no. 454, pl. 6; von Mercklin, *StEtr* 11 (1937) 366, no. 11; *CVA* 4, pl. 33, 6.

6. Florence, Mus. Arch., 75786, from Orvieto. Neck: three elongated reversed palmettes, A, horse and rider, B, two athletes; Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) 318, p. 37, 1-2, fig. 3 (handle floral).

### Stamnoi

7. Volterra, Guarnacci Mus., no no., said to be from Chiusi. Neck: black, A, horse and rider; unpublished.

8. Philadelphia, University Mus. L-29-56, former Philadelphia Mus., no prov. Neck: black, A, horse and rider, B, satyr, maenad; unpublished, figs. 4-6.

### Oinochoe

9. Washington, D.C., National Mus. of Natural History, cat. no. 136420, from Orvieto. Woman; unpublished, fig. 7.

10. Washington, D.C., National Mus. of Natural History, cat. no. 136421, from Orvieto. Athletes; unpublished, fig. 8.

### Neck Amphorae

11. Florence, Mus. Arch., Vagnonville coll. no. 23, from Chiusi. Neck: two elongated reversed palmettes, A-B, satyr, maenad; Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) 315, fig. 5; Magi, *StEtr* 17 (1943), pl. 42, 3-4, *EVP* 296 (close to Vatican 265).

12. Florence, Mus. Arch., Vagnonville coll. no. 19, from Chiusi. Neck: same as previous, A, centaur, B, ephebes; Minto, pl. 13b; Magi, *StEtr* 17 (1943) pl. 43, 1-2, *EVP* 296 (close to Vatican 265).

13. Florence, Mus. Arch., Vagnonville coll. no. 20, no prov. Neck: same as previous, A, figure with four wings, B, centaur; Magi, *StEtr* 17 (1943) pl. 43, 3-4; *EVP* 296 (close to Vatican 265).

14. Pienza, Museo, cat. no. 359, inv. no. 198, from Pienza. Neck: same as previous, A-B, two athletes; M. Monaci, "Catalogo del Museo Archeologico Vesovile di Pienza," *StEtr* 33 (1965) 462-3, pl. 99d [Group of Vatican 265; adds a vase in the coll. Paolozzi, Museo di Chiusi, amphora in D. Levi, *Il Museo Civico di Chiusi (Rome, 1935)* 136 which may be the following no. 15].

15. Chiusi, Mus. Arch. no no., prov. unknown. Neck: two elongated, reversed palmettes, A-B, ephebes; same as that mentioned in Levi, *op.cit.*?

16. Philadelphia, Univ. Mus. MS 1125, former Coleman Coll., no prov. Neck: Two elongated reversed palmettes, A, two athletes, B, maenad, satyr; unpublished, figs. 9-11.

15. Nos. 3, 2.

16. Nos. 4, 5, 17.

17. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 4.

18. No. 2.

19. Florence Mus. Top. 80677; A. Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) 317, figs. 1a,b, pl. 36, 1-2.

20. Particularly in the works of Phintias and Oltos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 110. 3.

21. Satyrs, nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, 17; maenads, nos. 5, 17; centaur, no. 8; Dionysos, no. 5; Herakles, no. 5.

22. No. 5.

23. *Supra* n. 20.

24. *EVP* 21; Beazley first proposed our nos. 1-4; we have placed Munich 887, which he considered not far from 883, in our group of Munich 892; the Brussels R270 is our no. 27; the Florence Vagnonville vases which he considered near the Vatican 265 are our nos. 11-13.



Figure 4. Etruscan black figure stamnos, Group of Munich 883. Philadelphia, The University Museum L-29-56, A.



Figure 5. Side B of Philadelphia University Museum L-29-56.



Figure 6. Profile of Philadelphia, University Museum L-29-56.

17. Washington, D.C., National Mus. of Natural History, cat. no. 136413, from Orvieto. Neck: two elongated, reversed palmettes, A-B, two ephebes; unpublished, figs. 12-14.

18. Washington, D.C., National Mus. of Natural History, cat. no. 136414, from Orvieto. Neck: black, A, two ephebes, B, satyr, maenad, unpublished, figs. 15-18.

**Closely Related**

19. Florence, Mus. Arch. 4177, no prov. Neck: two elongated, reversed palmettes with dots separating them, A, ephebes (drawn by a master but filled in by an apprentice), B, ephebes, in long mantles; Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) 319, pl. 38 1-2, fig. 5 (close proximity to Vatican 265 and same motifs as Minto, pl. 31 a,b).

20. Villa Giulia, Castellani coll. 410, no prov. Neck: black, A, two ephebes, B, Athena (?); P. Mingazzini, *Catalogo dei Vasi della Collezione Augusto Castellani* (Rome, 1930) pl. 36, 1-2 (compares it with Pottier II, pl. 56. no. 755 which is not close and *SH*, pl. 38, nos. 877 and 878. Both of the latter could have worked in the Munich 883 workshop).

21. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etrusco, no no., no prov. Neck: identical to Munich 883, A, woman, B, (?); unpublished (imitates Washington, D.C., Mus. of Natural History, cat. no. 136420, Group of Vatican 265).

22. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan 2600, prov. unknown. Neck: two upright palmettes, similar to 883, but sloppier, Herakles (?) fighting two centaurs (the picture continues around the vase); unpublished.

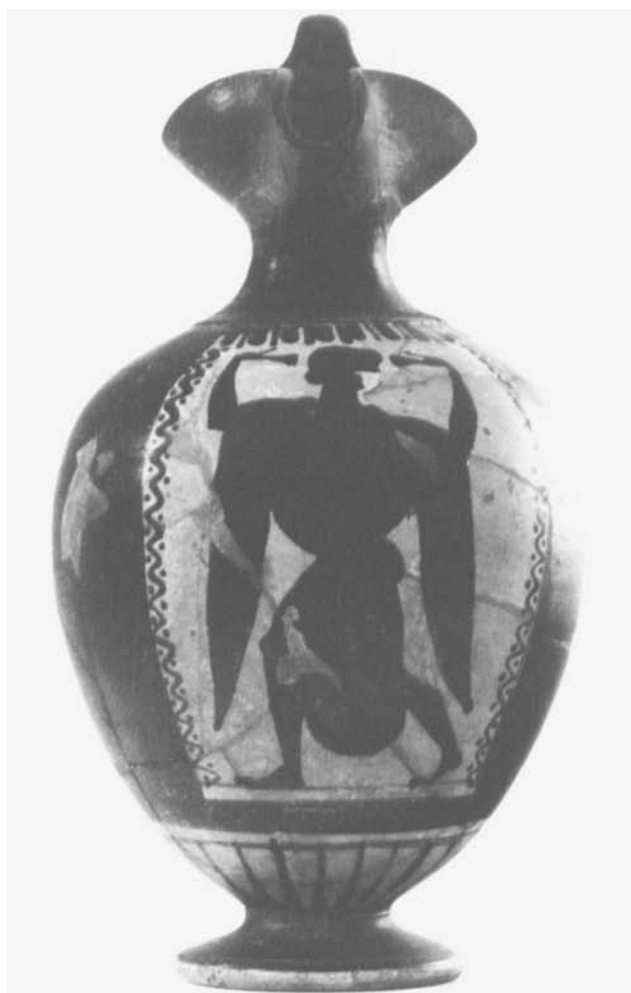


Figure 7. Etruscan black figure oinochoe, Group of Munich 883. Washington, D.C., The National Museum of Natural History 136420.

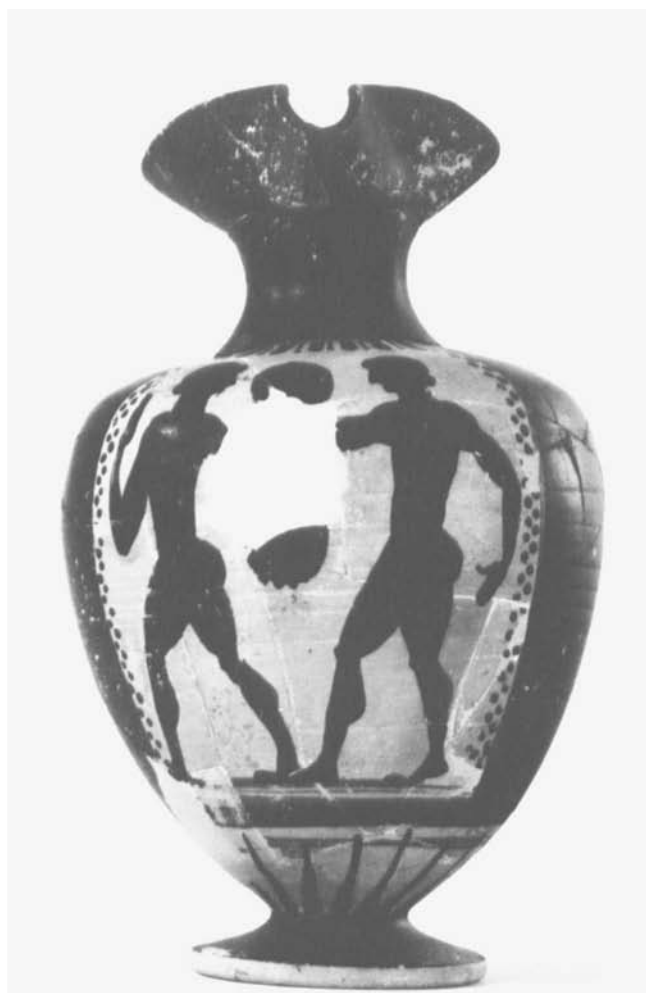


Figure 8. Etruscan black figure oinochoe, Group of Munich 883. Washington, D.C., The National Museum of Natural History 136421.

23. Orvieto, Cannicella necropolis, from Orvieto. Neck: three elongated, reversed palmettes, A, two satyrs dancing over a large pithos, B, two maenads (?) dancing; A. Minto, 367-8, pl. 31 a,b (attributed to Vulci; B, compared with olpe from Populonia, Minto, *NSc* (1925) 352, fig. 7).

#### Stamnoid Amphora

24. Florence, Mus. Top. 75787, from Orvieto. Neck: black, A, two satyrs, B, two ephebes; Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) 320, fig. 7, pl. 39, 1-2.

#### Amphorae

25. Viterbo, Mus. Civ. inv. 337/220 from Viterbo. Neck: three upright palmettes, A, two satyrs dancing, B, centaur; A. Scriattoli, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti* (Rome, 1920) 380f., figs. 574, 575; A. Gargana, "Schedario del Museo Civico. Note sui vasi atticizzanti ed etrusco-laziali," *Bulletino municipale di Viterbo* (June 1934) 4, n. 3, fig. 3; Rossi Danielli, *Gli Etruschi del Viterbese Scavi, I. Viterbo* (1959) fig. 9 and p. 45, fig. 19; Emiliozzi, 155, pls. 99-100, no. 199 (mentions the Vulci manufacture and classifies it near the

Group of Munich 883, dated first quarter of fifth century B.C.)

26. Viterbo, Mus. Civ. inv. 337/212, from Viterbo. Neck: same as previous, A, two satyrs, birds fly above, B, two satyrs dancing, pithos between; Scriattoli, *op. cit.*, 380f., figs. 574, 575.; Gargana, *op. cit.*, 4, n. 2, fig. 3; Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935) pl. 131.5; Dohrn II, 290 (misattributed to Lotus Bud Group), *EVP* 18 (questioned Dohrn's attribution); Rossi Danielli, *op. cit.* 38, fig. 9 and p. 45, fig. 19; Emiliozzi, 155-6, pls. 101-2, no. 200 (near Group of Munich 883, first quarter of fifth century B.C.).

27. Brussels, Musée Royal d'Art et Histoire n. 270, no prov. Neck: identical to Munich 883, A, maenad, satyr dancing, B, (?); Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. 130.4; *EVP* 21 (near Group of Munich 883).

28. Volterra, Guarnacci Mus., no no., said to be from Chiusi. Neck: three upright palmettes above spiral tendrils, A, two maenads (?) dancing, B, two youths; unpublished (?).



Figure 9. Etruscan black figure amphora, Group of Munich 883. Philadelphia, The University Museum MS 1125. Side A.



Figure 11. Profile of Philadelphia, University Museum MS 1125.



Figure 10. Side B of Philadelphia, University Museum MS1125. Detail.

29. Volterra, Guarnacci Mus., no no., said to be from Chiusi. Neck; upright palmettes between two half palmettes, A, satyr, maenad dancing, B, two deer; unpublished (?).

Although the relationships within the larger workshop setting cannot be precisely defined, close analysis of the details of decoration, figurative treatment, and form can produce evidence of the way in which they may have operated. In the Munich 892 Group, two and perhaps three potters were at work. Distinctions can also be discovered between decorators and figure painters. In both the Groups of Munich 892 and 883, two-figure compositions were favored and decorated each side of the vessel, separated by handle florals in close imitation of Attic amphorae of the end of the sixth to early fifth centuries B.C.

25. Satyrs, nos. 3, 8, 11, 16, 18 and 23–27; maenads, nos. 8, 11, 16, 18, 23 (?), 27, 28 (?); centaurs, nos. 12, 13, 25; four-winged figure, no. 13; bulls, no. 4; deer, no. 29.



Figure 12. Etruscan black figure amphora, Group of Munich 883. Washington D.C., The National Museum of Natural History 136413. Side A.

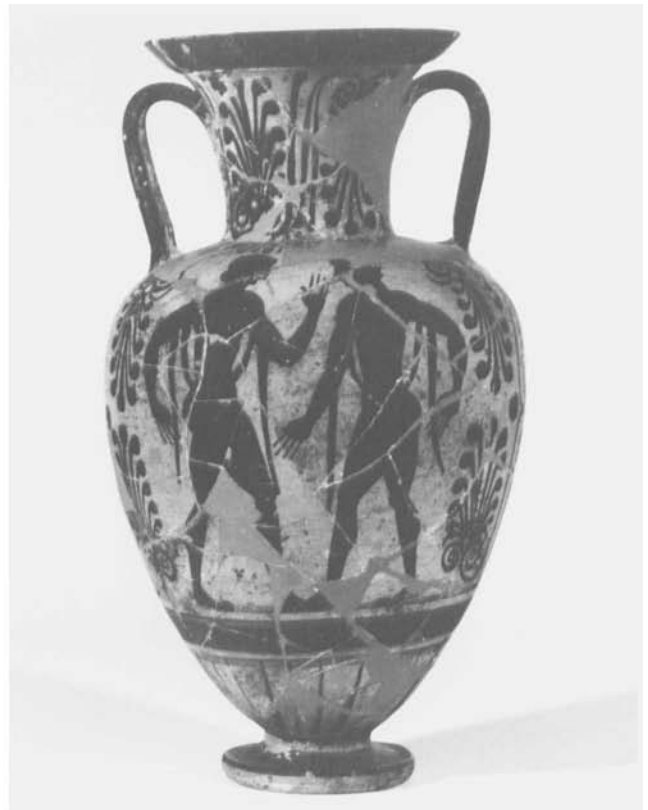


Figure 13. Side B of Washington 136413.

Moreover, both groups preferred genre scenes illustrating athletes, epebes, and quasi-mythological subjects, i.e. satyrs, maenads, or centaurs with no specific mythological context.<sup>25</sup> In the Group of Munich 883 there are only two mythological scenes, possibly Athena, and Herakles against the centaurs.<sup>26</sup>

Of twenty-nine vases that can be attributed to the Munich 883 Group, there were probably two or three potters, possibly three decorators who painted neck and handle florals, and five or more figure painters. The first decorator, who may be called A, appears to have completed the subsidiary motifs on ten of the vases (nos. 1–8, 21 and 27). He preferred a neck decoration that consisted of a single upright palmette emerging from its juncture with the shoulder and flanked by upright stems with a floral sprouting from its top. (The shoulder devices common to the entire group are alternating thick and thin vertical strokes.) His handle florals closely resemble those published by Magi<sup>27</sup> with four palmettes attached to four

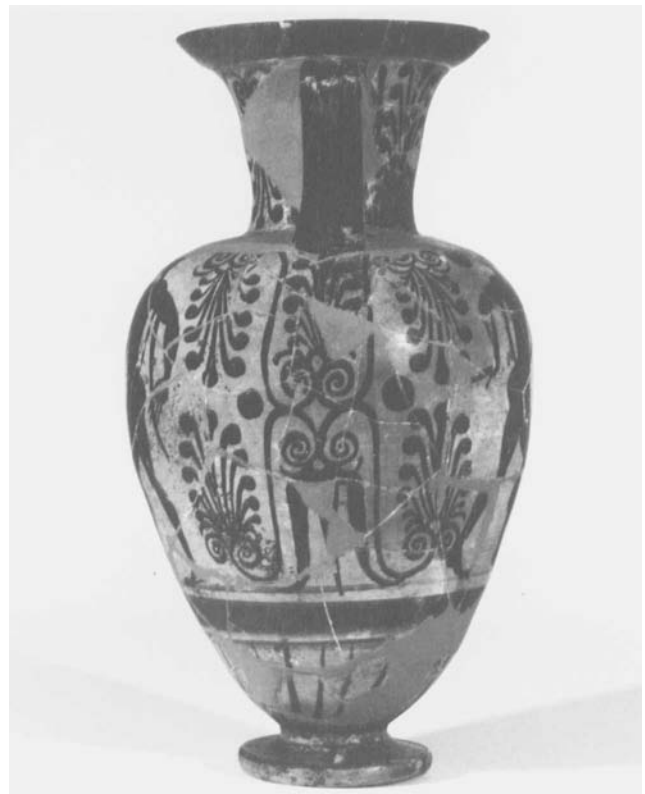


Figure 14. Profile of Washington 136413.

26. Athena, no. 20; Herakles, no. 22.

27. Magi, *StEtr* 15 (1941) fig. 3.





Figure 15. Etruscan black figure stamnoid amphora. Washington D.C., The National Museum of National History 136414. Side A.



Figure 16. Side B of Washington 136414.



Figure 17. Profile of Washington 136414.

double spiral tendrils at the outer corners. At the center, beneath the handle and just outside the opposing sets of spirals, there are a number of variations; they may be circles, ivy leaves (no. 1), or petal and lotus buds (no. 2).

Artisan B, on the other hand, decorated nos. 10-18, which were executed by a single figure painter, and no. 19, by another. His motifs include two reversed and very elongated palmettes, drawn more loosely than those made by decorator A; the palmettes emerge from spiral tendrils that are connected to vertical lines that enframe the palmettes. Further, decorator B adds a small curl at the inceptions of his palmettes, emerging from the tendril. His handle florals are the same on examples we have examined, nos. 14, and 16-19.<sup>28</sup> Decorator C painted nos. 23-29 of which 23-26 were painted by one figure painter and nos. 27-29 by another. His neck motifs are three upright palmettes attached to spiral tendrils and handle florals which differ little from those of decorator B.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, at least five figure painters worked together in



Figure 18. Detail, handle decoration of Washington 136414.

28. It is the same as Magi's fig. 5, *ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, fig. 7.

the workshop. The first figure painter, painter 1, completed the first eight vases, except side B of no. 8. His figures are characterized by long narrow waists, protruding buttocks, short arms, and fingers that often spread. The poses are static and gestures often exaggerated, with arms held away from the body. Painter 2 is somewhat more adept with his figures (nos. 9–18); they are less awkward, better proportioned, and move more naturalistically. They tend to move with a more lively and dance-like rhythm, abandoning the stasis of the first artist. Painter 3 was the least successful of the group. We can identify at least four vases by him, nos. 19–24. He closely imitates the poses of painter 2; but in so doing, the figures are portrayed as more frantic than the lively figures of painter 2, as illustrated in the Vatican neck amphora no. 21. His figures bear a close relationship to those on the Vatican vase in the Munich 892 Group (no. 7), which suggests that he may be the same painter. Painter 4 illustrated only four vases in the group, nos. 23–26; his figures are plump and lively, and the facial profiles have a distinct bulb at the end of the nose. Painter 5 is a close imitator of 4, favoring the same subjects, i.e. satyrs and maenads dancing; but he paints all his figures on their toes: some do not touch the ground at all. A peculiar spiral terminates the corners of the hems of garments worn by his female figures.

Although Vulci manufacture for the group cannot be certain, there are strong reasons to favor this center. Vulci

was first suggested by Minto<sup>30</sup> in opposition to Dohrn's suggestion of Caeretan production.<sup>31</sup> Both Dohrn and Beazley agreed on the group's dependence on the Micali workshop, which is now accepted as located at Vulci.<sup>32</sup> In 1968 Amorelli published sporadic finds from the territory of Vulci<sup>33</sup> that aided in this reaffirmation, not only for the Micali painter but also for the Munich 891 and 883 Groups.<sup>34</sup>

Of the seventeen vases that are attributed here to the Group of Munich 892, only two come from Vulci, while one issues from Pescia, one from Viterbo, one from Bizzosio, and one from Orvieto; the others have no secure provenance. Among those that I have attributed to the Group of Munich 883, only one was found at Vulci (no. 1), while nine were found at Orvieto (including the two fragmentary vases mentioned by Minto); eight were found in Chiusi, two in Viterbo, and one in Pienza. While the broad distribution among these cities provides no support for manufacture at Vulci, it does substantiate the arguments for the widespread popularity of imitations of Attic vases among Etruscan cities and also calls attention to the shifting pattern of inland trade in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. The manufacturing center may have been Vulci, but the market for its products was the Etruscan interior, particularly the regions of Orvieto and Chiusi, where many of the examples were found.

The Ohio State University

30. A. Minto, 36.

31. Dohrn II, 289–290.

32. *EVP* 16, 17.

33. M. Amorelli, "Vasi Etruschi a figure nere e a figure rossi provenienti da Vulci," *ArchCl* 20 (1968) 230–236.

34. *Ibid.*; Amorelli mentioned three vases; two are only fragments, published by Minto, 367, close to his no. 64425 that Amorelli attributed to Munich 891. The latter belongs in the same circle as Groups Munich 892 and 883. Our decorator A, may have executed the neck and handle floral of Vulci no. 64425.

# An Etruscan Vase with Siren

Mario A. Del Chiaro

An oinochoe in the J. Paul Getty Museum collection (No. 1, figs. 1 and 2)<sup>1</sup> bears an extremely rare, if not unique, representation for Etruscan red figure vase painting dating to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.; namely, a siren. In addition, the siren is shown with outstretched wings rather than with folded wings in the manner more usual for Greek, South Italian, or Etruscan red figure. The oinochoe is of the popular and characteristic Etruscan Shape VII and,<sup>2</sup> at first glance, may seem to belong to the Dotted-hem Group of Caeretan red figure because of the series of dots which appear at the hem of the garment worn by the maenad depicted on the neck of the vase.<sup>3</sup> Close examination with comparative material, however, has disclosed that the Getty oinochoe is more properly assigned to Faliscan rather than to Caeretan red figure.

1. Oinochoe, Shape VII (figs. 1 and 2)  
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum  
Inv. number 78.AE.273  
Height 31.8 cm.  
Neck: Maenad striding to left with broad sash or fillet in her right hand.  
Body: Siren with outstretched wings facing to the left and holding a tympanum between extended hands. In the field: a floral/vegetal form (based on the acanthus flower?) at the left; a phiale at the right.

The presence of a running-wave pattern at the shoulder and near the upper rim of the Getty vase is unknown to me for Caeretan examples of oinochoai Shape VII, on which a tongue, modified egg-and-dart, dot, or dash motif is generally found. Although Faliscan counterparts may receive the same last-mentioned motifs, the running wave is often encountered, as for example on an oinochoe in Athens (No. 2, fig. 3). Here too may be seen the use of added

white paint for the flesh of women—a practice shared with Campanian red figure and thereby indicative of the strong influence from that fabric of South Italian vase painting on contemporary Etruscan pottery workshops.<sup>4</sup> Granted that the female figures painted on the Athens oinochoe exhibit taller and more elegant proportions that do the maenad and siren on the Getty vase, the rendering of the breasts and other anatomical details is remarkably similar between the siren and the female on the neck of the Athens vase.

2. Oinochoe, Shape VII (fig. 3)  
Athens, National Museum  
Inv. number 13521  
Formerly Florence, Museo Archeologico  
(acquired by trade).  
Neck: Nude female seated to left on bundled drapery.  
Body: Nude female seated to left on bundled drapery. A mirror is upheld in the right hand as she arranges her hair with the left. On the ground at the right is a basket with one or more mirrors and/or other toilet utensils.

Further evidence for the attribution to Faliscan red figure, and at the same time serving as an excellent link for the style of drawing on the Getty and the Athens oinochoai, is a skyphos in Hamburg (No. 3, figs. 4 and 5) on which the contrasting female figures on sides A and B help to explain the discrepancy noted between the female figures on the two oinochoai.

3. Skyphos (figs. 4 and 5)  
Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe  
Inv. number 1220 (J 189)  
Height 24 cm.  
Side A: Nike striding to left with long fillet in left hand and a tympanum balanced

1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiri Frel, curator of classical antiquities, for permission to study and publish the oinochoe in this volume of the museum journal.

2. The Etruscan oinochoe Shape VII is more commonly known as a "beaked jug" or, in the usual Italian terminology, as an "oinochoe con bocca a cartoccio." It is characterised by a bulbous body and a long cylindrical neck that terminates in a large open mouth with an extended vertical snout. A broad vertical handle joins the neck to the body of the vase

at the lower portion of the mouth and at the shoulder. When present, two cylindrical "knobs" located one to each side of the mouth near the handle reveal its metallic prototype. See M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974)—hereafter ERVC; see also, idem, "Etruscan Oinochoai of the Torcop Group," *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960), pp. 137-164.

3. M. Del Chiaro, ERVC, pp. 6ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 121, note 62 and pp. 123ff.



*Figure 1.* Oinochoe, Shape VII. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.273.



Figure 2. Profile of figure 1.

with the extended right hand. Phiale in the field at lower left, hanging sash or fillet at top right.

Side B: Nude female seated to the right on bundled drapery. With her extended left hand she supports a tympanum as if used as a mirror. Phialae in the field at top left and middle right.

*Studi Etruschi* 11 (1937), p. 379f., pl. XLIV, figs. 1-2; J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947)—hereafter *EVP*—p. 158, no. 2.

The rendering of the women on the Hamburg skyphos conveniently testifies to the validity of considering the Hamburg, Athens, and Getty vases as products of the same workshop—if not of a single hand. It suffices to point to the seated nude on the Hamburg skyphos (fig. 5) and

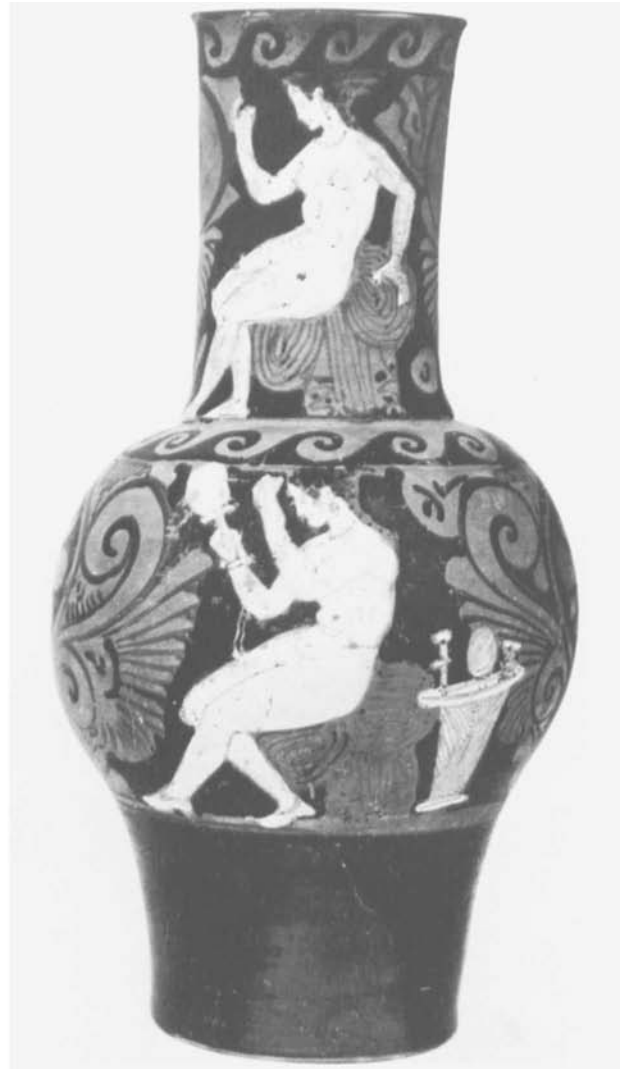


Figure 3. Oinochoe, Shape VII. Athens, National Museum 13521.

her counterparts on the Athens oinochoe (fig. 3). Despite the squatter proportions of the Nike on the Hamburg vase (fig. 4) and the seemingly contradictory slenderness of these last three figures, the Nike brings us into close stylistic proximity with the maenad on the Getty oinochoe (fig. 1). Differences in the drapery—more detailed and precise for the Hamburg Nike—I believe may be simply explained by the more cursory brushwork on the basically similar peplos with its trailing *apoptygma* (overfold at the waist) clearly visible at her left side.

An extremely fragmentary skyphos discovered at San Giuliano (Barbarano Romano near Blera) should be mentioned here, since it is unquestionably decorated by the same artist responsible for the Hamburg skyphos.<sup>5</sup> On its only preserved side, a maenad strides vigorously to the left with a thyrsos cradled in her left arm and a tympanum



Figure 4. Skyphos. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1220 (J 189).



Figure 5. Reverse of figure 4.

supported by her right hand. The skyphos has been rightfully assigned by Paola Villa D'Amelio to the "Fluid Group" of Faliscan red figure<sup>6</sup>—vases of which are particularly well represented at San Giuliano.<sup>7</sup>

Attraction to the Getty oinochoe and subsequent analysis of the style of drawing on the Athens oinochoe and the Hamburg skyphos has once again focused on my earlier studies devoted to a prolific Faliscan artist of the Fluid Group, whom I have named the Full-Sakkos Painter and whose individual style can now be detected on the vases presented here.<sup>8</sup> This vase painter did not restrict his work to oinochoai and skyphoi, for vases decorated by him include other shapes: kylikes, hydriae, stamnoi, lebetes, bell

kraters, and column kraters. We have seen that the maenad on the Getty vase, when considered independently, at first does not suggest the style of the Full-Sakkos Painter. Nonetheless, supporting evidence to "bridge the gap" is convincingly offered by the decoration on the Athens oinochoe and Hamburg skyphos. Consequently, the Getty oinochoe gains added significance for a broader appreciation of this Faliscan artist who now offers a new theme—a siren—for Faliscan red figure produced in or about Falerii Veteres (present-day Civit  Castellana) during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

University of California  
Santa Barbara

5. *Notizie degli Scavi* (1963), p. 57, fig. 62 (Tomb XI, inv. no. 98).

6. Beazley, *EVP*, Chapter VIII.

7. Paola Villa D'Amelio in *Notizie degli Scavi* (1963), pp. 1–76.

8. M. Del Chiaro in *Studi Etruschi* 32 (1964), pp. 83ff. See especially, M. Del Chiaro, "A Faliscan Skyphos with Jockey-Cap Helmet by the Full-Sakkos Painter," *Archeologia Classica* XXII (1970), pp. 55–71.

# A Krater by Asteas

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

A *Paestan calyx krater*<sup>1</sup> depicting the myth of Zeus' love for Europa is of particular interest because it bears also the name of the painter, bringing up to ten the number of signed pieces by the vase painter Asteas.<sup>2</sup> Using his customary double sigma at the beginning of the name and the imperfect of *γραφω*,<sup>3</sup> Asteas has incised ΑΣΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ on the lower part of the body of the krater, termed by Trendall Asteas' "major extant signed piece."<sup>4</sup>

In a quite unique pentagonal panel on the obverse, Europa, identified by the inscription ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, is seated on the back of the bull (figs. 1 and 3). Together they fly to the left across the sea, which is suggested by the figures of Skylla, Triton, and various fish below.<sup>5</sup> This allusion to the sea is not unlike that found on another calyx krater in Naples featuring the myth of Phrixos and Helle.<sup>6</sup> Europa's chiton is heavily decorated with stars, palmettes, and both meander and checkerboard patterns. The belt is emphasized by dots in added yellowish-white, which is used also for her earring, necklace, bracelets on both arms, additional details on her garment and, although now mostly gone, on her sandals.

The bull is in added white, some of which has flaked off; yellowish-brown dilute glaze is used for bodily details. On the left is Skylla (ΣΚΥΛΛΑ) holding in her right hand a trident whose handle and three prongs are in added white. Below her waist and apparently "emerging" from the fish-like portion of her body are two dogs in added white with dilute glaze for details. The scales on this part of Skylla's figure are indicated by black circles filled with white; Skylla's necklace and other areas of her fish-like body are indicated by added white. On the right, Triton (ΤΡΙΤΩΝ) holds an oar. The scales on his body also are shown by small black circles, but apparently these were never filled with white although, as with Skylla, white and red were added

for other areas of the body. A small white octopus, with its "pop-eyes" indicated by dilute glaze, is held in Triton's right hand while entwining its tentacles around his wrist. Sixteen various marine creatures in added white or dilute glaze are dispersed through the lower field.

The Naples krater with Phrixos and Helle, because of its allusion to the sea, is especially appropriate for the comparison of certain details. Both vases share the filling with added white of the circles on Skylla's tail while not on Triton's. The billowing of Europa's mantle seems a case of *déjà vu*, for Helle's mantle has, even if not identical, certainly very similar curves and folds. Her hair style, with its relatively smooth crown and cascade of waves and curls beginning at a point almost directly behind the corner of her eye, also occurs on Helle. One can even note that Europa's sandals with their criss-cross lines representing straps are close to those worn by Helle's brother, Phrixos, by Megara on yet another calyx krater by Asteas in Madrid showing the madness of Herakles,<sup>7</sup> and by Kadmos on a bell krater also in Naples.<sup>8</sup>

Hovering directly above Europa is Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ), a nude figure whose wings were originally in dilute glaze and added white which have now mostly disappeared. A brown chlamys stretches from around his thigh just below the buttock to his left forearm. Decorative details are in added white, which is also used for a bracelet on his left ankle and a wreath. In his right hand is an object that is unidentifiable because most of the paint has flaked off; in his left is another object, perhaps a phiale, in dilute glaze and added white. In view of Zeus' lust for Europa, Pothos, personifying passion, is a far more appropriate figure than Eros would have been in the immediate context of this composition. The allegorical figure of Pothos is not the most familiar figure in the repertoire of Greek art, but at

1. 81.AE.78. Total height: 71 cm. Diameter: 60 cm. Height of foot: 21 cm.

2. I am most grateful to A. D. Trendall for this information as well as many other generous and helpful comments and observations offered during his visit to the Getty in May 1982, and for his subsequent suggestions and corrections to my text.

3. A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (Rome, 1936; hereafter *PP*), pp. 20–21.

4. Trendall, verbally.

5. For a discussion of the iconography and other representations of

Europa and the bull, see the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts catalogue, *The Art of South Italy, Vases from Magna Graecia* (Richmond, 1982; hereafter VMFA catalogue), pp. 157–8.

6. *PP*, p. 34 ff., pl. Vlb. For sake of simplicity, this particular krater will be termed the Naples krater.

7. *PP*, p. 31 ff., pl. VII. Also discussed and illustrated in color in *Guías del Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Cerámica Griega* (Madrid, 1978) pp. 86–88, pl. 42. Further references to this vase will be under the term the Madrid krater.

8. *PP*, p. 23 ff., pl. Va.





Figure 1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.78. Obverse



Figure 2. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.78. Reverse.

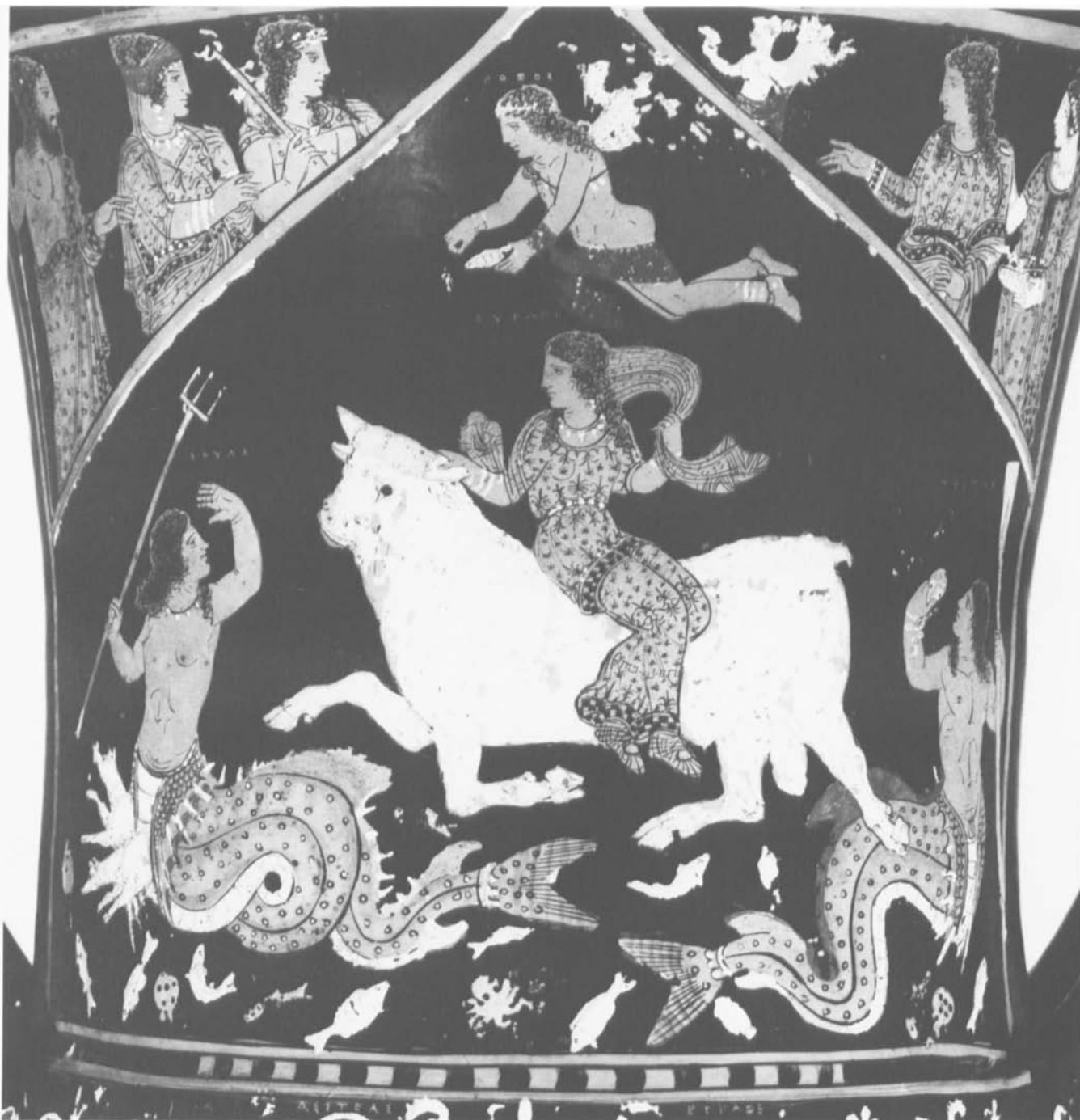


Figure 3. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.78. Obverse (detail).

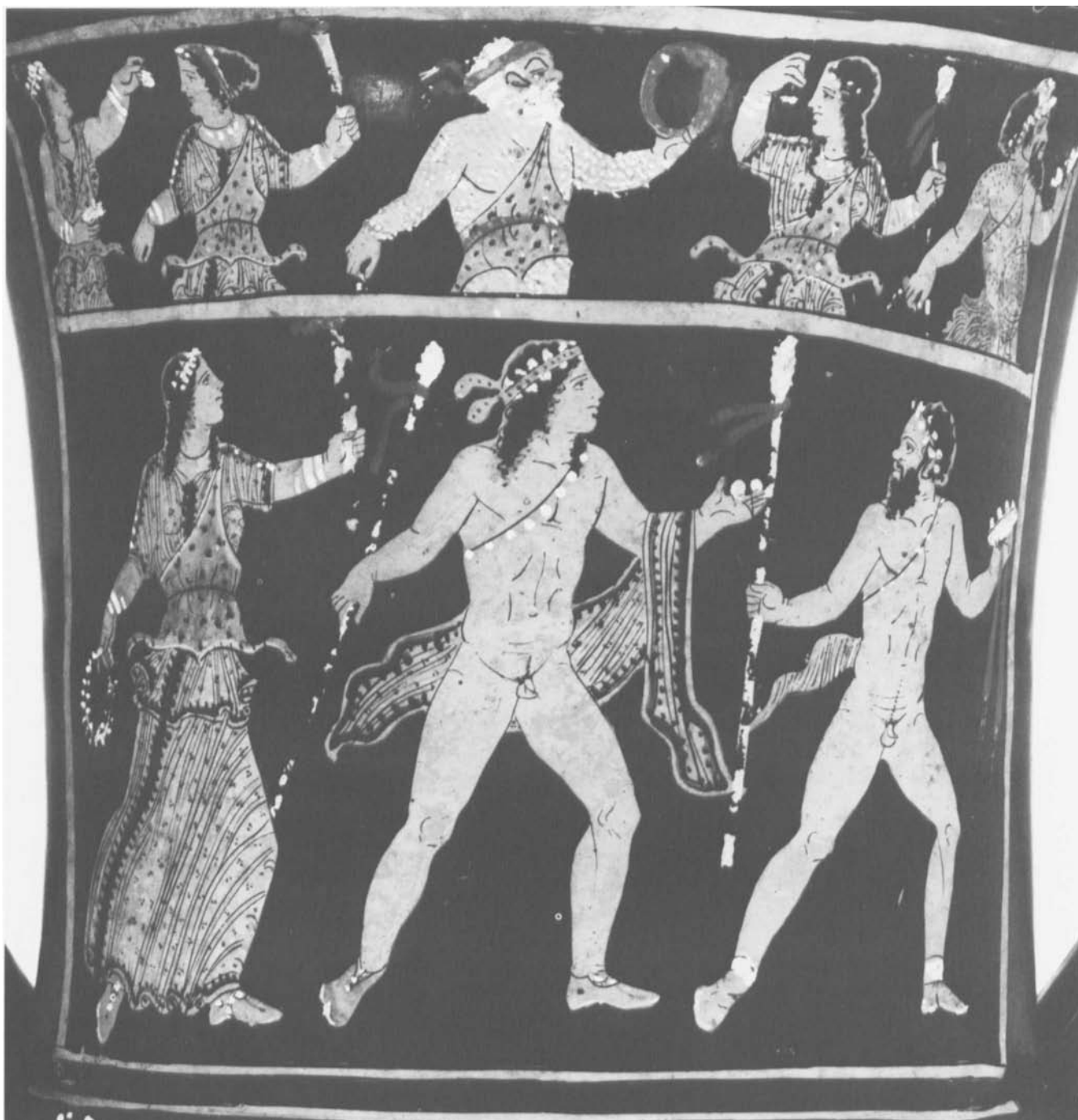


Figure 4. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.78. Reverse (detail).

about the same time as this krater was painted by Asteas, a statue of Pothos was created, the original of which has been accepted as a work of Skopas.

Between the lower frame of the scene and another reserved line is a band of alternating reserved and black blocks, forming a metope pattern, a device which occurs below a theatrical scene on another calyx krater, signed by Asteas.<sup>9</sup> Its use there and on the Getty krater raises the possibility that the pattern was inspired by or meant to suggest the floorboards of a stage. Whether so or not, it seems to have been readily adopted as a decorative pattern, since it appears also in Paestan non-theatrical contexts: as a border below a sphinx on the neck of an amphora signed by Asteas,<sup>10</sup> on a krater attributed to his successor Python,<sup>11</sup> and on a fishplate from their workshop.<sup>12</sup>

The handle zone, defined by this metope device and an egg pattern band, retains only a partially preserved pattern of palmettes. Simpler versions of this border appear on the Naples and Madrid kraters as well as on a calyx krater in Berlin.<sup>13</sup> It is tempting to imagine that as Asteas became more adroit in painting this motif he made it more complex, and coupled it with the metope pattern for an even more elaborate effect. Whereas on the Naples and Berlin kraters, he had signed in the band beneath the scenes, on the Getty vase, because the band is mostly taken up with the metope pattern, it is in the palmette pattern below that Asteas has incised his signature.

On the upper left of the body of the Getty krater, in a triangular frame, are three figures identified by inscriptions: ΖΕΥΣ, ΚΡΗΤΗ (above the frame), and ΗΕΡΜΗΣ. Furthest left is Zeus, half-draped in a garment patterned with circles and a checkerboard edge. He holds a sceptre in added white topped by a palmette. Krete, representing the island to which Europa is being carried, wears an added red kekryphalos covering much of her hair and a chiton decorated in a manner similar to that of Zeus but having in addition palmettes along the sleeves. Added white is used for her diadem, earring, necklace, bracelets, and belt. Most familiarly recognized as messenger for the gods in general and Zeus in particular, Hermes also has an association with fertility and, at times, a connection with Aphrodite which especially suits him for a role as “go-between” for

Zeus' amorous escapades. He holds a caduceus in dilute glaze and wears a chlamys fastened at the neck by a brooch indicated by added white, which is used also for his wreath and the end of the caduceus.

A complementary triangular frame on the upper right contains three other figures. Furthest right is Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) whose hand rests upon the shoulder of Adonis (ΑΔΟΝΙΣ) standing in front of her. While added white denotes her flesh, dilute glaze is used to denote her earring, necklace, and a diadem just below her headband. Added red marks the headband and stripe down the bodice of her garment, which repeats the circle and checkerboard patterns on the garments of the other figures. In her left hand is a dilute glaze bowl. Adonis' garment is made slightly more complex by the addition of stars and palmettes as well as an added white cuff on the one visible sleeve. Furthest left is a small, winged half-figure without inscription completely in added white though much of it is lost, especially on the wings, wearing only a reddish-brown piece of drapery across the lower body. This is Eros, holding in his right hand another unidentifiable object. Since all three figures have associations with love, they are a more than appropriate audience for the scene taking place below them. Aphrodite, the goddess of love, is naturally associated with her son Eros, the god of love. She very much loved Adonis, a handsome youth who seems eventually to have had some identification with Eros and who was at times worshipped in connection with Aphrodite.

One is reminded of the Madrid Herakles vase on which the figures in the upper frame also appear as onlookers to the main scene. A comparable instance occurs on a hydria signed by Asteas, where Aphrodite and two Furies, also in a colonnade type of frame above, view a theatrical scene from Euripides' *Sthenneboia*.<sup>14</sup>

While the subject of the obverse reinforces the notion that Asteas had a special liking for mythic scenes, not only an overall connection with comic theatre in many instances of Paestan vase painting but also the use of onlookers in the upper frames on the Getty vase and the possible indication of a stage suggest that Asteas may also have been inspired by some theatrical presentation, whether comic or tragic, of the story of Europa.

9. On the art market; unpublished.

10. On the art market; unpublished.

11. *PP*, pl. XVlc.

12. VMFA catalogue, no. 111.

13. *PP*, p. 26 ff., pl. Vb. Hereafter referred to as the Berlin krater.

14. A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971) III, 3, 44.

15. For Trendall's comments on Asteas' liking for balanced scenes, see *PP*, p. 35 ff.

16. For the term, see *PP*, p. 8.

17. For comparisons, one may note the following signed pieces in *PP*: Naples 3226, pl. Va, the bell krater showing Kadmos on the obverse, and fig. 5 for the much repainted obverse Dionysiac scene; Berlin F 3044, fig. 11, a calyx krater, for the reverse showing Dionysos and a silen. On unsigned pieces there are the following (all are bell kraters): B.M. F188, fig.

The almost symmetrical balance of the obverse is reiterated on the reverse.<sup>15</sup> Here the main scene, enclosed in a panel with a reserved frame, consists of three figures (figs. 2 and 4). In the middle is Dionysos, nude except for a mantle over his outstretched left arm. It is on the mantle and the garments of the reverse's other figures that we see one of Asteas' favorite patterns, the embattled border.<sup>16</sup> The border, Dionysos' shoes, and other pattern details are in dilute glaze. A bandolier bejeweled with dots in added white extends around his chest and up over his right shoulder. Around his head is a band in dilute glaze, with ivy leaves in white. In his left hand Dionysos holds two eggs in added white; and in his right, a thyrsos also in added white with a fillet in added red. Anatomical details on this and the other figures are indicated in black and are consistent with those on males on Asteas' other works.<sup>17</sup> Dionysos is followed from the left by a maenad in a flowing chiton with borders, patterns, and folds of drapery in black glaze. Over the bodice she wears a panther skin in dilute glaze, with spots and belt in black. The closures on her dilute glaze shoes are indicated by added white, as are the wreath on her head and the bracelets on both arms. In her left hand is a torch; in her right, a wreath.

On the right a satyr looking back toward Dionysos wears a bandolier necklace, wreath, and shoes; their details are in added white, while the shoes and tail are in dilute glaze. In his left hand he holds an added-white phiale with eggs from which hangs a fillet in added red; in his right, a filleted thyrsos like that held by Dionysos.

An abbreviated panel above contains five half-figures; from left to right, two maenads, an old silen, another maenad, and a Pan. All three maenads are dressed in the same fashion as the full figure in the main panel; except that the chiton on the one furthest left is sleeveless. The first holds an unidentifiable object, possibly a bell, in each hand. In her left hand, the second carries a torch. The old silen, dotted with added white suggesting tufts of hair, wears a panther skin. His hair and beard are rendered in added white, as is the white of his eyeball. A fillet in added red encircles his head, and in his outstretched left hand he holds a wreath, also in red. The third maenad looks toward him, a thyrsos in her left hand and another object, perhaps a bell again, in her right. The final figure, the Pan,

is speckled with dilute glaze dots. In his left hand are cymbals in added white, which also denotes the wreath around his head and the one in his right hand. Dilute glaze covers his very bushy tail and hip.

The band in the handle zone, defined simply by two reserved lines, carries an incised ivy pattern with the leaves and berries in added white. At its center is a flower in the form of a rosette. The top side of the krater's rim is also encircled with an incised vine pattern embellished with leaves and flowers in added white, which has mostly disappeared. On the underside of the rim runs yet another incised ivy vine with dotted rosette-flowers in added white, the leaves reserved.

The ivy vine which seems to have become a favorite device of Asteas, though it occurs only on the obverses of the Naples, Madrid, and Berlin kraters, completely encircles the Getty vase not just once but three times—on both sides of the rim and, in a new location, the foot.

Even by itself, the foot is remarkable, an elaborate structure perhaps intended to appear as a separate stand for the vase.<sup>18</sup> An overhanging lip marked by an elongated tongue pattern is at the join of foot and body. Below it, two terror-stricken horses are pursued by two griffins, all running hard on each other's heels in alternating order to the left. The griffins recall those which appear in a more complex scene on the foot of an Apulian volute krater by the Lykurgos Painter.<sup>19</sup> Finally, on the lowest section, we see again the incised ivy vine and the remnants of the added white rosette-flowers.

It seems that the date of this krater is surely well into Asteas' career. Even a glance at the relative simplicity of composition and stiffness of the figures on his early pieces makes it apparent that the Getty vase has less in common with products from that period in the painter's career than with his later pieces. Thus, for the purpose of noting similarities, only Asteas' calyx kraters need be considered.

The Berlin krater's obverse scene and the Dionysiac scene on the reverse reflect an effort by Asteas to show some forcefulness, motion, and fluidity. But the type of subject makes it difficult to compare the rendering of figures other than those on the reverse, which are lively and certainly make strides towards Asteas' later preference for groups of three. In addition, there are no half-figures,

15; Giudice 193, fig. 17; Madrid 11019, fig. 18; B.M. F 152, fig. 20; B.M. F 153, fig. 21. Except for the krater showing Kadmos, there is less attention given to detail than on the kraters cited in the text of this article. This is especially true when it comes to drapery where only borders and fold lines are indicated, on shoes which mostly lack the added color to indicate closures, and on the fillets (excepting shoes and fillet on B.M. F 188) which are rather sketchy in appearance.

16. Trendall has suggested verbally that it may stem from the arrival in

Paestum, circa 330 B.C., of the Aphrodite Painter from Apulia and with whom an Apulianizing phase seems to have developed. Thus it could well be due to the Aphrodite Painter's influence that this type of foot in imitation of a separate stand was made for the Getty krater.

19. H. Sichterman, *Griechische Vasen in Unter-Italien aus der Sammlung Jatta In Ruvo* (Tubingen 1966) no. 72, p. 50, pl. 120. Another, but poorer, illustration appears in E. Greco, *Il Pittore di Afrodite* (Rome 1970) pl. XIVb.

whether “floating” in the scenes or enclosed in some framing device. Yet the obverse has the forerunner of the handle zone palmette patterns that appear on subsequent vases.

Likewise, the fragments of the Buccino krater in the Villa Giulia, showing a parody of the rape of Cassandra, do not help in determining the chronology of the Getty piece.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, it is on the Madrid krater with the madness of Herakles that we see distinct affinities, especially in the facial contours, indicating some closeness in time with the Getty vase. Hairstyles and gender aside, most of the figures on both pieces have faces that are very much alike. Of course, by this time Asteas had developed a repertoire of stock figures that were, therefore, bound to have an almost familial resemblance. It is on the Madrid vase also that we see Asteas' first use of half-figures on a calyx krater scene (one wonders, incidentally, if the columnar spacing under the phlyax scene on the Berlin vase inspired him to employ that sort of device again on the Madrid krater, although in a different part of the scene, and to fill it with figures instead of leaving it simply empty). The stance of the Madrid Herakles is mirrored by that of the Getty Dionysos, and while some of the decorative motifs on the drapery differ, on the Getty figures they are generally more elaborate and complex as is the palmette pattern in the handle zone. The handles are closer to the sides on both kraters than those on the Berlin piece.

On the Naples krater showing the myth of Phrixos and Helle, the handles appear even closer as well as longer; they almost hug the body. Here, the notable comparisons with the Getty krater have already been discussed, such as similarities between Helle and Europa, allusions to the sea, repetition of certain decorative patterns, and certain details on the figures. On the Naples piece there are no frames; even the half-figures on the much restored reverse simply float above the Dionysiac scene without any framing device.

The Getty krater appears to fall chronologically between the Madrid and Naples pieces. All three present mythological scenes on their obverses, Dionysiac scenes on their reverses, and are signed below the obverse scene. The palmette pattern band occurs on each of them in the handle zone of the obverse, while the ivy vine pattern is on both Naples and Madrid kraters at least around the outside of the mouth and encircles the entire Getty vase three times, as well as decorating the reverse's handle zone. There is a three-quarter face view of Herakles on the Madrid vase and of Helle on the Naples krater but no comparable

figure on the Getty vase. However, the bull on which Europa rides shows an admirably executed three-quarter head, certainly meeting the requirement if that is one of the criteria determining an early or late chronology.

It is possible to envision Asteas as having regarded his Madrid krater as such a major accomplishment that he decided to surpass, if he could, this pinnacle of achievement. The size alone of the Getty krater demanded an ambitious project, requiring all he could muster in imagination, design, and competence. With the space thus allowed him, he was able to paint half-figures who, being confined in frames, were able to observe the scene without intruding on it. On the reverse, the number of half-figures reaches five, more than on his other vases, and the additional figure is a new one, Pan. Here too, instead of “floating” in the scene they are framed, making the entire reverse less busy and crowded in its effect. The horses pursued by griffins on the foot are no mere decoration, but reveal by their expressions sheer terror and panic. This design, reminiscent of the Lykurgos Painter griffins, combines with the unusual foot, to point to a date after 330 B.C., for it is at that time that an Apulianizing phase began in Paestum.

How does one explain the repetition, if not of all characters, at least of ideas and some characters on the Naples krater? It may be that after his huge and successful krater with Europa on the bull, Asteas wanted to repeat the concept. Instead of Europa, he took Phrixos and Helle; instead of the bull, of course, the ram. In the meantime, the allusions to the sea could be used again with some addition and reworking—variations on theme, one might say. He even borrowed, with less success, the Dionysos on a panther from his Madrid krater reverse, almost crowding it in now, in mirror image on the obverse with Phrixos and Helle. As for the reverse, even if much damaged it appears to be not much more than a mechanical use of an almost standard scene. The figures have all been seen before, and even the stances are echoes of the past. It appears that Asteas peaked with the Getty krater, but by the time he did the Naples krater, he suffered from what we today call “burn-out,” simply lacking the energy and/or ability to repeat the *chefs d'oeuvre* that he had created on his previous pieces.

Malibu

#### POSTSCRIPT

Since this article was first written, the foot (figs. 5–8) of another krater apparently by Asteas has come onto the art market. It is slightly more than a centimeter taller than the

20. *PP*, p. 28 ff., pl. VIa, fig. 13.



Figure 6. Los Angeles art market. Photo: A. Daneman.

foot of the Getty vase, and its diameter is 31.8 cm. compared to 29.4 cm. for the Getty krater. Their shapes are almost identical, including the overhanging lip with its elongated tongue pattern. While the ivy vine pattern encircling the lowest part of the foot runs in the direction opposite to that on the Getty vase, the significant and most interesting difference is in the figured decoration. Instead of griffins and horses, we see not only Skylla and Triton together with some of the fish shown on both the Getty and Naples kraters, but also, used twice in alternation with Skylla and Triton, the sea monster from the Naples krater. The Skylla here possesses not the coiled body of the Getty Skylla but rather a profile similar to the Naples' Skylla. Triton, although with shorter hair, shares characteristics of both his Getty and Naples counterparts. The figures on this foot are somewhat less elaborate than those on the bodies of the two kraters, but this must be due to the relatively minor position they occupied in the overall structure and to the restricted space which undoubtedly discouraged any extensive detail.—M. J-N.



Figure 5. Los Angeles art market. Photo: A. Daneman.





Figure 7. Los Angeles art market. Photo: A. Daneman.

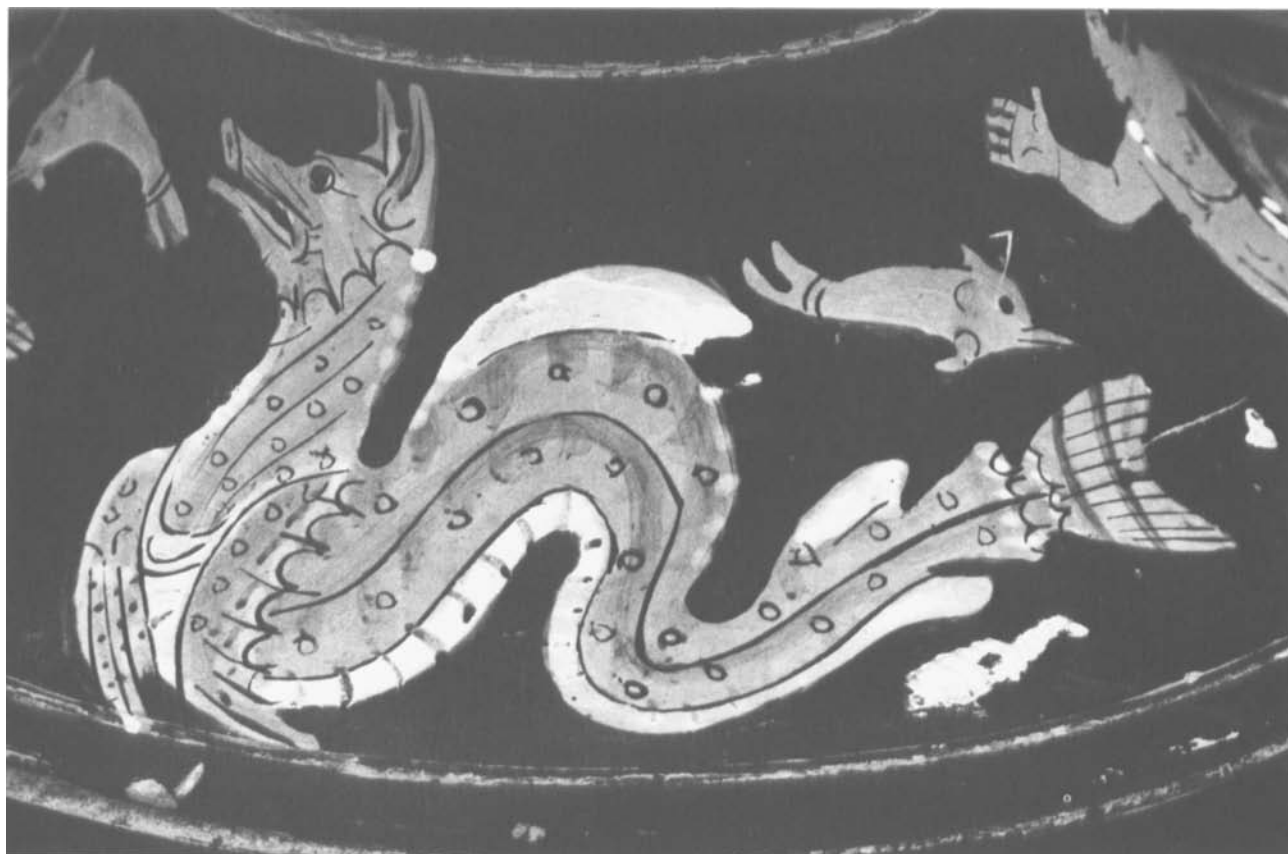


Figure 8. Los Angeles art market. Photo: A. Daneman.

# The Turn of the Wheel

Toby Schreiber

Most ancient Greek potters worked on a potter's wheel which rotated in a counterclockwise direction as it was viewed from above. To appreciate this fact fully it is necessary to understand the relationship between the clay and the potter's hands. For clay to be controlled on a rotating wheel, it must feed into the potter's fingers from the heels of his hands. The fingers form the pot while the rest of the hand controls the pliable clay before it reaches the fingers. Clay cannot be controlled if it is fed into the hands fingers first (see illustration 1). A potter working on a counterclockwise moving wheel works on the right side of the developing vase, the left hand forming the inside and the right hand shaping the outside, as is the practice in most of the world today. The opposite would be true of a clockwise moving wheel, as in modern Japan where potters' wheels turn clockwise, and the potter works on the left side of the developing pot.

A spiral pattern is created in the clay as the vase is pulled upward by the potter's fingers. By observing the spiral created on the inside of a vase, one can determine the direction the wheel is rotating. Illustration 2 contrasts a counterclockwise with a clockwise spiral. The outsides of ancient Greek vases seldom show a spiral, as they were smoothed to facilitate decoration. Figure 1 shows the spiral in a stamnos interior; in figure 2 the same spiral has been lightly traced in pencil. It clearly indicates that this stamnos was created on a counterclockwise rotating wheel. Other counterclockwise spirals can be seen in figure 3 and on the underside of a stamnos lid in figure 4. For clarity it should be noted that modern lids are usually made upside down on the wheel and, from the evidence, ancient lids were too.

Unfortunately, the spiral phenomenon cannot be observed on most vases. Excess clay on the inside was

often trimmed away by the potter, thereby obliterating it. This can be seen at the base of the interior of the vase in figure 3. Conservation practices in mending broken vases, especially in the recent past, often obscure the interior spiral. The spiral may also be encrusted, making it impossible to see the pattern with accuracy (fig. 5).

Besides the evidence of the vases themselves, wheel direction can be deduced by carefully observing illustrations on vases. A hydria in Munich shows an ancient pottery shop on its shoulder (fig. 6). The potter is on the left. He has finished forming the vase and is truing it up, refining it, and giving it the final touches. Because the potter's left shoulder is thrust forward to make his left arm almost vertical, we can assume he has his left forearm *inside* the nearly completed vase. His right hand is missing; presumably it was on the outside steadying that surface in a typical potter's maneuver. He is working on the side of the vase to his right, indicating the wheel was turning in a counterclockwise direction.

Further support for a counterclockwise direction of rotation of the wheel comes from the illustration of the potter's assistant on the same hydria (fig. 7). He sits opposite the potter on a low stool, both legs on the right side of the moving wheel. His right arm is extended with his palm and thumb turned downward on the upper surface of the wheel, an attitude suggestive of pushing. His left arm is partly flexed and the hand is partly under the wheel, suggestive of pulling. Taken together, these arm attitudes suggest a wheel being rotated in a counterclockwise direction by the potter's assistant.

Certain decorative patterns painted on the exterior can also provide evidence to determine wheel direction. A lid or vase to be decorated is centered on the wheel, which is slowly rotated as the artist paints a repetitive motif, such

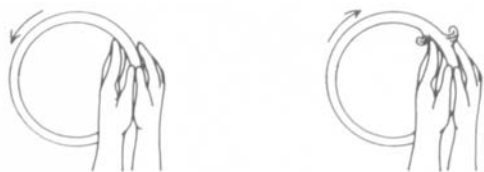


Illustration 1.  
Clay must feed into the potter's fingers from the heel of the hands.

Clay cannot be controlled if fed into potter's hands, fingers first.



Illustration 2.  
Spiral as it appears on a counterclockwise rotating wheel.

Spiral as it appears on a clockwise moving wheel.

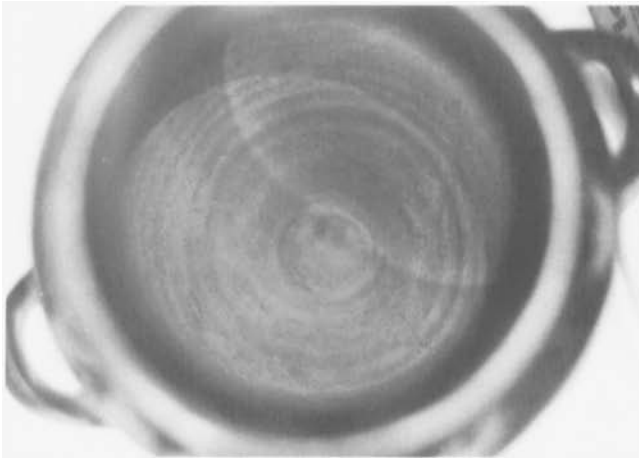


Figure 1. Looking into the mouth of the vase. Note counterclockwise spirals on the interior of stamnos. Attic black figure stamnos by the Michigan Painter. Miniature Class A. Lugano, Private collection.

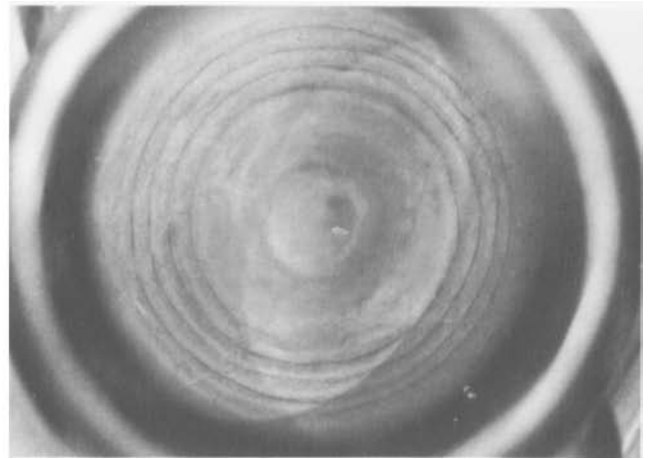


Figure 2. Same counterclockwise spirals lightly outlined in pencil. Attic black figure stamnos by the Michigan Painter. Miniature Class A. Lugano, Private collection.

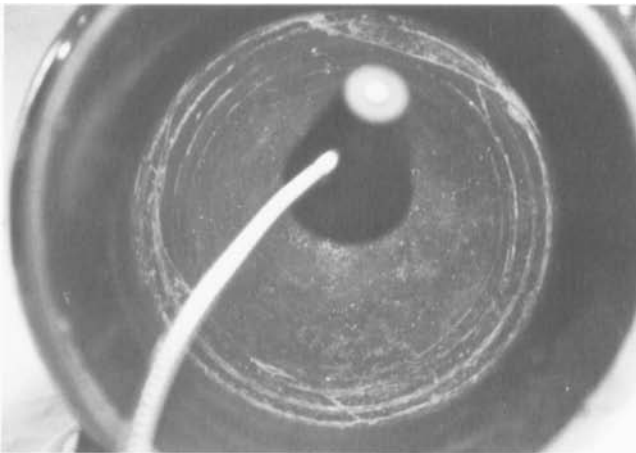


Figure 3. Looking through the mouth of the vase. View shows counterclockwise spiral in a stamnos (bottom portion of vase has been trimmed smooth). Attic red figure stamnos. Lugano, Private collection.

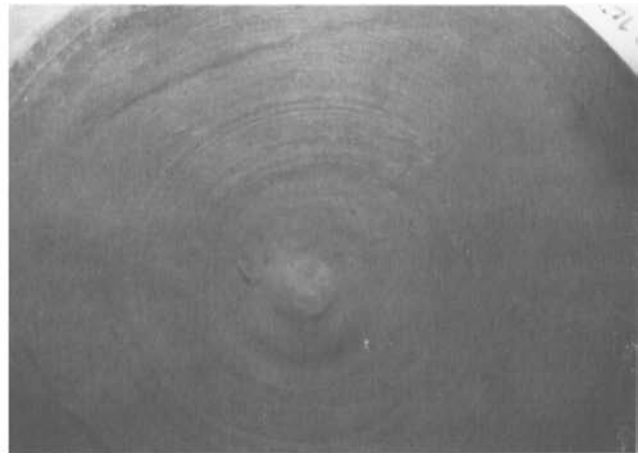


Figure 4. Counterclockwise spiral on under side of a stamnos lid. Stamnos lid by the Achilles Painter. Lugano, Private collection.

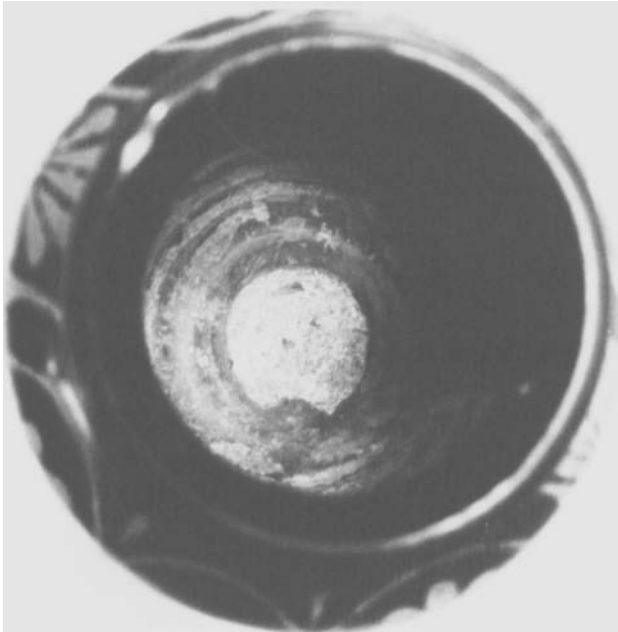


Figure 5. Encrusted spirals, interior of stamnos. Handleless stamnos in Six's technique. Geneva, Private collection.



Figure 6. A potter's shop in antiquity on shoulder of a hydria, showing potter working on counterclockwise moving wheel. Hydria. Munich, Antikensammlungen (1717).



Figure 7. Detail of figure 6. Potter's assistant turning wheel in a counterclockwise direction. Hydria. Munich, Antiken sammlung (1717).

as rays, or lines radiating from a central point. Often one can observe off-centered rays, indicating the direction of the turning wheel. This is caused by the wheel being rotated faster than the artist can carefully work. Viewed at the lower part of the illustration, on a counterclockwise moving wheel the rays veer leftward as they go outward from the center; on a clockwise rotating wheel, the rays veer rightward (see illustration 3). An example of leftward veering rays can be seen immediately beneath the knob on the stamnos lid in figure 8 and on the shoulder of the small lekythos in figure 9. One can also find examples of clockwise spirals and of design motifs veering to the right.

As illustrated in figure 10, some interior glazes are applied sparsely enough to indicate wheel direction.

Since ancient Greek potter's wheels were not motorized, it may be assumed potters could direct assistants to turn the wheel in either direction. However, the majority of the evidence indicates counterclockwise turning wheels. This directional preference may have been due to an historical practice passed down from earlier times, the dominance of right-handedness in mankind, or a master potter throwing in a counterclockwise direction training apprentices in like manner. Whatever the reason, as in modern Greece and in most of the world today, most ancient potter's wheels turned in a counterclockwise direction.

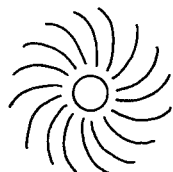
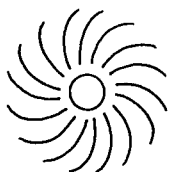


Illustration 3.  
On a counterclockwise rotating wheel, rays veer leftward as viewed from lower part of illustration.

On a clockwise turning wheel rays veer rightward as viewed from lower part of illustration.

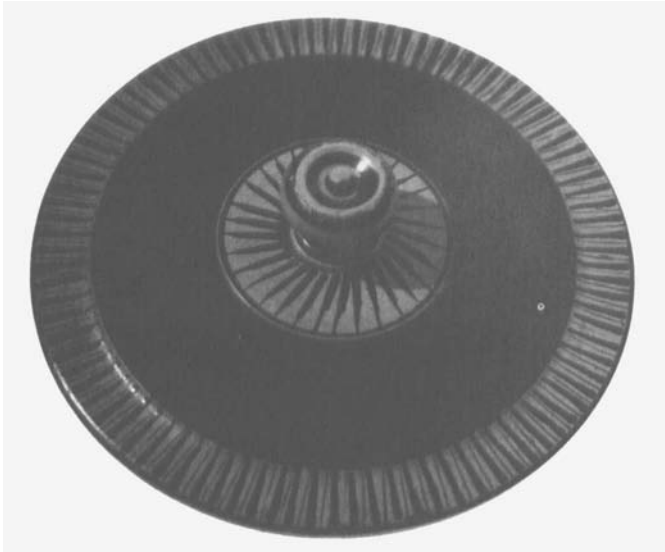


Figure 8. Leftward veering rays on stamnos lid. Stamnos lid by the Achilles Painter. Lugano, Private collection.



Figure 9. Leftward veering rays on lekythos shoulder. Black figure lekythos. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (923.13.42.).

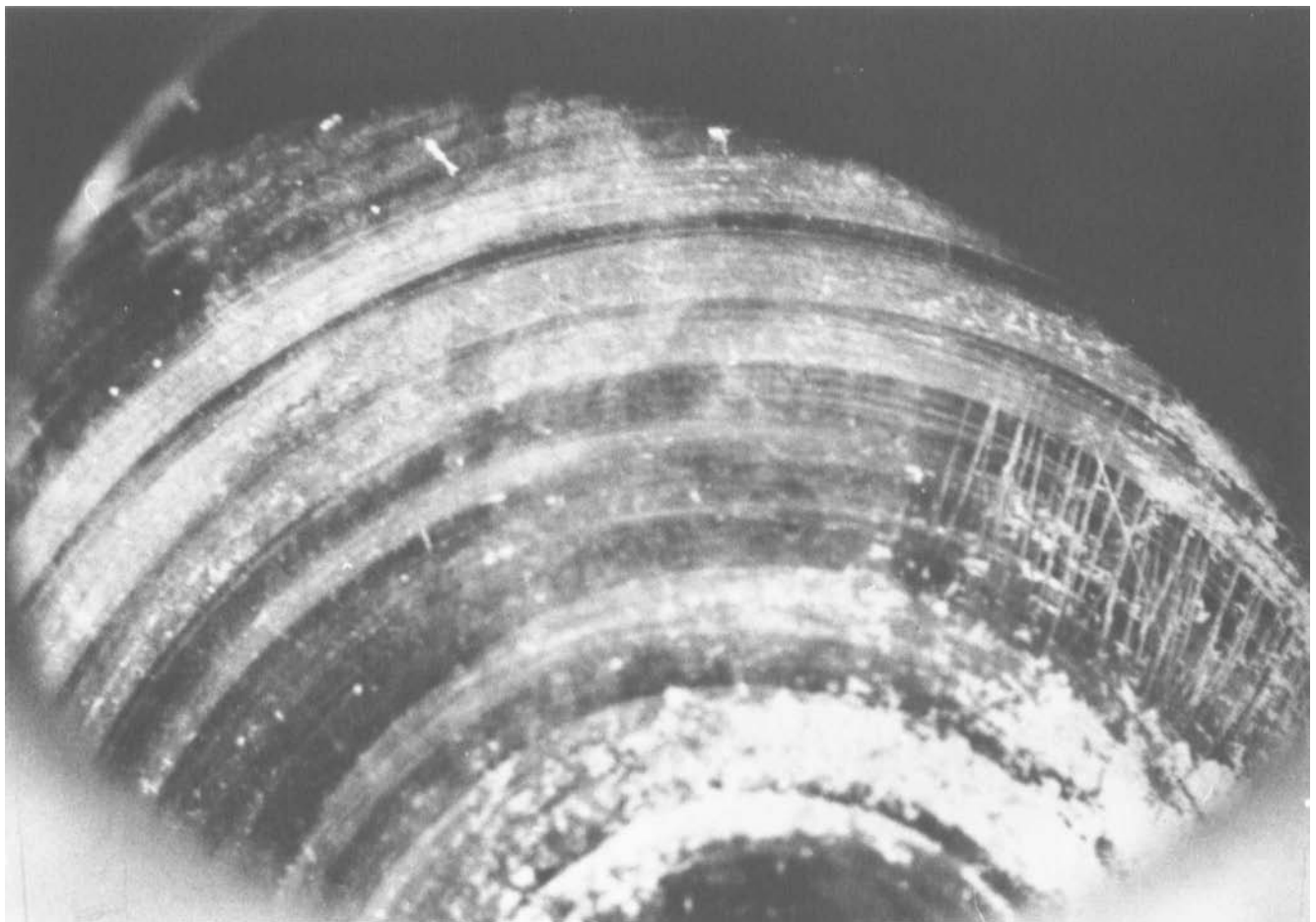


Figure 10. Thinly applied glaze to interior of stamnos. Attic red figure stamnos by the Aegisthus Painter. Lugano, Private collection.

