

Greek Vases

in the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 6



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Greek Vases

in the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 6

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WHAT IS IN A NAME?

THE PAINTER OF VATICAN 73 IN THE GETTY

C. W. Neeft

To the general public, I think, the oeuvre of the Painter of Vatican 73 represents the choicest of Corinthian tall vases (figs. 1a–d). This is mainly due to the style of the Transitional period, to which most of his works belong. In this period, the initial clumsiness of black-figure drawing has been virtually overcome, and a subtle balance has been reached between animals and filling ornaments, between silhouette and details, between black and added red. These characteristics combine to yield a confident, clean, graceful style that can at once be grasped and appreciated. To these general characteristics the Painter of Vatican 73 added a pleasing sense of proportion, remaining true to his main formulas. Such endearing details as the horizontal mustache and the often slanting position of a panther's head as though the animal were begging for a caress add to the appreciation. Moreover, the painter has an extraordinarily firm hand, and his double rendering of particular details imparts a certain richness. The result, in D. A. Amyx's words, is a "very fine, strongly disciplined style."¹

This strong discipline renders the style easily recognizable. H. Payne was the first to identify this anonymous painter; attributions by many others have followed. Altogether, Amyx attributed fifty-six *olpai* and *oinochoai* to the Painter of Vatican 73, thus making his oeuvre rank among the largest recognized in Corinthian ceramics. Despite this extensive body of work, Amyx only rarely added chronological tags to the individual items, never giving reasons. Admittedly, the painter's adamant resistance to new trends endangering his main formulas results in a fairly uniform style, hardly allowing of chronological subdivisions. Nevertheless, we should try to establish such subdivi-

sions, not only to raise the study of vase-painting above the level of stamp collecting, but also to ascertain developments as well as the placement of individual hands and thus to render Corinthian vases a tool for dating, a precondition to coping with issues of wider context. Moreover, such stylistic scrutiny sheds light on what is possible, impossible, likely, and unlikely at any particular moment in a painter's career, allowing us to verify attributions.

Now, it so happens that the Getty Museum has acquired two *olpai* and one narrow-footed *oinochoe*, which Amyx attributed to the Painter of Vatican 73. In 1991, I expressed my doubts as to the attribution of one of these, the *olpe* Malibu 85.AE.89 (see figs. 4a–e). Stylistic scrutiny will prompt the conclusion that the vase is indeed not his. I will buttress this by first analyzing the composition of the friezes and then pointing out a number of telling differences of drawing.

In his 1988 magnum opus, Amyx pointed out that the Painter of Vatican 73 uses "symmetrical, well-tested arrangements."² With respect to his *olpai*, tables 1–4 illustrate this clearly. Five-figure symmetrical groups dominate friezes I and III, three-figure symmetrical groups reign in the centers of friezes II and IV, with the remaining area generally being filled with simple antithetical pairs. When, in a few late pieces, the painter saves energy by rendering three or two friezes only, he leaves out either frieze IV (nos. 30 and 34, fig. 2) or friezes I and II (nos. 35–36).

Frieze I (table 1) is usually completely filled with a five-figure symmetrical arrangement. The five-figure group consists of a central avian between two sphinxes heraldically flanked by felines. There is often room to insert a (generally) averted³ avian at either end of the



FIGURE 1a. Olpe, by the Painter of Vatican 73. Front. Catalogue no. 26. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.39.



FIGURE 1b. Olpe, figure 1a. Side. The body fragment of the panther to left in frieze 1 erroneously restored as part of a sphinx; see comment to catalogue no. 18, p. 29.



FIGURE 1c. Olpe, figure 1a. Back.



FIGURE 1d. Olpe, figure 1a. Side.



FIGURE 2. Olpe, by the Painter of Vatican 73. Side. Catalogue no. 34. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1962.41.

frieze.⁴ As a result there is no room for ungulates. The central avian is usually a swan to right, replaced in the late stage by a regardant siren, also to right. The felines are generally panthers in this frieze. In the early middle stage, the painter tries to alternate the felines, using one of each, lion and panther, a tendency not brought to fruition until the late stage (see below).

The three-figure group in the center of frieze II (table 2) consists of an ungulate to right flanked by a feline on either side. Two pairs of antithetical animals, each consisting of an ungulate facing a feline, are added to fill the frieze. Thus, all ungulates go to right, as already observed by Amyx.⁵ In the late stage, there is only a single ungulate at the left of the central threesome. This change is probably due to the elongation of the animals, which results in a reduction of the available space. Just before this ungulate was left stranded, there was a stage when an avian, of shorter build,

replaced the feline in the antithetical pair. The central ungulate of the threesome can be a boar, goat, bull, or stag, the stag being roughly confined to the later middle and late stages (cf. also the corresponding left lateral pair). In frieze II, the threesomes generally show lions alternating with the (central) panthers in friezes I and III. During the transition from the early to the middle period, panthers are preferred as the left-hand element in the threesome. In the late period, panthers are clearly used to alternate with lions in the frieze (see the broad-bottomed oinochoai, below). Commonly, the painter also varies his felines in the lateral pairs, preferring a panther at the right and a lion at the left of the central threesome. Except for nos. 4–5, 25, and 31, lions in the pair at the right of the central threesome all belong to the first half of the middle period. Thus, they generally meet a lion in the pair at the left of the threesome (nos. 12–17). Slightly earlier (nos. 9–10), panthers occur in both lateral pairs. In other words, after his early experiments, it is only from the advanced middle stage onward that the painter finds his way of alternating the feline species, his name piece (no. 24) being a notable exception.

The heraldic five-figure group in the center of frieze III (table 3) leaves room for two pairs of antithetical animals on the back of the vase, below the handle. This central five-figure arrangement echoes that in frieze I. Again, the panther is the favorite feline, but the lion has gained ground, first (during the transition to the middle period), particularly as the left-hand element of the fivesome and, in the late period, in deliberate alternation with the panther. Once (no. 30), griffins take the place of the sphinxes. The ungulates go to right here too, though in greater variety than in frieze II, the stag again being confined mainly to the later middle and late stages. In the earliest works, the compact builds of the animals make such a composition fall short of filling the entire frieze. The area thus left vacant is occupied by a siren on no. 1, by a seated panther on no. 2; later, by an avian on no. 7, swans on nos. 12 and 25, and a regardant siren on no. 46 (their positions are marked with an asterisk in table 3).

In frieze IV (table 4), the addition of two pairs to the central threesome does not suffice to fill the space. To make up for this, a single ungulate, as ever to right, is added.⁶ On olpai, rams occur almost exclusively as one of these additional ungulates, probably because of their shorter builds.⁷ In the threesome itself, the central ungulate is nearly always a goat or a bull, the latter ris-

ing in favor with time. As in frieze II, the common feline is a lion, but, at the transition to the middle period, there is a preference for a panther as the left element and, in the late stage, a willingness to use one of each subspecies. Goats and boars are popular in the lateral pairs. Olpe no. 1 is exceptional. The frieze consists of four pairs and an additional ungulate, this time to the left. One of the other ungulates (a bull) goes to left, too, and a lion has replaced the ungulate in the extreme left pair. This olpe is noncanonical in many other respects as well.⁸

Equally strict rules of composition apply to oinochoai. All but one (no. 52) of the narrow-footed variety are decorated with two friezes (tables 5a–b). The upper frieze is best compared with frieze III of the olpai. A five-figure heraldic group reigns in the center. The remaining space is commonly filled with four pairs. Three of these show the habitual ungulate facing feline, the fourth pair is discussed below. The lower frieze, comparable to frieze IV of the olpai, has a symmetrical arrangement, three pairs of an ungulate facing a feline and a single additional ungulate, usually to

right, occupying the remaining vacant space. On nos. 53 and 58, respectively, an extra panther and a swan (indicated on table 5b by an asterisk) are added at the left of the threesome.

In the upper frieze of all but no. 58, a swan occupies the central position (figs. 3a–d), as it does on olpai until the late stage. Here, again, swans go to right, except on the single-frieze oinochoe Louvre 10528 (no. 52). On no. 58, there is a (regardant) siren in the center of frieze I, as also found on late olpai. The felines of the central group are usually panthers, Malibu 85.AE.88 (fig. 3a) being an exception. The painter takes care to alternate felines and ungulates in the lateral pairs,⁹ preferring a bull at the right of the five-figure group. The pair at the left of the central fivesome is evidently not standardized. It consists of a lion facing a bull (and an extra swan to left) on no. 52; of an ungulate facing a bird on no. 53; of an ungulate and a swan, both to right, on no. 54; of a single ungulate, as always to right, on nos. 56–57; and only on no. 58 of an ungulate facing a regardant lion (elsewhere more or less the habitual pair).

LEGEND FOR TABLES I–10

- feature present
- feature not present
- X feature not preserved
- [blank] feature unknown
- * additional figure

Numbers in the far left columns of the tables correspond to the numbers in the catalogue, below, pp. 28–32.

In tables 7–9, the details are charted according to directions of felines, to features, friezes, and, for felines to left, from top to bottom according to the positions they have from left to right in tables 1–6.

In discussing the groin and leg types (last three columns but one in tables 7–9), I have indicated in the numerator the number of specimens on which a certain phenomenon is found, in the denominator the total number of felines known to me.

In the last column, the following peculiarities are charted. For felines as well as ungulates: *A*, double incision for buttock; *B*, muscles in forward near hind leg (cf. fig. 2). For felines: *C*, extra line below knee of fore-leg (particularly common with the feline to left in frieze I of the olpai); *D*, muscles, i.e., comma, on forward yonder hind leg (with nos. 65 and 67, on backward yonder hind leg); *E*, hair on forward yonder hind leg; *F*, hair along buttock near forward hind leg; *G*, double incisions in hindquarters (cf. fig. 2). For lions: *H*, folded, Assyrian ear (cf. fig. 2). For panthers: *I*, hair on face (cf. fig. 2). For ungulates: *J*, double rendering of groin; *K*, double rendering of belly zone; *L*, double rendering of eye (cf. fig. 2). For boars: *M*, ruff of hair behind face; *N*, incised bristles. For goats and stags: *O*, double jaw incision; *P*, rib markings; *Q*, both ears. For bulls: *R*, scalloping for jaw (already pointed out by M. Steinhart, *AA*, 1994: 14 n. 32). For sirens/sphinxes: *S*, extra line below knee (cf. *C*); *T*, dip of hair in front of ear; *U*, hair fillet on skull; *V*, wavy front lower ear.

TABLE I. Composition of frieze I on olpai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

	←	→	→	→	←	←	→
EARLY	1. swan→	panther	X	X	sphinx	lion	←swan
	2. siren	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	swan
	3. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	4.				sphinx	panther	-
	5.		sphinx	swan	sphinx	feline	-
	6. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	7. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	8.				sphinx	panther	-
	9. -	lion↗	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	10. swan	feline	X	X	X	X	X
	11. swan	panther	sphinx	swan			
	12. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	swan
MIDDLE	13.	panther	sphinx	X	sphinx	feline	-
	14. ↗hare	lion	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	15. -	lion	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	16. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	17. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-
	18. X	X	X	X	sphinx	panther	←swan
	19. swan	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx		
	20. swan	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	swan
	21. swan	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	swan
22. swan	pantheress	sphinx	swan	sphinx	↖lion	swan	
23. swan	panther	X	X	X	X	X	
24. -	lion↗	sphinx	swan	sphinx	↖lion	-	
25. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-	
26. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-	
27. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-	
28. -	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	-	
LATE	29. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	30. swan	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	swan
	31. -	panther	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	lion	-
	32. -	lion	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	panther	-
	33. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	34. -	panther	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	panther	-
	35.						
	36.						
UNDATABLE	and						
	43. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	44. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	45. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	46. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	47. X	X	X	X	sphinx	panther	X
	48. X	X	X	X	X	X	X
49. X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
50. X	X	X	X	sphinx	feline	X	

TABLE 2. Composition of frieze II on olpai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

	→	←	→	→	←	→	←	
EARLY	1.	bull	'dog'	X	boar	lion	goat	'dog'
	2.	bull	lioness	lion	bull	lion	goat	panther
	3.	goat	lion	lion	bull	lion	bull	pantheress
	4.					lion	boar	lion
	5.			lion	goat	lion	boar	lion
	6.	stag	seated lion ↗	lion	goat	lion	goat	panther
	7.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	8.					lion	boar	panther
	9.	bull	panther	lion	goat	lion	stag	panther
	10.	bull	panther	feline	X	X	goat	panther
	11.	goat	lion	panther	bull			
	12.	bull	lion	panther	goat	lion	goat	lion
MIDDLE	13.	boar	siren ↗	feline	X	feline	X	X
	14.	boar	panther	panther	bull	lion	boar	lion
	15.	bull	lion	panther	bull	lion	goat	lion
	16.	bull	lion	lion	goat	lion	bull	lion
	17.	goat	seated lion ↗	lion	goat	lion	boar	lion
	18.	X	X	X	X	X	X	panther
	19.	goat	↖lion	lion	goat	lion		
	20.	bull	lion	feline	goat	lion	boar	panther
	21.	boar	lion	lion	goat	lion	bull	panther
22.	stag	lion	lion	stag	lion	bull	panther	
23.	stag	lion	feline	X	X	X	X	
24.	bull	panther	panther	stag	panther	bull	panther	
25.	goat	swan	lion	goat	lion	goat	lion	
26.	X	lion	'dog'	goat	feline	X	X	
27.	bull	lion	lion	goat	lion	bull	panther	
28.	bull	swan ↗	lion	stag	lion	boar	panther	
LATE	29.	X	X	feline	X	X	X	X
	30.	bull	siren ↗	lion	bull	panther	goat	panther
	31.	stag	-	lion	goat	panther	bull	lion
	32.	goat	-	panther	goat	lion	goat	panther
	33.	X	X	X	ungulate	X	X	X
	34.	stag	-	panther	stag	lion	goat	panther
	35.							
	36.							
UNDATABLE	and							
	43.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	44.	X	X	lion	ungulate	X	X	X
	45.	X	X	lion	bull	X	X	X
	46.	X	feline	feline	X	X	X	X
	47.	X	X	X	stag	lion	bull	X
	48.	X	X	X	X	X	X	feline
	49.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
50.	X	X	X	X	lion	ungulate	X	

TABLE 5a. Composition of the upper frieze on narrow-footed oinochoai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

	→	←	→	←	→	→	←	←	→	←	→	←	
52.	goat	lion	* lion	bull	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	lion	bull	lion	boar	lion
53.	goat	lion	bull	swan	panther	sphinx	X	sphinx	panther	goat	lion	boar	panther
54.	boar	lion	goat	swan	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	bull	lion	goat	panther
55.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	goat	lion	ungulate	X
56.	stag	lion	goat	-	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther	stag	lion	bull	panther
57.	boar	lion	boar	-	lion	sphinx	swan	sphinx	lion	bull	panther	goat	pantheress
58.	bull	lion	goat	∩lion	panther	sphinx	siren	sphinx	panther	bull	lion	stag	panther

TABLE 5b. Composition of the lower frieze on narrow-footed oinochoai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

	→	←	→	→	←	→	←	→	←	
52.										
53.	stag	panther	goat	* lion	bull	lion	ram	panther	ram	lion
54.	goat	panther	bull	lion	boar	lion	boar	panther	stag	lion
55.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
56.	goat	lion	←	lion	goat	lion	boar	panther	goat?	lion
57.	goat	panther	ram	panther	goat	panther	bull	panther	bull	lion
58.	goat	panther	bull	* lion	stag	lion	stag	panther	bull	lion

In the lower frieze, the central threesome consists of an ungulate to right heraldically flanked by felines (see fig. 3a), the latter in careful alternation with those above them. Again, the painter takes care to vary the felines and ungulates in the frieze. The Malibu piece (no. 57) once more forms a notable exception: two boars are found in juxtaposed groups in the upper, two bulls¹⁰ similarly in the lower frieze (see figs. 3b and d).¹¹ Ungulates, as ever, go to right, with the one exception of the boar on no. 56.

Broad-bottomed oinochoai (table 6) are decorated with a single frieze similar to the upper frieze of the narrow-footed oinochoai. This frieze is commonly found on the belly of the vessel. Munich 8767 (no. 71), however, is a rare attempt to revive a Protogeometric scheme of decoration.¹² On it, a seven-figure heraldic arrangement suffices to meet the demands of decoration. On the "belly vessels," three pairs of an ungulate facing a feline accompany a central, five-figure symmetrical arrangement, in which it is the rule for a siren to occupy the central position. Only twice does a swan do so. The felines of the central group are generally lions. Again, the painter maintains his careful alternation of feline and ungulate species. As to the latter, he places a goat or a stag immediately to the right of the central arrangement, next to it usually a bull, and usu-

ally a goat or a stag at its left. As ever, these ungulates go to right. Boars, so numerous on narrow-footed oinochoai, do not occur on broad-bottomed oinochoai. On no. 68, a swan is added at the left of the central fivesome.

On the Painter of Vatican 73's *olpai*, this strict composition of the friezes entails the presence of four felines to right (each serving as the left-hand element of the central group in each of the friezes) and of ten felines to left, except for nine to left on nos. 25 and 31, eight on nos. 28 and 32, six on no. 34, and five each on nos. 30 and 35-36. His oinochoai have one feline to right and four to left per frieze, except on nos. 52-53, 58, 69, and 71 (see tables 5-6). Showing identical body renderings and being the most common animals, lions and panthers best serve a discussion of the development of style.

On all three vase shapes, the Painter of Vatican 73 varies the bodies and legs of felines, depending on whether they face right or left; on *olpai*, he further varies his treatment according to the frieze in which they occur. As to the particular, he has two ways of rendering the feline groin. Where the near hind leg leads, the groin incision is a single, slightly curved, vertical line; where it trails, the groin marking is half an arc plus a horizontal stroke (see note 23). The latter

TABLE 6. Composition of the single frieze on broad-bottomed oinochoai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

	→	←	→	←	→	→	→	←	←	→	←
62.	X	X	bull	lion	X	sphinx	swan	sphinx	feline	stag	X
63.	bull	lioness	stag	pantheress	lion	sphinx	swan	sphinx	lion	goat	panther
64.	bull	lion	stag	↖lion	panther	sphinx	siren	sphinx	lion	goat	panther
65.	bull	lion	goat	panther	lion	sphinx	siren	sphinx	lioness	stag	panther
66.	bull	lion	stag	pantheress	lion	sphinx↗	siren	↖sphinx	lion	goat	panther
67.	bull	panther	goat	lion	panther	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	panther	stag	lion
68.	goat	lion	bull	panther	lioness	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	lion	goat	panther
69.	bull	lion	goat	panther-bird	lion	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	lion	stag	panther
70.	X	feline	ungulate	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
and											
71.	-	-	-	→ stag	↗ lion	sphinx	siren↗	sphinx	panther	← stag	-

rendering is very popular with felines to right after the early period (see fig. 1a).¹³ Only this scheme lets the artist adorn the trailing leg with buttock muscles, trochanter, and hair.¹⁴ On *olpai*, this elaborated type is quite rare in felines to left (however, see fig. 2). Hair fringing the haunch and elaborate hindquarters, therefore, are not tabulated for felines to left in table 7.¹⁵

Feline forelegs also vary consistently. The near leg usually trails. But, when it leads, both near and far legs retain their characteristic details (see fig. 3b); after the *olpai* in Amherst (no. 15) and Bloomington (no. 14), this is called the A-B system (tabulated on tables 7–9, in the second column from the right). It occurs almost exclusively with felines facing left.¹⁶

Table 7 charts the occurrence of incised details of feline bodies on *olpai*, excluding seated felines. As stated above, in each frieze the felines usually count one to right and three to left, but frieze I, being short, has one to right and only one to left. Before the late stage, details on *olpai* are most profuse in frieze IV (where they are also met for the first time), followed by frieze II for felines to left and by frieze III for felines to right. Although the number of details clearly increases over time, there is no strict pattern. For example, in felines to right on the Gotha and Toledo *olpai* (nos. 27–28), which belong to the end of the middle period, details are still rather sparse.

In the late stage, rib markings and double arcs for hipbone and folds of skin at the root of the tail are standard devices, particularly for felines to the left. Furthermore, on *olpai* it is not until this stage that muscles and trochanter are rendered on the buttocks of felines to right¹⁷ and that a number of other new

details and/or elaborations of old ones occurs (tables 7–9 last column; see fig. 2).¹⁸ The most obvious change is in the heads of sphinxes and, less frequently, sirens. The hair fillet is now usually found on the crown instead of behind the ear (tables 7, 9: U); the hair border is smooth, showing a dip in front of the ear (T); and, under the influence of the Griffin-Sphinx tradition, the lower two lobes in the front of the ear may be replaced by a wavy line (V). On the legs of sphinxes, an incision is often added to the knee (S), a trait already attested for walking felines (C) from early in the middle period onward. In late lions, there is a steady increase in the number of folded ears (H).

For the early and middle periods, the tabulated traits, showing no clear patterns, are less easily interpretable. For instance, what date should be given to the painter's name piece (no. 24) with its peculiar anomaly of rather elaborate felines to right yet sober felines to left? Here, I think, the types of leg and groin are decisive. The A-B leg system, occasionally seen in the early period, is suddenly favored in the first part of the middle period, after which it virtually disappears from *olpai* (cf. the broad-bottomed oinochoai below, table 9). Since there are a few instances of the A-B leg system on the painter's name piece, it belongs to the later middle rather than the early period, or even the first half of the middle period. Also, the occurrence of the second, more elaborate type of groin on nearly all felines to right points to the later phase. While the elaborate groin is not unknown in the early period, it is by and large the standard option in felines to right from the later middle period onward. Similarly, hair fringes on the hind legs belong to the middle or late stages

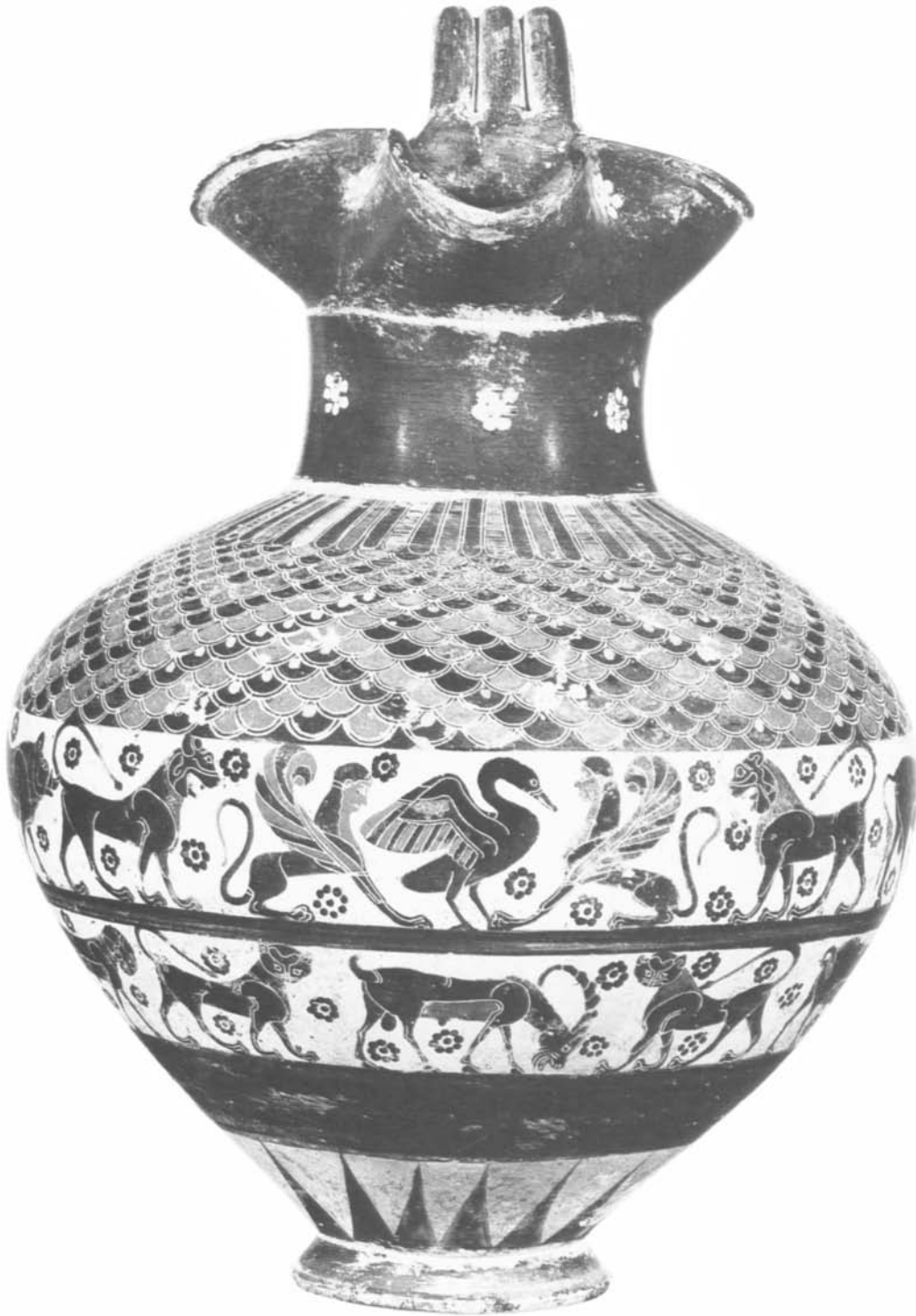


FIGURE 3a. Narrow-footed oinochoe, by the Painter of Vatican 73. Front. Catalogue no. 57. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.88.

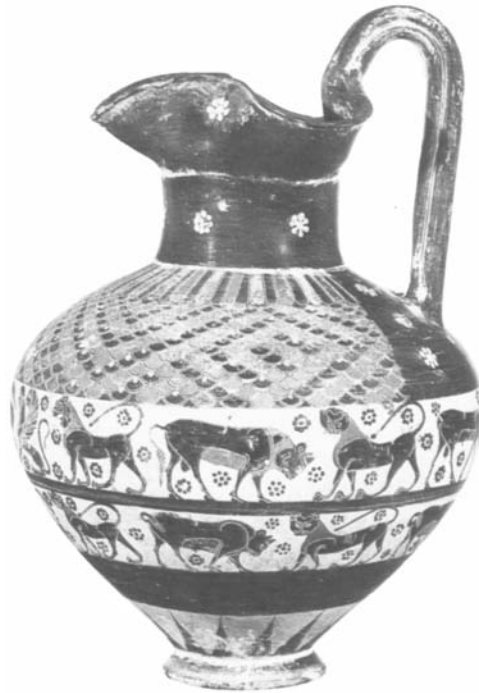


FIGURE 3b. Oinochoe, figure 3a. Side.



FIGURE 3c. Oinochoe, figure 3a. Back.



FIGURE 3d. Oinochoe, figure 3a. Side.

TABLE 7. Incised details of feline bodies on olpai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

NUMBER	→																←				ELABORATE GROIN → ←	A-B LEG SYSTEM*	PECULIARITIES																	
	RIBS				HIP				TAIL				HAIR				ELABORATE HIND-QUARTERS							RIBS				HIP				TAIL								
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV				I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
1.	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	•	-	x	x	•	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/3	0/9	3/8	
2.	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0/4	5/10	0/10	AJ
3.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0/3	1/10	1/10	A				
4.																																					0/7	1/6	A	
5.	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0/2	0/5	1/7					
6.	x	-	-	-	x	-	•	-	x	-	•	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	•	x	-	•	•	x	-	•	x	x	-	1/3	0/6	1/6	B				
7.																																	1/2		0/2					
8.																																	1/6	1/6						
9.	-	-	x	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	•	-	-	x	•	x	-	-	0/3	1/7	1/4	BDS				
10.	x	x	-	•	x	x	-	-	x	x	•	•	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0/4	1/4	0/4	N				
11.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/4	1/3	0/2	E				
12.	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/4	0/10	0/10	A				
13.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0/1	2/2	N				
14.	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	-	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/4	0/9	6/9	A				
15.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•?	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/4	1/10	6/9	N				
16.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3/4	2/10	7/10	C				
17.	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/3	0/9	6/9	AC				
18.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2/2	C				

*Amherst-Bloomington leg system.

TABLE 8. Incised details of feline bodies on narrow-footed oinochoai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

NUMBER	FRIEZE I												FRIEZE II												PECULIARITIES			
	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	ELABORATE GROIN	A-B LEG SYSTEM	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	ELABORATE GROIN	A-B LEG SYSTEM				
52.	-	•	x	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
53.	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	M
54.	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	AH JT
56.	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	(E)JN
57.	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	CJ
58.	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	AB CE

rather than to the early stage. The name piece, therefore, is best regarded as a fairly poor vase from the later middle period instead of as a rich specimen from rather late in the early period.

On narrow-footed oinochoai (table 8), the swan as the common central animal of the five-figure groups and the virtual absence of the elaborate groin type and other late details make them comparable to early- and middle-stage olpai. On narrow-footed oinochoai, however, the body details of felines to left considerably outnumber those on contemporary, that is, early- and middle-stage olpai. The conclusion imposed by these distinctions is that the olpe may be a cheaper type of pouring vessel in the painter's oeuvre.

As to broad-bottomed oinochoai (table 9), the use of sirens in the center of the five-figure arrangements, the profusion of feline body details (the hair fringe and the buttock muscles being particularly significant), and the great number of elaborations clearly show them

to be contemporary with the late stage of the olpai. Apparently, therefore, the broad-bottomed variety is the successor to the narrow-footed trefoil oinochoai in the Painter of Vatican 73's oeuvre. The occurrence of the A-B leg system in this vase shape is remarkable (cf. late olpai).

In addition to these incised details (the first things to attract attention), the drawing provides a clue to chronology. The earliest animals are of extremely compact build, and the felines tiptoe on small paws. Over time, the bodies become more elongated and the paws more horizontal.¹⁹

As to secondary ornamentation, the bands between the olpai friezes do not seem to be a great help. They carry applied red lines, at times supplemented with white ones, but without any apparent pattern. There are two main varieties of fillings on olpai: stalk- and dot-rosettes. The central dots of stalk-rosettes (see fig. 2) are bigger than those of dot-rosettes (see figs.

TABLE 9. Incised details of feline bodies on broad-bottomed oinochoai by the Painter of Vatican 73.

NUMBER	→					←					ELABORATE GROIN		A-B LEG SYSTEM	PECULIARITIES	
	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	RIBS	HIP	TAIL	HAIR	HINDQUARTERS	→	←			
62.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0/2	1/1	BGTUV	
63.	-	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	0/1	0/4	0/4	BHJQSTU
64.	-	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	0/1	0/3	0/3	BCDFHJSTU
65.	-	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	1/1	2/4	2/3	BCDEGHSTUV
66.	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1/1	0/4	1/4	ABCDEFGHIQSTU
67.	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	1/1	0/4	1/4	OPT
68.	-	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	0/1	0/4	0/4	AQSTU
69.	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1/1	1/3	2/3	BCDEHOPQSTU

1a-d and 3a-d), and the whole stalk-rosettes, in turn, are bigger than the dot-rosettes. On oinochoai, only the smaller dot-rosettes occur. If, as Villard suggests,²⁰ the different filling is the work of an assistant, then the question arises which filling motifs should be attributed to the Painter of Vatican 73 and which to the assistant (or assistants?). I surmise that the Painter of Vatican 73 is responsible for the dot-rosettes, even though these are absent from his earliest olpai. Four pieces, all with

stalk-rosettes, have additional filling ornaments: nos. 20 and 22 show silhouette plusses, no. 27 a leaf-rosette, and no. 33 a pair of sigmas.

Four olpai attributed by Amyx to the Painter of Vatican 73 differ so consistently from his work that they cannot be his. In fact, Amyx himself already pointed out differences of drawing and composition between these olpai and the Painter of Vatican 73's oeuvre.²¹



FIGURE 4a. Olpe, by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 (name piece). Front.
Catalogue no. 3. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.89.



FIGURE 4b. Olpe, figure 4a. Side.



FIGURE 4c. Olpe, figure 4a. Back.



FIGURE 4d. Olpe, figure 4a. Side.

TABLE 10. Composition of friezes in the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's oeuvre.

FRIEZE I

1.					
2.	→	←	→	←	
	panther	boar	lion	bull	
3.	→	←	→	←	
	panther	goat	lion	goat	
4.	→	→	→	←	←
	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther
5.	X	X	X	X	X
6.	X	X	X	X	X

FRIEZE II

1.							
2.	→	←	→	←	→	→	←
	panther	bull	lion	bull	bird	lion	boar
3.	→	←	→	←	←	←	
	lion	bull	lion	stag	lion	stag	
4.	→	←	←	→	→	←	←
	lion	stag	panther	lion ↗	lion	goat	lion
5.	X	X	←	→	X	X	X
			feline	feline			
6.		←	→	X	X	X	X
		siren	sphinx?				

FRIEZE III

1.								
2.	→	→	←	→	←	→	←	←
	swan	lion	boar	lion	ram	lion	goat	panther
3.	→	←	←	→	←	←	←	
	lion	stag	panther	lion	bull	panther	boar	swan
4.	→	←	←	→	→	→	←	←
	lion	goat	lion	panther	sphinx	swan	sphinx	panther
5.	X	←	←	→	X	X	X	X
		ungulate	lion	feline				
6.	X	X	→	←	X	X	X	X
			stag	swan				

FRIEZE IV

1.	X	←	→	←	←			
		boar	lion	bull	lion			
2.	→	←	→	←	←	→	←	←
	lion	stag	panther	boar	swan	lion	goat	panther
3.	→	←	←	→	←	→	←	←
	lion	bull	lion	lion	boar	lion	bull	swan
4.	→	←	←	→	←	←	→	←
	lion	stag	lion	lion	goat	lion	lion	boar
5.	X	←	←	→	←	→	X	X
		boar	lion	feline	goat	lion		
6.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

There are a few works to be linked up with them, and I would suggest naming their hand after the Malibu olpe (figs. 4a–e), his best-preserved piece so far. He will turn out to be an older colleague of the Painter of Vatican 73. His style foreshadows the Painter of Aegina κ 364 and the Griffin-Sphinx tradition.

The composition of the friezes is less organized with the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 (table 10) than with the Painter of Vatican 73. Friezes I and II on no. 2 and frieze I on no. 3 have pairs, each of a feline facing an ungulate, producing a centrifugal effect, at least in frieze I (see fig. 4a). Threesomes in friezes III and IV are generally not centric on the pot either. On the Madison olpe (no. 4), however, five-figure symmetrical compositions adorn friezes I and III. Considering the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's previous lack of sensitivity to balanced composition, the Painter of Vatican 73 was a lender rather than a borrower here. As a result of the way in which the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 composes his pairs, i.e., felines facing ungulates, all his ungulates but two—a bull on the Madison, olpe (no. 4) and a stag on one of the Syracuse fragments (no. 6)—go to left, and most felines face right—exactly the opposite of the Painter of Vatican 73. With the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's felines to right, it is the near hind leg that follows, and it nearly always²² has the elaborate groin rendering described above.²³

Despite a general similarity, the differences between the details of their drawings rule out that the Painter of Vatican 73 developed from the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. With the latter's mammals, the joint incisions have smaller hooks than those of the Painter of Vatican 73 and the shoulders tend to be flatter.

The Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's lions (see fig. 4e) have a single line above the eye instead of the two incisions seen in the oeuvre of the Painter of Vatican 73 (fig. 5). The borderline of the upper lip is more sinuous behind the nose curl; it starts running more or less parallel to the lower part of the mouth, then diverges from it at the extremity of the lower jaw and, usually, curves upward to just short of the ear. With the Painter of Vatican 73, however, the line of the upper lip does not recurve upward toward the ear. With the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89, there are always teeth behind the incisor in the lower jaw, and the head profiles are less bulging. Whereas he uses a single recurving line for the panther's muzzle, the Painter of Vatican 73 depicts above it another line, which is usually straight, but may curve downward like the muzzle border (e.g., no. 68)

or even upward like a real mustache (see the panther-bird on no. 69). At first, the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's panthers have a dipped line in the foreheads (see figs. 4b, d)—the type used by the Painter of Vatican 73 all through his career. On the Madison olpe, a “dip” is suspended from the center of an arched horizontal line (fig. 6)²⁴—the type developed in the Griffin-Sphinx tradition.

Feline eyes are generally single at first. When they are rendered double,²⁵ it is by means of two concentric circles. On the Madison olpe (see fig. 6) and on the Syracuse fragments, the eyes are amygdaloid, with floating pupils, that is, the type used in the Griffin-Sphinx tradition.²⁶ With feline bodies, the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 is at first extremely sparing with details. There are no markings for the ribs, nor for hipbone, wrinkles at the root of the tails, hair fringe on the haunches, or muscles on the buttocks. This changes with the Syracuse fragments.²⁷ These show markings for the ribs, for the muscles on the trailing hind legs, and on the interiors of the leading far hind legs of the felines to left, for the muscles in the leading near hind legs, and for the wrinkles at the root of the tails on felines to right. The A-B leg system appears with felines to left here. Furthermore, the bodies are more slender.

Ungulates are different too. Above the mouths of ungulates, the Painter of Vatican 73 draws two straight lines (fig. 7), the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 a single, recurving line (fig. 8).²⁸ The line undulates at first (nos. 1–3), later it straightens. As with the felines, the eyes are double on nos. 4–6; some of their ungulates have double lines above the eyes, as is the rule in the works of the Painter of Vatican 73. Tails of boars are never incised, just the opposite of the Painter of Vatican 73. The two incisions at the root of the horns of ungulates, which are characteristic of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's oeuvre, are absent from the Painter of Vatican 73's works. There are incisions for hipbone and wrinkles at the root of the tail only on the Syracuse fragments (nos. 5–6). In the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's oeuvre, the belly zone is always low. Whereas the Painter of Vatican 73's ungulates invariably show a hooked line above the hooves, this detail turns up only in the latest works of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 (nos. 5–6). On the other hand, only a couple of the Painter of Vatican 73's late goats and stags show the double jaw incision (tables 7 and 9: O), which is more or less standard for these animals in the oeuvre of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89.



FIGURE 4e. Olpe, figure 4a. Detail of lion by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89.

Winged creatures, few though they are, call for attention. The sphinxes on the Madison olpe have simple, round ears, lacking both an indent at the back and a tragus in front, which are standard with the Painter of Vatican 73. Also, the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's rectangle between wing and leg is much bigger than with the Painter of Vatican 73 and very much like the type used by the Sphinx Painter. The fillet is around the crown of the head as in the late stage of the Painter of Vatican 73 (tables 7, 9: U); there is no incised hair curl. After the experimental stage of no. 2 (fig. 9), folded wings of standing birds show sharp angles in wing bars (see fig. 4c) and, generally, in single wing-covert divisions. There is a single line marking the transition from bill to head, and the jaw is indicated. With the Painter of Vatican 73, standing birds have two lines for the

demarcation of the bill and no jawline (see figs. 1b, 3a); wing bars and wing-covert divisions, always with two incisions, usually show a faint curve at first, but are generally straightened later.

The characteristics of the avians in the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's oeuvre are by and large the same as those of the Sphinx Painter's birds.²⁹ The standing bird with raised wings, as seen on the Malibu olpe (see fig. 4c), is very popular with the Sphinx Painter and his pupils, but almost unknown in the oeuvre of the Painter of Vatican 73, the narrow-footed oinochoe Malibu 85.AE.88 (see fig. 3a) again being an exception. In light of these similarities of species and details, we may wonder, reviving an idea once put forward by Benson,³⁰ whether the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 and the Sphinx Painter are in fact manifestations of one and



FIGURE 5. Narrow-footed oinochoe, figure 3a. Detail of lion by the Painter of Vatican 73.

the same hand, the main difference—the lion's head—being due to the introduction of the Assyrian type. Clearly, more evidence is needed here. But even with what evidence we have, the shorter legs, the plantigrade of the foot of the leading hind leg, and the shorthand foremost paw incisions on the Sphinx Painter's earliest felines (that is, those on the Leipzig, New York, and Basel market *olpai*), and the doubled muzzle lines of his panthers³¹ make it unlikely that the Sphinx Painter was a later phase of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. The small size of the dot-rosettes in the Sphinx Painter's earliest work is another argument against such an identification.

In the oeuvre of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89, as I perceive it, nos. 1–3 are very closely related to one another. They display a firm, distinct style. The Madison *olpe* not only falls under the sway of the Painter of Vatican 73 as regards centered composition, and of the Griffin-Sphinx tradition with respect to feline facial details, but it also has lost much of the painter's original vigor, especially in the rendering of the leg joint. Despite this striking break, the treatment of the feline bodies and the details in the ungulates clearly show that the Madison *olpe* is to be considered a later work by the same hand.

Closely related to the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89's early works are those listed for the Painter of Aegina κ 364.³² The joint of leg and body on the latter's name piece and on another conical oinochoe fragment, possibly belonging to the same vessel, is quite telling. Under the Polyteleia Painter's influence, the Painter of Aegina κ 364 uses a new joint type on the Potters' Quarter fragment. The eyes are always two circles, a type only rarely found on nos. 1–3 by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. At variance with the latter, the Painter of Aegina κ 364's panthers always have double muzzle arcs.

A few words on the origin of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. The oinochoe fragment Kraiker 273 (fig. 10), listed here as his earliest work, was attributed to the Aegina Bellerophon Painter by Payne. This attribution has been widely accepted, though Amyx clearly seems to have done so almost reluctantly.³³ Amyx's embarrassment is quite understandable. The similarity is in the majestic totality rather than in the details of drawing. To account for the differences between it and the core of this painter's work, as on the Bellerophon *kylix* itself,³⁴ Amyx took Kraiker 273 to be a later work than the name piece. Though later it may well be, there is also a difference in spirit. The Aegina Bellerophon Painter's name piece is fully rooted in

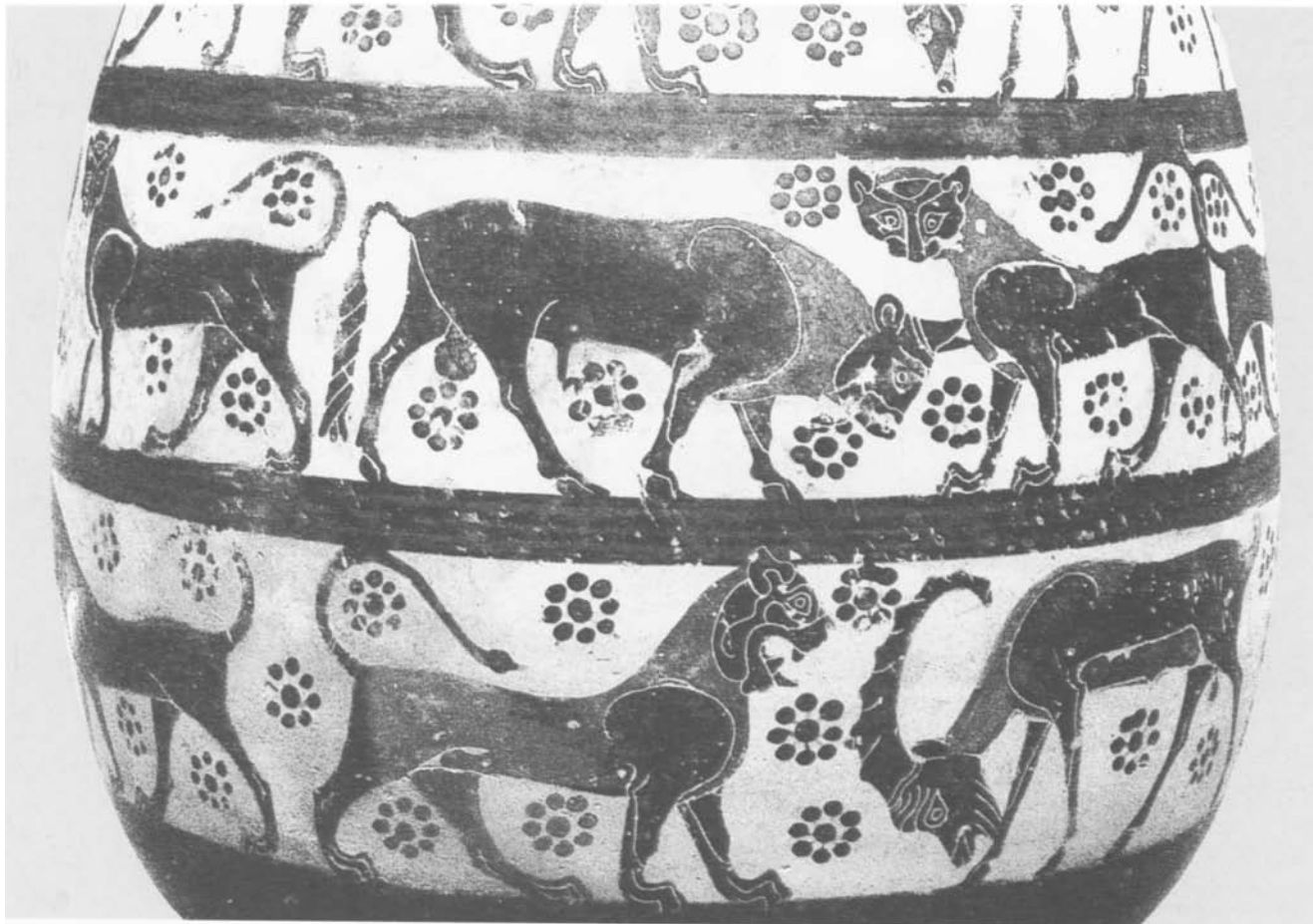


FIGURE 6. Olpe, by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. Catalogue no. 4. Detail. Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Frank, no inv. no.

Middle Protocorinthian (MPC) II style, its details elaborated as, later, in the works of the Painter of Vatican 73. Kraiker 273 introduces new conventions (see below). It seems better to remove Kraiker 273 from the list of works by the Aegina Bellerophon Painter. The oeuvre of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 exemplifies the transition from the broad Early Protocorinthian-Middle Protocorinthian (EPC-MPC) style (paralleled in contemporary Protoattic) to a multizoned, multifigured, cramped, actually Geometric-like, sense of decoration early in the Late Protocorinthian (LPC) period.

In a recent article,³⁵ I have tried to show that Amyx's concept of the Typhon Painter is a conflation of two different hands representing two different traditions, namely, those of the Sphinx Painter and of the Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter, to phrase it vividly. Above, arguments have been put forward in favor of the Painter

of Malibu 85.AE.89 being the Sphinx Painter's predecessor, with the Griffin workshop as intermediary. But what about the Painter of Vatican 73? His panther, avian, and human head types clearly show him to belong to the tradition that found its finest expression in the Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter. In this tradition, we find the same mustache for the panthers.³⁶ For birds, there are the same double lines demarcating bills; the same double, slightly undulating covert division; and the absence of jaw marking.³⁷ Moreover, a clear, round tragus, an indent at the back of the ear to mark the beginning of the earlobe, an incised curl above the forehead, and double lines in the shoulder of sphinxes as found, only once (no. 35),³⁸ with the Painter of Vatican 73 are typical of the workshop of the Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter. The short hair fillet behind the ear, occurring throughout most of the Painter of Vatican 73's career,



FIGURE 7. Olpe, figure 1a. Detail of goat by the Painter of Vatican 73.



FIGURE 8. Olpe, figure 4a. Detail of stag by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89.



FIGURE 9. Fragment of olpe, by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. Catalogue no. 2. Vulci.

is also seen on the name piece of the Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter,³⁹ whereas the fillet around the crown of the head is characteristic of the Griffin-Sphinx tradition. The Getty Museum is really fortunate in that its few Corinthian pots are eminently representative of these two important traditions of the LPC and Transitional (TR) periods.

Payne labeled the Painter of Vatican 73 early TR, followed by Amyx and M. A. Rizzo.⁴⁰ As appears from his comment on the narrow-footed oinochoai NC 118–19, Payne saw their style as a continuation of NC

31–35, which belong to LPC. Since the contexts of no more than seven out of the fourteen vases from regular excavations are known to me, chronology must rely on connoisseurship of decoration and potters' work.

Now, what exactly is the difference between LPC and TR styles? Some painters being progressive, others conservative, a clear-cut answer to this question is hard to give. Even so, with respect to felines, especially lions, LPC small-scale drawing seems to be characterized by the absence of a squiggle to indicate the ruff, of an eye socket or looped line under the eye, of teeth, of markings for hipbone and folds of the skin at the root

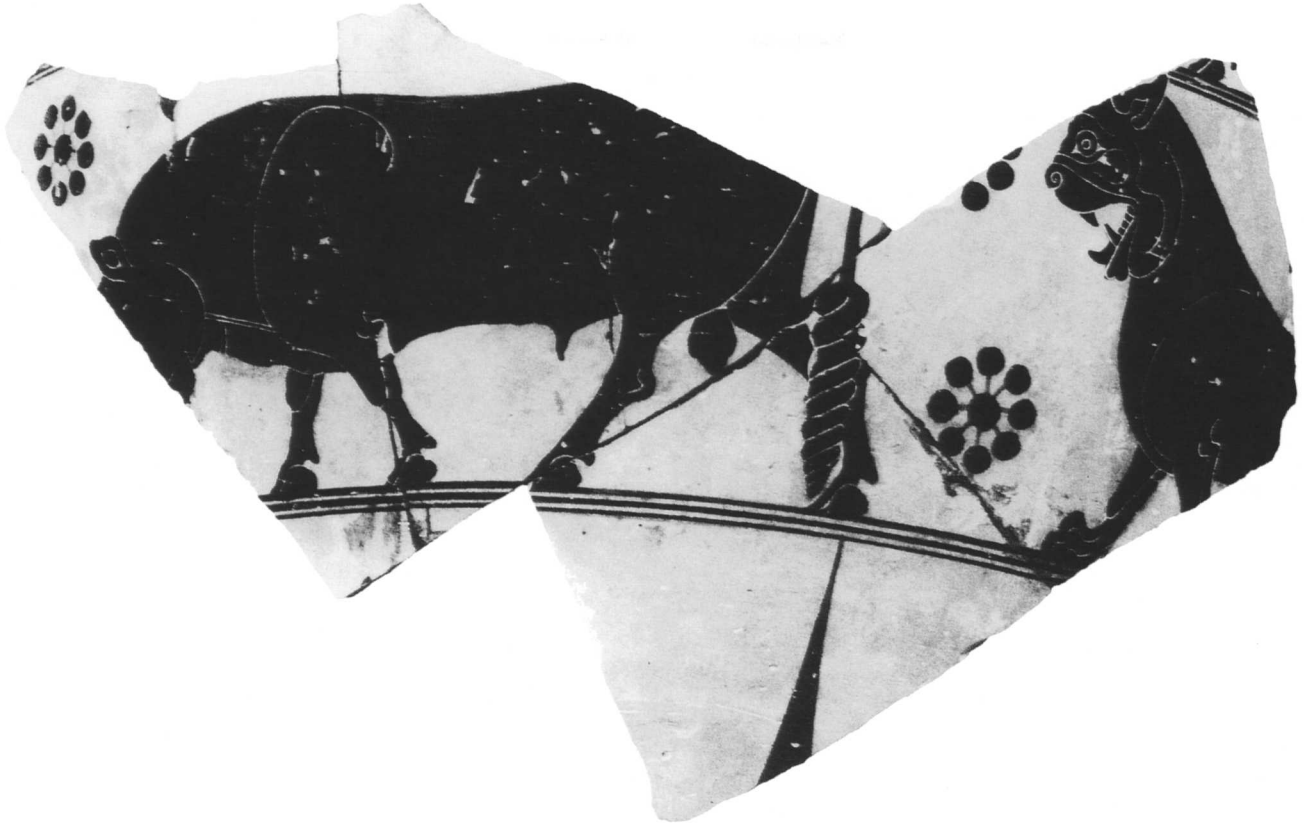


FIGURE 10. Fragment of oinochoe, by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. Catalogue no. 1. Agina 2065–66 (κ 273). From W. Kraiker, *Agina: Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1951), pl. 22.

of the tail, and, usually, of muscles in the extended hind leg, and, also usually, of rib markings and belly zone. Furthermore, the knees of forelegs generally show a short line, often with double incisions, and there is a preference for a flattish, often indented shoulder line, especially on felines to right. Finally, the breast-head-neck section looks disproportionately large. Although these elements do not become standard devices until the TR period, all of them are found already at the very end of MPC II.⁴¹ As it is, the earliest known piece having nearly all of the TR head and foreleg characteristics is the oinochoe Kraiker 273, here attributed to the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89. Both the divisions between its friezes by means of lines and its broad, monumental style show the vessel to be MPC II. This seems compelling evidence that the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 is responsible for these particular characteristics of TR style, practicing them from very late MPC II onward. Seeing that the Painter of Vatican 73's closest and elder colleague already used these head and foreleg characteristics so early, these

details probably cannot be considered TR hallmarks in the former's oeuvre. This combination of TR head and leg characteristics with simple LPC body drawing probably led Payne to his comment at NC 118–19.

I surmise that the Painter of Vatican 73, for his part, started his activity in the LPC period, yet in all likelihood, not at its very beginning. His contribution seems to be a strong feeling for composition, effectively putting an end to the central two of a kind so popular with such LPC artisans as the Fusco and Frankfurt Olpe Painters.⁴² The Painter of Vatican 73 probably also contributed greatly to the popularity of a bird to right as the central motif replacing the vertical lozenge pattern found in later MPC II and LPC. The Painter of Vatican 73 gradually incorporated body details into his style. Whether in doing so he was a lender or a borrower remains an open question. He did apply them, however, with extreme firmness and great elegance, not shying away from elaborate, double-lined versions.

To establish the later chronology of the Painter of Vatican 73, help comes mainly from the Tomba degli

Alari in Cerveteri. Here, his late *olpai* nos. 31–32 were found together with five *aryballoi* from the Alari Group, five scale *aryballoi*, two concave pyxides, an *aryballos* from the Fighting Rams Group, and an early *aryballos* by the Head-in-Air Painter.⁴³ Such clusters suggest that the greater part of the material was acquired at one particular moment, most probably at the death of the deceased.⁴⁴ All evidence points to a date in LPC or early TR period for the grave. As seen above, this tallies with the style of the *olpai*. Consequently, this whole oeuvre spans a period of ten to fifteen years, from about 635 to 625/620 B.C.

Except for one fragment from Syracuse (no. 70) and another acquired in Naples (no. 46),⁴⁵ all the pieces with known provenance (sixteen in all) stem from Cerveteri. It must be feared that (nearly) all works of the Painter of Vatican 73 in the Louvre and in various European and American museums and private collections are of the same origin, as is dramatically attested by the example of no. 20. This would mean that much evidence has been ruined. Recently, Rizzo outlined the predicament of Cerveteri, in particular during the last decade and a half.⁴⁶

What can be inferred from the vases discussed in the present paper? The dates when the vases by the Painter of Vatican 73 were acquired by the various museums show these vessels to have been expatriated in spurts. Nineteenth-century activities resulted in the formation of the Campana collections (nos. 3, 6, 17, 19–20, 52, 54–56, 62), probably in the Vatican's share (nos. 12, 24, 53),⁴⁷ and in a couple of isolated pieces (no. 27 from the Bocca Nera brothers, 1874; no. 36 from the London market in the 1890s; maybe no. 66⁴⁸). These activities appear to have involved mainly tombs containing work of the early phase and the first half of the middle phase of the Painter of Vatican 73 (nos. 3, 6, 12, 17, 19–20, 52–56), to a lesser extent the late stage (nos. 36, 62, 66?). Only the name piece (no. 24) and one other piece (no. 27) are from the intervening period. The greatest damage to the Cerveteri necropoleis appears to have been done in the late 1950s and early 1960s (nos. 2, 4–5, 10–11, 15, 18, 21–23, 26, 28–29, 33–34, 37, 40, 45, 47–51, 58, 63–65, 67–69, 71). Although all periods are represented in this material, the greater part of it belongs to the middle and, especially, late periods. Nearly all the broad-bottomed *oinochoai* belong to this lot. Since the 1960s only a few pots have become known via the art market (nos. 1, 9, 14, 35, and 57). These may be after-

trickles from the late 1950s/early 1960s source(s). The chronological distribution, however, is similar to that of the nineteenth-century material, namely, early and very late vases. Does this chronological pattern point to clandestine activities in areas that sheltered only a particular phase of this painter's works?

Were it not for the legal and illegal excavations of the necropoleis of Cerveteri, the Painter of Vatican 73 would be almost entirely unknown to us. With his all but single, specific market in Cerveteri, he is an extraordinarily clear instance of directional, market-specific trade. The distribution of the vases over his chronological development shows that there must have been a regular flow of import of his ware to Cerveteri. During the Magna Graecia congress in 1994 I already pointed out similar phenomena. Although various other factors may have been in play, local demand appears to have been the most decisive. Particular places were interested in particular shapes,⁴⁹ at times provided by particular painters, as we can now say.⁵⁰ In the case of Cerveteri, the trade in Corinthian pottery, thus, appears to have been completely different from that reconstructed for Attic pottery by G. Chester Starr, F. Giudice, and L. Hannestad.⁵¹ Such places of import as Cerveteri may, then, have functioned as regional distribution centers. It is only with improved insight into the structure of Corinth's pottery industry and careful registration of find spots that we can hope to unravel the mechanism of Archaic trade and the relations of Cerveteri to its hinterland.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS BY THE PAINTER OF VATICAN 73

Olpai

1. Ostwestfalen, D. J. collection. Galerie Günter Puhze, *Kunst der Antike* (Freiburg, [1977]), p. 15, no. 100, ill.; idem, *Kunst der Antike* (Freiburg, 1979), p. 6, no. 46, ill.; K. Stähler, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Vasen: Die Sammlung D. J. in Ostwestfalen* (Münster, 1983), p. 11, no. 1, pls. 1, 2a–c, 7c; B. Korzus, ed., *Griechische Vasen aus westfälischen Sammlungen* (Münster, 1984), p. 240, no. 98, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 305: A-24 bis [Puhze].

2. Columbia (Missouri). *Museum News* 39 (March 1961): 3, ill.; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 10; W. R. Biers, *Archaeology of Greece: An Introduction* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), p. 141, fig. 6.18; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-23 [Amyx/Lawrence].

3. Paris, Louvre Cp 10475, from Italy. *GkV*, list 28, no. 2; *CVA Louvre* 13, pls. 58.1–3, 59.1 and 3, 61.1; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-36 [Benson]. Graffito (Johnston, p. 170, no. 2).

4. Scarsdale (New York), private collection. *Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting, Seventh to Fifth Century B.C.*, exh. André Emmerich Gallery, New York, April 22–May 30, 1964 (New York, 1964), no. 2, ill.; *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 16; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-41 [Cahn].
5. Basel market (Cahn). Fragmentary. Widmer photos 6029–30 [Neeft].
6. Paris, Louvre Cp 10531, from Italy. *CVA Louvre* 13, pls. 56.3, 57.2–4; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 2; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-39, pl. 23.1 [Amyx].
7. Cerveteri 90198, from Banditaccia, grave 6 (excavated by the Scuola Nazionale di Archeologia, 1951). Fragmentary. *NSc*, 1955: 62 n. 13; M. A. Rizzo, *Le anfore da trasporto e il commercio etrusco arcaico* (Rome, 1990), 1: 61, no. iv.3, fig. 72 [Rizzo].
8. Ex-Rome, Pesciotti-Sima collection 378 (not 278). Archivio Fot. Villa Giulia, neg. 22943. *CorVPAC*, p. 27 [Neeft].
9. Freiburg, University. Galerie Günter Puhze, *Katalog 4* (Freiburg, 1982): 16, no. 166, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 336: A-41 bis; M. Flashar and G. Hiesel, eds., *Konturen: Vasen der Berliner Antikensammlung in Freiburg* (Munich, 1997), p. 25, no. 8, ill. [Puhze].
10. Würzburg H 5980. Fragmentary. *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 15; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-38 (see nos. 18, 23, 29, 33, 45, and 47–51); *AA*, 1994: 10–16, figs. 13–21 [Amyx].
11. Basel market 1964 (E. Borowski). *Apollo* (March 1964), advertisement p. xliii, ill.; *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 17; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-27 [Benson].
12. Rome, Vatican 16314. C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome, 1924), p. 28, no. 74, pl. 6; NC 147; *GkV*, list 28, no. 7; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-34 [Payne].
13. Dunedin E 28.70 (ex-Berkeley 8/3022), from Cerveteri, Vignaccia votive deposit. Frr. J. K. Anderson, *Greek Vases in the Otago Museum* (Dunedin, N.Z., 1955), pp. 22–23, no. 13, pl. 3; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 9; *CVA New Zealand* 1, pl. 42.7–11; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-35 [Anderson].
14. Bloomington (Indiana), University 75.22.2. Indiana University, Bloomington, Art Museum, *Guide to the Collections*, ed. L. Baden (Bloomington, 1980), p. 16, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 305: A-24 ter [Amyx].
15. Amherst 1963.129. *Archaeology* 20 (1967): 2, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-29 [Morgan].
16. Cerveteri 110945, from Cerveteri, San Paolo, grave 2, lateral chamber. *ASAtene* 46/47 (1988/1989): 8 [Rizzo].
17. Paris, Louvre Cp 300 (E 427), from Italy. Reincised. NC 152; *GkV*, list 28, no. 12; *CVA Louvre* 13, pls. 59.2, 60.4, 61.2–4; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-37 [Payne].
18. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Three fragments (two of them tabulated), perhaps belonging to no. 26 [Neeft].
19. St. Petersburg B 1396 (ex-Campana coll.), from Italy. NC 149, pl. 11.1; *GkV*, list 28, no. 9; K. S. Gorbunova and I. I. Saverkina, *Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1975), pl. 4 (color); *CorVP*, p. 69: A-30 [Payne].
20. Paris, Louvre Cp 10476, joining two fragments (Rome, Villa Giulia 20727) in a private collection, temporarily on loan to the Louvre, from Cerveteri, Banditaccia, tumulus II, grave 1, *camera principale (dei letti a sarcophago)*; cf. no. 38. *GkV*, list 28, no. 3; *CVA Louvre* 13, pl. 60.1–3; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-40. The fragments, with Etruscan graffito on the underside, were published in *NSc*, 1937: 384, no. 14, ill.; *MonAnt* 42 (1955): 236, no. 6; *Atti del colloquio sul tema L'Etrusco arcaico*, Florence, October 4–5, 1974 (Florence, 1976), p. 107, no. 25; H. Rix and G. Meiser, *Etruskische Texte: Editio minor* (Tübingen, 1991), Cr.2.32; G. Bagnasco Gianni, *Oggetti iscritti di epoca orientalizzante in Etruria*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca di Studi Etruschi 30 (1996), p. 61; no. 21 [Benson].
21. Basel z-196. *AJA* 70 (1966): 296; *CVA Basel* 1, pl. 9.1; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-28 [Amyx]. Dipinto and graffito (Johnston, p. 170, no. 1).
22. Bochum, Ruhr-University s 475. *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, exh. Cologne, Kunsthalle (Cologne, 1968), no. A9, fig. 2; *Ruhr-Universität Bochum Jahrbuch*, 1969: 71, fig. 11; N. Kunisch, *Antike Kunst aus Wuppertaler Privatbesitz*, exh. Wuppertal, Heydt-Museum, February 24–March 7, 1971 (Wuppertal, 1971), no. 12, ill.; *Antike Keramik: Ausstellung Ruhrländmuseum Essen* (Essen, 1973), no. 14, ill.; N. Kunisch, *Antiken der Sammlung Julius C. und Margot Funcke* (Bochum, 1980), pp. 36ff., no. 40, ill.; *Ruhr-Universität Bochum Jahrbuch*, 1982: 80, fig. 10; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-45; N. Kunisch et al., *Symposion: Griechische Vasen aus dem Antikemuseum der Ruhr-Universität Bochum* (Cologne, 1989), p. 37, no. 7, ill.; N. Kunisch, *Erläuterungen zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Cologne, 1996), pp. 35–38, ill. (color) [Amyx].
23. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
24. Rome, Vatican 16334 (name piece of the Painter of Vatican 73). Albizzati (see no. 12), p. 27, no. 73, pl. 5; NC 146, pls. 11.5, 16.3 and 5; *GkV*, list 28, no. 6; *BCH* 75 (1951): 15, fig. 9 (erroneous reference); D. von Bothmer, in H. P. O'Neill, ed., *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exh. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1983), p. 184, no. 99, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-31 [Payne].
25. Cerveteri 110944, from Cerveteri, San Paolo, grave 2, lateral chamber. *ASAtene* 46/47 (1988/1989): 8; *Antichità senza provenienza: Atti della tavola rotonda*, February 18, 1995, Suppl. to *BdA* 89/90 (1995): 25, fig. 24 [Rizzo].
26. Malibu 86.AE.39 (ex-Bareiss collection 316). Fragmentary. (See also no. 18). *BMMMA* 27 (1969): 427; *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983), p. 67, no. 5; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-44. Here figs. 1a–d, 7 [Cahn].
27. Gotha Ahv 2, from Cerveteri (1874). NC 148, pl. 11.4; H. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1933), pl. 31.5; *GkV*, list 28, no. 8; *CVA Gotha* 1, pls. 6–8; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-22 [Payne].
28. Toledo (Ohio) 63.22. *MuM*, Auktion 26, October 5, 1963 (Basel), pp. 28–29, no. 58, pl. 17, and frontispiece (color); *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 12; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-24; *CVA Toledo* 2, pl. 72.1–4 [Amyx].

29. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
30. Cerveteri 66830, from Buffolareccia, grave 86. T. Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria* (New York, 1979), p. 16, no. 30, fig. 297; C. Delplace, *Le griffon de l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale* (Brussels, 1980), fig. 21; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-19 bis; A. Coen, *Complissi tombali di Cerveteri con urne cinerarie tardo-orientalizzante* (Florence, 1991), p. 29 n. 73, pp. 73, 105ff., pl. 21 [Amyx].
31. Rome, Villa Giulia 21142, from Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Tomba degli Alari. *StEtr* 1 (1927): pl. 28a, to right; *MonAnt* 42 (1955): 338, no. 67, fig. 70, left; *GkV*, list 28, no. 10; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *L'arte dell'antichità classica*, vol. 1, *Grecia* (Turin, 1976), fig. 92; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-32 [Payne].
32. Rome, Villa Giulia 21143, from Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Tomba degli Alari. *StEtr* 1 (1927): pl. 28a, to left; *MonAnt* 42 (1955): 338, no. 68, fig. 70, right; *GkV*, list 28, no. 11; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-33 [Payne].
33. Basel, Cahn collection 1185. *Frühe Zeichner, 1500–500 v. Chr.: Ägyptische, griechische und etruskische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung H. A. Cahn* (Freiburg, 1992), p. 20, no. 7, ill. [Kreuzer].
34. Hamburg 1962.41. *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1963): 214–16, ill.; H. Hoffmann, *Griechische Kleinkunst*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, *Bilderhefte* 6 (Hamburg, 1963), no. 2, ill.; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 1; *AA*, 1969: 335, no. 17, ill.; H. Hoffmann, *Vasen der klassischen Antike: Griechische, Etruskische und andere Italische Werke*, exh. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Hamburg, [1969]), pp. 8, 14, no. 6 (ill.); Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, *Ausgewählte Werke aus den Erwerbungen 1962–1971* (Hamburg, 1972), pp. 52ff., no. 3, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-19. Here fig. 2 [Hoffmann].
35. Northwest Germany, Zimmermann collection. Galerie Günter Puhze, *Kunst der Antike* (Freiburg, [1977]), p. 15, no. 99, ill.; idem, *Kunst der Antike* (Freiburg, 1979), p. 6, no. 45, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 305: A-21 bis; *AA*, 1994: 15, figs. 22–25 [Puhze].
36. Frankfurt, Schaeffer collection. *Städel Jahrbuch* 2 (1922): 11, no. 1, pl. 5d; NC 144; *GkV*, list 28, no. 4; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-21 [Payne].
- The following are unknown to me:
37. Bellinzona, private collection. *AJA* 70 (1966): 296; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-20. Early [Amyx].
38. Cerveteri, ex-Rome, Villa Giulia 20725, from Banditaccia; like no. 20. *MonAnt* 42 (1955): 236, no. 3; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 5; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-42 [Amyx/Lawrence].
39. Cerveteri, from Autostrada, grave 56. *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 4; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-43 [Amyx/Lawrence].
40. Ex-Munich, private collection (1969), then market. *CorVP*, p. 69: A-46 [Amyx].
41. Rome, Villa Giulia no no. Frr. *CorVP*, p. 69: A-47 [Amyx].

42? Paris, Louvre Cp 10474, from Italy. *GkV*, list 28, no. 1; *CorVP*, p. 70: E-1. The inv. no. apparently belongs to the red-figured cup *CVA* Louvre 10, pl. 16.4 [Benson].

The following are too fragmentary to be dated precisely:

43. Rome, Vatican 20274, from Cerveteri, Regolini-Galassi tumulus. Fr. Albizzati (see no. 12), p. 28, no. 75; *CorVP*, p. 69: A-48 [Amyx].
44. Cerveteri 110980, from San Paolo, grave 2, principal chamber. Frr. *ASAtene* 46/47 (1988/1989): 8, fig. 2 [Rizzo].
45. Basel, private collection. Fr. *H. A. C., Katalog* 6, 50 *Bildwerke aus Ton* (Basel, 1994), no. 52, ill. [Neeft].
46. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2043 (ex-Arndt collection), acquired in Naples. Fr. *CorVPAC*, p. 27 [Neeft].
47. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
48. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
49. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
50. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Frr. [Neeft].
51. Basel market 1992 (Cahn). Seven small fragments, possibly belonging to nos. 47–50 [Neeft].

Narrow-footed Oinochoai

52. Paris, Louvre Cp 10528, from Italy. *CVA* Louvre 13, pls. 50.4, 51.4, 53.2–4; *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 3; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-6 [Villard, Amyx/Lawrence].
53. Vatican 16554. The center of frieze 1 repainted and reincised.⁵² Albizzati (see no. 12), p. 25, no. 68, pl. 5; NC 118; *GkV*, list 28, no. 24; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-3 [Payne].
54. Paris, Louvre Cp 264 (E 419), from Italy. NC 119, pl. 16.4 (drawing, detail); *GkV*, list 28, no. 23; *CVA* Louvre 13, pls. 54, 55.1; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-5 [Payne].
55. Paris, Louvre Cp 12318, from Italy. Fr. *CVA* Louvre 13, pl. 56.2; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-1 [“Perhaps,” Villard; Amyx: early].
56. Paris, Louvre Cp 10529, from Italy. Fragmentary. *CVA* Louvre 13, pls. 52.1–4, 53.1, 57.1; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-4 [Villard].
57. Malibu 85.AE.88. *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986): 187, no. 23, ill.; apparently *CorVP*, p. 336: A-10 bis; *CorVPAC*, p. 37 (erroneously labeled as olpe). Here figs. 3a–d, 5 [Amyx].
58. Basel BS 1406. G. Hafner, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* (Zurich, 1961), p. 88, ill.; *AJA* 70 (1966): 296; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-2 [Amyx].

The following are unknown to me:

59. Cerveteri, from Monte Abatone, grave 28. Fragmentary. *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 7; *CorVP*, p. 67: A-7 [Amyx/Lawrence].
60. Cerveteri, from Autostrada, grave 122. *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 6; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-8 [Amyx/Lawrence].
61. Cerveteri, from Autostrada, grave 85. *AJA* 68 (1964): 388, no. 8; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-9 [Amyx/Lawrence].

Broad-bottomed Oinochoai

62. Paris, Louvre Cp 12317, from Italy. *CVA* Louvre 13, pl. 55.2–5; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-14 [Villard].

63. Gothenburg, Röhss' Museum 2-64. *OpAth* 15.5 (1984): 53–54, figs. 1–3; *CVA* Gothenburg 1, figs. 210–11, pl. 21 [Neeft; Holmberg].

64. Toledo (Ohio) 63.23. *MuM*, Auktion 26, October 5, 1963 (Basel), p. 29, no. 59, pl. 18; *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 13; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-12; *CVA* Toledo 2, pl. 71.1–4 [Amyx/Lawrence].

65. Berlin 1963.17. *AJA* 70 (1966): 296; Berlin, Antikenmuseum, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung* (Berlin, 1968), p. 59, pl. 41; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-13, pl. 22; *Antikenmuseum Berlin* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 52–53, no. 4, ill. [Lullies].

66. Paris, private collection, ex-Mrs. Leonard Russell (from the collection of Humfry Payne). *Sotheby's*, November 26, 1968 (London), no. 106, ill.; *MuM*, Auktion 40, December 13, 1969 (Basel), p. 17, no. 31, pl. 5; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-17 [Amyx].

67. Basel, private collection. R. Lullies, *Griechische Plastik, Vasen, und Kleinkunst: Leihgaben aus Privatbesitz*, exh. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Kassel, 1964), no. 42, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-15 [Lullies].

68. Aachen, Ludwig collection, on loan to Kassel. R. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke: Sammlung Ludwig, Aachen*, *Aachener Kunstblätter des Museumvereins*, vol. 37 (Düsseldorf, 1968), pp. 26ff., no. 10, ill.; R. Lullies, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 1 (Basel, 1979), no. 10, ill.; T. Bakır, *Korinth seraminginde aslan figürünün gelişimi* (Izmir, 1982), pl. 19.58, detail; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-16 [Lullies].

69. Boston 64.14. *BMFA* 62 (1964): 109ff., figs. 11–13; *AJA* 70 (1966): 296; *CJ* 66 (1970/1971): 4–6, figs. 5a–c; C. C. Vermeule, *Art of Antiquity*, vol. 2, part 1, *The Art of the Greek World, Prehistoric through Perikles* (Boston, 1982), pp. 220, 412, fig. 166A; H. Ebertshäuser and M. Waltz, *Vasen, Bronzen, Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums* (Munich, 1981), color pl. III, opp. p. 64; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-11 [Lullies].

70. Rovereto, Museo Civico 41, from Syracuse. Fr. S. Caranti Martignano, *La collezione archeologica "Paolo Orsi" nel Museo Civico di Rovereto* (Trent, 1981), no. 2, ill.; *CorVPAC*, p. 27 [Neeft].

71. Munich 8767. *MüJb* 16 (1965): 230, no. 3, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-18 [Ohly, Vierneisel, Amyx].

The following is very close and may be his:

a. Corinth KP 2112, from Potters' Quarter, north dump. Fr. Goat facing regardant lion to left. A. N. Stillwell and J. L. Benson, *Corinth*, vol. 15, part 3, *The Potters' Quarter: The Pottery* (Princeton, 1984), p. 74, no. 333, pl. 17.

The following narrow-footed oinochoai are close imitations, not his:

1. Basel 1-11. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke* (see no. 68), pp. 27–29, no. 11, ill.; E. G. Grimme, *Kunst aus drei*

Jahrtausenden, exh. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum (Aachen, 1968), pl. 1; Lullies, *Antike Kunstwerke* (see no. 68), no. 11, ill.; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-10; *CorVPAC*, p. 27; *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt*, symposium, DAI, Rome, February 19–20, 1998 = *Lo specchio del mito: Immaginario e realtà*, ed. F. de Angelis and S. Muth = *Palatia* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 19, fig. 4.

2. Cerveteri, from Monte Abatone, grave 612, no. 5. Fr. Feline to left, bull facing panther, bird to right, stag facing panther, boar(?) facing dog; dog to left, ungulate to right.

As to the material listed by Amyx as near the Painter of Vatican 73 (*CorVP*, p. 70, list B), no. 1 (Kraiker 420) is best listed with the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 (see below); no. 5 is extremely close to the Polyteleia Painter, yet not his. Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 7, to my eye, seem not particularly close to the Painter of Vatican 73. No. 4, the Delphi fragment, is unknown to me. C. Dehl's observations, *CVA* Berlin 6, to pl. 12, have very little merit; cf. already M. Steinhart, *AA*, 1994: 11 n. 20.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS**BY THE PAINTER OF MALIBU 85.AE.89****Oinochoe**

1. Aigina 2065–66 (K 273). *AM* 22 (1897): 303, fig. 27 (before the addition of further joining fragments); H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 12, pl. 4.4 and 6; idem, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (1933; reprint Mainz, 1974), p. 22, pls. 18 and 19.3; A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (London, 1948), pl. 27A; W. Kraiker, *Aigina: Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1951), p. 55, no. 273, pls. 20–22; *GkV*, list 13, no. 2; *BSA* 48 (1953): 177, bottom, no. 3; *ArchEph*, 1975: 132, fig. 20; *Corinthica: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (Columbia, 1986), p. 104, fig. 8; *CorVP*, p. 28: A-2; *ECW*, p. 55, no. 2; *CorVPAC*, p. 14. Here fig. 10.

Olpai

2. Vulci, from Vulci, Osteria, grave 45 (Hercle). Here fig. 9.

3. Malibu 85.AE.89.⁵³ Name vase of the painter. *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986): 188, no. 24, ill.; apparently *CorVP*, p. 336: A-26 ter; *CorVPAC*, p. 27; *AA*, 1994: 11 n. 20. Here figs. 4a–e, 8.

4. Madison (Wisconsin), Elvehjem Museum of Art, no inv. no. *CorVP*, p. 305: A-26 bis; W. G. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979), p. 5, no. 5, ill.; *CorVPAC*, p. 27; *AA*, 1994: 11 n. 20. Here fig. 6.

5. Megara Hyblaea 1/10241, from votive deposit. Fr. G. Vallet and F. Villard, *Mégara Hyblaea*, vol. 2, *La Céramique archaïque* (Paris, 1964), p. 53, no. 1/10241, pls. 35, 36.1–2; *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 11, part; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-25.

6. Megara Hyblaea 1/10242, from votive deposit. Fr. (position on pot unknown). G. Vallet and F. Villard, *Mégara*

Hyblaea, vol. 2, *La céramique archaïque* (Paris, 1964), p. 53, no. 1/10242, pl. 36.3; *AJA* 68 (1964): 389, no. 11, part; *CorVP*, p. 68: A-26. Perhaps from same vase as no. 5.

The following three are very close and may be his:

Olpai

a. Gela 12658, from Gela. Fr. Frieze II: feline and stag to left; frieze III: panther-bird to right.

b. Basel market, 1992 (Cahn). Frr. Feline to right, two felines to left, and a fourth fragment with indistinct traces.

Kotyle

c. Aigina. Frr. NC 188 (style of the Painter of Vatican 73). Kraiker, *Aigina* (see no. 1), p. 70, no. 420, pl. 32; *GkV*, list 23, no. 3 [Gruppe der Sphingen mit mehrfach umbundenen Hahr]; *CorVP*, p. 70: B-1 (very close to the Painter of Vatican 73).

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NOTES

My thanks are due to the staff of the J. Paul Getty Museum for permission to study and publish their vases. As usual, many people have made this article possible. I am most grateful to Dr. H. A. Cahn for information and permission to mention his material, to Dr. A. Pasquier (Louvre) for his hospitality, to Dr. M. A. Rizzo (Villa Giulia) for her help under difficult circumstances, and to Prof. P. A. Lawrence for her assistance. The study of this painter has been greatly facilitated by Prof. J. L. Benson's generous gift of photographs.

Permission to include illustrations was granted by Dr. W. Hornborstel, Hamburg (fig. 2), Dr. A. M. Moretti, Rome (fig. 9), and Pamela Richardson, Madison (fig. 6). J. J. M. Schepers corrected the text.

Abbreviations:

<i>CorVP</i>	D. A. Amyx, <i>Corinthian Vase-Painting in the Archaic Period</i> (Berkeley, 1988).
<i>CorVPAC</i>	C. W. Neeft, <i>Addenda et Corrigenda to D. A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting in the Archaic Period</i> (Amsterdam, 1991).
<i>ECW</i>	J. L. Benson, <i>Earlier Corinthian Workshops: A Study of Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian Stylistic Groups</i> (Amsterdam, 1989).
<i>GkV</i>	J. L. Benson, <i>Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen</i> (Basel, 1953).
Johnston	A. W. Johnston, <i>Trademarks on Greek Vases</i> (Warminster, 1979).
NC	H. G. G. Payne, <i>Necrocorinthia</i> (Oxford, 1931). References are to catalogue numbers, pp. 269–338.
<i>PSA</i>	C. W. Neeft, <i>Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi</i> (Amsterdam, 1987).

1. *CorVP*, p. 66.

2. *CorVP*, p. 67.

3. The avian, however, is turned toward the center of the frieze on nos. 1 and 18, the latter possibly belonging to Malibu 86.AE.39 (no. 26). On the Bloomington olpe, no. 14, there is a regardant hare to left at the left-hand side of the frieze.

4. A single bird, however, occurs on no. 12, which would also be the fate of no. 26 if no. 18 goes with it (see supra, note 3), a single hare on no. 14.

5. *CorVP*, p. 67.

6. Except for avians on nos. 17, 19, 22, a hare on no. 14, and nothing at all on nos. 31 and 36.

7. See also the bull on Louvre 10475 (*CVA Louvre* 13, pl. 58.3), in which the common stance would have taken up too much room.

8. Cf. the direction of the lateral swans in frieze 1, the great number of "dogs" (felines with downward, rectangular instead of round heads, more or less closed mouths, and, generally, downward tails) in friezes II–III, and the insertion of an extra animal in frieze III. For the drawing, see the comparatively large number of elaborate groins (see infra, note 23) and A–B leg systems, the tiptoe stance of the paws with the felines, and the absence of an incised curl with the siren. Sphinxes are not preserved. They may have had two distinct forelegs as on no. 2, a deviation from the fused forelegs in all other works. Notice also the arrested stance with lion forelegs in frieze IV, the only such instance in the Painter of Vatican 73's oeuvre.

9. For the Malibu oinochoe (no. 57), here again an exception, see infra.

10. These bulls are the only ones in the painter's oeuvre to have short tails, which resemble the boar tails but curve in front of the body instead of behind it. The tail of the bull in the upper frieze is also at variance with the usual type.

11. Also no. 53 with rams, no. 54 with boars, no. 56(?) with goats, and no. 58 with stags in adjacent groups (see table 5b).

12. For the shoulder as main field of decoration of broad-bottomed oinochoai, see T. J. Dunbabin, ed., *Perachora* (Oxford, 1962), 2: pl. 4; for the Submycenaean/Protogeometric antecedents of this decoration, see *PSA*, p. 27, and passim.

13. Pace Amyx, *CorVP*, p. 67, "he nearly always shows them with the near hind leg advanced."

14. Except for nos. 54 (see infra, note 15) and 62; moreover, the broad-bottomed oinochoe no. 64 shows hair all over the length of the leading hind leg (table 9: F); cf. also the felines to right on no. 34 (fig. 2).

15. Quite remarkably, these elaborate details (arched muscles, trochanter, hair on both legs, groin comma) are attested earlier in felines to left (on no. 19, with double groin comma, no. 22; and, on a leading leg and without groin comma, no. 54) than in felines to right, on which they occur only in the late stage.

16. The only exception is the regardant lion in frieze 1 of the Freiburg University olpe (no. 9). It is, therefore, not included in the table. In consequence of this variety in fore- and hind-leg positions, the gait of felines to right is usually natural in the early phase, that is, it shows opposite directions of the legs on either side; later, however, the gait is usually unnatural, while that of felines facing left is commonly natural (except for the few instances with A–B leg system).

17. See supra, note 15.

18. Notice also the double incisions for the horns of the goats on no. 32 and for the ankles of a lion on no. 68; double eyes for (the latest) swans on no. 63; for no. 35, probably the painter's latest work, two lines on chest of sphinx (cf. Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter and pupils), three lines above mouths of stags on nos. 31 and 34 (fig. 2); for no. 34 also short strokes (shading?) for belly panther, double layers of quills for siren.

At times, red is found in the eyes of bulls, rams, and other animals, for the tusks of boars, and for the foreheads and mouths of panthers; see *CVA Louvre* 13, pl. 53.1. I have noted such details for nos. 3, 12, 15, 25, 56, but my notes are certainly not exhaustive.

19. An archaeometrical study of the animals similar to that done of the Dodwell Painter's animals by M. Blomberg, *Observations on the Dodwell Painter* (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 51ff., would certainly be of help here.

20. Villard, *CVA Louvre* 13, to pls. 59.2, 60.1-3.

21. See comment on *CorVP*, p. 336.26 ter (I take 24 ter to be a slip of the pen where 26 bis, listed just below it in *CorVP*, p. 305, is meant, there being no irises indicated on the Bloomington olpe). A fifth vase, the narrow-footed oinochoe *CorVP*, p. 68: A-10 (cf. *CorVP*, p. 67), will not be discussed in detail here. It is a close imitation, but certainly not by the Painter of Vatican 73.

22. The lion in Vulci frieze 1 (fig. 9) and two lions on the Madison olpe (no. 4) are exceptions.

23. In the oeuvre of the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89, the horizontal line bordering the yonder leg is longer than those of the Painter of Vatican 73 and as long as the arched line above it; the Painter of Vatican 73 always makes the arched line longer.

I think that the Painter of Vatican 73 first tried to copy the type used by the Painter of Malibu 85.AE.89 (no. 1), then tried to apply it in mirror image (no. 2), as he did with felines and ungulates in general, and finally more or less omitted the type for some time. This may account for the unusual number of such groin incisions in the felines to left on the Columbia olpe (no. 2).

24. It is found only twice in the Painter of Vatican 73's oeuvre, namely, on no. 34 (fig. 2) and on no. 54, *CVA Louvre* 13, pl. 54.1, upper frieze to the far left.

25. Scilicet with the panther and lion in frieze 1 of the Malibu olpe (figs. 4b and d), the lion in frieze 1 of the Vulci olpe (fig. 9), and both lions in the lower frieze of the Aigina oinochoe (fig. 10).

26. So already the panther-bird on the piriform aryballos Delphi 8445 (*CorVP*, p. 53: B-1); all mammals (and on alabastra also human beings) in the Sphinx Painter's oeuvre (for which see Neef, in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, forthcoming); also *CorVP*, p. 54: B-6.

27. It is unclear how many vases (one, two, or even three) the fragments Megara Hyblaea 1/10241-42 represent (cf. *CorVP*, pp. 68-69 under nos. 35-36). The style of the fragment shown in G. Vallet and F. Villard, *Mégaras Hyblaea*, vol. 2, *La céramique archaïque* (Paris, 1964), pl. 36.2, looks more developed than the fragments on pls. 35-36.1; this may be due to the state of preservation.

28. There is none with the left goat in frieze 1 of the olpe Malibu 85.AE.89 (fig. 4d).

29. Cf., e.g., *CVA Louvre* 13, pl. 63.4.

30. *GkV*, list 28 ("Sphinxmaler"); Amyx, *CorVP*, pp. 67, 72-73.

31. Unfortunately, this animal is not preserved on the Syracuse fragments.

32. For the painter, see *CorVP*, pp. 73-74; *CorVPAC*, p. 28.

33. *CorVP*, pp. 28-29, 301; cf. *ECW*, p. 14 (less plausible); and, for bibl., *CorVPAC*, p. 14.

34. Cf. *CorVP*, pls. 8 and 9.

35. C. W. Neef, "The Potnia Painter and Colleagues," in

Studies in Ancient Epirus Dedicated to the Memory of S. Dakaris and J. Vokotopoulou (forthcoming).

36. Cf. *CorVP*, p. 55: B-1; *CorVPAC*, p. 23. I have isolated three groups of felines, most of them seated, that belong here, but there are not enough clues yet to link these up with the hands in the Double-Bodied Sphinx Workshop. In addition, the pattern becomes more and more blurred because of heavy cross-borrowings.

37. Swans at the back in the oeuvres of the Potnia and the Bellofiori Painters (see supra, note 35).

38. *AA*, 1994: 15, fig. 25 (sphinx to left); for the Double-Bodied Sphinx Painter, see NC, pl. 16.13-14.

39. Cf. *CorVP*, pl. 18.4.

40. *CorVP*, pp. 373-74; M. A. Rizzo, *Le anfore da trasporto e il commercio etrusco arcaico* (Rome, 1990), 1: 62; eadem, *ASAtene* 46/47 (1988/1989): 9 n. 4.

41. See, for folds of skin in front of tail, *ECW*, pl. 19.2 and, in LPC, NC 32, pl. 10.7-8 (of the same peculiar type), and especially the Colonello Painter (*ECW*, p. 69); for hipbone, *ECW*, pl. 20.4, and again NC 32 (single) and *ECW*, pl. 21.5 (double).

42. *CorVP*, pp. 48-49, pls. 15-16.

43. Cf. *PSA*, p. 357, fig. 189, no. 5, where the olpai are erroneously labeled LPC. For the chronology of the Head-in-Air Painter, see C. W. Neef, *Lines and Felines: Corinthian Vases in Dutch Private Collections and Minor Museums* (forthcoming).

44. *PSA*, p. 301; also *AnnArchStorAnt*, n.s., 1 (1994): 154 n. 32.

45. Cf. also *CorVP*, p. 70: B-4, from Delphi, which is unknown to me.

46. *Antichità senza provenienza*. Atti della tavola rotonda, February 18, 1995, Suppl. to *BdA* 89/90 (1995).

47. No. 12 entered the museum in 1901; as to the other vases, there was no information available. My thanks are due to Dr. M. Sannibale for his help in tackling this issue.

48. Payne apparently acquired his broad-bottomed oinochoe after he finished *Necrocorinthia* in 1931. The vessel may have been around for some time, though, there being no evidence for clandestine digging in the first half of the twentieth century.

49. *Corinto e l'Occidente*. Atti del 34° convegno di studi sulla Magna Graecia, Taranto, October 7-11, 1994 (Taranto, 1995), pp. 367ff. Drinking vessels and tall pouring vessels not being deposited in graves in Taranto in the beginning, the demand for these vessels must have been nonexistent or at least less than in Pithekoussai and Cumae. For powder pyxides, *ibid.*, p. 375, cf. also Corfu; for concave pyxides at Francavilla Marittima, see *ibid.*, p. 363 n. 55. Cf. also J. de la Genière, "Les acheteurs de cratères corinthiens," *BCH* 112 (1988): 83-90. It should be observed here that Corinthian black-figure kraters have almost never been found in Greek, only in barbarian graves (cf., however, *Corinto e l'Occidente*, p. 357 n. 39; also M. Cristofani and M. Martelli, "La distribuzione dei crateri corinzi: Il mito e l'immaginario dei simposiasti," in *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia II, Cronache di Archeologia e di storia del'Arte* 30 [1991], esp. pp. 21ff.)

50. Cf., moreover, the observations in *Corinto e l'Occidente* (supra, note 49), pp. 374-75; also cock alabastra by the Dolphin Painter in Vulci and Statonia (Ischia di Castro) and the pattern of bird aryballo from his workshop. See C. W. Neef, "Who Precisely Was the Fledgling Painter," in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt, and R. F. Docter, eds., *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*, Festschrift H. G. Niemeyer, Veröffentlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, no. 87 (Göttingen, 1998): 280 n. 17, 284.

51. For literature, see R. Osborne, "Pots, Trade and the Archaic Greek Economy," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 31-44, where references to H. A. G. Brijder's work on Siana cups and to M. Martelli, "La ceramica greca in Etruria," *II° Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*,

Suppl. *Studi Etruschi* (1989): 781ff., are blatantly missing. Add J. P. Small, "Scholars, Etruscans, and Attic Painted Vases," *JRA* 7 (1994): 34–59. The conclusions drawn here for Cerveteri agree with those regarding Selinus by C. Dehl-von Kaenel, *Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 326ff. = eadem, *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 13 (1994): 55–83, esp. pp. 74ff. = eadem, in *Corinto e l'Occidente* (supra, note 49), pp. 352ff., though I think that her first two conclusions are right for the wrong reasons, both stylistically and logically. If the Malophoros material more or less consists of integrated lots (*Beiträge*, p. 69), this points to trade in batches, not to connections to workshops sustained over a longer period. If nearly all shapes produced in Corinth are found in the Malophoros sanctuary (and elsewhere), this

points to the very opposite of directional trade. If the choice of vases differs in graves and the sanctuary (*Corinto e l'Occidente*, p. 357 n. 39), this means that a selection according to function is made in Selinus, not in Corinth. Etc.

The observations expressed here have greatly profited from information by and discussion with V. V. Stissi, who is currently preparing a Ph.D. dissertation on the subject at the University of Amsterdam.

52. Hence the flying bird (*CorVP*, p. 67, bottom) must be removed from the painter's iconography.

53. The olpe was acquired from R. Syme, London, in 1985. The vessel was on loan from a private collection to Geneva, Musée d'Art et Histoire, where I noticed it in 1979 and 1981.

EIN TROIANISCHES PFERD AUF EINER MITTELKORINTHISCHEN KOTYLE

Petra Reichert-Südbeck

Beim Durchsehen einer mit korinthischen Scherben gefüllten Kiste im J. Paul Getty Museum stieß ich auf ein Fragment einer mittelkorinthischen Kotyle (erstes Viertel des 6. Jhs. v.Chr.), auf der, wie ich meine, das von Odysseus erfundene Hölzerne Pferd dargestellt war (Abb. 1)¹. Mit besonderer Freude widme ich die folgenden Zeilen, die sich mit dieser seit der Antike als Inbegriff der Klugheit und Erfindungskraft verstandenen Schöpfung befassen, meiner verehrten Lehrerin Erika Simon. Denn auch sie findet, wo andere der Mut bereits verlassen hat, oft noch Mittel und Wege, das dem modernen Forschergeist scheinbar Uneinnehmbare zu ergründen.

Das hier zum ersten Mal vorgestellte Fragment ist 6,1 cm hoch, seine maximale Breite beträgt 8,28 cm. Es hat die Form eines unregelmäßigen Fünfecks, an dessen Spitze ein kleiner Rest des Randes erhalten ist. Für das intakte Gefäß lassen sich ein Durchmesser von ca. 19 cm und eine Höhe von ca. 12 cm rekonstruieren. Es hatte eine eher breite Form, die sich nach unten hin nur wenig verjüngte. Der Glanzton ist an vielen Stellen abgerieben, er hinterließ aber auf dem Grund dunkle Schatten, die zusammen mit den Ritzungen den größten Teil der Darstellung gut erkennen lassen.

Der Gefäßkörper war in mehrere Zonen aufgeteilt: Unterhalb des Randes saß zwischen den Henkeln ein flüchtig geritztes doppeltes Lotosblüten-Band; darunter verlief ein dreireihiges, ebenfalls wenig sorgfältig ausgeführtes Schachbrettmuster, dem ein figürlicher Fries mit Kriegerszenen folgte.

Dieses Dekorationsschema findet sich auch auf anderen korinthischen Kotylen wieder. Äußerst selten begegnet jedoch das Lotosblüten-Band. Es taucht nur

ein Mal auf, nämlich auf einer mittelkorinthischen Kotyle in Paris, dem namengebenden Werk des Pholoë-Malers (Abb. 2)². Das Ornament besteht aus zwei einander entgegengesetzten Reihen von Dreiecken, die mit doppelten Ritzlinien untergliedert sind. Die Verbindung zwischen den gegenüberliegenden Dreiecken besteht jeweils aus einem schmalen Glanztonstreifen. Payne bezeichnete das Ornament des Pariser Gefäßes als *unusual* und erwähnte es im Zusammenhang mit dem Doppel-Palmetten-Band, einem auf mittelkorinthischen Kotylen ebenfalls sehr selten anzutreffenden Schmuckelement³. Das hier vorgestellte Fragment, auf dem das Ornament weniger geometrisch aufgefaßt ist, läßt jedoch den Ursprung als Lotosblüte recht gut erkennen (Abb. 3): Aus einem einzigen Kelch—dem Glanztonstreifen in der Mitte—wachsen sowohl nach oben als auch nach unten je zwei seitliche Hüllblätter. Das Herz ist durch eine horizontale doppelte Ritzlinie umgrenzt, die auf dem Fragment leicht gebogen ist. Die Lotosblättchen sind durch kurze vertikale Ritzungen nur angedeutet. Da es, wie mir C. W. Neef freundlicherweise bestätigte, für diese Gestaltungsweise im Korinthischen sonst keine Parallele gibt, dürfte es sich dabei um eine malertypische Eigenart handeln.

Analog zu dem Gefäß in Paris sind für die Kotyle, zu der unser Fragment gehörte, unterhalb der figürlichen Szene ein weiteres Schachbrettmuster sowie ein Strahlenkranz zu ergänzen. Bei vergleichbaren Proportionen dürfte der Figurenfries etwa bis zur halben Höhe erhalten sein. Wie schon bei den Ornamenten ist auch bei den Figuren des Hauptfrieses eine eher flüchtige Malweise zu beobachten. Die Ritzlinien wirken fast grob im Verhältnis zu den zierlichen Gestalten.

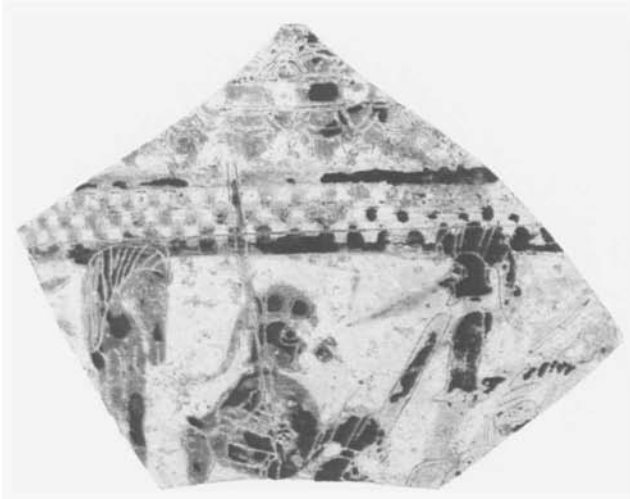


ABBILDUNG 1. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle. Fragment, 1:1. Ehemals Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.76.2.

Im Zentrum der Darstellung stehen zwei behelmte, mit Brustpanzern gewappnete Krieger (Abb. 4). Sie blicken einander an, wobei die erhobene Lanze des rechten Kämpfers direkt auf das Gesicht seines Gegenübers gerichtet ist. Mit der linken Hand hält er diesem den Schild entgegen. Trotz dieser bedrohlich erscheinenden Gebärde handelt es sich nicht um eine Kampfszene. Der linke Krieger steht ruhig auf seine Lanze gestützt da und unternimmt keinerlei Anstalten zur Gegenwehr. Nicht einmal seinen Schild hält er schützend vor sich. Er hat keinen Grund zur Besorgnis, da der rechte Krieger sich nicht auf ihn zu bewegt, sondern in die entgegengesetzte Richtung, nach rechts hin, agiert (Abb. 5). Sein linkes Bein ist bis zur Mitte des Unterschenkels erhalten, am unteren Rand des Fragmentes ist noch die Beinschiene erkennbar. Es handelt sich also um einen Gefährten, der sich lediglich zu seinem Kameraden umwendet. Sein hoch erhobenes rechtes Bein verschwindet im Bereich des Knies hinter einer gekrümmten Ritzlinie, die in der rechten unteren Ecke des Fragmentes, unmittelbar neben dem linken Unterschenkel des Kriegers ansetzt. Sie verläuft annähernd parallel zu dessen linkem Bein schräg nach oben, biegt knapp oberhalb des rechten Knies nach rechts um und führt mit einer geringeren Neigung wieder nach unten, bis sie auf die rechte Bruchkante des Fragmentes trifft. Innerhalb des von der gekrümmten Ritzlinie und der Bruchkante eingefassten Bereiches



ABBILDUNG 2. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle des Pholoë-Malers. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 677 (L 173). Photo M. und P. Chuzeville.

erscheinen drei kleine Felder, in denen je ein winziges Köpfchen zu erkennen ist.

Die Felder rufen unmittelbar bekannte Darstellungen des Troianischen Pferdes in Erinnerung, wie diejenige auf der berühmten kykladischen Reliefamphora in Mykonos⁴. Auch das bisher einzige bekannte Beispiel aus der korinthischen Vasenmalerei, das Hölzerne Pferd auf einem mittelkorinthischen Aryballos in Paris, weist solche Luken auf (Abb. 6)⁵. Die gestaffelte Anordnung der Fensterchen sowie die Form der sie umgebenden Ritzlinie erlauben kaum eine andere Deutung, als daß auch auf dem Gefäß, zu dem unser Fragment gehörte, die Erfindung des Odysseus dargestellt war⁶.

Während auf dem Aryballos die Griechen jedoch bereits in der Stadt und zum Teil schon herausgeklettert und in heftigem Kampf mit den Trojanern begriffen sind, steigt der Krieger auf unserem Fragment offenbar gerade in das Versteck hinein. Die Szene spielt also noch im Lager der Griechen. Oberhalb der Krümmung ist sogar die Klappe erkennbar, mit der der Einstieg verschlossen werden konnte. Sie ist durch zwei schräg nach oben geführte Ritzlinien und einen dicken Glanztonstrich angegeben; die annähernd halbrunde doppelte Ritzlinie rechts davon deutet den Griff an. Das Fragment weist damit die älteste bekannte Darstellung dieses Details auf, das erst wieder auf einem attisch rotfigurigen Fragment eines Kelchkraters in

Würzburg gestaltet ist⁷. Anders als der Athener, der die Innenseite der Klappe erkennen ließ, zeigt der korinthische Maler diese jedoch von der Seite.

Als Einzelmotiv hervorzuheben ist auch der von der Seite gesehene Schild des rechten Kriegers. Die Korinther wählten diese Art der Darstellung eher selten⁸. Sie bevorzugten den von innen oder außen gesehenen kreisrunden Schild, den sie mit prächtigen Zeichen schmückten, wie auf der berühmten Chigi-kanne in Rom⁹.

Thema des Figurenfrieses war also eine Episode um das Troianische Pferd. Doch welcher Teil des Tieres ist hier erhalten? Unmittelbar unterhalb der Krümmung der die Fenster umfahrenden Linie ist eine Reihe von kurzen senkrechten Ritzungen erkennbar, und darunter, oberhalb des mittleren Köpfchens, eine helle Stelle, die nicht mit Glanzton bedeckt war. Man gewinnt daraus zunächst den Eindruck, daß es sich um den Schweif handelt, was freilich wegen der in diesem Bereich angebrachten Klappe und der noch links unterhalb der Krümmung erscheinenden Köpfchen, die ja dann in der Luft schweben würden, nicht möglich ist. Es kann somit nur der Kopf des Pferdes gemeint sein, in dem sich die Griechen auch auf dem bereits erwähnten Aryballos in Paris (s. Abb. 6) versteckt hatten. Einer von ihnen benutzt dort gerade das Maul des Tieres als Ausstieg. Die senkrechten Ritzungen auf dem Fragment sollen somit wohl die Mähne andeuten, die unvollständige Glanztonabdeckung wird auf Nachlässigkeit des Malers zurückzuführen sein. Die gerade geführte Halslinie erscheint zwar etwas steif, sie ist aber für ein hölzernes Pferd durchaus passend.

Der bereits erwähnte linke Krieger steht nach vorne gebeugt, das rechte Bein, von dem der Oberschenkel erhalten ist, gerade nach unten ausgestreckt, das linke mit angewinkelt Knie weit nach vorne gestellt (Abb. 7). Ein Teil des mit einer Beinschiene geschützten Unterschenkels ist noch zu erkennen. Die Standfläche für das linke Bein muß erheblich höher gewesen sein als die für das rechte, so als ob der Krieger auf einer Leiter stände. Von einer solchen ist jedoch keinerlei Anzeichen vorhanden. Der lange, bis in das obere Ornamentband hinein ragende Gegenstand ist seine Lanze. Der Krieger hat den Kopf erhoben und blickt aufmerksam zu seinem Gefährten hin.

Zwischen diesen beiden erscheint am unteren Rand des Fragmentes der Helm eines dritten Kriegers. Der Augenausschnitt zeigt, daß auch er seine Auf-

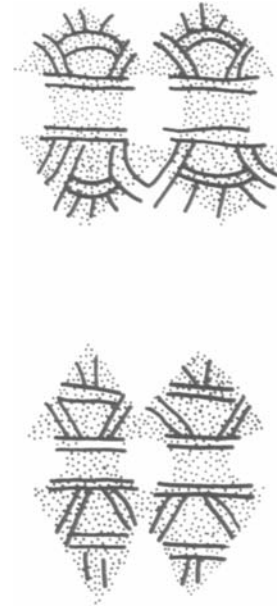


ABBILDUNG 3. Zeichnung der Lotosblüten-Bänder des Malibu Fragmentes, Abb. 1 (oben), und der Pariser Kotyle, Abb. 2 (unten). Zeichnung: Verfasserin.



ABBILDUNG 4. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle, Abb. 1. Zeichnung ohne Ergänzungen, etwa 2:1. Zeichnung: Verfasserin.

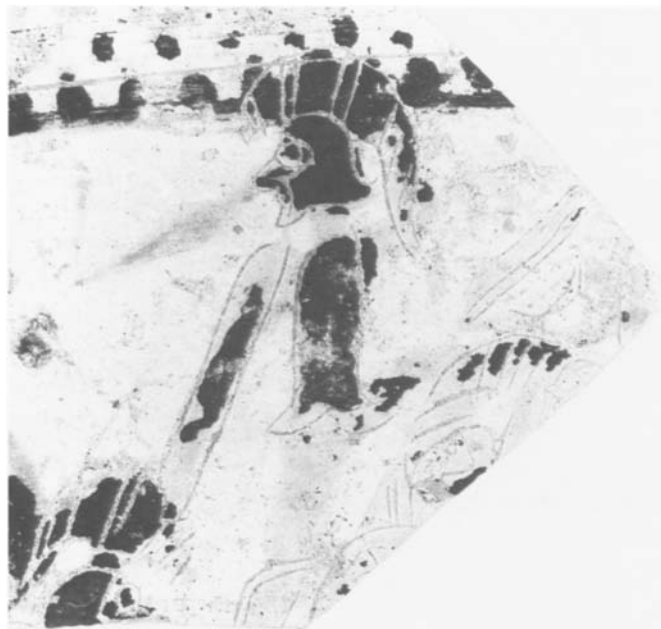


ABBILDUNG 5. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle, Abb. 1. Detail der rechten Seite des Fragmentes, etwa 2:1.

merksamkeit nach rechts oben auf den sich umwendenden Kameraden richtet.

Als letzte Figur ist links ein in Frontalansicht gezeigtes Pferd erhalten. Auch dieses Motiv muß wegen seiner Seltenheit innerhalb der korinthischen Vasenkunst hervorgehoben werden¹⁰. Ruhig dastehend, den Kopf nach rechts gewendet, wirkt es wie ein unbeteiligter Beobachter der Szene. Frei und ohne Zaumzeug ist es sicher nicht an einem Kampfgeschehen beteiligt und bestätigt damit die Vermutung, daß wir uns noch im Lager der Griechen befinden. Wozu die links des Pferdekopfes noch zu erkennenden Glanztonspuren gehörten, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen.

Für die Rekonstruktion der Szene ergeben sich damit die folgenden Anhaltspunkte (Abb. 8): Am rechten Rand des Fragmentes erscheinen Hals und Hinterkopf des Troianischen Pferdes, das bei einer zu erschließenden ursprünglichen Höhe des Figurenfrieses von etwa 6,5 cm nicht vollständig dargestellt gewesen sein dürfte. Ein Krieger ist im Begriff, durch eine Öffnung im Hinterkopf des Tieres einzusteigen, wobei er sich mit erhobener Lanze zu seinen Kameraden umwendet. Mit dem linken Fuß trat er wohl auf den Halsansatz des Pferdes. Seine beiden Gefährten standen sicher auf verschiedenen Ebenen. Der Kopf des mittleren Kriegers erscheint so tief, daß sich im Rücken des Pferdes eine zweite Einstiegsmöglichkeit befunden haben muß, in der er bereits zur Hälfte verschwunden war. Der dritte Grieche wartete hinter dieser Öffnung, auf deren Verschluß-Klappe er vielleicht sein linkes Bein aufgestellt hatte, bis die Reihe an ihn käme. Das Pferd am linken Rand des Fragmentes dürfte fast in seiner ganzen Höhe erhalten sein. Es stand auf einer Hilfslinie, wie sie auch auf dem Aryballos in Paris für die Einteilung des Bildfeldes benutzt wurden.

Der Rest der Darstellung ist verloren. Möglicherweise waren noch zahlreiche andere Figuren am Geschehen beteiligt. Das Erhaltene zeigt m.E. jedoch eine zentrale Szene: Viele der "Besten der Achaier" (*Od.* 4.272–73) sitzen bereits im Inneren des Tieres. Die Angst, sich freiwillig in eine vielleicht tödliche Falle begeben zu haben, spiegelt sich in ihren aufgerissenen Augen. Sorge und Verantwortung für die Gefährten drückt sich im Blickkontakt der gerade einsteigenden Krieger aus, die wohl die Anführer sind und sich ein letztes aufmunterndes Wort zurufen¹¹. Einer von ihnen ist sicher Odysseus, der das Unternehmen leitete und den Auftrag hatte, die Falle zu schließen

(*Od.* 11.523–25). Homer läßt ihn im Hades gegenüber Achill schildern, wie ihnen die Knie zitterten, wie einige sich sogar die Tränen abwischen mußten, als sie eingestiegen waren (*Od.* 11.523–27). An die gefährliche Situation im Bauch des Pferdes wird in der *Odyssee* zweimal erinnert (4.271–89 und 8.492–513), der Moment des Einsteigens wird dagegen nicht noch einmal geschildert.

Auch in der bildenden Kunst scheint dieser Augenblick sehr selten dargestellt gewesen zu sein. Er wurde in einer Szene auf einem attisch schwarzfigurigen Fragment in Berlin erkannt, in der zwei Männer je einen Gefährten auf der Schulter tragen (Abb. 9)¹². Zwischen ihnen erscheint das riesenhafte Bein des Pferdes. Der Vasenmaler zeigte m.E. jedoch auch hier eher das leise, katzenartige Aussteigen der Helden in der nächtlich stillen Stadt. Der bärtige Mann links hat mit beiden Händen die Knöchel seines Kameraden gefaßt, um dessen Füße sicher auf seine Schultern zu führen. Der andere Krieger scheint gesprungen zu sein. Seine Beine sind leicht angewinkelt und der Grieche, auf dessen Schultern er landete, ist unter dem Gewicht zusammengesunken. Er versucht, sich am Bein des Pferdes abzustützen. Es ist außerdem zu bedenken, daß die Griechen sich im eigenen Lager bequem einer Leiter hätten bedienen können¹³.

Auch Anna Sadurska kam in ihrem Artikel im *LIMC* zu dem Ergebnis, daß in archaischer Zeit allein Ausstiegsszenen dargestellt wurden. Themen der späteren Kunst waren neben diesem traditionellen Motiv die Herstellung des Pferdes und die Situation unmittelbar vor oder während des Einzuges in die Stadt. Das hier vorgestellte Fragment zeigt somit die einzige Darstellung des Einstiegs der Griechen in das Hölzerne Pferd.

Wie bereits festgestellt wurde, steht das Fragment in Wahl, Anordnung und Ausführung der Ornamentik der Kotyle des Pholoë-Malers in Paris sehr nahe (s. Abb. 2). Die Verwandtschaft der beiden Gefäße zeigt sich aber auch in den Figurenfriesen. Mit einer Erzählfreude, die "an protokorinthische Werke erinnert"¹⁴, wurde jeweils eine Episode aus dem Mythos figurenreich in Szene gesetzt. Auf der Pariser Kotyle war der Kampf des Herakles gegen die Kentauren gezeigt. Die Darstellung der Höhlenwohnung mit den aufgehängten Waffen¹⁵ entspringt demselben Interesse für ungewöhnliche und neue Einzelmotive wie das frontal gezeigte Pferd, die Verschlußklappe am Hinterkopf des Hölzernen Pferdes oder der von der Seite gesehene Schild auf dem Fragment. Bei beiden

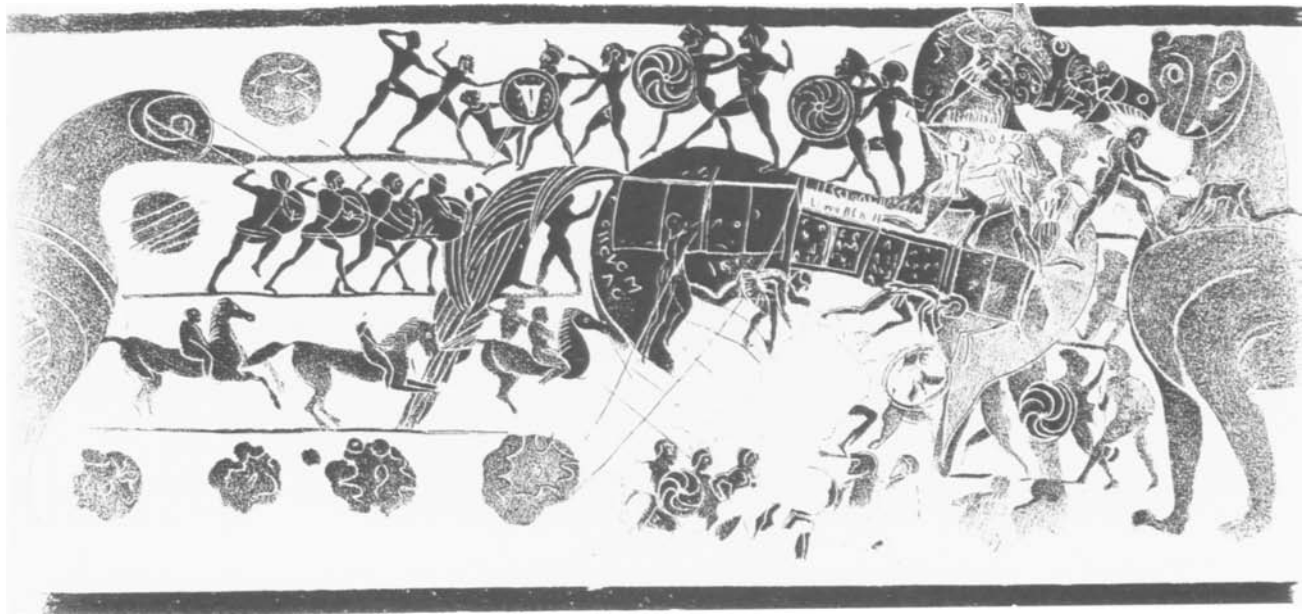


ABBILDUNG 6. Mittelkorinthischer Aryballos. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 186. Nach *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 7 (1892): Taf. 2.

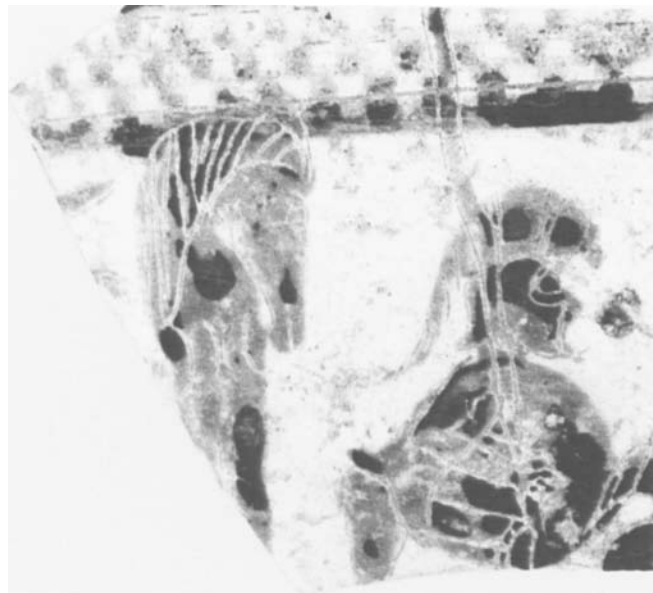


ABBILDUNG 7. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle, Abb. 1. Detail der linken Seite des Fragmentes, etwa 2:1.



ABBILDUNG 8. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle, Abb. 1. Rekonstruktionszeichnung.

Gefäßen stehen die kräftigen Ritzungen im Kontrast zu den schlanken, zierlichen Figuren. Die Krieger des Fragmentes lassen sich wegen ihrer Panzer und Helme nur bedingt mit den Göttern und Kentauren der Pariser Kotyle vergleichen¹⁶, charakteristische Gemeinsamkeiten sind jedoch die vorspringenden Nasen und die kantige Gesäßlinie, die etwa den linken Krieger

mit dem zweiten und dritten Kentauren verbindet.

Dem Pholoë-Maler wurde noch eine zweite Kotyle zugeschrieben, die in Argos zutage kam, aber heute verloren ist (Abb. 10)¹⁷. Auch auf diesem Gefäß waren Herakles-Taten dargestellt: Neben dem in Korinth beliebten Hydra-Abenteuer¹⁸ zeigte der Maler den Abstieg des Helden in die Unterwelt. Dieses



ABBILDUNG 9. Fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung F 1723. Photo: Jutta Tietz-Glagow.



ABBILDUNG 10. Mittelkorinthische Kotyle, aus Argos. Verschollen. Nach *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1859, Taf. 125.

Thema ist, wie auch die Darstellung des Höllenhundes Kerberos, aus dessen Kopf und Körper Schlangen wachsen, im Korinthischen einzigartig¹⁹. Auch das bekannte Hydra-Abenteuer variierte der Künstler geschickt mit einer originellen Nebenhandlung: Herakles hat, bevor er sich in den Kampf begab, sein Gespann ausgeschirrt. Der Wagen steht 'geparkt' neben einem Baum, an dem eines der Gespannpferde knabbert. Die Mähne des Tieres ist ähnlich gestaltet wie die des frontal gezeigten Pferdes auf dem Malibu Fragment: Sie ist als kompakte Masse mit einer Ritzlinie umfahren, während parallele Striche die Strähnen andeuten. Auch hier begegnet wieder die für den Pholoë-Maler typische Lebendigkeit und Originalität

der Darstellung. Besonders gerne zeigte er offenbar Gestalten, die sich entgegen ihrer Bewegungsrichtung zurückwenden. Auf dem Fragment erscheint so der rechte Krieger, auf der Pariser Kotyle der erste Kentaur und auf dem Gefäß aus Argos der Unterweltsgott Hades sowie Kerberos.

Die zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen mit den beiden bekannten Gefäßen des Pholoë-Malers erlauben es m.E., ihm auch das ehemals in Malibu befindliche Fragment mit der Darstellung des Troianischen Pferdes zuzuschreiben²⁰. Es gehört zu den originellsten Arbeiten der korinthischen Vasenmalerei der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v.Chr. und wurde von einem ihrer hervorragendsten Vertreter geschaffen.

Würzburg

ANMERKUNGEN

Abkürzungen:

- Amyx, *CVP* D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley, 1988).
 Neeft, *Add* C. W. Neeft, *Addenda et Corrigenda to D. A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting in the Archaic Period* (Amsterdam, 1991).
 Payne, *NC* H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931).

1. Ehemals Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.76.2. Das Fragment befindet sich inzwischen zur näheren Untersuchung in Bern und wird danach voraussichtlich nach Italien zurückgegeben werden.

Den Mitarbeiterinnen des Department of Antiquities im Getty Museum, insbesondere Karol Wight, möchte ich für die freundliche Aufnahme im Museum und ihre hilfreiche Unterstützung herzlich danken. Marion True danke ich für die Erlaubnis, das Fragment zu publizieren. Für finanzielle Unterstützung der Studienreise, die mir den Aufenthalt in Malibu ermöglichte, bin ich der Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes sowie der Universität Würzburg zu Dank verpflichtet. Michael Menninger war mir bei der Anfertigung der hier abgebildeten Zeichnungen behilflich. Für wichtige Hinweise danke ich C. W. Neeft und John Oakley.

2. Paris, Louvre MNC 677 (I 173): Payne, *NC*, S. 129, 309, Nr. 941; K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (München, 1964), S. 69, Taf. 62; Amyx, *CVP*, S. 184, Nr. 1, und S. 630, Taf. 70.1; Neeft, *Add*, S. 53.

3. Payne, *NC*, S. 156 Anm. 2. Er nannte selbst nur ein Beispiel: Payne, *NC*, S. 309, Nr. 943A. Auf zwei weitere Kotylen mit Doppel-Palmetten-Band wies mich C. W. Neeft freundlicherweise hin: Basel, Sammlung Cahn 1031; Aigina, Museum κ 658.

4. Mykonos, Museum 2240: M. Ervin, *ADelt*, 18 A (1963): 37-75; *LIMC* 3 (Zürich, 1986), S. 815, Nr. 23, s.v. "Equus Troianus" (A. Sadurska), mit Abb.; *LIMC* 4 (Zürich, 1988), S. 538, Nr. 225, s.v. "Helene" (L. Kahil). Die Luken sind bereits auf der böotischen Fibel in London angegeben, die die älteste erhaltene Darstellung des hölzernen Pferdes zeigt: London, British Museum 3205; Sadurska, a.O., S. 815, Nr. 22, mit Abb.

5. Paris, Cab. Méd. 186: Payne, *NC*, S. 321, Nr. 1281; Amyx,

CVP, S. 601, 642-43; Sadurska (a.O., Anm. 4), S. 815, Nr. 17, mit Abb. Zum Thema Iliupersis in der korinthischen Kunst, s. Payne, *NC*, S. 136; Amyx, *CVP*, S. 642-43.

6. Die in den Fenstern eines Gebäudes sichtbaren Köpfe auf einer etruskisch-korinthisierenden Kleeblattkanne in Paris sind dagegen nebeneinander angeordnet: Paris, Cab. Méd. 179 (Maler der bärtigen Sphinx): *CVA* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1, Taf. 12.3; F. Canciani, *Bildkunst*, Bd. 2, *Archaeologia homericæ*, Bd. 2, Kap. N, Teil 2 (Göttingen, 1984), S. 62.

7. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum H 4695: H. Walter, *AM* 77 (1962): 193-96, Beil. 54.2; E. Simon, Hrsg., *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin-von-Wagner-Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), S. 147-48; Sadurska (a.O., Anm. 4), S. 815, Nr. 20.

8. Vgl. etwa den über den Rücken gehängten Schild des Wagenlenkers auf einem mittelkorinthischen Kolonettenkrater in London, British Museum 1867.8-5.860 (B 42) (Ophelandros-Maler): Amyx, *CVP*, S. 234, Nr. 1, Taf. 102.2a; Neeft, *Add*, S. 65.

9. Rom, Villa Giulia 22679 (Chigi-Maler): Amyx, *CVP*, S. 32, Nr. 3 und passim; Neeft, *Add*, S. 15.

10. Eines der wenigen Beispiele ist das Gespann auf einem mittelkorinthischen Aryballos in Basel mit der Darstellung des Hydra-Abenteuers: Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 425; P. Amandry und D. A. Amyx, *AntK* 25 (1982): 102-106; Amyx, *CVP*, S. 180-81, Taf. 67.2a-b; Neeft, *Add*, S. 52.

11. Das anfeuernde Schütteln der Lanze erscheint auch auf einem Dinosfragment des Sophilos in Athen, Nationalmuseum 15499: *ABV* 39.16; G. Bakir, *Sophilos* (Mainz, 1981), S. 65, Nr. A3, Taf. 6, Abb. 10; *Add*² 10.

12. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 1723 (Maler von Louvre 751): *ABV* 314; *Paralipomena* 136; Sadurska (a.O., Anm. 4), S. 815, Nr. 18, mit Abb.; *Add*² 85. Zur Deutung als Einstieg, s. K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (München, 1978), S. 254.

13. Ähnlich Walter (a.O., Anm. 7), S. 195; F. Brommer, *Odysseus* (Darmstadt, 1983), S. 52 mit Anm. 1.

14. Amyx, *CVP*, S. 184: "recalling Protocorinthian work".

15. s. Schefold (a.O., Anm. 2), Taf. 62 unten.

16. Der Krieger oder die Kriegerin—die Haut ist weiß gemalt, die schwarze Kinnschuppe könnte aber einen Bart andeuten—im Tondo auf der Unterseite der Pariser Kotyle trägt einen in der Form

vergleichbaren Helm. Er ist jedoch hier als Hauptmotiv wesentlich sorgfältiger gestaltet als die Helme auf dem Fragment: s. J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, und F. Villard, *Das archaische Griechenland*² (München, 1985), S. 43, Abb. 45.

17. A. Conze, *AZ* (1859): 34, 122, Taf. 125; Payne, NC, S. 309, Nr. 942; Amyx, *CVP*, S. 185, Nr. 2; Neef, *Add*, S. 53.

18. Vgl. dazu Amandry und Amyx (a.O., Anm. 10).

19. Vgl. Payne, NC, S. 130.

20. Die Ähnlichkeit der Kotylen-Form wurde nicht besonders hervorgehoben. Payne, NC, S. 309, Nr. 941, weist auf die breite Form hin, die auch für das Gefäß, von dem das Fragment stammt, zu rekonstruieren ist.

AN ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED COLUMN-KRATER IN MALIBU: DIONYSIAC SPARAGMOS AND OMOPHAGIA

Glenn Markoe

The subject of this article is an Attic black-figured column-krater in the Getty Museum depicting on its front and back faces, respectively, a Dionysiac thiasos and a lion attack (figs. 1a–b).¹ The symbolic relationship between these two scenes will be explored and an argument offered in support of a Dionysiac interpretation for the lion-bull combat represented on the Malibu vase.²

The column-krater's obverse scene features a robed, bearded Dionysos with ivy wreath and drinking horn at the center of a lively group of inebriated satyrs and maenads. The two maenads wear short-sleeved, ankle-length garments overlaid with panther skins; their faces, arms, and feet are highlighted in added white. The maenad on the right advances toward Dionysos between two satyrs, while her counterpart on the left turns back to converse with two other satyrs approaching Dionysos from behind her. A third satyr poised immediately behind Dionysos completes the scene. The reverse scene illustrates a monumental group of two lions attacking a bull from both sides. The right-hand beast pounces on the bull's hindquarters, while the left-hand feline jumps on the bull's shoulders, forcing him down onto his forelegs.

The krater's ornamental decoration consists of a band of lotus buds on the lip (fig. 1c), an ivy-leaf vine on the rim, and rays at the base. The obverse scene is framed by a vertical ivy-leaf vine on each side and a tongue pattern above. The krater's handle-plates bear bearded male heads.

The theme of the main scene—Dionysos surrounded by dancing maenads and satyrs—is common in the Archaic period. Current among Attic black-figure vase-painters from the second quarter of the sixth cen-

tury onward, the subject became particularly popular around the middle of the century on vases by Lydos and his followers.³ The general compositional scheme of the Getty vase may be found on amphorae and column-kraters by that artist and his Circle. In general, this scheme consists of a “narrative” scene with human figures on the front of the vase and a heraldic composition of animals on the back. This latter is typically a three-figured grouping comprised of a winged creature (swan, eagle, siren, or sphinx) or a youth between flanking sphinxes or felines (lions and panthers).⁴

With its figural procession and symmetrical lion-bull composition the column-krater in Malibu adheres to this general formula. Nevertheless, the scene on the reverse of the Getty krater differs from the typical animal grouping described above in an important respect: it illustrates a specific attack scene composed of two lions converging on a bull. The specificity of this theme, in fact, suggests that its placement served a more than purely decorative function, and that its juxtaposition with the main scene of Dionysiac revelry was a purposeful and meaningful one.

Support for this contention may be found on other Attic vases of roughly contemporary date that display the same combination of lion attack and Dionysiac revelry. On a calyx-krater in Paris in the manner of Exekias, a double lion-bull attack occurs in the subsidiary register immediately below a Dionysiac procession (fig. 2).⁵ A second column-krater in Munich exhibits a grouping of themes identical to the one found on the Malibu krater: Dionysos and entourage on side A and a lion-bull combat on B (figs. 3a–b).⁶

What is the significance of the juxtaposition of the lion attack with Dionysiac revelry found on these

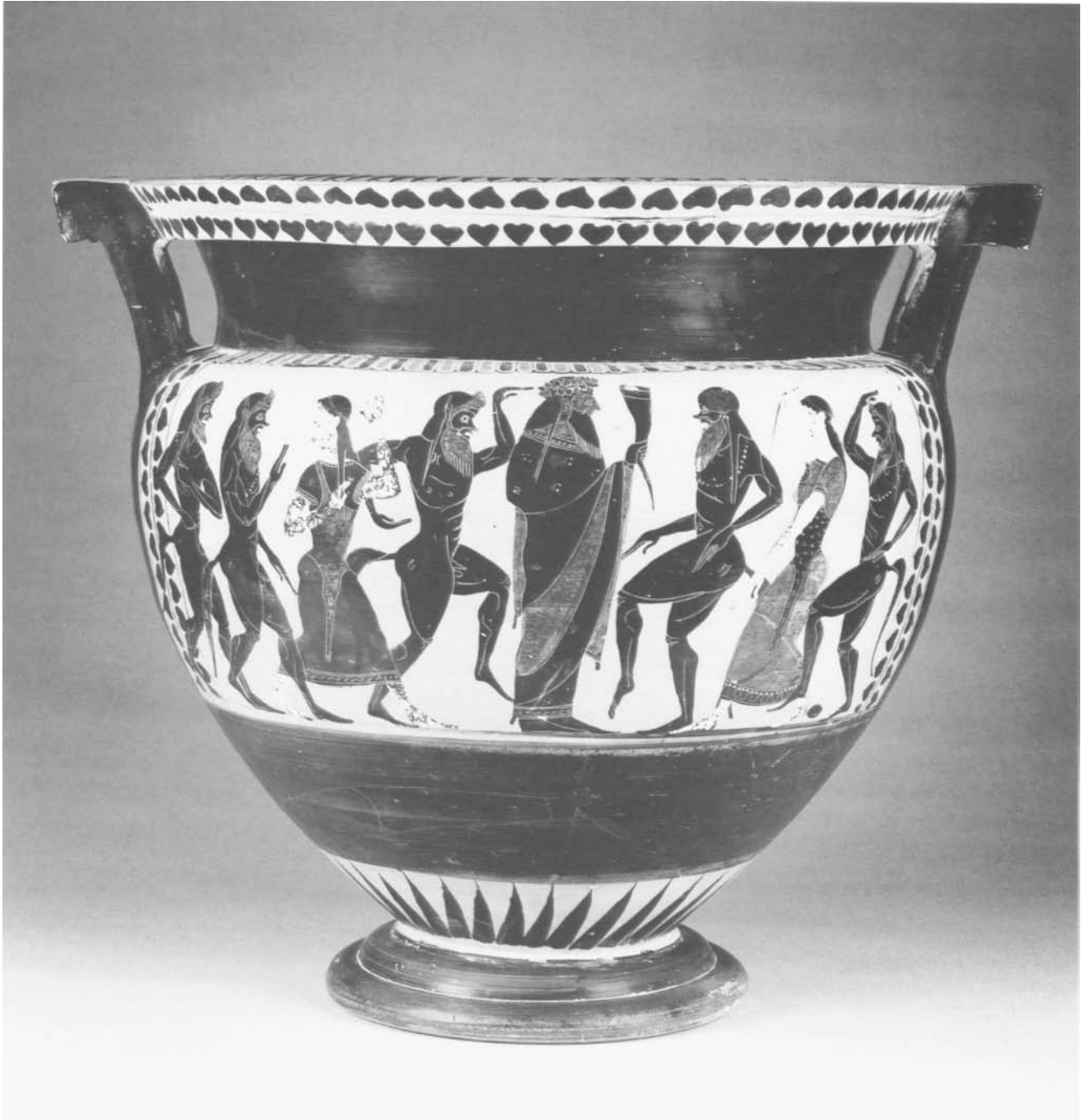


FIGURE 1A. Black-figured column-krater attributed to the Painter of Munich 1736. Side A. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AE.106.



FIGURE 1b. Column-krater, figure 1a. Side B.

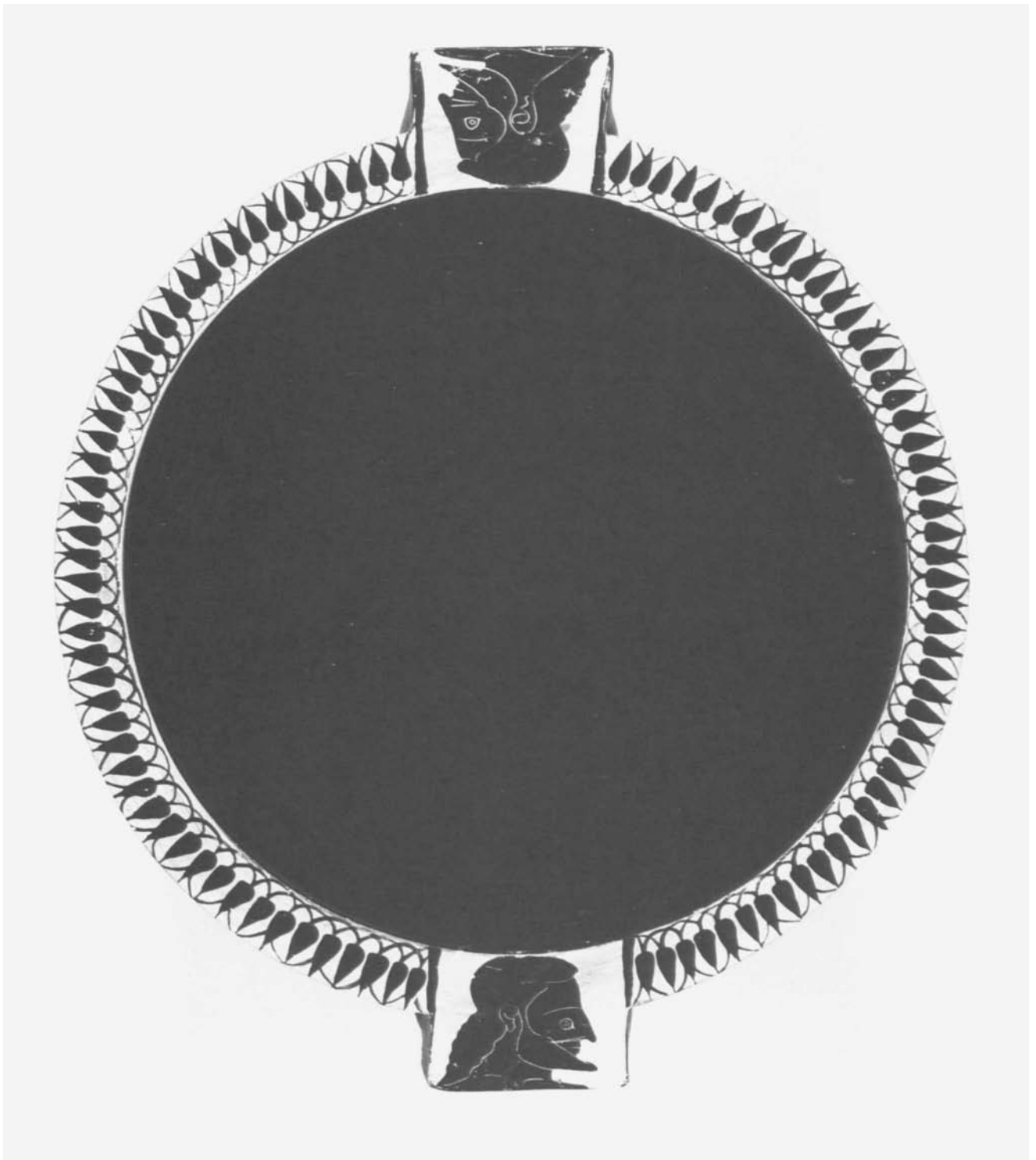


FIGURE 1C. Column-krater, figure 1a. Top.



FIGURE 2. Fragmentary black-figured calyx-krater, in the manner of Exekias. Paris, Musée du Louvre Cp 11298 (= Cp 12298). Photo: M. Chuzeville.

vases? The answer may be found in the function of the aggressing lion as an attribute of the god in Dionysiac myth. In the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*, the wine god actually turns into a lion while attacking his Tyrrhenian pirate captors.⁷ Likewise, in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnos, the attacking god transforms himself, first, into a charging panther and, then, into a lion.⁸ In Archaic Greek sculpture and pottery, the same concept finds direct expression in the attacking felines (lions, leopards, and panthers) that assist Dionysos in his combat with the giants.⁹

The epithets assigned to Dionysos in Greek literature similarly reflect his aggressive, feline aspect. Attention may be drawn to Dionysos's cult name Bromios ("the roaring one") and to the epithet *ὠμοστιάς* ("eater of raw flesh"), used elsewhere to describe lions and other beasts of prey.¹⁰ Dionysos's carnivorous aspect, preserved in terms such as *ὠμοστιάς*, is of particular relevance to an understanding of the symbolism of the lion attack in pictorial representations of Dionysiac cult. As the literary testimonia show, an essential element of Bacchic cult was the rending (*sparagmos*) and raw consumption (*omophagia*) of animals. Euripides' *Bacchae* (734ff.) provides a vivid description of the maenads' participation in this orgiastic activity: in the play, they pounce upon a herd of cattle and tear to pieces young heifers, full-grown

cows, and bulls.¹¹ In addition, fawns and goats formed popular objects of the maenads' hunt. Dionysiac cultic practice contains references to rending and eating animal flesh, the culminating act of the Dionysiac winter dance.¹² The term *ὠμοφάγος* is used in Euripides (*Cretans* frg. 472.12) to refer to sacrifices to Dionysos; the same word is used by Homer (*Il.* 5.782) and later authors to describe the carnivorous appetites of lions and other beasts of prey.

Dionysos is himself a key participant in the ritual of *sparagmos* and *omophagia*.¹³ In Euripides' *Bacchae* (138ff.) he is described as "hunting goat-slain blood, the joy of eating raw flesh."¹⁴ In a fragment of Sophocles (frg. 607), the god is assigned the epithet *ταυροφάγος*.¹⁵ Dionysos's association with the bull victim is particularly symbolic. According to later Greek myth, the god was rended and devoured by the Titans as a regal child in the form of a bull.¹⁶ Dionysos, thus, appears both as a feline assailant and as the bovine victim of a leonine attack.

Dionysos's female companions, the maenads, were similarly considered feline aggressors and were literally conceived of as beasts-of-prey. This fact finds substantiation in the *Cynegetica* of Oppian (3.78ff. and 4.305ff.), where Dionysos actually transforms into panthers the maenads charged with the rending of Pentheus. Maenad feline imagery finds pictorial expression during the second half of the sixth century B.C. in Attic vase-painting. In the fashion of the god himself, the female companions of Dionysos wear leopard skins. The earliest known depiction dates to the third quarter of the sixth century on a neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter;¹⁷ not only is the maenad clothed in this leopard skin, but she approaches Dionysos with an offering in the form of a stag. The aggressing feline as an attribute of maenads finds more explicit representation on Attic vase-painting beginning at the same time.¹⁸ On an early red-figured amphora by Phintias in Tarquinia, a spotted feline clings to the neck of an enraptured maenad while perched on the end of her thyrsos.¹⁹ Particular attention may be drawn to a late sixth-century black-figured neck-amphora in Mississippi attributed to the Diosphos Painter (fig. 4).²⁰ On the reverse of this vase (which on the obverse depicts Dionysos with a satyr and maenad) two maenads dance ecstatically, one with a deer on her shoulders, the other holding a lion (who turns back to snarl at her) by the tail. The symbolic meaning of the composition is clear. The second maenad is restraining her feline



FIGURE 3a. Black-figured column-krater, name vase of the Painter of Munich 1736. Side A. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek SH 1736.

assailant, who stands poised for the attack of the deer. The moment of *sparagmos*, symbolized by the lion attack, is clearly at hand.

The lion-bull attack on the Getty column-krater serves the same symbolic function, alluding as it does to the Dionysiac ritual of *sparagmos* and *omophagia*. A closer examination of the krater's scene underscores its relevance as an allusion to this ritual. The feline assailants are depicted in the act of tearing at and devouring the fore- and hindquarters of their bovine prey. Streams of blood (depicted in added red) spurt from the bull's shoulders and flanks, underscoring the carnal and savage nature of the attack; the bloodletting calls to mind the ritual sacrifice of the bull in

Dionysiac cult. What could be a more vivid and appropriate allusion to the carnal rite of animal sacrifice in the service of Dionysos?

The vase's attributed date of circa 530–520 B.C. accords well with this interpretation. The iconography of the Amasis Painter's Paris neck-amphora—with a maenad in leopard skin bearing a stag to Dionysos—demonstrates that, by 540 B.C., the feline aspect of the Dionysiac *omophagia* was already recognized and incorporated into that vase-painter's pictorial repertoire. The addition of a lion as accompanying attribute in scenes involving Dionysos and maenads may be cited as further evidence of the Attic vase-painter's interest at this time in symbolizing Dionysiac feline aggression.²¹



FIGURE 3b. Column-krater, figure 3a. Side B.

As for the source of the Malibu krater's lion-attack composition, the standardization of its scheme (a double-lion attack upon a bull with collapsed foreleg), and its large-scale proportions suggest that it was based on a monumental Attic sculpture, such as the lion-and-lioness group from the poros pediment of the old Athena temple on the Acropolis.²² Possible support for this suggestion may be found in the substantial number of contemporary Attic black-figured vases featuring this lion-attack composition, including a calyx-krater by Exekias from the north slope of the Acropolis.²³

As for the authorship of the column-krater in Malibu, the vase may be attributed to the Painter of Munich 1736. The striking similarities between the

Malibu and Munich kraters, both in the ordering of their figured compositions and in the rendering of subsidiary ornament, lend credence to the supposition that they are by the same hand, or at least from the same workshop. The Dionysiac thiasos depicted on the obverse of both vases consists of virtually identical sequences of eight figures, the only variation occurring in the far left-hand figure of each composition: satyr (Malibu), maenad (Munich). The double lion-bull attack compositions are also clearly comparable in style and format, the only notable difference being the central hawk on the Munich krater, which appears in place of the rosette ornament on the Malibu vase. The Malibu krater would thus be the third known piece by



FIGURE 4. Black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Diosphos Painter. Side B. University of Mississippi, University Museum 77.3.58.

the Painter of Munich 1736, whose style, as Beazley pointed out, is not far from the Group of the Lysippides Painter.²⁴ All three examples, interestingly, feature a Dionysiac thiasos.

In conclusion, as I have argued elsewhere, the subject of the lion attack played a variety of symbolic roles in Greek art of the Late Archaic period. On temple sculpture it functioned primarily as a symbol of godly authority and divine power, while on funerary

monuments it served as an expression of heroic valor and military prowess in battle.²⁵ As the present article attempts to demonstrate, the lion-bull attack played yet another role in the context of Dionysiac cult—namely, as a metaphor of the wine god's carnal, feline nature. In this connection it served as a pictorial allusion to the Dionysiac rite of sparagmos and omophagia in which animals were rended and consumed raw in honor of the god.

Cincinnati Art Museum

NOTES

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AE.106. H. 46.8–47 cm. *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, exh. Malibu, January 1–April 3, 1977 (Malibu, 1977), no. 23; E. Ballera-Rickerson and M. Korma, “Merika ellenika ekthemata tou Mouseiou Getty,” *Archaologia* 43 (1992): 86, no. 9.

2. This article does not attempt to address the broader issue of the lion attack in all of its ramifications in Greek art, but, rather, focuses specifically on its possible Dionysiac overtones. For a summary of research on the general subject, with references to previous literature, see F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung Archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (Würzburg, 1972). For a recent examination of the motif in Archaic Greek sculpture, see G. Markoe, “The ‘Lion Attack’ in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph,” *CA* 8.1 (1989): 86–115.

3. For an early pre-Lydan example, see a fragmentary column-krater in Athens (Acropolis Museum 639: *ABV* 82.2). For Lydos, see a column-krater in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.11: *ABV* 108.5) and a neck-amphora in Paris (Louvre Cp 10634: *ABV* 110.31); see also a Lydan column-krater in Dallas (H. A. Shapiro, *Art, Myth and Culture: Greek Vases from Southern Collections* [New Orleans, 1981], no. 11). The Dionysiac revelry remains a popular subject among Attic black-figure vase-painters—on amphorai and column-kraters especially—throughout the sixth century, enjoying a particular vogue in the last quarter of the century. (For its appearance on column-kraters, see *ABV* 261.43–44, 263.9, 265.2, 279.54, 323.25, and 329.7; see especially vases of the Leagros Group [*ABV* 376–77.224–37], where the Dionysiac revelry occurs on nine of fourteen examples.) The column-krater's association with Dionysiac ritual finds expression early on in black-figure vase-painting (see a fragmentary dinos or krater in Cortona on which a satyr carries the vessel [*StEtr* 40 (1972): pl. 64a]). For the development of the Dionysiac revelry in Attic black-figure, see T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 76–97.

4. This triadic animal grouping is typically employed by Lydos and his Circle (including the Painters of Vatican 309 and Louvre F 6) in a number of varying contexts—as reverse scenes on the bodies of column-kraters (sphinx between lions: Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum 1925.30.125: *ABV* 108.9; London, British Museum 1948.10–15.1: *ABV* 108.8, *Paralipomena* 44.8; Paris, Louvre F 6: *ABV* 123.3, *Paralipomena* 51.3), on the shoulders of hydriai (see *ABV* 108.12–14, 121.3), and on the necks of amphorai (see *ABV* 110.32, 114.1). Typically, the belly decoration on Lydan amphorai consists of two confronted animals—lions, sphinxes, or cocks—alone or with a central ornament in the form of either a stylized plant or, less frequently, a human figure (A. Rumpf, *Sakonides* [Leipzig, 1937], pls. 5a–h, 9a–b). The generic nature of these triadic animal

groupings is evidenced by their repeated occurrence on Lydan neck-amphorai, where the central animal is often duplicated to create a symmetrical, expanded four-figured composition (see four-figured groupings of paired sphinxes and lions on Munich 1435: *ABV* 114.1; Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pl. 1). As previous scholars have observed, the animals employed by the Group of Lydos are generic in nature and derive from Corinthian vase-painting, reflecting the contemporary influence of the latter tradition upon Attic vase-painting during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. (On the debt of Lydan animal style to Late Corinthian vase-painting, see W. E. Kleinbauer, “The Dionysius Painter,” *AJA* 96 [1964]: 362–63, 369; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* [New York, 1974], p. 54; and M. A. Tiverios, *O Lydos kai to ergo tou* [Athens, 1976], p. 37.) The triadic animal groupings employed in early Attic black-figure, in fact, find their ultimate derivation in Corinthian vase-painting of the Transitional period (see D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*, 3 vols. [Berkeley, 1988], pl. 19). It should be noted that the column-krater itself originated in Corinth in the Early Corinthian period, whence it passed to Athens (see Amyx, *op. cit.*, 2: 504–5, and 1: 147–48, for the “Hochschule Group”; also *ibid.*, 2: 510, for the adoption of tripartite animal compositions on Early Corinthian kraters).

5. Louvre Cp 11298: *Paralipomena* 62.9 bis.

6. Munich 1736: *ABV* 265.2 (Painter of Munich 1736); G. von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings* (The Hague, 1923), pl. 36.

7. *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 44ff.

8. Nonnos *Dion.* 40.43ff.

9. Felines form an essential part of Dionysos's involvement in the Gigantomachy, assisting the god in ten of fourteen extant black-figured representations of the scene (see remarks of Carpenter [supra, note 3], pp. 64–66, and 72 n. 79). Dionysos's felines attack giants in five fragmentary early black-figured depictions of the Gigantomachy from the Acropolis (Athens, Acropolis 607, 608, 1632c, 2134d, and 2211b; see M. Moore, *AJA* 83 [1979]: 87). The god's aggressive feline aspect in the Gigantomachy is also expressed in his leopard-skin attire (Carpenter, *loc. cit.*). The attacking lion assists Dionysos in later architectural sculptural depictions of the Gigantomachy; cf. a metope from the east front of the Parthenon (F. Brommer, *Die Metopen der Parthenon* [Mainz, 1967], pp. 23–24, and pl. 42). A direct reference to Dionysos's lion aspect as combatant in the Gigantomachy is preserved in Horace *Carm.* 2.19.21–24.

10. For the name Bromios, see Eur. *Bacch.* 66. For *ὠμωστής*, see Alcaeus frg. G1 (D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* [Oxford, 1955], p. 162; for its reference to lions, see Herodotos 5.92.2; Aesch. *Ag.* 827; *Anth. Pal.* 6.237). See also Ael. *NA* 12.34 (*ἀνθρωποπαίστης*). See the remarks of W. F. Otto, *Dionysos: Myth and Cult* (Bloomington, 1965), pp. 109–10.

11. For similar activities of maenads in later authors, see

Nonnos *Dion.* 43, 40ff.; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.36; Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 357; Lucian *Dion.* 2; and Catull. 64.257.

12. It is referred to in the regulations of the Dionysiac cult at Miletos (see E. R. Dodds, *Bacchae* [Oxford, 1960], p. xvi n. 4). For the cult of Dionysos Omadios on Chios, see Porph. *Abst.* 2.55 and refs. in C. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton, 1982), p. 33 n. 18; also C. Picard, in *BCH* 70 (1946): 455-73. At the winter festival of Dionysos at Arcadian Kynaitha, the devotees of the god, after having been filled with his spirit, seized a bull out of a herd and carried it to their sanctuary for sacrifice (Paus. 8.19.2). At Tenedos, a newborn calf was slaughtered with an axe as a sacrifice to Dionysos (Ael. *NA* 12.34).

13. Like the maenads, Dionysos himself is occasionally rendered in later Attic red-figure in the act of sparagmos; see a pelike in London (*ARV* 585.34), on which Dionysos is shown sending a fawn in two with his bare hands, and a hydria by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 605.65 bis), on which a young Dionysos dances at an altar, brandishing the torn body of a kid.

14. "... ἀγρεύων αἷμα τραγοκτόνον ἀμοφάγον χάριν." The goat was a favorite sacrificial animal to Dionysos; see Otto (supra, note 10), pp. 167-69.

15. For ταυροφάγος, see also Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 357. For Dionysos as βουφόνος, see Simonides (E. Hiller, ed., *Anthologia Lyrica* [Leipzig, 1903], frg. 69).

16. For the myth of Dionysos Zagreus, see Nonnos *Dion.* 6.197ff. and references in O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 110 and 227-35. For Zagreus as "chthonic" Dionysos, see Otto (supra, note 10), p. 191; and M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 152-54. See *ibid.*, p. 153 n. 41, for Zagreus's association with a "sacramental feast of raw flesh," recorded in Eur. *Cretans* A. frg. 377m. Later writers explained omophagia as commemorating the day when the infant Dionysos was himself torn to pieces and devoured; see Schol. Clem. Al. 1.318 St.; Photius, s.v. "νεβρίζω"; and Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 6.25.

17. Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: *ABV* 152.25; see D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens*, exh. cat. (Malibu, 1985), no. 23. The leopard skin becomes increasingly common as an article of maenad dress on Attic red-figure; see M. W. Edwards, "Representation of Maenads on Archaic Red-figure Vases," *JHS* 80 (1960): 83 and n. 46.

18. Black-figure: a pair of Nicosthenic amphorai (Vatican 361: *ABV* 216.1 [B: on neck, maenad with lions]; Roman market: *ABV* 224.1 [satyr and maenad, respectively, on handles, accompanied by lion and panther beneath]). For an early example, see a Tyrrhenian amphora in Paris that depicts a maenad with a panther cub (Louvre E 831: *ABV* 103.108; see also a late sixth-century Attic black-figured hydria [Edward Merrin Galleries, N.Y., December 1991] depicting a dancing maenad and a lurching figure of Dionysos with two panthers clinging to them. On an early red-figured stamnos by the Berlin Painter (Oxford 1912.1165: *ARV* 208.144 [112]), a springing lion is included in a procession of frenzied maenads with the limbs of Pentheus (see also the hydria Boulogne 449 by the same painter [*ARV* 210.175 (139)], on which a small lion appears between the figures of Dionysos and a maenad, following in the direction of the latter).

19. Tarquinia RC 6843: *ARV* 23.2(2). Cf. a later red-figured oinochoe by the Dutuit Painter (London E 510: *ARV* 307.8) on which a lion is perched (in springing posture) on the outstretched arm of an entranced maenad.

20. University of Mississippi, University Museum 77.3.58: *Paralipomena* 248; and Shapiro (supra, note 3), no. 16 (side B).

21. See supra, note 9, for Dionysos's felines in early black-figured depictions of the Gigantomachy. Attention may also be drawn to a panel-amphora by the Amasis Painter in Orvieto on which a small lion accompanies Dionysos and Herakles in a depiction of the introduction of Herakles into Olympos (Orvieto, Faina 2718: *ABV* 151.14; illustrated in Bothmer [supra, note 17], p. 84, fig. 60a). See Carpenter (supra, note 3), p. 66 n. 46, on the Orvieto lions' possible significance as a Dionysian attribute.

22. Athens, Acropolis Museum 3: R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur* (Vienna, 1919), pp. 87-100 (cat. no. VIII).

23. *ABV* 145.19; O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 6 (1937): 469-86. See also a pair of Group E calyx-kraters in Volos and Paris (*ABV* 148.9; *Paralipomena* 62.9 bis); and a column-krater in Geneva (*CVA* Geneva 2, pl. 61). On this last vase, the lion attack is paired with a Gigantomachy with Athena, lending further support to the supposition of a direct relationship with the pedimental group from the Old Athena temple; on the subject, see Markoe (supra, note 2), pp. 95 n. 33 and 99 n. 48; and C. Dunant and L. Kahil, *CVA* Geneva 2, p. 29.

24. See *ABV* 265.

25. Markoe (supra, note 2): 109-15.

FRAMMENTI DI ANFORE PANATENAICHE ARCAICHE

AL J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Flavia Zisa

Lo studio delle anfore panatenaiche presenta una serie di problemi molto particolari, connessi alle botteghe di produzione e alla loro cronologia. Un gruppo di frammenti della collezione di antichità del J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, offre lo spunto per una serie di riflessioni sul significato, l'iconografia e gli aspetti stilistici di questa produzione vascolare, che si distingue da ogni altra soprattutto per il particolare tipo di approccio necessario allo studio e alla classificazione.

La funzione tradizionale delle anfore panatenaiche, una funzione che rimane pressochè invariata per secoli, determina l'adozione di un motivo iconografico fisso, ripetuto con pochissime varianti, quasi tutte di natura accessoria. Questa valenza tradizionale invogliò gli artigiani, e in particolare i ceramografi¹, ad una scelta di stile il più possibile aderente al periodo arcaico, in ricordo delle prime rappresentazioni atletiche del tipo.

I frammenti che qui esamineremo appartengono tutti al VI secolo a.C.; in essi è possibile riconoscere l'uso di uno stile arcaico contestualizzato, precedente il progressivo passaggio verso una produzione in serie, che per secoli tenterà continui riferimenti al passato e ad uno stile ormai in disuso. In generale, infatti, nello studio delle anfore panatenaiche, la difficoltà di intendere l'esatto periodo in cui uno di questi vasi venne fatto si basa essenzialmente sulla mancanza di quelle caratteristiche stilistiche che normalmente aiutano a distinguere la mano di un ceramografo dall'altro, di decennio in decennio. Per esempio, il fatto che un pittore in grado di dipingere secondo lo stile del proprio tempo si impegni poi nel campo della produzione di panatenaiche determina un margine di slittamento nella scelta del repertorio arcaico, da parte del pittore stesso, tale che possano presentarsi a noi due anfore panatenaiche

dipinte dalla stessa mano con una Athena vestita in una maniera o in un'altra, con la resa squadrata del chitone oppure pieghettata, ed essendo tuttavia entrambi gli stili pertinenti alla maniera arcaica². Oppure, può presentarsi il caso in cui, essendo la commissione ritornata ad una bottega dopo un certo periodo, noi troviamo un vecchio stile di nuovo attivo, ma di fatto cronologicamente più recente di quanto ci aspettassimo³. Tutto ciò induce ad adottare cautele molto strette nella datazione di un'anfora panatenaica.

Inoltre, va valutato un elemento finora poco approfondito nella storia degli studi. Una iscrizione di inizio IV secolo a.C. (*IG II² 2311*)⁴ ci dà un'idea parziale della quantità dei vasi panatenaici che venivano commissionati per ciascuna manifestazione; facendo un calcolo per difetto, e considerando che l'iscrizione non ci restituisce la lista completa degli atleti, almeno un migliaio di vasi da premio venivano commissionati per l'occasione, ogni quattro anni. Questa enorme mole di produzione, normalmente affidata ad una sola bottega, doveva non solo indurre il pittore-maestro ad utilizzare più aiutanti, ma doveva produrre una sorta di "stanchezza" anche nella manodopera dello stesso maestro: molte differenze nello stile di una stessa mano possono spiegarsi anche in questo senso. In poche parole, non solo era fisso il motivo da dipingere e lo stile doveva restare aderente al periodo arcaico, ma uno stesso pittore era costretto a ripetere lo stesso soggetto centinaia di volte. La produzione delle anfore panatenaiche è quindi un fatto eccezionale in sè, in cui molti fattori "costrittivi", più o meno positivi per la resa della qualità della produzione, andavano a coincidere al momento dell'esecuzione, almeno per il lato con Athena. La fissità del motivo, la mancanza di

aggiunte o di cambiamenti nella sostanza della rappresentazione, la ripetitiva aderenza allo stile arcaico, hanno fatto di questo tipo di vasi uno degli esempi più chiari di come possa esser svuotato di significato un valore semplicemente ripetendone lo schema all'infinito⁵.

Pur tuttavia, le anfore panatenaiche rappresentano per noi una fonte di informazione inaspettata e per certi versi unica: per esempio, lo studio di questa produzione vascolare può rivelare dettagli e sfumature non altrimenti avvertibili riguardo ad un fenomeno importantissimo, e cioè il rapporto che un pittore di v o iv secolo poteva avere con la tecnica arcaica, la percezione dei tratti distintivi di quello stile ormai in disuso e la selezione che operava al suo interno. In poche parole, un approccio tecnico-stilistico al materiale può incontrare proprio nelle anfore panatenaiche una concreta occasione per capire come gli artisti guardavano alle esperienze precedenti, cosa a loro sembrava più importante come idea di quel tempo (le vesti, l'anatomia, la pieghettatura), e come tale idea fosse diversamente percepita da pittori diversi⁶.

Ma prima ancora, fermiamoci su alcune riflessioni di carattere iconografico.

L'Athena rappresentata sulle anfore panatenaiche riproduce sempre il tipo dell'Athena in armi. Questo schema rimarrà fisso e costante in tutta la produzione e sarà soggetto solo a cambiamenti formali (abbigliamento e postura). Alcuni studiosi pensano che il tipo sulle Panatenaiche sia il tipo di Athena Poliàs⁷, l'immagine cultuale pisistratea precedente il Partenone; altri riferiscono il tipo all'immagine di Athena Nike⁸. L'incertezza degli studi sull'identificazione del tipo iconografico è legata all'impossibilità di stabilire se l'Athena sui vasi panatenaici ricalcasse o meno un modello statuariale esistente ad Atene ai tempi dell'introduzione delle Grandi Panatenaiche. Ciò viene reso assai difficile anche perchè la situazione di opere votive, tempietti, donari e sculture sull'acropoli prima della distruzione persiana è tutt'oggi poco chiara⁹.

Noi sappiamo che in periodo arcaico ogni attributo ha un significato descrittivo e narrativo¹⁰, e gli attributi di una divinità sono usati solo laddove è necessario; più tardi (basti pensare al carico di attributi dell'Athena Parthènos) essi serviranno a manifestare la potenza della divinità. Nel caso di Athena, l'egida e le armi spettano sempre al campo di battaglia¹¹. Questo fa sì che l'Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche debba avere un significato legato alla lotta, che può essere facilmente intesa anche come agonismo sportivo¹².

Riprendendo il senso della narratività nelle rappresentazioni arcaiche, Pinney sostiene che la figura di Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche, nasce inizialmente come Athena contro i Giganti¹³. Questa tesi è stata recentemente accolta da Ridgway in un discorso intorno ai tipi iconografici di Athena nell'Atene di periodo arcaico: in pratica, si sottolineano le grandi incertezze che gravano sul tipo Pròmachos (cui generalmente viene riferito il tipo iconografico sulle anfore panatenaiche¹⁴), e soprattutto che le prime statue di Athena armata, in atto simile a quello che vediamo sulle panatenaiche, sono più tarde della comparsa della prima festa¹⁵.

Dei numerosi epiteti di Athena, Pròmachos è uno dei meno attestati nelle fonti¹⁶. Basti pensare a quanto accade per la grande statua colossale di Fidia sull'Acropoli, per la quale l'epiteto Pròmachos, con cui essa è conosciuta, in realtà arrivò solo tardi a sostituire la più antica definizione di grande Athena bronzea, *anàthema* per la vittoria di Marathòn¹⁷. Questo esempio dimostra l'impossibilità, da parte nostra, di associare l'epiteto ad un tipo statuariale ben preciso, ma non esclude il fatto che nell'antichità il termine Pròmachos potesse esser stato usato liberamente per definire il tipo della dea in armi.

Naturalmente, ogni riflessione di carattere iconografico è legata al riscontro documentario. In altre parole, occorre capire se la raffigurazione presente sulle anfore panatenaiche debba in qualche modo ricondursi ad un monumento preciso¹⁸. Questo problema, tuttavia, rischia di avviare un circolo vizioso: noi non conosciamo tutti i tipi scultorei esistenti sull'Acropoli arcaica e mancano perciò le basi per dire se l'Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche rappresenti uno di essi; quindi, non possiamo neanche dire a quale tipo iconografico essa vada riferita (cioè, rispondere alla prima domanda). Del resto, non ci aiuta neanche il confronto con altre rappresentazioni vascolari relative ad immagini cultuali della dea, in cui la presenza di un podio, portata come argomento pro e contro, risulta del tutto irrilevante¹⁹: anche se l'Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche avesse voluto riprodurre un tipo scultoreo, il pittore poteva non avvertire la necessità di rappresentare il podio, dato che la linea di appoggio inferiore della metopa poteva rivestire questa funzione, grazie anche alla mancanza di figure umane nel contesto, e con la dea già inserita tra colonne doriche, insolitamente sormontate da galli.

Rispetto alle varie proposte, credo che vadano valutati i pochi elementi sicuri.

Primo fatto sicuro è che nessuna altra raffigurazione di Athena armata è altrettanto carica di attributi militari come quella sulle anfore panatenaiche: come già ricordato²⁰, in età arcaica l'attributo qualifica la funzione e il significato della raffigurazione; per questo motivo, credo più ragionevole intendere l'Athena panatenaica come Pròmachos piuttosto che Nike o Poliàs, anche per la corrispondenza tra la sua iconografia e le poche informazioni rimaste su quella che più tardi sarà l'Athena di Fidia²¹.

La presenza delle colonne doriche al fianco di Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche è l'unico elemento che potrebbe suggerire il riferimento ad un monumento ateniese. Tuttavia, anche se nella storia di questa produzione esse sono per generazioni un elemento costante della rappresentazione, le colonne doriche sui vasi panatenaici cominciano ad essere rappresentate solo con Exekias e il Gruppo E, e il Pittore dell'Altalena²². Prima, come dimostrano l'anfora Burgon²³, un esemplare a New York²⁴ e un altro a Firenze²⁵, e cioè in un periodo intorno al 560 a.C., non esiste né traccia di colonne doriche, né di galli sormontanti. Poichè sappiamo che le Grandi Panatenaiche furono riorganizzate nel 566 a.C., è presumibile considerare che le prime anfore di cui noi possediamo testimonianza appartengano al periodo intorno alla seconda manifestazione o poco più in là. La successiva entrata delle colonne, poste ai lati di Athena, può suggerire il richiamo ad una struttura architettonica e potrebbe forse in questo caso riferirsi ad un monumento allestito dopo la fase iniziale delle manifestazioni atletiche per la festa²⁶.

Nella ceramografia arcaica le raffigurazioni di tempietti o di elementi architettonici normalmente sono molto dettagliate²⁷ e nessuna di esse ci restituisce un'idea di monumento simile a quella sulle anfore panatenaiche, in cui una statua è affiancata da colonne prive di frontoncino, in cima alle quali compaiono dei galli. Ricordiamo infatti che le strutture architettoniche rappresentate nella ceramografia attica di periodo arcaico, pur essendo a volte schematiche per varie esigenze, sono descritte sempre in modo tale che noi possiamo distinguere con tutta sicurezza i tempietti dalle fontane, o le abitazioni dai teatri. Anche quando il pittore non riesce a trovare lo spazio per disegnare il tetto di una struttura, una singola colonna, alta quanto il fregio figurato, che giunge a toccare la cornice di linguette sul collo, del vaso, serve a specificare un ambiente chiuso²⁸.

Nel caso delle anfore panatenaiche, le creste del gallo sfiorano la cornice di linguette sul collo del vaso,

ma l'elmo di Athena, che sfonda il campo metopale, è rappresentato in una maniera talmente consueta nelle figure nere, da non lasciare spazio ad alcuna ipotesi di tempietti o sacelli. L'elmo che sfonda la cornice è il tratto stilistico più comune nelle raffigurazioni di Athena. I pittori sembrano quindi esser stati più intenti a rendere Athena secondo una rappresentazione tradizionale nella ceramografia attica, piuttosto che come statua inserita entro una struttura architettonica. Se accettiamo dunque l'idea dell'esistenza di un monumento cui tali raffigurazioni si riferiscono, dovremmo pensare a qualcosa di originale, forse creato espressamente in occasione di queste feste²⁹.

A questo scopo, vorrei però ancora insistere sullo spirito conservativo delle anfore panatenaiche, sul fatto che ogni singolo attributo o scena rappresentata serviva a focalizzare l'attenzione sull'aspetto agonistico e celebrativo del contesto, e che tutto ciò era rappresentato assai esplicitamente. In poche parole, questi vasi di per sé rappresentano un *unicum* sotto moltissimi punti di vista, sia per problemi stilistici che iconografici; l'unica condizione che potrebbe spingermi, con molta cautela, ad accettare che l'Athena sui vasi ricordi una statua è solo il caso in cui si possa trattare di un monumento culturale costruito ad hoc per queste feste.

Anche in questo caso, tuttavia, rimangono aperti moltissimi interrogativi: come mai la posizione di Athena cambia nel corso dei secoli, o perchè, mentre esistono molte testimonianze sulla natura degli agoni, nessuna fonte ci parla di una statua utilizzata in questo contesto. Questi problemi, però, rimangono aperti anche accettando tutte le ipotesi finora avanzate nella storia degli studi.

Il gruppo di frammenti Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.203.A 1-27, è relativo ad un'anfora panatenaica, di cui abbiamo alcuni resti della decorazione accessoria e figurata. L'area più conservata interessa il lato A con Athena (fig. 1a)³⁰, con parti dello scudo e della zona inferiore del chitone, insieme ad alcune porzioni delle due colonne laterali e del gallo posto sul capitello della colonna di sinistra. Dell'*epistema*, quasi completamente perduto, rimangono tracce di due animali in lotta (probabilmente una pantera o un leone, contro un toro).

Il lato B reca una rara rappresentazione di *oplitòdromos*, con porzioni delle gambe di tre atleti in corsa verso sinistra e di tre scudi. I frammenti del lato B non si integrano tra loro, e vaste zone nella ricostruzione della scena figurata rimangono lacunose; sono state



FIGURA 1a. Anfora panatenaica del Pittore di Princeton. Lato A, Athena. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.203.A 6-7, 10, 15, 23, 17.

quindi ricomposte in questa sede le porzioni relative alle gambe e agli scudi dei due atleti ai margini destro e sinistro (fig. 1b)³¹. Tuttavia, sebbene i frammenti relativi agli scudi siano davvero molto simili tra loro, è stato possibile distinguerli come appartenenti a tre scudi diversi, sulla base di piccole differenze nella decorazione dei bordi in ciascuno di essi³². In base a ciò, è stato possibile ipotizzare la presenza di almeno tre corridori nella scena.

La decorazione del costume di Athena, con motivo reticolato e cerchielli entro riquadri, ricorda molto uno dei più tradizionali motivi nella pittura vascolare di periodo arcaico. Il modo in cui termina l'orlo inferiore del chitone, rettilineo e senza pieghe di tessuto, è diffuso nel campo delle panatenaiche dalle esperienze dell'anfora Burgon e dell'esemplare firmato da Nikias, fino ad Exekias e il Gruppo di Copenhagen 99³³, non scendendo oltre la fine del terzo quarto del VI secolo

a.C. In realtà, il caratteristico motivo a scacchiera o a rombi, per la decorazione del tessuto, persiste a lungo nelle raffigurazioni delle anfore panatenaiche, essendo questo motivo strettamente connesso al ricordo delle prime produzioni a figure nere. Tuttavia, è possibile notare differenze nella resa dell'orlo inferiore del costume, tra la prima e la seconda generazione di pittori di anfore panatenaiche, intendendo per seconda generazione, quella che inizia con il Pittore di Euphiletos. In questo periodo, infatti, insieme al Pittore di Boulogne 441 e al Gruppo di Leagros, il lembo posteriore dell'abito è sempre visibile dietro le caviglie della dea, indipendentemente dalla presenza o meno di pieghe nel tessuto. In poche parole, anche se la visione del lembo posteriore di una veste comincia ad esser diffusa nelle figure nere già nella prima metà del VI secolo³⁴, sembra che i pittori di vasi panatenaici preferiscano la maniera più strettamente legata al vec-

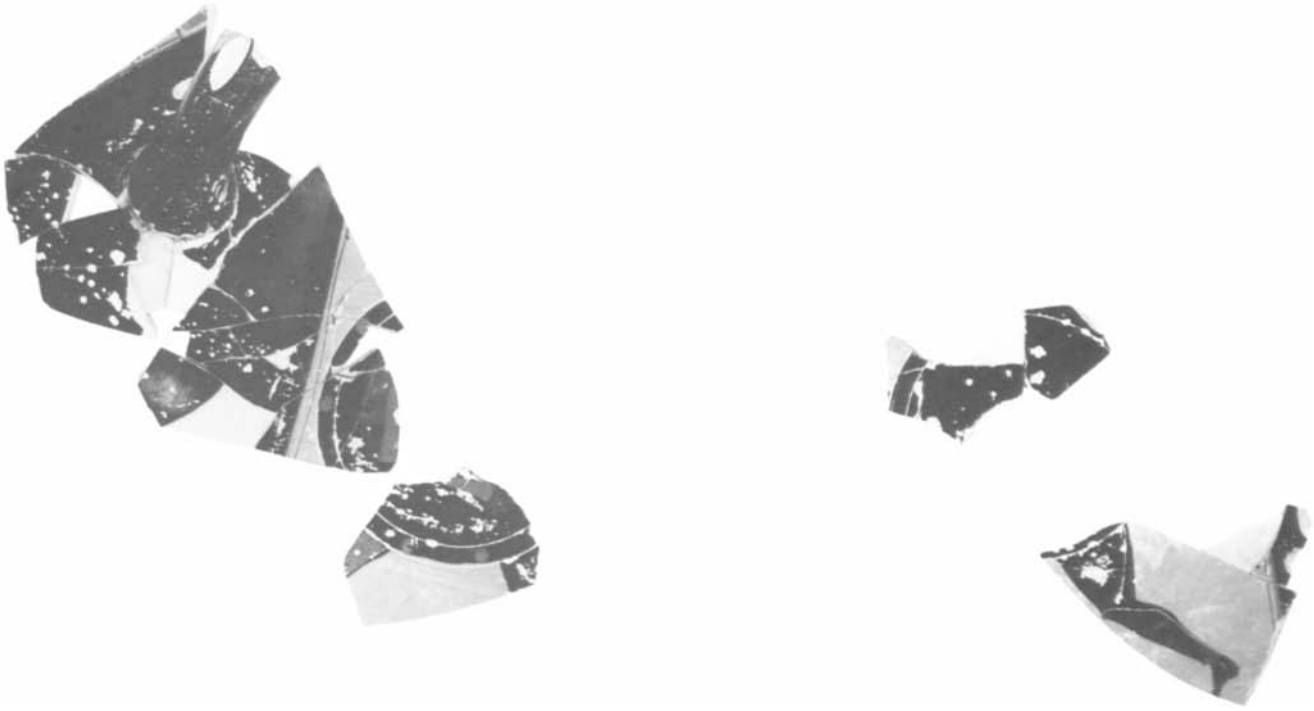


FIGURA 1b. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 1a. Lato B, *oplitòdromos*. Fr. 81.AE.203.A 2, 8, 11, 14.

chio stile, cioè con l'orlo rettilineo, almeno fino al periodo del Pittore di Euphiletos, con il quale inizia, in questo settore della produzione vascolare ateniese, una apertura maggiore verso tecniche più moderne nella descrizione delle vesti³⁵.

Ma le migliori indicazioni per una proposta di datazione vengono dai motivi della decorazione accessoria sul collo, fortunatamente ben conservata (fig. 1c)³⁶, e costituita dal convenzionale intreccio di fiori di loto e palmette, attraversato al centro da una catena di cerchi, secondo uno stile databile al 550 ca. a.C.: le foglie delle palmette sono unite tra loro a vernice e distinte da graffito; in rosso, alternativamente, i petali delle palmette, i cuori e i calici dei fiori di loto. Il disegno ancora compatto delle foglie non separate, le forti zone in bicromia e i larghi calici di loto, inseriscono questo stile nella prima generazione delle anfore panatenaiche. Dopo il 540 circa, infatti, si accentua il processo di stilizzazione degli elementi floreali in tutta la produzione attica: le foglie si allungano e si divaricano, sparisce nel frattempo l'uso del colore aggiunto. La decorazione accessoria, insieme alla forma vascolare, è uno dei pochi elementi nelle anfore panatenaiche a seguire le evoluzioni del tempo. Un momento di passaggio è significativamente regis-

trato dall'anfora panatenaica, Getty Museum 86.AE.71 (fig. 2) attribuita da Bothmer al Pittore dell'Altalena, in cui le foglie delle palmette, ancora per la maggior parte unite, cominciano a distaccarsi nel lato con Athena, mentre hanno già perso il rosso alternato aggiunto³⁷.

I nostri frammenti trovano confronti ancora più stretti con la produzione del Pittore di Princeton, a cui è stata attribuita la decorazione di alcuni vasi pseudo-panatenaici databili tra il 550 e 540. In particolare, due anfore al Metropolitan Museum, 53.II.1 e 1989.281.89³⁸ (figg. 3 e 4), hanno le stesse proporzioni della catena di palmette e fiori di loto che troviamo sul frammento Getty: nella prima anfora del Metropolitan, i sepali esterni dei lotti creano una larga cornice per intermediare le palmette; in entrambe, le foglie delle palmette risultano ancora tra loro unite e distinte da semplice graffito, con aggiunta alternata di colore rosso; simile è anche il volume della vernice che disegna la catena di cerchi passante. Concludendo, il corpo robusto degli elementi floreali, e soprattutto l'attenzione con cui si pone il colore aggiunto, ben inserito entro la sagoma del disegno (mantenuto nella stessa proporzione della zona a vernice sottostante), favoriscono una proposta di datazione alta per l'anfora di cui facevano parte i frammenti Getty. Ancora stretti, inoltre, i confronti con il



FIGURA 1c. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 1a. Frammento del collo. Fr. 81.AE.203.A 3.



FIGURA 2. Anfora panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore dell'Alcalena. Lato A, Athena. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.71.



FIGURA 3. Anfora pseudo-panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore di Princeton. Lato A, Athena. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1953, 53.11.1.



FIGURA 4. Anfora pseudo-panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore di Princeton. Lato A, Athena. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989, 1989.281.89.

Pittore di Princeton per quanto riguarda l'*epistema*: giustamente, Neils osserva una certa elaborazione nell'uso degli *episemata* scelti dal Pittore, che, per esempio nella Metropolitan Museum 1989.281.89, preferisce inserire due leoni piuttosto che un singolo motivo³⁹.

Ma l'importanza di questo gruppo di frammenti è soprattutto dovuta alla scena rappresentata sul lato B, data la rarità di questa gara tra le competizioni atletiche presenti sulle anfore panatenaiche. La corsa degli opliti viene introdotta nelle gare olimpiche solo a partire dal 520⁴⁰ ed era composta della lunghezza di due stadi. L'origine di questa corsa è stata posta in relazione al significato della preparazione alla guerra, e ai legami di questa con l'esercizio atletico, prima dell'introduzione delle feste⁴¹. Tra le anfore panatenaiche, le rappresentazioni di corsa armata sono davvero poco frequenti. Se l'anfora frammentaria da Atene, attribuita alla maniera del Pittore di Princeton⁴² è un'anfora da premio, essa potrebbe essere l'esempio più antico finora in nostro

possesso di una *oplitòdromos* in occasione delle Grandi Panatenaiche⁴³.

Tornando ai nostri frammenti, alle osservazioni stilistiche già proposte, va aggiunto un ultimo commento sulla massa robusta e pesante per le gambe degli atleti, eseguite secondo uno stile che nella ceramografia attica non scende oltre il primo decennio della seconda metà del secolo, e che trova ancora stretti confronti con l'attività del Pittore di Princeton⁴⁴, in particolare con l'anfora tipo B Otago Museum, Dunedin E 53.62, attribuita alla maniera del Pittore⁴⁵.

I frammenti Getty 81.AE.203.A vanno pertanto inquadrati tra i primi e rarissimi esempi recanti la raffigurazione di *oplitòdromos* in relazione alle feste in onore di Athena, e più precisamente nell'ambito delle esperienze del Pittore di Princeton.

Del secondo gruppo di frammenti dell'anfora panatenaica, Malibu, Getty Museum 81.AE.203.D 1-27, è



FIGURA 5a. Anfora panatenaica del Pittore del Mastos. Lato A, Athena. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.203.D 1-4, 19.

stato possibile ricostruire solo in parte i due lati figurati⁴⁶. Il lato con Athena restituisce 5 frammenti relativi a parte del corpo della dea e delle colonne doriche laterali (fig. 5a)⁴⁷. Particolarmente impegnativa è stata la ricostruzione del lato B (fig. 5b), recante la raffigurazione della competizione atletica, data la poca disponibilità di frammenti significativamente utili. I fr. D 5, D 7 e D 26⁴⁸, facilmente collocabili a tre angoli metopali, hanno offerto il titolo della competizione sportiva rappresentata, e cioè una corsa; più problematica è stata invece la collocazione del fr. D 6⁴⁹, interamente a vernice nera e attraversato da graffiti indicanti zone anatomiche sovrapposte l'una sull'altra⁵⁰.

Il confronto con le testimonianze di Philostratos e i vasi attici di VI secolo ci permette di distinguere le caratteristiche di ogni corsa atletica in uso nel calendario dei giochi in Grecia⁵¹. Dal punto di vista della raffigurazione, la differenza più importante tra la corsa lunga (dolico) e la corsa breve (stadio)⁵² consiste nel diverso movimento delle figure, e soprattutto nella posizione delle braccia: la corsa breve e veloce spinge necessariamente le braccia ad allargarsi verso l'alto, per equilibrare l'ampia falcata delle gambe; nella corsa

lunga, il corridore è portato ad accostare le braccia ai fianchi⁵³. Questa differenza è molto avvertita nelle raffigurazioni di corse atletiche⁵⁴, e la sensibilità con cui un pittore di vasi poteva rendere l'uno o l'altro episodio, ci permette di inserire i frammenti Getty nella sfera delle rappresentazioni di stadio⁵⁵.

Nelle raffigurazioni di corse atletiche, la sovrapposizione dei volumi muscolari di braccia e spalle si svolge inizialmente secondo modelli semplici, come vediamo nell'anfora del Pittore dell'Altalena⁵⁶ in cui tre soli corridori ad ampie falcate si sovrappongono parzialmente all'altezza dei gomiti e dei polpacci, in una ripetizione di movimenti ancora molto legata allo schema della corsa a ginocchio: tutti gli incroci tra i corpi vengono quasi ricalcati nello stesso modo per quanti sono i corridori⁵⁷. Più avanti, si comincerà ad accentuare il senso agonistico della gara, aumentando il numero dei corridori, e avvicinando tra loro quelli al centro, con il primo che dà l'impressione di tagliare il traguardo⁵⁸.

Nei frammenti Getty, da un punto di vista stilistico, caratteristiche sono le incisioni per i bicipiti, costituite da due segmenti di cerchio contrapposti e tangenti.

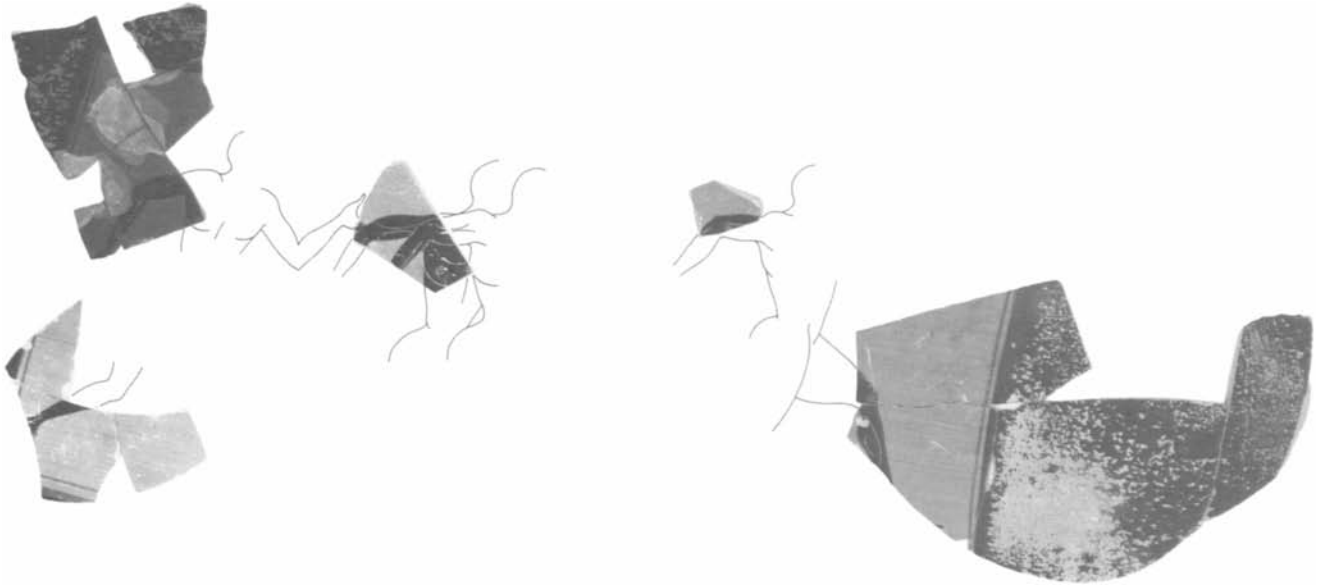


FIGURA 5b. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 5a. Lato B, corridori di *stadion*. Frt. 81.AE.203.D 5-7, 9, 26.

Non abbiamo molto di più, se non un tratto abbastanza convenzionale e diffuso per quanto riguarda i polpacci. Il graffito delle braccia ricorda molto un tratto frequente nei lavori del Pittore di Euphiletos. Il miglior confronto viene da un'anfora panatenaica al Metropolitan Museum (fig. 6)⁵⁹, con cui i nostri frammenti hanno in comune la disposizione delle figure e la concentrazione di due corridori al centro della raffigurazione⁶⁰. L'espediente di sovrapporre due corpi come le pagine sfalsate di un libro ricorda molto quello che avviene per la visione dei cavalli nelle rappresentazioni di quadrighe, in cui il tentativo di visione in profondità viene risolto in uno slittamento di uguali volumi su piani paralleli. I corridori del Pittore di Euphiletos sono ancora lontani da quelli del Pittore di Berlino, ma già riescono a distaccarsi dalla rigidità della tradizione precedente: il Pittore di Euphiletos—*“who is known to have painted many Panathenaics; it is plain that he specialized in them”*⁶¹—cerca di restituire la tensione della corsa, dipingendo gruppi di cinque corridori, e affidando quindi alla folla e all'avvicinamento dei corpi, il tentativo di rendere il dinamismo e il movimento della gara. Egli dimostra anche di poter passare dallo stile rigido della München 1453⁶², in cui i cinque atleti sono sovrapposti in ordine crescente e costante⁶³, alla panatenaica Metropolitan Museum 14.130.12⁶⁴ (v. fig. 6), dove i corridori cominciano a distinguersi per gruppi, in alternate sovrapposizioni,

con il secondo e il terzo da sinistra più ravvicinati. Il legame, ancora molto stretto con lo schema tradizionale dei corpi resi con torsioni di prospetto su gambe di profilo, viene smorzato dalla visione di insieme dei cinque atleti. In pratica, si cerca di ottenere un miglior risultato variando l'ordine in cui le figure vengono a toccarsi.

Beazley, nel suo fondamentale contributo sullo stile dei pittori di anfore panatenaiche, aveva notato la doppia spinta del Pittore di Euphiletos, da una parte verso la tradizione, dall'altra verso nuove soluzioni, soprattutto a proposito della struttura degli atleti, e ricordando che *“there is a mixture of liveliness and stiffness in their attitude”*⁶⁵. I frammenti Getty sono molto vicini alle esperienze del Pittore di Euphiletos per almeno due motivi: il già ricordato caratteristico graffito delle braccia e il modo con cui i due corridori centrali vengono a sovrapporsi nel frammento D 6.

Nella ricostruzione qui proposta, le braccia e i torsioni del fr. D 6 hanno la stessa positura della seconda e terza figura da sinistra nell'anfora Metropolitan Museum 14.130.12 (v. fig. 6), ma i corpi sono più serrati tra loro: il braccio destro della figura in primo piano copre la spalla destra della figura in secondo piano, mentre nell'esemplare di New York, il braccio destro del corridore in primo piano passa sopra il torace dell'atleta alle sue spalle⁶⁶. Alcuni elementi rimangono tuttavia estranei ai lavori del Pittore di

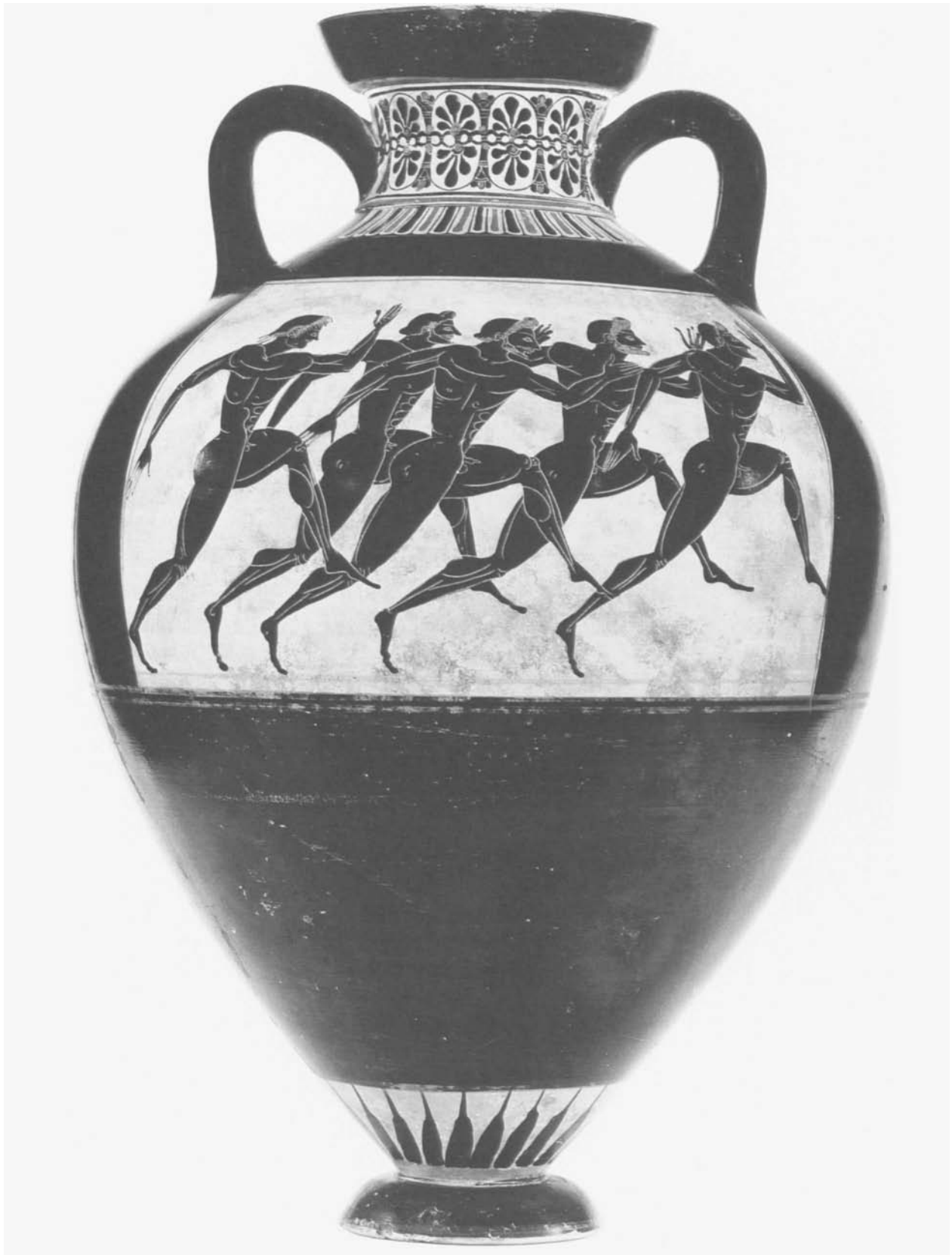


FIGURA 6. Anfora panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore di Euphiletos. Lato B, corridori di *stadion*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.130.12.

Euphiletos: i cerchielli sovradipinti in rosso sul torace dei corridori e, come vedremo, il chitone di Athena sul lato A.

Tra le attività di tutti i pittori di anfore panatenaiche, quella del Pittore di Euphiletos è tra le più facilmente individuabili, essendo il suo stile basato su caratteristiche molto costanti, tipico risultato di una attività, in questo campo, per la quale, come abbiamo visto, si è parlato di "specializzazione". Il costume di Athena, per esempio, è sempre disegnato allo stesso modo: un peplo cinto in vita, con un caratteristico lungo risvolto centrale che scende sul davanti, e un ricco volume di panneggio a pieghe tridimensionali, decorato da gruppi di punti sovradipinti in bianco⁶⁷. Questo stile di drappeggio a pieghe tridimensionali è molto legato alle esperienze della ceramografia attica del momento. Sui nostri frammenti, Athena indossa invece un chitone che scende sui fianchi fino ai piedi a forma di trapezio rigido, attraversato interamente da una quadrettatura a scacchiera, recante motivo a spirale, e distinto inferiormente da una zona a vernice nera con fascia sovradipinta in rosso⁶⁸. I confronti più stretti sono offerti dall'Athena sull'anfora Boston 01.8127 (fig. 7)⁶⁹, attribuita al Pittore del Mastos, in cui la dea indossa un chitone ornato da un reticolo di rombi riempiti da cerchielli, interrotto inferiormente da un registro simile a quello presente sui nostri frammenti; lo slancio della figura di Athena e gli altri motivi geometrici, come i cerchielli e il tipo di spirale a punta ricurva, sono simili.

La decorazione accessoria (fig. 8) è formata da una catena di fiori di loto intrecciati a palmette contrapposte, impostata su una fascia di linguette, alternativamente nere e rosse; l'interno del collo è attraversato da una larga banda a vernice nera. L'anfora New York, Metropolitan Museum 56.171.64 del Pittore di Euphiletos ha decorazione sul collo molto simile alla nostra; tuttavia, lunghezza e dimensioni di palmette e fiori di loto sono più sottili e schiacciate verso l'alto. Il Pittore di Euphiletos usa una mano più morbida e tendente al circolare, come si vede dallo spazio che rimane tra il motivo delle palmette e l'ovale formato dai sepali esterni dei fiori di loto, nell'anfora al Metropolitan. Più vicina ai nostri frammenti è ancora una volta l'anfora di Boston, in cui gli apici delle foglie centrali delle palmette quasi sfiorano e toccano la cornice dei sepali. Inoltre, un piccolo particolare: nell'anfora a Boston, le parti in rosso sui fiori di loto, sono segnate con un semplice tocco a punta di pennello, quindi a forma di goccia, e non si adeguano al margine oblungo del di-

segno sottostante; la stessa tecnica è usata sulla cornice del frammento Getty⁷⁰. Sul lato B, la stessa anfora (fig. 9) reca la raffigurazione di un incontro di pugilato: il preciso tratto anatomico per i bicipiti degli atleti, formato da due segmenti di cerchio contrapposti, ricorda molto quello sul frammento D 6, oltre all'uso dei cerchielli rossi sui pettorali degli atleti. Per questi elementi e per i confronti della decorazione accessoria, possiamo avvicinare questo gruppo di frammenti Getty 81.AE.203.D all'area del Pittore del Mastos, databile tra il 530-520 a.C.

Il gruppo più consistente di frammenti di anfora panatenaica, 81.AE.203.F 1-17 (figg. 10a-c), restituisce grosse porzioni del lato con Athena, e della quadriga in corsa sul lato opposto. Alla sinistra di Athena, è parzialmente conservata parte della tipica iscrizione che accompagnava le anfore panatenaiche e che le qualificava appunto come vasi da premio. Fortunatamente, la maggior parte dei frammenti appartiene alle zone figurate ed è particolarmente utile per l'attribuzione del pittore⁷¹.

Il frammento più rilevante di questo gruppo reca la parte superiore della figura di Athena, con importanti resti dell'egida, dell'elmo e dello scudo⁷²; a questo vanno collegati altri tre frammenti sempre pertinenti al campo metopale: F 4, relativo all'angolo inferiore destro della metopa figurata, con alcuni lembi del peplo e il piede sinistro della dea⁷³, F 3, recante il piede destro avanzante⁷⁴, ed F 1 con i resti dell'iscrizione a fianco della colonna di sinistra (v. fig. 10a)⁷⁵.

Athena indossa egida con serpentelli lungo i bordi laterali e squame graffite con puntini all'interno. La maggior parte delle egide riprodotte sulle anfore panatenaiche, dall'inizio della produzione fino all'ultimo periodo, hanno il bordo della mantellina sul davanti privo di serpentelli, e decorato dagli stessi motivi geometrici che si trovano lungo le altre porzioni di orlo; i serpentelli sono normalmente visibili solo dietro il fianco di Athena, e si stagliano contro il fondo a risparmio. L'Athena sul frammento Getty indossa invece la stessa egida che ritroviamo nei lavori del Pittore di Euphiletos, con i serpentelli visibili lungo tutto l'orlo, di fronte e dietro le spalle della dea. Infatti, anche se molti pittori contemporanei o successivi, come il Pittore di Kleophrades, mantengono una forte attenzione ai dettagli della decorazione, nessun altro pittore usa questo tipo di egida⁷⁶, di cui è resa la visione in profondità della superficie interna ricadente dietro le spalle della dea, evidenziata da bande verticali



FIGURA 7. Anfora panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore del Mastos. Lato A, Athena. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8127. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

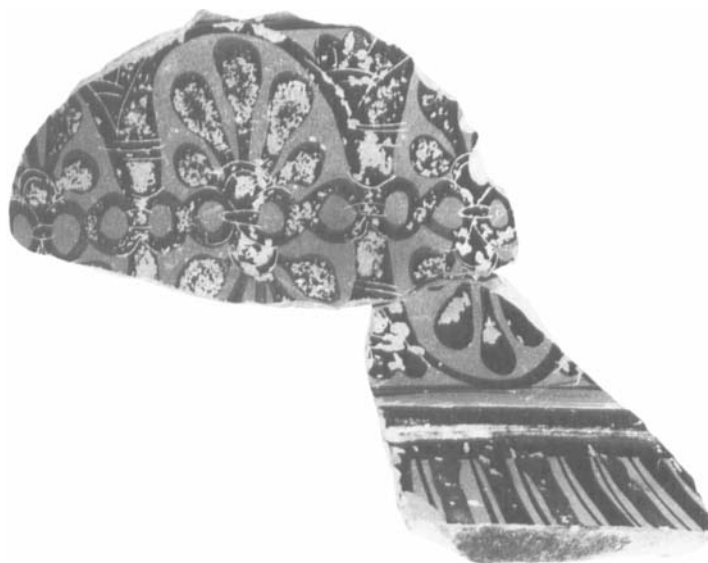


FIGURA 8. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 5a. Frammento del collo. Fr. 81.AE.203.D II.

nere e rosse. Il forte uso della bicromia e del graffito, l'effetto pittorico della decorazione e le visioni tridimensionali dell'abbigliamento di Athena, sono tutte note stilistiche che distinguono il Pittore di Euphiletos dagli altri autori di panatenaiche.

Particolare è anche il tipo di elmetto di Athena, decorato da un tratto che Beazley ha distinto come precisa caratteristica del Pittore di Euphiletos⁷⁷, e cioè il motivo floreale inciso sulla calotta dell'elmo appena sopra il lobo sinistro lasciato scoperto: questo motivo floreale è un preciso richiamo alla palmetta unita a girali che normalmente troviamo sotto le anse delle anfore a collo separato di età contemporanea⁷⁸. La visiera rossa del frontaletto e la lunga protezione dietro la nuca sono presenti anche nell'anfora panatenaica Boston 99.520⁷⁹. Il rosso vivo del colore aggiunto sul bordo dello scudo o sulle pieghe del peplo è molto vicino al consueto rosso usato dal Pittore di Euphiletos, intenso e compatto, notevolmente resistente anche a dispetto di eventuali cattive condizioni della superficie. Del peplo di Athena rimane solo una parte del panneggio, costituito da una serie di pieghe radiali in alternanza rosse e nere, con stelle e punti incisi; è anche conservato un dettaglio della decorazione a spirale verticalmente graffita all'interno della piega centrale: tornano, anche per questi dettagli, stringenti confronti

con i succitati vasi Metropolitan Museum 14.130.12 (fig. 11) e London B 134 (fig. 12). L'*episema* dello scudo sul frammento Getty è parzialmente preservato: la parte posteriore del corpo di un toro sovradipinto in bianco⁸⁰.

Athena, come di consueto su tutte le anfore panatenaiche, oltre ad elmo ed egida, tiene la lancia. È interessante vedere come la posizione della lancia, in relazione al capitello della colonna posta alle spalle, sia sempre la stessa in tutte le panatenaiche del Pittore di Euphiletos. Del resto, ogni pittore ha il proprio modo di calcolare lo spazio, di dividerlo per zone e di inserire i vari oggetti entro il campo metopale, specie se si tratta di lavori in serie come appunto la produzione di anfore panatenaiche. Ciò è facilmente valutabile nel Pittore di Euphiletos, data la quantità di opere pervenute; per il resto, possiamo solo notare alcune differenze tra un pittore e l'altro. Per esempio, nell'anfora da premio attribuita ad Exekias⁸¹, il gomito di Athena è esattamente tangente il capitello di destra, così come il bordo esterno dello scudo sfiora quello di sinistra; nello stesso periodo, il Pittore di Princeton avvicina il gomito di Athena al capitello ma lo scudo rimane distante⁸². Più tardi, nella panatenaica del Pittore di Würzburg 173, il gomito della dea e il bordo esterno dello scudo sono esattamente tangenti



FIGURA 9. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 7. Lato B, pugili.

all'angolo più alto dei capitelli⁸³; il Pittore di Kleophrades, di cui abbiamo numerose testimonianze, usa sempre la stessa disposizione: il polso sinistro di Athena e il margine più alto dello scudo creano una ipotetica linea in corrispondenza delle estremità delle colonne⁸⁴.

Sul frammento Getty, Athena tiene la lancia sollevata in maniera obliqua, così come in tutti i lavori del Pittore di Euphiletos⁸⁵. In altri ceramografi può capitare che la lancia segua, dall'angolo destro, esattamente il taglio orizzontale superiore della colonna dorica, come in alcune panatenaiche del Pittore di Kleophrades o di Antimenes⁸⁶. Anche se questa attenzione non è sempre costante, è possibile riconoscere una certa tendenza nei lavori di un artista e, nel caso dei frammenti Getty, i più stretti confronti sono dati dalle opere del Pittore di Euphiletos.

Sulla lato B (v. figg. 10b–c), è rappresentato un momento della corsa con quadriga⁸⁷, nell'ambito della più prestigiosa competizione atletica delle Feste Panatenaiche⁸⁸. Il Pittore di Euphiletos è molto attratto da rappresentazioni di carri. Su circa quaranta vasi a lui attribuiti, quindici recano scene con carro, includendo rappresentazioni di nozze con quadriga, Athena che monta su carro, o guerriero che parte. Particolarmente vicina alla quadriga Getty è quella nella scena di corteo nuziale rappresentata sull'anfora a collo separato Berlin, Antikensmuseum 1872⁸⁹, in cui i cavalli hanno gli stessi tratti anatomici e lo stesso cerchiello sotto la coda. Il carro è diverso, ma le redini sull'anfora di Berlino finiscono nelle mani dell'auriga con lo stesso tratto robusto di vernice e lo stesso graffito visibile sul fram-

mento Getty. I cavalli differiscono per i gomiti delle zampe posteriori, che nell'anfora di Berlino sono privi di graffito, ma questo può esser dovuto alla posizione stante e non trainante del carro, come invece deve essere in una rappresentazione di gara atletica. I quarti posteriori sono simili, e la criniera presenta, in ambedue i casi, la striscia sovradipinta in rosso appena sotto la frangia graffita. Sul frammento Getty c'è però un dettaglio in più: la frangia è dipinta in nero, proprio sotto il graffito, come in due tecniche sovrastanti. Questo particolare è ravvisabile in un altro lavoro del Pittore di Euphiletos, e precisamente sulle criniere della quadriga con Eracle e Iolao sulla hydria Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 254⁹⁰.

Ma al di là delle caratteristiche già attribuite al Pittore di Euphiletos, la quadriga Getty ci permette di riprendere brevemente il discorso sulla differenza tra elementi arcaici originali o acquisiti così come accennato all'inizio di questo articolo. Comparando, ad esempio, questa quadriga a quella del Pittore di Kleophrades in un altro vaso della collezione Getty (fig. 13)⁹¹, la nostra è più arcaica per la maggior descrittività dei particolari anatomici (caviglie segnate, peluria sugli zoccoli, bocca aperta dei cavalli, criniera ricca di frange) e dei dettagli ben distinti del carro. In generale, nonostante i cavalli del Pittore di Kleophrades sembrano più schematici e rigidi nel movimento, la flessibilità per esempio delle briglie, che sono raccolte con entrambe le mani e scendono giù in un morbido giro di corda⁹², rivela una maggior confidenza con il senso del movimento, ciò che nei frammenti del gruppo 81.AE.203.F è invece



FIGURA 10a. Anfora panatenaica, del Pittore di Euphiletos. Lato A, Athena. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.203.F 1-4.

affidato più semplicemente all'auriga spinto in avanti, alle bocche spalancate dei cavalli, e anche a quell'insistere di due tecniche di disegno associate (graffito su tratteggio di vernice) per la criniera dell'ultimo cavallo sullo sfondo.

È interessante, quindi, osservare come un artista capace di arrivare a progressi di stile e composizione, come appunto il Pittore di Kleophrades, poi testimone sensibile del periodo severo, ispirato a modelli pittorici contemporanei del ciclo epico, riesca a riprodurre sulle anfore panatenaiche uno stile arcaicizzante che risponde a regole acquisite e non originali, ormai cadute nelle altre produzioni⁹³. L'attività del Pittore di Euphiletos, al contrario, si esprime ancora secondo le regole del proprio tempo: importanti, ad esempio, sono le similitudini tra i suoi cavalli e quelli del coevo Gruppo di Leagros, particolarmente specializzato in raffigurazioni di quadrighe⁹⁴.

Il gruppo di frammenti Getty 81.AE.203.F e 85.AE.333 ci porta quindi a riconoscere certi elementi

arcaici come contestualizzati allo stile del momento e in particolare nel Pittore di Euphiletos forse uno degli ultimi artisti appartenenti ad una generazione che può dipingere ancora anfore panatenaiche senza forzare la ricerca di maniere non più originali e già superate.

Concludendo, i frammenti Getty esaminati in questa ricerca costituiscono un ulteriore contributo alla comprensione della produzione attica di anfore panatenaiche. È rilevante osservare che tutti i pezzi appartengono al periodo meno accertato, e cioè alle fasi iniziali della produzione, in cui è ancora possibile avvertire il passaggio tra tecniche contemporanee al momento della creazione del prodotto e l'inizio di una produzione in serie in cerca di espressioni stereotipate. Questo è il periodo meno documentato dai ritrovamenti ma sicuramente il più ricco di indicazioni.

Il fatto stesso che a noi siano pervenute molte più anfore, e quindi più documentazione, dal periodo del Pittore di Euphiletos in poi, si comprende solo con la progressiva sedimentazione di alcune attività connesse

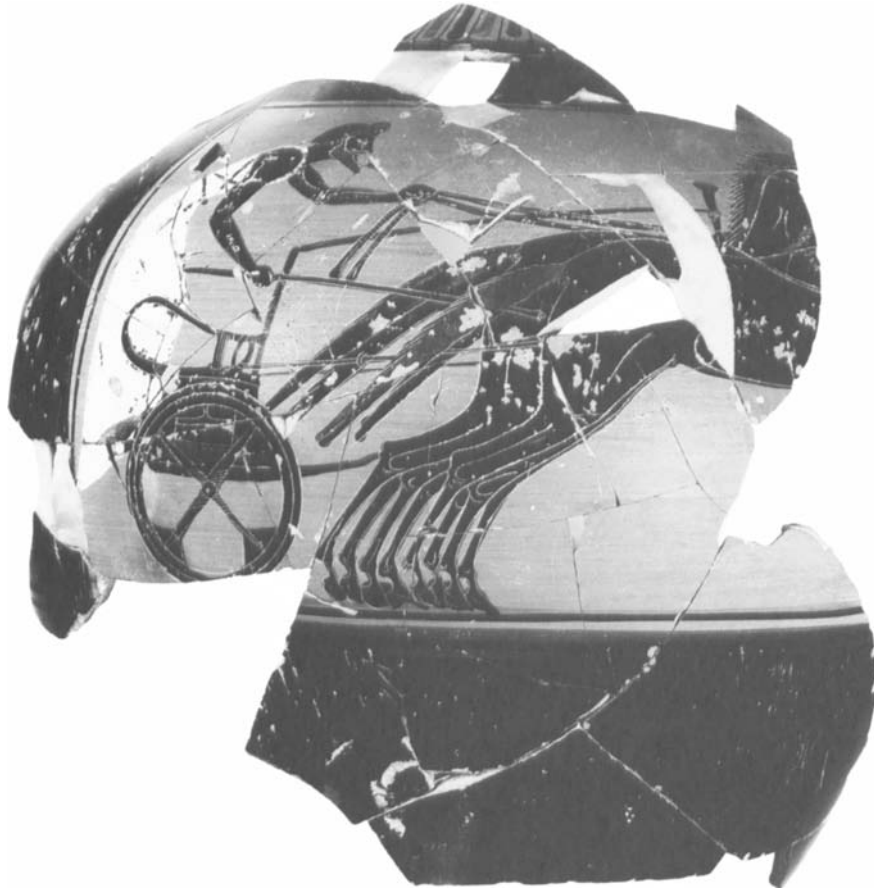


FIGURA 10b. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 10a. Lato B, corsa con carro. Fr. 81.AE.203.F 5.

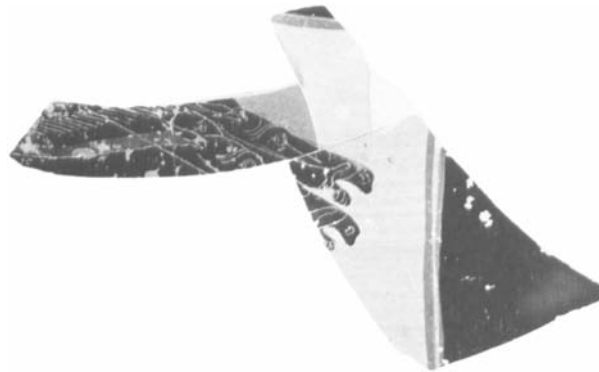


FIGURA 10c. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 10a. Frr. 81.AE.203.F 6 + 85.AE.333.



FIGURA II. Anfora panatenaica, fig. 6. Lato A, Athena.

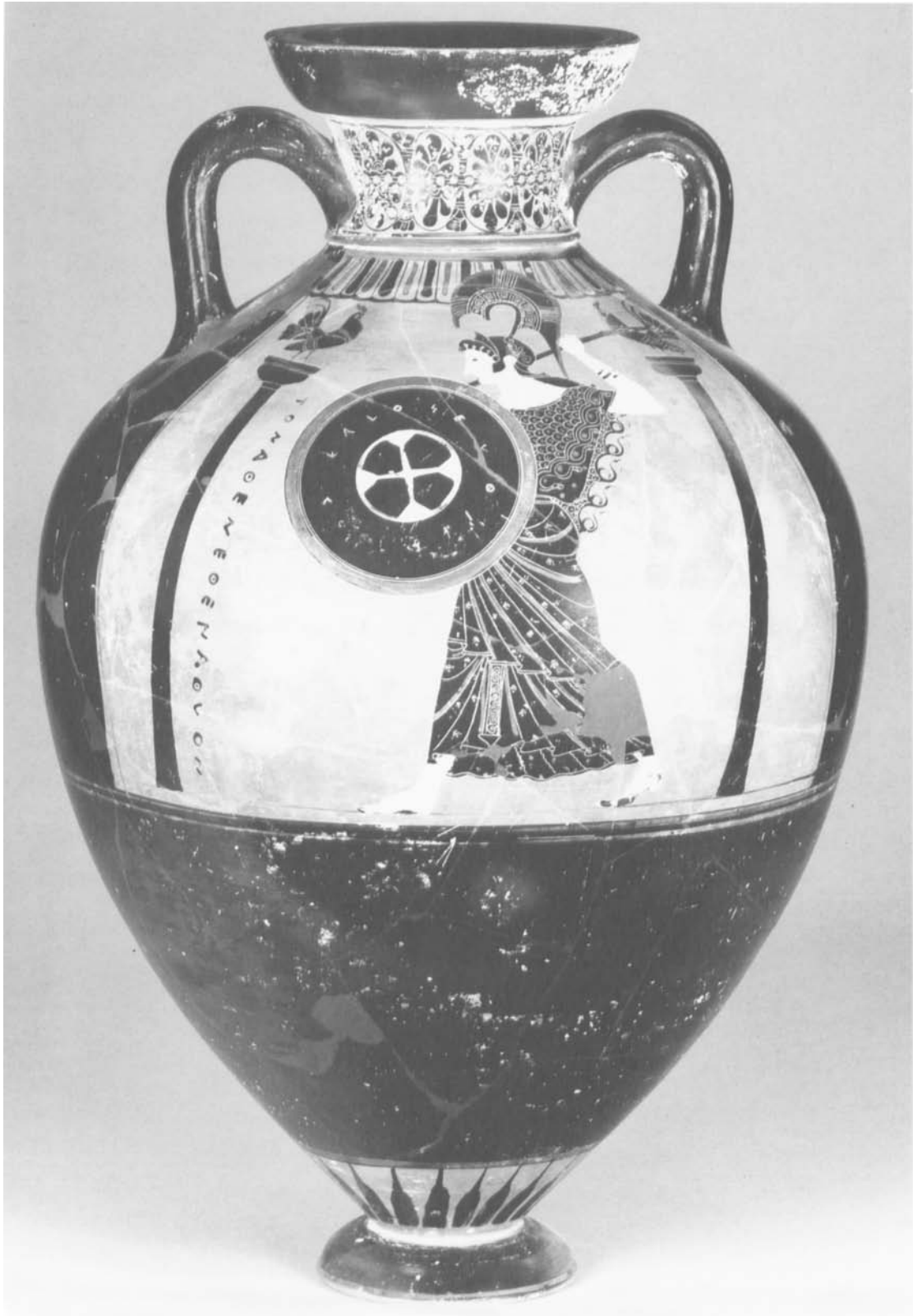


FIGURA 12. Anfora panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore di Euphiletos. Lato A, Athena. London, The British Museum B 134.

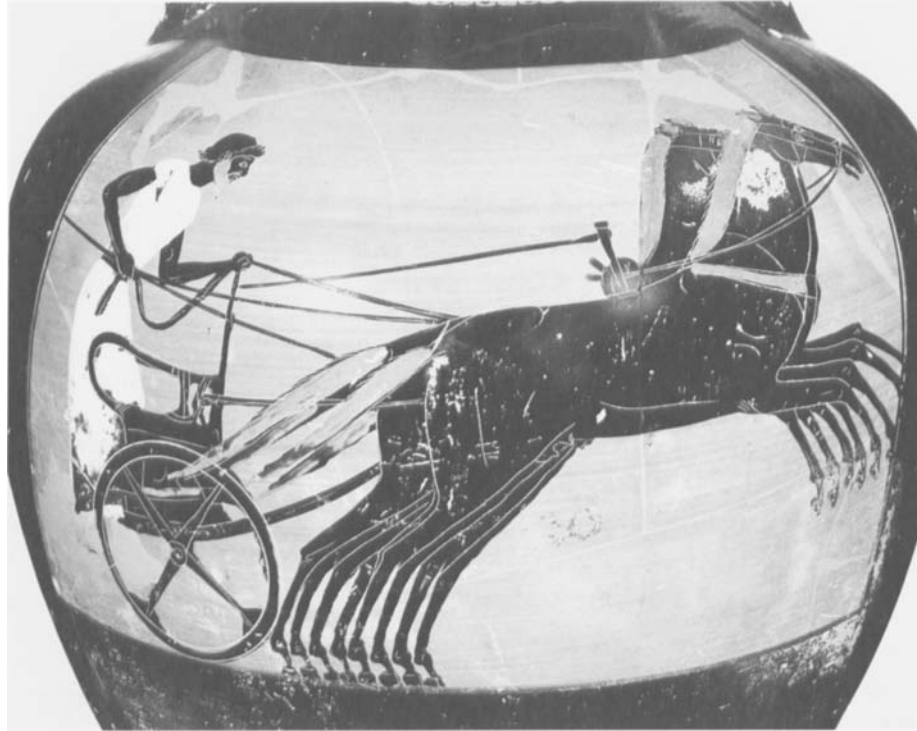


FIGURA 13. Anfora panatenaica, attribuita al Pittore di Kleophrades. Lato B. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.9.

alla celebrazione delle Grandi Panatenaiche, e testimonia così il crescente coinvolgimento dell'artigianato

vascolare nella preparazione della festa più rappresentativa della città.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Antiquities Department

NOTE

Il presente articolo è frutto della mia attività di ricerca a Malibu, presso The J. Paul Getty Museum, Antiquities Department, tra il 1995 e il 1996. Sono particolarmente grata a Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, per l'invito alla pubblicazione di questi frammenti, per i consigli e per la generosa assistenza nel corso della ricerca. Ringrazio tutto lo staff di Antiquities, in particolare J. Papadopoulos per il supporto scientifico, K. Wight per le ricerche di archivio, M. Hart per l'edizione e B. Gilman del Department of Publications. Sono inoltre grata a J. Neils per gli utili suggerimenti sulla materia, a J. M. Padgett (The Art Museum, Princeton University), M. Comstock (The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) e D. von Bothmer (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Per i consigli e le stimolanti discussioni sull'arte antica, vorrei qui ringraziare M. L. Catoni (The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities).

Abbreviazioni:
ABFV

J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (Londra, 1974).

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Dev.</i> | J. D. Beazley, <i>Development of Attic Black-figure</i> (Berkeley, 1951). |
| Hamilton, <i>Choes</i> | R. Hamilton, <i>Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual</i> (Ann Arbor, 1992). |
| Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae" | S. B. Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter", <i>Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> , vol. 4 (Malibu, 1989), pp. 95-112. |
| Neils, <i>Goddess</i> | J. Neils, <i>Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens</i> (Princeton, 1992). |
| Shapiro, <i>Art and Cult</i> | H. A. Shapiro, <i>Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1989). |

N.B.: Le misure si riferiscono alle dimensioni massime.

1. Diversa, invece, l'evoluzione della forma vascolare, che si caratterizza maggiormente nel tempo, e che quindi rivela una più

forte flessibilità nelle attività dei ceramisti piuttosto che in quella dei ceramografi.

Sulle anfore panatenaiche in generale, si v. J. D. Beazley, "Panathenaica", *AJA* 47 (1943): 441-65; *Dev.*, pp. 88-100; J. R. Brandt, "Archeologia Panathenaica, I: Panathenaic Prize-Vases from the Sixth Century B.C.", *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Institutum Romanum Norvegiae* 8 (1978): 1-24; E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (Mainz, 1982); per la bibliografia successiva: P. D. Valavanis, *Panathenaikoi amphoreis apo ten Eretria* (Atene, 1991); e Neils, *Goddess*; per una lista dei vasi: Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 231-40. Sulle Grandi Panatenaiche, tra i numerosi interventi e monografie ben noti (v. per tutti, E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* [Madison, 1983]), vorrei sottolineare l'autorevole e lucida sintesi di L. Beschi, "L'Atene delle feste e dei giochi", in *Tutto su Atene classica: Panorama di una civiltà*, pp. 161-74 (Firenze, 1966), che illustra l'intero calendario delle festività ateniesi, incluso l'aspetto agonistico dei giochi atletici. In breve, sullo sport nell'antica Grecia, si vedano i primi lavori di E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sport and Festivals* (Londra, 1910); idem, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (London, 1930); per una sintesi bibliografica, B. Legakis, "Nicoethenic Athletics", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 (Malibu, 1983), p. 41 nota 2. Ancora per gli agoni nell'antica Grecia e loro trasmissioni in età moderna e contemporanea, si veda la ricerca di M. L. Catoni, "Cercando le Olimpiadi", ne *I Greci: Storia, cultura, arte, società*, a cura di S. Settis, pp. 539-610 (Torino, 1996).

2. Un esempio per tutti, l'attività del Pittore di Kleophrades (Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae"); abbiamo molte testimonianze, nella tarda ceramografia attica a figure nere, di quanto sia facile per un pittore disegnare in una maniera o nell'altra, e per rintracciare un caso che possiamo accostare ai motivi decorativi delle anfore panatenaiche, basti osservare i chitoni di Athena e di Artemis sull'hydria Malibu 86.AE.114 (*CVA* Malibu 1, tav. 55.2) del Pittore di Lykomedes.

3. Le migliori considerazioni sull'influenza della data di commissione per le anfore panatenaiche sono in Robertson (M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* [Cambridge, 1992], p. 198) in un discorso a proposito delle attività del Pittore di Berlino e del Pittore di Achille; in pratica, è ragionevole pensare che una bottega continui a produrre lo stesso standard a dispetto delle evoluzioni che essa dimostra in altre produzioni, e soprattutto che si possa ritrovare lo stesso standard anche dopo un periodo in cui esso era scomparso, proprio a causa dell'incarico passato di nuovo a quella bottega.

4. A. W. Johnston, "IG II 2311 and the Number of Panathenaic Amphorae", *BSA* 82 (1987): 125-29; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Londra, 1986), p. 35; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 16, fig. 1.

5. Su questa interpretazione, v. Arias, *EAA*, s.v. "Panatenaiche, anfore". Il successo delle anfore panatenaiche è legato ad uno strano destino: da una parte, l'enorme quantità della produzione è accompagnata ad una forte presa di coscienza del loro valore, quando ritroviamo le stesse anfore impiegate come offerte votive (*ABFV*, p. 170); dall'altra, gli innumerevoli casi di imitazione, cui esse sono soggette, fanno scendere il significato primario e la loro funzione originale (basti pensare alle anfore miniaturistiche di forma panatenaica attribuite al Bula Group: v. Neils, *Goddess*, pp. 44-45, figg. 64-65, e Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 130-33).

6. Becatti, in una riflessione sui problemi di interpretazione degli stili arcaistici, affronta molto sottilmente l'esempio delle anfore panatenaiche di IV secolo a.C., definendone lo stile, non arcaistico, ma "parlata arcaicizzante": poiché la tradizione iconografica costringeva gli artisti a ripetere il soggetto, egli spiega che questo continuo processo di meccanico manierismo, stereotipato e banale nelle anfore panatenaiche, distaccava gli artisti sia dal valore del soggetto, sia dall'intendere esattamente il linguaggio arcaico che essi cercavano di imitare (G. Becatti, "Revisioni critiche, anfore panate-

naiche e stile arcaicistico", *Rendiconti della pont. Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 17 [1940-1941]: 85-95; e idem, in *Kosmos: Studi sul mondo classico*, a cura di G. Becatti, pp. 269-80 [Roma, 1987]).

7. G. von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Leipzig-Berlino, 1910), pp. 167-77; C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester, 1955); J. H. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias", *Hesperia*, suppl. 20 (1982): 65-76.

8. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 359-64.

9. Per una lista bibliografica sull'acropoli in età arcaica, si vedano: J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/560 to 405/404 B.C.* (Groningen, 1970); L. Beschi, "L'Atene periclea", *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, vol. 2, *La Grecia nell'età di Pericle*, parte 2, *Le arti figurative*, pp. 557-630 (Milano, 1979); L. Beschi, comm. a Pausania, *Guida della Grecia*, vol. 1, *L'Attica* (Milano, 1987), pp. 339-68; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pp. 188s.

10. In generale, sul carattere descrittivo dell'arte arcaica, splendide le riflessioni di B. Schweitzer, "L'«arte sacra» nell'età della tragedia. C: Il mito post-omerico nelle arti figurative e la nascita della concezione del mondo dell'età classica", *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, vol. 2, *La Grecia nell'età di Pericle*, parte 2, *Le arti figurative*, pp. 472-82, in part. p. 475 (Milano, 1979).

11. C. Robert, *Ermeneutica Archeologica*, ed. ital. con introd. di P. E. Arias, (Napoli, 1973), pp. 76-78. Ed. orig. *Archäologische Hermeneutik: Anleitung zur Deutung der Klassischen Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1919).

12. *ABFV*, p. 167.

13. G. F. Pinney, "Pallas and Panathenaia", *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, Agosto 31-Settembre 7, 1987 (Copenhagen, 1988), p. 474.

14. Il tipo di Athena, armata di scudo, egida, lancia ed elmo, è comunemente chiamato Prómachos: v. Arias in *EAA*, s.v. "Panatenaiche, anfore"; e Robertson, *Art of Vase-Painting* (supra, nota 3), pp. 124, 198, 264, 274; per l'uso del termine Prómachos, v. anche: S. G. Miller, "A Miniature Athena Promachos", *Hesperia*, suppl. 20 (1982): 93-99; P. Demargne, in *LIMC* 2.1 (Zurich, 1984), pp. 969-74, 1020, s.v. "Athena".

15. In linea con Pinney, B. S. Ridgway, "Images of Athena on the Akropolis", in Neils, *Goddess*, pp. 127-31, afferma che le Grandi Panatenaiche potrebbero essere state istituite come celebrazione della vittoria sulla Giganti e ricorda la statuetta bronzea dall'Acropoli, Atene, Museo Nazionale 6457, come uno dei primi documenti della serie Prómachos, databile al primo quarto del sesto secolo a.C.; questa statuetta è stata accettata da Niemeyer come immagine di un tipo scultoreo con cui era in relazione l'Athena Panatenaica (H. G. Niemeyer, "Das Kultbild der Eupatriden?" in *Festschrift Eugen von Mercklin* [Waldsassen, 1964], pp. 106-11, tav. 79; Shapiro *Art and Cult*, p. 28, tav. 8c-d; Ridgway, "Images" [supra, questa nota], fig. 78).

16. Ridgway, "Images" (supra, nota 15), pp. 129 e 212 n. 34, sottolinea che in antichità il termine Prómachos viene usato sia come aggettivo che come sostantivo.

17. Beschi, "L'Atene periclea" (supra, nota 9), p. 562. Pausania (1.28.2) stesso cita l'opera di Fidia come una "grande statua bronzea di Athena"; si v. anche: S. P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origin of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 294ss.

18. Alcune considerazioni a favore di questa ipotesi sono in *ABFV*, p. 167, e soprattutto in Neils, *Goddess*, pp. 25 e 37, in cui l'autrice ipotizza l'esistenza di un santuario all'aperto, vicino ai molti monumenti presenti sull'Acropoli in periodo arcaico. Shapiro (*Art and Cult*, p. 36) crede che il tipo di Athena sulle anfore panatenaiche appartenga ad una statua probabilmente sottratta, in un secondo momento, dai Persiani. Di opposta opinione, E. B. Harrison "Athena Promachos and Athena Polias", *AJA* 61 (1957): 209, esclude la possibilità che l'Athena sui vasi panatenaici sia il ricordo di una

statua sull'Acropoli; Ridgway, "Images" (supra, nota 15), p. 127, sottolinea le differenze nella resa di alcuni elementi (*episema*, elmo e costume di Athena): "a true statue would have been copied more or less faithfully or at least recognizably, through the centuries".

19. Il podio, nelle rappresentazioni cultuali di Athena, è facoltativo nelle figure nere. L'anfora pseudo-panatenaica Parigi, Cab. Méd. 243, del 530 ca. (C. Bérard, "Fêtes et mystères", in *La Cité des images* [Parigi, 1984], pp. 107, fig. 155a; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 33, tav. 12c-d; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 37, fig. 23), con una colossale figura di Athena di tipo panatenaico, stante direttamente sulla linea di base tra due giovani adoranti, potrebbe essere una prova dell'esistenza di una statua di questo tipo. Per altre immagini cultuali di Athena nelle figure nere, cfr.: la tarda hydria Monaco 1727 attribuita al Pittore di Nikoxenos, con una Athena Prómachos su podio (*ABV* 397.33; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 29, tav. 8d); la neck-amphora di forma panatenaica New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.1, del Pittore di Princeton (Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pp. 34-35, tav. 14b; R. Hamilton, *Choes*, p. 232 n. 4), con una Athena dietro ad un altare con fuoco, tra un suonatore di aulòs e una giovane portatrice di peplo; in quest'ultimo caso, non c'è podio.

20. V. supra, note 10-11.

21. Sui grandissimi problemi di ricostruzione iconografica dell'Athena Prómachos di Fidia, v. G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milano, 1951), pp. 161ss.; W. B. Dinsmoor, "Two Monuments on the Athenian Akropolis", in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 4, pp. 145-155, tavv. 48-49 (Atene, 1967-68); H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos* (Waldsassen, 1960), pp. 76ss.; J. Travlos, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (Londra, 1971), p. 55; Beschi, "L'Atene periclea" (supra, nota 9), pp. 562-65.

Shapiro (*Art and Cult*, p. 36) crede che la statua fidiaca possa essere un ringraziamento per Marathòn e una sostituzione di una statua più antica distrutta o sottratta dai Persiani, probabilmente la stessa che si vede sulle anfore panatenaiche; Ridgway ("Images" [supra, nota 15], alla nota 42) pensa che "if the Pheidian statue has been correctly envisioned, its substitute would have been unclear for Athenians accustomed to a different pose". Quest'ultimo discorso non tiene però conto del fatto che, sfortunatamente, noi davvero sappiamo molto poco sulla statua di Fidia che definiamo Prómachos (v. Beschi, "L'Atene periclea" [supra, nota 9], pp. 562-65, ivi bibl.); nondimeno, anche accettando l'idea di una sostituzione, è legittimo supporre che Fidia, artista e uomo essenziale nel programma pericleo, abbia potuto creare una statua non perfettamente fedele al modello precedente. Ed è anche possibile che lo spirito conservativo delle anfore panatenaiche abbia continuato a riferirsi alla vecchia statua, semplicemente così come si poteva conservarne il ricordo, e cioè con tutte le varianti che riscontriamo nel tempo.

22. *Dev.*, p. 91; Brandt, "Panathenaica I" (supra, nota 1): 11-12; K. Schauenburg, "Herakles Mousikos", *JdI* 94 (1979): 68-73 nn. 86-87.

23. British Museum B 130 (*ABV* 89.1; *ABFV*, fig. 296.2; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 18, tav. 6a; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 30, fig. 19).

24. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Classical Purchase Fund 1978, 1978.11.13 (Valavanes, *Panathenaikoi* [supra, nota 1], p. 239; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 42, figg. 27a-b).

25. *Dev.*, p. 91; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 29.

26. Alcune ipotesi sul valore delle colonne doriche sulle anfore panatenaiche in N. Valmin, "Spuren eines 'Säulenkultes' auf der Akropolis von Athen", *AA*, 1964: 143-44. Presenza anomala rispetto al contesto di Athena, i galli diventano invece l'associazione più consueta nel lato con la dea, posti sulle colonne doriche, di cui costituiscono quasi una protome costante. La loro presenza è stata spiegata "as symbols of the fighting spirit" (*Dev.*, p. 91; *ABFV*, p. 197) e credo questa sia la considerazione più ragionevole. Un passo di Pausania (6.26.3) ci ricorda un gallo raffigurato sull'elmo di Athena in Elide. Oltre alle anfore panatenaiche, questo sarebbe l'unico

indizio di una associazione tra Athena e il gallo (non vengono ovviamente qui considerati i galli presenti sui vasi di imitazione delle anfore panatenaiche). Alcuni studiosi (E. Simon, in *RE*, suppl. 15 [1978]: 1415, s.v. "Zeus") hanno tentato di collegare il gallo ad Athena per tramite di Zeus, ma credo sia più prudente la lettura del Beazley: moltissime sono le attestazioni dei legami del gallo con il mondo greco, dai combattimenti ai riti iniziatici (I. Paladino, "Il gallo e i riti di passaggio", in *Transition Rites: Cosmic, Social and Individual Order*, a cura di U. Bianchi, pp. 241-42 [Roma, 1984]). Sarebbe quindi del tutto naturale trovare questo animale associato ad Athena proprio in un contesto che esalta la competizione atletica. Sulle anfore panatenaiche essi compaiono subito associati alle colonne e prendono il posto di altre figure (la civetta, la sirena) prima occupanti lo spazio risparmiato del collo (si v. l'anfora Burgon, Londra, British Museum B 130; *ABV* 89.1). Cominceranno a sparire alla fine del primo quarto del quarto secolo, quando, alla comparsa delle prime iscrizioni menzionanti l'arconte, al loro posto cominciano ad apparire rappresentazioni di singole statue o gruppi statuari (N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* [Mainz am Rhein, 1986]).

27. J. Griffiths Pedley, "Reflections of Architecture in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting", in *Papers of the Amasis Painter and His World, Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum*, pp. 63-80 (Malibu, 1987).

28. Cfr. l'hydria frammentaria attribuita al Gruppo di Leagros, Monaco, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1717 (*ABV* 362.36; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World*, [Malibu, 1985], p. 29, fig. 15).

29. Va notato che colonne ai lati di una figura o di un gruppo si trovano anche in altri tipi di rappresentazioni: nell'anfora 86.134.40 a San Antonio, attribuita al Gruppo E, con un suonatore di lira sul lato A ed Eracle contro il leone Nemeo sull'altro, le figure si trovano tra due colonne ioniche, sormontate da galli sul lato A e da sfingi sul lato B (K. Kilinski II, *Classical Myth and Poetry* [Dallas, 1985], p. 48, no. 11; H. A. Shapiro, "Mousikoi Agones: Music and Poetry at the Panathenaia", in Neils, *Goddess*, p. 65, fig. 20); cfr. inoltre, la neck-amphora Londra, British Museum B 260, con un citaredo tra colonne doriche sormontate da galli (*CVA* British Museum 4, tav. 64.1; Shapiro, "Mousikoi" [supra, questa nota], p. 66, fig. 42b), e l'anfora di forma panatenaica Londra, British Museum B 139, con stesso soggetto (*ABV* 139.12; *CVA* British Museum 1, tav. 5.3). Tutti questi casi sembrano enfatizzare lo stesso spirito celebrativo presente sulle anfore panatenaiche.

30. La vernice è parzialmente caduta, la superficie abrasa in più parti. Athena (fr. A 7: h. 9.6 cm, largh. 12.2 cm; A 6: h. 11.3 cm, largh. 18.4 cm) indossa un chitone decorato da motivo a reticolato con cerchielli graffiti entro i riquadri; la parte inferiore del chitone è interamente a vernice nera con i resti di sovradipintura in bianco; il bordo inferiore della veste reca una linea ondulata graffita, tra bordini di doppie righe incise. Dello scudo rimangono porzioni nel fr. A 7 (visibili il bordo in rosso e i resti dell'*episema* in bianco su fondo a vernice nera), nel fr. A 27 (4 x 2 cm) relativo ad un particolare ancora del bordo, e nel fr. A 23 (h. 3.6 cm, largh. 3.8 cm) che reca anche una porzione del gallo sul capitello di sinistra. Alcuni resti delle colonne sono visibili nei fr. A 10 per la colonna di sinistra (h. 6 cm, largh. 7.9 cm) e A 15 per la colonna di destra (h. 6.9 cm, largh. 7.2 cm).

31. La porzione più vasta del lato B, ricomposta da vari frammenti, è relativa al lato sinistro del campo metopale, e conserva anche porzione di parete dell'anfora a vernice nera, con l'attacco dell'ansa e parte della stessa (A 2: h. 12.7 cm, largh. 19.5 cm); il fr. A 11 (h. 7.8 cm, largh. 8.1 cm) presenta parte inferiore dello scudo e delle gambe dell'atleta che precede tutti verso sinistra; il fr. A 14 (h. 3.8 cm, largh. 9.5 cm) è porzione superiore dello scudo dell'ultimo

atleta a destra, di cui è rimasta una gamba con schiniere in A 8 (h. 6.7 cm, largh. 10.5 cm), unito al bordo destro della metopa. Rimangono non integrabili nella presente ricostruzione il fr. A 17 (5 x 5.1 cm), con la raffigurazione di un piede, e il fr. A 19 (6.1 x 5.9 cm) relativo a porzione del terzo scudo e di parti delle gambe del terzo guerriero; quest'ultimo frammento andrebbe comunque collocato al centro del campo metopale.

32. Tutti i frammenti pervenuti recano le stesse sfere in bianco aggiunto, ma il colore, le dimensioni, e la distanza fra di esse suggeriscono la presenza di tre scudi differenti.

33. Per l'anfora Burgon: Londra, British Museum B 130 (ABV 89.1; P. E. Corbett, "The Burgon and Blacas Tombs", *JHS* 80 [1960]: 52-58, tavv. 1-3; ABFV, fig. 296; Parke, *Festivals* [supra, nota 4], fig. 4; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 18, tav. 6a; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 30, fig. 19). Per l'anfora di Nikias: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Classical Purchase Fund 1978, 1978.11.3 (Neils, *Goddess*, p. 42, fig. 27; Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 231 e 239). Per l'anfora panatenaica di Exekias: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 65.45 (*Paralipomena* 61.8 bis; CVA Karlsruhe 3, tav. 17; E. Petrasch, *Badisches Landesmuseum, Bildkatalog* [Karlsruhe, 1976], fig. 44; Simon, *Festivals* [supra, nota 1], fig. 8a; J. M. Moret, *Oedipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains: Essai de mythologie iconographique* [Roma, 1984], p. 69 nota 7; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 31, fig. 20). Per l'esemplare attribuito al Gruppo di Copenhagen 99: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.5 (CVA Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 38; *Paralipomena* 175).

34. Uno dei primi e più famosi esempi è il chitone di Dionysos che trasporta una anfora SOS sul vaso François, 570 ca. a.C.; frequenti i casi anche nel Pittore C (v. la figura di Gorgone nella coppa di Siana, Londra, British Museum B 380: ABV 55.91; K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* [Bonn, 1960], tav. 8.2).

35. L'anfora di forma panatenaica New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1898.281.89, attribuita al Pittore di Princeton (Bothmer), è uno degli ultimi esemplari con bordo del chitone a vista frontale (D. Bothmer, *AntK* 30 [1987]: 64-65, tavv. 8.3, 9.1-2; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 43, n. cat. 18) ed è databile al 540 a.C.

36. Fr. A 3: Diam. esterno 17.4; d. interno 13.7.

37. Cfr. CVA Malibu 1, tav. 21, databile al 540-530 (v. Neils, *Goddess*, p. 86, n. cat. 6). I motivi floreali dei frammenti Getty sono precedenti alle esperienze del Pittore dell'Altalena, in cui le foglie sono più regolari e separate (cfr. inoltre la Liverpool, The Board of Trustees of the National Museum and Galleries on Merseyside 56.19.27; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 35, tav. 15b; R. Hamilton, *Choes*, p. 232). Per i problemi di attribuzione delle anfore panatenaiche o pseudo-panatenaiche al Pittore dell'Altalena, v. la sintesi bibliografica di A. Clark in CVA Malibu 1, p. 20. È utile osservare che per l'anfora Getty 86.AE.71 sono state evidenziate vicinanze sia con il Pittore dell'Altalena che con quello di Princeton, proprio a causa della catena floreale sul collo; Clark suggerisce giustamente l'attribuzione della 86.AE.71 alla fase iniziale del Pittore dell'Altalena. Ciò, di riflesso, conferma la datazione ancora più alta per i nostri frammenti, essendo lo stile di questi precedente quello della Getty 89.AE.71.

38. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.1 (ABV 298.5; CVA Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, tav. 13; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pp. 34-35, tav. 14b; CVA Malibu 1, p. 20; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 25, n. cat. 14); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1988.281.89 (*AntK* 30 [1987]: 64-65, tavv. 8.3, 9.1-2; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 43, n. cat. 18).

39. Neils, *Goddess*, p. 155.

40. Paus. 5.8.10; A. Snodgrass, *The Age of Experiment* (Londra, 1980), pp. 152-53; Neils, *Goddess*, pp. 88-89.

41. H. A. Harris, *Sports in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), p. 33.

42. ABV 300.16 e 314; Brandt, "Panathenaica 1" (supra, nota 1), n. 22. Sull'*oplitodromos*, v. J. D. Beazley, "A Hoplitodromos Cup", *BSA* (1951): 7-15, tavv. 5-7.

43. Gli altri esempi cominciano ad essere documentati con il Pittore di Euphiletos, che rappresenta il soggetto nelle seguenti panatenaiche: Bologna, Museo Civico PU 198 (ABV 322.5; CVA Bologna, tav. 1.2-3; A. Stenico, in *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall*, a cura di A. Cambitoglou, p. 177, tav. 44.3-4 [Sydney, 1979]); Milano, Galleria d'Arte Geri (*Paralipomena* 143; Stenico [supra, questa nota], p. 177, tav. 44.1-2). Per altre rappresentazioni della corsa di opliti su anfore panatenaiche, si v. London B 143 (CVA British Museum 1, tav. 5.2a-b) e Compiègne 986 (CVA Compiègne 3, tav. 4.6-7; Hamilton, *Choes*, p. 233).

44. Un'anfora a profilo continuo al Museo Archeologico Regionale "P. Orsi", di Siracusa, inv. 66564, è stata oggetto del mio lavoro per il fascicolo CVA Siracusa 2 (in corso di stampa, tav. 6a-b); su entrambi i lati (A: Menelao ed Elena, B: Achille insegue Troilo), il forte vigore degli arti inferiori delle figure maschili è stato paragonato allo stile del Pittore di Princeton, e trovano adesso preciso confronto con i frammenti Getty. In quella occasione, avevo notato le similitudini tra il Pittore di Princeton e il Pittore dell'Altalena (non soltanto per la decorazione accessoria) e i precisi legami tra il primo e il Gruppo E, sia per la scelta del repertorio tradizionale, che per le figure di opliti ricorrenti in entrambe le produzioni. L'attenzione al repertorio tradizionale potrebbe essere la spiegazione per cui le prime scene di *oplitodromos* su anfore panatenaiche, o pseudo-panatenaiche (includendo nella lista i frammenti Getty), si trovano nell'area del Pittore di Princeton.

45. J. K. Anderson, *Handbook to the Greek Vases in the Otago Museum* (Dunedin, 1955), n. 49, tav. VII; ABV 301.2; *Paralipomena* 131; CVA New Zealand 1, tav. 9.

46. La maggior parte dei frammenti si riferisce a porzioni di parete, interamente a v. n.; soltanto dieci sono i frammenti relativi alle zone figurate; uno appartiene alla decorazione accessoria sul collo.

47. Athena (fr. D 3: h. 4.3 cm, largh. 9.5 cm; fr. D 2: h. 11 cm, largh. 9.1 cm) indossa un chitone a vernice nere attraversato da rombi graffiti, con motivo a spirale quadrata entro tessere. La parte inferiore del chitone, dalle ginocchia in giù, è a vernice nera con una larga fascia orizzontale sovradipinta in rosso, delimitata in alto da motivo spiraliforme, e in basso da cerchielli graffiti. È conservato un tratto del limite inferiore della metopa a vernice rossa diluita, su cui poggia il piede destro della dea, sovradipinto in bianco. Dello scudo rimane un angolo a vernice nera con il bordo in rosso; l'*episema* è perduto. Conservate parti delle colonne doriche in tre frammenti (D 4: h. 6.5 cm, largh. 4.6 cm; D 19: h. 2.1 cm, largh. 3.1 cm; D 1: h. 9.6 cm, largh. 12.4 cm) e del gallo sormontante il capitello di sinistra (D 4).

48. D 5: h. 12.3 cm, largh. 11.6 cm; D 7: h. 8.9 cm, largh. 9.4 cm; D 26: h. 13 cm, largh. 20 cm.

49. Al centro del frammento (5.6 x 5.9 cm) sono parzialmente visibili le braccia di due atleti, con il torace di uno di essi rintracciabile dietro il braccio dell'altro. Gli atleti sono in corsa verso destra; cerchielli rossi sono sovradipinti sul torace visibile in primo piano.

Vorrei qui ringraziare il dr. S. Palladino per la collaborazione alla resa grafica della fig. 5b.

50. Un piccolo frammento, D 9 (h. 2.4 cm, largh. 3.1 cm), appartiene al gomito destro alzato dell'ultimo corridore a destra.

51. Sulla differenza dei corpi degli atleti e loro disposizione nelle differenti discipline sportive, si veda Philostratos *Γυμναστικός* 25-40.

52. L'esercizio dello *stadion*, una corsa di velocità della lunghezza appunto di uno stadio, era considerato gara leggera e poteva esser disputato sia come competizione a se stante sia nel contesto del pentathlon; sul pentathlon ad Atene, G. Waddell, "The

Greek Pentathlon”, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5 (Malibu, 1991), p. 104 nota 1; sul compenso riservato agli atleti di *stadion*, v. i calcoli di Parke, *Festivals* (supra, nota 4), p. 35.

53. Philostratos *Γυμναστικός* 32; Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports* (supra, nota 1), pp. 280–81; idem, *Athletics* (supra, nota 1), p. 137; B. Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum* (Berlino, 1927), p. 106.

54. Sulla corrispondenza tra le notizie di Philostratos e i documenti figurati, v. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sport* (supra, nota 1), p. 282, e R. Patrucco, *Lo Sport nella Grecia Antica* (Firenze, 1972), pp. 117–19. L’esempio più convincente di quanto un pittore possa prestare attenzione alle differenze dei movimenti tra una corsa e l’altra viene da due anfore del Pittore di Berlino: la Berlino, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1832, con momento di *stadion* (*ABV* 408.4; *ABFV*, p. 302; *CVA* Berlin 5, tavv. 49.7–8, 50.2); e la New York, collezione privata, ex-Castle Ashby 13, con scena di corsa lunga (*Dev.*, p. 95 nota 45, tav. 44.2; *ABV* 408.1; Neils, *Goddess*, n. 24). E ancora, del Pittore di Euphiletos, lo *stadion* nell’esemplare Monaco, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1453, da Vulci (*ABV* 322.4; *ABFV*, fig. 298) e la corsa lunga nella Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.520 (*ABV* 322.7; *CVA* Boston 1, tav. 55.3).

55. Questa attenzione alla disposizione delle braccia è sentita sin dalle prime rappresentazioni di corse atletiche, cfr.: l’anfora panatenaica frammentaria connessa a Lydos, Halle, University 560 (*Dev.*, 90; *ABV* 120; *ABFV*, fig. 295), l’esemplare firmato da Nikias, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.11.13 (Neils, *Goddess*, p. 42, fig. 27b); l’anfora di forma panatenaica assegnata alla cerchia del Pittore dell’Altalena, Oxford 1965.117 (*ABV* 307.60; *Paralipomena* 133; *CVA* Oxford 3, tav. 27; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 34, tav. 14a; Hamilton, *Choes*, p. 232); e l’anfora di forma panatenaica attribuita al Pittore di Louvre F6, nella collezione Shelby White and Leon Levy (D. von Bothmer, ed., *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* [New York, 1990], pp. 135–36, no. 104; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 83, n. cat. 23).

56. Oxford 1965.117 (v. supra, nota 55).

57. Questo tipo di corsa è stato definito anche “*diagonale*”: braccio destro–gamba sinistra, braccio sinistro–gamba destra (Legakis [supra, nota 1], p. 44 nota 9).

58. Si veda a proposito l’anfora panatenaica del Pittore di Berlino, Berlino, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1832 (cfr. supra, nota 54).

59. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.12 (*ABV* 322.6; Gardiner, *Athletics* [supra, nota 1], fig. 89; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 39; M. I. Finley e H. W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years* [Londra, 1976], tav. VIII; N. Yalouris, *Athletics in Ancient Greece: Ancient Olympia and the Olympic Games* [Athens, 1977], p. 163, fig. 70; Bothmer, *Amasis Painter* [supra, nota 28], p. 28, fig. 14; Catoni, “Cercando le Olimpiadi” [supra, nota 1], p. 554, fig. 5).

60. Per altri confronti dei bicipiti, cfr.: Leida xv 1 77 (*ABV* 322.2; *Paralipomena* 142; Gardiner, *Athletics* [supra, nota 1], p. 148; Harris, *Sports* [supra, nota 41], fig. 36; Finley e Pleket, *Olympic Games* [supra, nota 59], tav. va; Parke, *Festivals* [supra, nota 4], fig. 5); London B 134 (*Dev.*, tav. 49.3; *ABV* 322.1; Gardiner, *Athletics* [supra, nota 1], fig. 139; J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen, II: Einzelne Sportarten* [Vienna, 1968], tav. 89c; Yalouris, *Athletics* [supra, nota 59], p. 215, fig. 119; R. M. Cook e R. J. Charleston, *Masterpieces of Western and Near-Eastern Ceramics*, vol. 2, *Greek and Roman Pottery* [Tokyo, 1979], fig. 36).

61. *Dev.*, p. 91; Robertson (supra, nota 3), p. 36.

62. Monaco, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1453, da Vulci (v. supra, nota 54).

63. Si tratta di una scena di *stadion*, con cinque corridori ritratti come repliche: il tentativo prospettico è portato dallo slitta-

mento dei corpi per piani paralleli, in ordine progressivo, dal fondo verso l’alto.

64. V. supra, nota 60.

65. *Dev.*, p. 91.

66. Complessivamente, abbiamo indizi della presenza sicura di almeno quattro corridori: D 5 + D 7 (il primo da sinistra), D 6 (due centrali), D 9 + D 26 (il primo a destra). Lo spazio tra i due al centro e il primo a destra è sufficiente per la collocazione di un quinto corridore, di cui tuttavia non abbiamo alcuna traccia.

67. A proposito del Pittore di Euphiletos, Neils (*Goddess*, p. 48) ha notato che l’abito di Athena cambia (peplo con o senza *ependytes*) se sull’altro lato è rappresentata una corsa di velocità oppure di lunghezza: onestamente, non riesco a trovare una spiegazione che leghi il costume di Athena alla gara atletica rappresentata sul lato opposto; accolgo quindi la nota come segnalazione di una coincidenza fondata sugli elementi a noi pervenuti, ma non credo che ciò sia dovuto a precisa intenzione da parte dell’artista.

68. Anche la lunghezza dell’abito risulta più corta di quella usata dal Pittore di Euphiletos e trova un confronto possibile con il chitone di Athena sull’anfora panatenaica New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.64 (*CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 40a), databile al 520 ca. (il vaso è stato inizialmente comparato da Beazley al Pittore di Boulogne 441; Bothmer l’ha associato alla stessa mano della Warsaw 198605 (*CVA* Warsaw 1, tavv. 20–21); queste due anfore sono state poi associate ad un gruppo attribuito alla Cerchia di Antimenes da Brandt, “Panathenaica 1” (supra, nota 1), pp. 1–28; per lo stesso gruppo (*Paralipomena* 127: Warsaw 198605, Louvre F 274, Leningrad 1510) è stato usato convenzionalmente anche il nome “Pittore dell’anfora di Warsaw”, v. lista in Hamilton, *Choes*, p. 233).

69. Si tratta di un’anfora panatenaica senza iscrizione (F. W. E. Gerhard, *Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder* [Berlino, 1843], tav. B.9–10; Beazley, “Panathenaica” [supra, nota 1]: 443; *ABV* 260.28; *CVA* Boston 1, tav. 56).

70. Simile è anche la scelta delle zone in rosso (cuore delle palmette, petalo centrale, calice dei loti), nonché l’interno del collo a vernice. Dimensioni frammento D 11: h. 6.7 cm, largh. 7.0 cm.

71. La superficie è ben conservata, con piccole abrasioni. La vernice nera lucente; il colore aggiunto, in bianco e in rosso, è distinto e ben preservato.

72. F 2 (h. 1.5 cm, largh. 2.4 cm): Athena indossa un elmo di tipo attico, con *lophos* sormontante la cornice sulla spalla (perduta), attraversato da motivi geometrici graffiti, con filo esterno in rosso, frontaletto rigido sormontante in rosso, e lungo rinforzo sagomato dietro la nuca; un motivo floreale è graffito sull’elmo, nella zona sopra l’orecchio. Alcuni riccioli dei capelli, segnati a chiocciola, scendono sulla fronte di Athena. L’egida è riccamente decorata a squame di serpente, con serpentelli lungo i bordi laterali; è visibile in secondo piano l’interno dell’egida, decorato a bande verticali rosse e nere divise da graffito, con crocette incise, unite a cerchielli, sulle bande in nero; i serpentelli sono collegati all’orlo dell’egida che scende dietro le spalle, e si stagliano contro la superficie a risparmio del campo metopale. Lo scudo, bordato in rosso, reca un toro sovradipinto in bianco come *episema*, e interno a vernice nera. Athena porta un braccialetto a spirale sull’avambraccio sinistro. A destra, il gallo ha piumaggio segnato a graffito e sovradipinto in alcune zone in rosso. Tra la testa di Athena e il gallo di sinistra, sulla superficie a risparmio, è segnato un graffito votivo etrusco che J. Frel, in una breve nota su questo frammento, compara all’iscrizione su un’hydria frammentaria del Pittore di Berlino (J. Frel, *Studia Varia* [Roma, 1994], p. 25, fig. 8); l’autore attribuisce il frammento Getty al Pittore di Euphiletos.

73. F 4 (h. 19.5 cm, largh. 23.4 cm): il peplo di Athena è riccamente pieghettato, con risvolti tridimensionali lungo l’orlo inferio-

ore; alternativamente, le pieghe hanno bande verticali sovradipinte in rosso; sulle pieghe nere insistono le stesse crocette graffite viste sull'egida; in secondo piano, il tessuto interno è a vernice nera. Rimane traccia della piega centrale del peplo, recante motivo graffito ondulato tra coppia di linee verticali incise. Le parti nude di Athena sono sovradipinte in bianco; a destra, alcuni resti della colonna. I margini laterali della metopa sono delimitati da linee in vernice rossa diluita.

74. F 3 (h. 7 cm, largh. 5.4 cm).

75. F 1 (h. 22.5 cm, largh. 20.2 cm): è preservata zona della parete laterale sinistra del vaso a vernice nera; entro la metopa, resti della colonna e alcune lettere dell'iscrizione dedicatoria: (dall'alto verso il basso) [. . .]EΘEΝΑΘΑ[.]N.

76. Per l'egida del Pittore di Kleophrades, v. Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae", pp. 98-99.

77. *Dev.*, p. 91, tav. 49.2, in cui è un'analisi dettagliata di tutti i particolari dell'elmo di Athena preferiti dal Pittore.

78. Il confronto più stretto è offerto da due anfore del Pittore di Euphiletos: la New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.12 (K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* [Würzburg-Aumühle, 1941], p. 21 nota 3; Beazley, "Panathenaica" [supra, nota 1]: 443 nota 6; *Dev.*, pp. 92, 117 nota 23; *ABV* 322.6; *Paralipomena* 142; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 39; Bothmer, *Amasis Painter* [supra, nota 28], p. 28, fig. 14), e la London B 134, da Vulci (*Dev.*, fig. 49.2; *ABV* 322.1; *Paralipomena* 142; *ABFV*, fig. 297; Cook e Charleston, *Masterpieces* [supra, nota 60], fig. 35).

79. *ABV* 322.7; *CVA* Boston 1, tav. 55.

80. Sulle anfore panatenaiche del Pittore di Euphiletos sono presenti vari tipi di *epismata*: a differenza di quanto accade per altri pittori, è quindi impossibile attribuire al Pittore di Euphiletos un lavoro sulla base di questo elemento.

81. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 65.45 (*Paralipomena* 61.8 bis; Petrasch, *Badisches Landesmuseum* [supra, nota 33], fig. 44; Simon, *Festivals* [supra, nota 1], fig. 8a; Moret [supra, nota 33], p. 69 nota 7; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 31, fig. 20).

82. V. l'anfora di forma panatenaica New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.89 (Bothmer [supra, nota 35]: 64-65; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 43, n. cat. 18).

83. Princeton University, The Art Museum 1950.10 (F. F. Jones e R. Goldberg, *Ancient Art in the Art Museum, Princeton University* [Princeton, 1960], pp. 34-35; Bothmer [supra, nota 35]: 64, n. 40; Neils, *Goddess*, p. 46, fig. 44).

84. Per alcuni esempi, cfr.: New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1909.13 (*ABV* 404.5; S. B. Matheson, *Vases: A Guide to the Yale Collection* [New Haven, 1988]; eadem, "Panathenaic Amphorae", pp. 98-99, fig. 3; Neils, *Goddess*, pp. 174-75, n. cat. 45), e l'anfora New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.79 (*ABV* 404.6; Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae", p. 100, fig. 4a).

85. Cfr. Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.12 (v. bibl., supra, nota 59).

86. Tre anfore panatenaiche al Metropolitan Museum of Art hanno queste caratteristiche: la 16.71, Rogers Fund, 1916, attribuita al Pittore di Kleophrades (*ABV* 404.8; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 42); la 56.171.64, attribuita al Pittore di Boulogne 441 (*ABV* 281; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 40); l'anfora panatenaica senza iscrizione del Pittore di Antimenes, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.51 (*ABV* 274.124; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, tav. 46). Per altri confronti con il Pittore di Kleophrades, v. la panatenaica Leida, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC6; e la Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.9 (Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae", figg. 1a e 2).

87. 81.AE.203.F 5 è una larga porzione di parete (h. 24 cm, largh. 26 cm), con oltre tre quarti della decorazione figurata: un auriga barbato, vestito di tunica bianca, guida un carro in corsa verso destra trainato da quattro cavalli; i musci dei due cavalli anteriori sono preservati nel fr. F 6 (h. 10.8 cm, largh. 9.8 cm), cui va unito il fr. 85.AE.333 (h. 2.1 cm, largh. 8.9 cm) con teste e criniere relative. In rosso: frangia e barba dell'auriga, criniere e code dei cavalli, parti del carro. Graffiti i particolari anatomici, le briglie e i dettagli del carro.

88. Per le ragioni di questa importanza, v. Gardiner, *Athletics* (supra, nota 1), p. 21, con riferimenti alle fonti letterarie.

89. *ABV* 322.5; *CVA* Berlin 5, tavv. 23.2, 25, 28.1.

90. *ABV* 324.38.

91. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.9, in Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae", fig. 1b.

92. Cfr. anche la New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1909.13, e la Los Angeles, Catherine C. Hearst collection (Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae", p. 9).

93. Del Pittore di Kleophrades è sufficiente ricordare i centauri sullo splendido frammento di skyphos a Firenze, Antiquarium 4218 (Schweitzer, "L'arte sacra" [supra, nota 10], p. 483, tav. 11a), o il progresso sintattico raggiunto sull'hydria di Nola (Napoli, Museo Nazionale 2422; J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophrades Maler* [Berlin, 1933], p. 15, fig. 27; idem, "A Hydria by the Kleophrades Painter", *AntK* 1 [1958]: 6-8; J. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy", *AntK* 19 [1976]: 3-18), in cui le attenzioni alla grande pittura contemporanea è stata spesso sottolineata dalla storia degli studi (P. Moreno, "La conquista della spazialità pittorica", in *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, vol. 2, *La Grecia nell'età di Pericle*, parte 2, *Le arti figurative*, pp. 631-76 [Milano, 1979]).

94. Sinteticamente, per le criniere dei cavalli e le due pieghe per le sopracciglia, cfr. i seguenti esemplari attribuiti al Gruppo di Leagros: Toledo Museum of Art 69371 (*ABV* 360.11) e Parigi, Cab. Méd. 257 (*ABV* 367.47); per il condotto lacrimale, cfr. Würzburg 1 311 (*ABV* 362.35).

ATHENA RECHTSGEWANDT: EINE PANATHENÄISCHE PREISAMPHORA DES SCHAUKELMALERS IM J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Ruth Lindner

Die Mündungs-, Hals- und Wandungsfragmente einer panathenäischen Preisamphora erscheinen auf den ersten Blick recht unspektakulär¹. Ihre Einmaligkeit und ihre Bedeutung als fehlgeschlagenes Experiment bei der Schaffung des kanonischen Vorderseitenbildes panathenäischer Preisamphoren, wie es bis in das 4. Jh.v.Chr. Geltung haben sollte, enthüllt sich erst genauerer Betrachtung.

Die Mündung ist echinusförmig (Abb. 1a). Der Hals ist mit einem plastischen, roten Wulst vom Körper abgesetzt. An die leicht konkave Wandung ist der kräftige Rundhenkel im stumpfen Winkel angetöpfert. Zunächst in einem flachen Bogen bis knapp unterhalb des Mündungsansatzes ansteigend ist er kaum wahrnehmbar einschwingend auf die abfallende Schulter herabgeführt (Abb. 1b). Den Hals ziert ein gegenständiges Lotos-Palmettenband, das von einer flüchtig gesetzten, doppelten Kreisreihe ausgeht, wie sie in dieser Form für panathenäische Amphoren bisher nicht belegt war. Vertikale Doppelritzungen verbinden die übereinander liegenden Kreise. Die von einem großen Kern ausgehenden Blätter sind durch Ritzung voneinander getrennt. Proportion und Dekor weisen das Fragment der Gruppe der frühen Preisamphoren vor 530 v. Chr. zu².

Fünf Fragmente der Vorderseite passen Bruch an Bruch aneinander. Sie bewahren die rechte Begrenzung des Bildfeldes, Teile des rechten Säulenschaftes und dazwischen fünf Buchstaben der nahe dem Bildfeldrahmen geführten Preisinschrift

[TON AΘEN]EΘEN A[ΘAION]

(Abb. 1c, Fragment E 1). Die Preisinschrift neben der rechten Säule ist auf der panathenäischen Amphora des

Exekias in Karlsruhe—dem bisher frühesten Zeugnis einer von hahnenbekrönten Säulen flankierten Athena—das einzige noch unkanonische Element³. Bei den Getty Fragmenten gehen die Abweichungen vom Kanonischen aber weiter. Ganz links sind auf ihnen drei mit dem Zirkel eingeritzte, konzentrische Kreisbögen zu erkennen. Sie können nur zum Schild der Athena gehören. Demnach muß sie mit sichtbarer Schildinnenseite nach rechts gewandt zwischen den Säulen gestanden haben. Dem schwarzen Schildrand kontrastiert die rote Schildinnenseite, auf der als weißlicher Schemen noch ein geringer Rest der linken Hand zu erkennen ist. Die Annahme einer rechtsgewandten Athena erfährt Bestätigung durch ein weiteres Fragment, das zwar nicht unmittelbar anpaßt, nach Größe und Tonbeschaffenheit aber zugehörig ist (Abb. 1c, Fragment E 38). Hinter der gewölbten, zum Nackenschutz einziehenden Kalotte des Helms Athenas fällt links der Helmbusch herab, überschritten von der hoch erhobenen Lanze, die Athenas rechte mit weiß gehöhte Hand fest umschlossen hält.

Eine rechtsgewandte Athena ist auf archaischen Preisamphoren bisher singulär. Als nächste Parallele kann die Athena auf einer pseudopanathenäischen Amphora des Princeton-Malers herangezogen werden (Abb. 2)⁴. Die Athena des Princeton-Malers steht leicht vorgebeugt zwischen ionischen, von Hähnen bekrönten Säulen. Zwischen Säulenschaft und Schild wird ein deutlicher Abstand eingehalten. Schildoberkante und Abakus befinden sich auf gleicher Höhe. Nimmt man für die zu ergänzende Preisamphora an, daß die Preisinschrift dicht unterhalb des Kapitells begann, so ergibt sich nach Ergänzung der fünf fehlenden Buchstaben eine ganz ähnliche Bildkomposition.

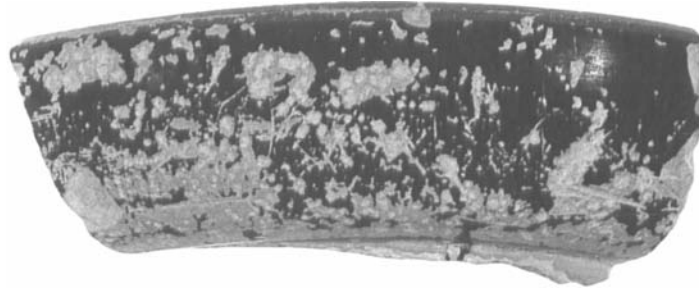


ABBILDUNG 1a. Panathenäische Preisamphora des Schaukelmalers.
Mündungsfragment (E 15). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum
81.AE.203.



ABBILDUNG 1b. Preisamphora, Abb. 1a. Hals- und Henkelfragment (E 18).

E 38

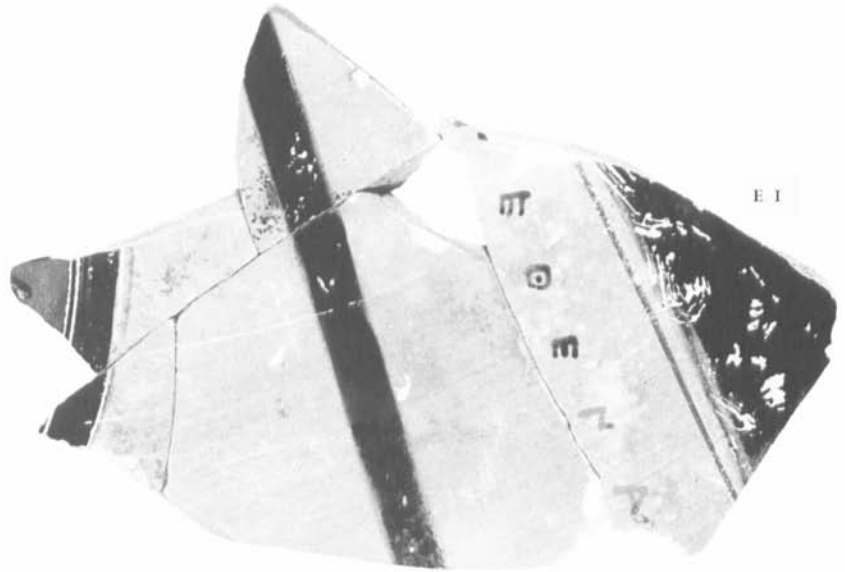
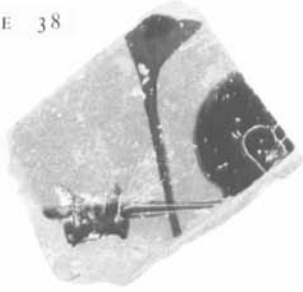


ABBILDUNG 1c. Preisamphora, Abb. 1a. Fragmente (E 1 und 38) der Seite A.



ABBILDUNG 2. Pseudopanathenäische Preisamphora des Princeton-Malers. Seite A, Ausschnitt. Ehemals Beverly Hills, Summa Galleries; New York Kunsthandel.



ABBILDUNG 3. Bauchamphora des Schaukelmalers. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum I 259.

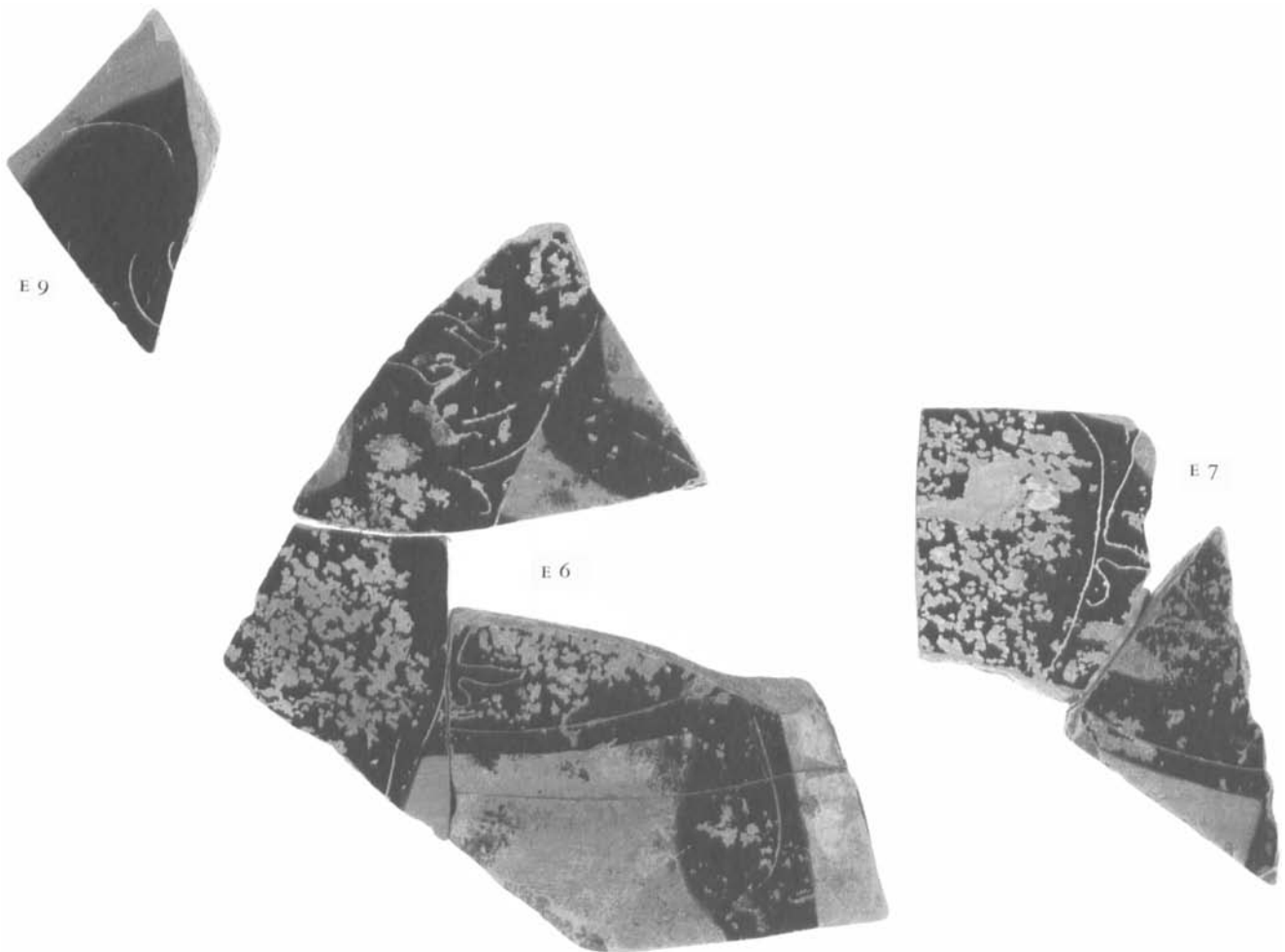


ABBILDUNG 4. Preisamphora, Abb. 1a. Seite B, Fragmente (E 6, 7, 9).

Über die Körperhaltung der Athena liefern die Getty Fragmente allerdings keine Information. Das Erhaltene erlaubt lediglich die Aussage, daß die Athena dort weniger nahe an das Zungenband heranreichte. Dies belegt die freie Fläche über ihrer Hand. Obwohl im Oeuvre des Princeton-Malers und eines anderen mit ihm in engem Austausch stehenden Malers, des Schaukelmalers⁵, pseudopanathenäische Amphoren recht zahlreich sind⁶, schien es bisher zweifelhaft, ob einer von ihnen Preisgefäße bemalt hat⁷. Sicher dagegen ist, daß auch der Schaukelmaler eine leicht vorgebeugte, nach rechts agierende Athena vor großem Rundschild mehrfach dargestellt hat, und zwar sowohl als dominierende Kämpferin in seinen Gigantomachien, also auf einen Gegner bezogen (Abb. 3), als auch aus dem Erzählzusammenhang gelöst und von Mantelmännern flankiert als markantes Einzelmotiv⁸.

Die motivische Ähnlichkeit allein sollte aber nicht den Ausschlag bei der Zuweisung der Getty Fragmente zum Umkreis des Schaukel- und Princeton-Malers geben. Rückseitenfragmente, die mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit vom selben Gefäß stammen, können weitere Indizien dafür liefern. Sieben Fragmente, von denen vier bzw. zwei Bruch an Bruch passen, tragen Reste zweier oder dreier nach rechts bewegter Läufer (Abb. 4). Die zur Faust geballte und auf Brusthöhe gehaltene Rechte des besser erhaltenen Läufers läßt erkennen, daß er dem "angelegten Typus" angehört, der um 530 v. Chr. auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren zur Differenzierung von längeren und kürzeren Laufdistanzen neben die weit ausgreifenden Armbewegungen des "gespreizten Typus" tritt und in seiner geringeren Dynamik die versammeltere Haltung des Langläufers bezeichnet⁹. Der bisher früheste Beleg ist



ABBILDUNG 5. Panathenäische Preisamphora des Euphiletosmalers. Seite B, Ausschnitt. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 99.520. Mit Genehmigung des Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

eine Preisamphora des Euphiletosmalers (Abb. 5)¹⁰. Beim Schaukelmaler dominieren Dreiergruppen von Läufern im "gespreizten Typus", die fast ohne Überschneidung nebeneinandergesetzt sind. Lediglich bei einer Bauchamphora in New York werden die Körper zweier Läufer vom jeweils angewinkelten rechten Arm überschritten, so daß zumindest Vorformen dieses Läuferstypus dem Schaukelmaler zuzurechnen sind¹¹. Parallelen für die Körperzeichnung, etwa die sorgfältige Wiedergabe des Penis und der mit klar umrissenen Daumen gezeichneten Faust, finden sich vor allem in der ersten Phase des Schaukelmalers¹². Besonders nahe steht ein Jüngling der Psykteramphora in Boston (Abb. 6)¹³. Wie bei ihm ist die Bauchpartie des Läufers durch konvergierende Ritzungen akzentuiert, zwischen denen eine kleine bogenförmige Ritzung den Bauch-

nahe bezeichnet. Im Halsornament der Psykteramphora taucht auch die doppelte Kreisreihe im Zentrum des gegenständigen Lotos-Palmettenbandes wieder auf, die der Schaukelmaler für dieses Gefäß wohl vom Maler von Vatikan 365 übernommen hat¹⁴.

Die zusammengetragenen Indizien lassen für die bruchstückhaft erhaltene Preisamphora nur den Schluß zu, daß sie im Umkreis des Schaukelmalers entstanden ist, ja als eigenhändiges Werk seiner ersten Phase, zwischen 540 und 530 v. Chr., verstanden werden darf. Sie läßt uns Einblick gewinnen in einen künstlerischen Diskurs, der die Festlegung des kanonischen Emblems der Vorderseiten panathenäischer Preisamphoren offenbar begleitete, und uns den für seine Freude am Experiment ohnehin längst bekannten Schaukelmaler als Gegenspieler des Exekias greifbar werden läßt. Der



ABBILDUNG 6. Psykteramphora des Schaukelmalers. Seite B, Ausschnitt. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 00.331. Mit Genehmigung des Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

ANMERKUNGEN

Abkürzung:

Böhr E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (Mainz, 1982).

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Musum 81.AE.203.E 1–38. Davon werden besprochen und abgebildet: E 1 (H. 12,2 cm; Abb. 1c); E 6 (H. 8,5 cm; Abb. 4); E 7 (Br. 10,3 cm; Abb. 4); E 9 (H. 4,7 cm; Abb. 4); E 15 (Br. 10,3 cm; Abb. 1a); E 18 (Br. 19 cm; Abb. 1b); E 38 (H. 4,3 cm; Abb. 1c). Die Maße lassen es zu, von einem Gefäß der archaischen Standardgröße von mindestens 60 cm Höhe auszugehen. Zu den Standardmaßen: M. F. Vos, *OudMeded* 62 (1981): 38–39.

Für die Publikationserlaubnis und für Photos und Maßangaben zu den einzelnen Fragmenten bin ich Marion True zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Für Diskussion und Anregung danke ich Elke Böhr, Mainz; und Carina Weiß, Würzburg.

2. Vgl. die Zusammenstellung: R. Brandt, *ActaArtHist* 8 (1978): 1–23. Die neue Generation der Vasenmaler, wie etwa der

dem Exekias zugeschriebene Entwurf, der länger als eineinhalb Jahrhunderte Gültigkeit haben sollte, war also im Kerameikos nicht konkurrenzlos. Doch der zeichnerisch zwar interessantere aber weniger emblematische Gegenentwurf des Schaukelmalers konnte sich nicht durchsetzen. Erst das 4. Jh.v.Chr. ließ—sich des Vorläufers unbewußt—dem vergessenen Neuerer späte Rechtfertigung widerfahren¹⁵.

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Mastos- und der Euphiletosmaler, bedient sich stets der kernlosen Palmette mit getrennten Blättern; die Henkel werden steiler und höher.

3. Brandt (a.O., Anm. 2): 11; *CVA* Karlsruhe 3, zu Taf. 17 (C. Weiß).

4. Ehemals Summa Galleries, Beverly Hills, H. 43,6 cm.—Böhr, S. 111, Taf. 173.

5. Zum Verhältnis der Maler, s. Böhr, S. 53; D. von Bothmer, *AntK* 30 (1987): 61–68.

6. Böhr, S. 18, Nr. 89–91, Taf. 86–89 (Schaukelmaler), und P 4–6, Taf. 169–73 (Princeton-Maler); *CVA* Malibu 1, Taf. 21 (Schaukelmaler); J. Neils, Hrsg., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Ausstellung, Hannover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College, Hood Museum of Art (Princeton, 1992), S. 155, Nr. 18, Farbtaf. S. 43 (Princeton-Maler).

7. Ein Fragment mit Hals und Schulter der panathenäischen Athena, die nach ihrer Größe durchaus zu einer Preisamphora gehören könnte, ist nicht sicher als panathenäische Amphora anzu-

sprechen. F. P. Johnson, *AJA* 47 (1943): 391, Nr. 3, Abb. 3; Böhr, S. 102, Nr. 144, Taf. 145d.

8. Böhr, Nr. 24, Taf. 27. Gigantomachien: Böhr, S. 49, Nr. 41, Taf. 43.51 (hier Abb. 3).

9. R. Lindner, in: *Kotinos*. Festschrift für E. Simon (Mainz, 1992), S. 146–47.

10. *ABV* 322.7; *CVA* Boston 1, Taf. 55.

11. Böhr, Nr. 5 (Halsamphora, New York, Privatbesitz), 26, 64, 89, Taf. 3, 29, 65, 86–87.

12. Böhr, S. 4 (vgl. bes. 89B, 9B).

13. Böhr, S. 5. 100, Nr. 131, Taf. 132–33, 191a.

14. Vgl. bes. die Halsamphora *CVA* Altenburg 1, Taf. 21, auf der auch Motiv und Körperzeichnung verwandte Auffassung zeigen. Zur Abhängigkeit des Schaukelmalers vom Maler von Vatikan 365, vgl. Böhr, S. 54.

15. Zum Verhältnis des Schaukelmalers zu Exekias, vgl. Böhr, S. 56. Zu anderen Innovationen, vgl. J. J. Harper, *The Ancient World* 28 (1997): 31–38.

THREE CAERETAN HYDRIAI IN MALIBU AND NEW YORK

J. M. Hemelrijk

The Caeretan hydriai¹ are an exceptional class of vases. We know more about the way in which the two masters and their helpmates cooperated in producing them than is the case with most other pottery schools. This is due to the elaborateness of the decoration and to the strongly marked character of the style of the different artists and artisans involved (including the potters). This intimate knowledge of the proceedings in the workshop is, I assume, of some value to Greek archaeology in general, but it requires painstaking and lengthy observations, especially of the ornaments.²

This is inevitable anyway but more urgent now since recently, in some authoritative publications, fundamental mistakes are maintained concerning the chronological sequence of the hydriai and the collaboration of the painters with their assistants, opinions that must be countered with some force. We shall return to these points at the end of this paper.

Thirty-seven Caeretan hydriai are now known in addition to a few sherds belonging to at least four more.³ Of these forty-odd items, one is in the Getty Museum and two in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy in New York.⁴ Recently it has been discovered that two sherds in the Louvre are to be incorporated into a very fragmentary but highly interesting new hydria in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen in Munich (on loan from a private collection).⁵ At present, only one hydria is known to be on the market (in Switzerland).⁶

The largest collections of hydriai are in the Louvre (no less than ten vases and a sherd, acquired from the Campana collection in 1863⁷) and in Italy (Rome and Cerveteri, a total of nine hydriai).⁸ One of the finest hydriai was once in Berlin (*CH*, no. 8, "Berlin

Chariot," see fig. 11), and there were some interesting sherds in Leipzig (*CH*, no. 35, "Leipzig Achelous"), but these were declared "lost" at the end of the war; perhaps they will eventually turn up in some Russian collection.

Most of the figure scenes on these hydriai are from the hand of the so-called Eagle Painter, who is named after scenes such as that shown in figure 1⁹ (such scenes adorn the reverse of five of his vases, see *CH*, pp. 146 and 182; so far, all eagles on the hydriai are from his hand). On only nine hydriai and the sherds of a tenth were the figure scenes painted by his younger "brother," the so-called Busiris Painter (named after the exuberant scene on a hydria in Vienna, fig. 2).¹⁰

In this article we shall discuss the hydria in Malibu and the two new ones in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy in New York. But first we have to draw attention to two particular features of the hydriai: the direction of their figure scenes and the use of added colors.

COMPOSITION AND DIRECTION OF SCENES

When the composition of the figure scenes of the Caeretan hydriai is not symmetrical (up to twenty-nine out of sixty-eight scenes described in *CH* are strictly symmetrical), the action usually moves from right to left (there are only seven exceptions¹¹). However, the center of interest is often in the left half of the picture, as is the case with the scene on the first hydria published here (see fig. 4a) and with many others (e.g., *CH*, pls. 25, 47b, 51a, 86a, 103a; the movement in the left half of the scene may be either way). In these cases one feels that the description ought to start from the left, that is,



FIGURE 1. “Dunedin Horse-tamer” Caeretan hydria, by the Eagle Painter (*CH*, no. 26). Reverse: Eagle. Dunedin, Otago Museum F 53.61.

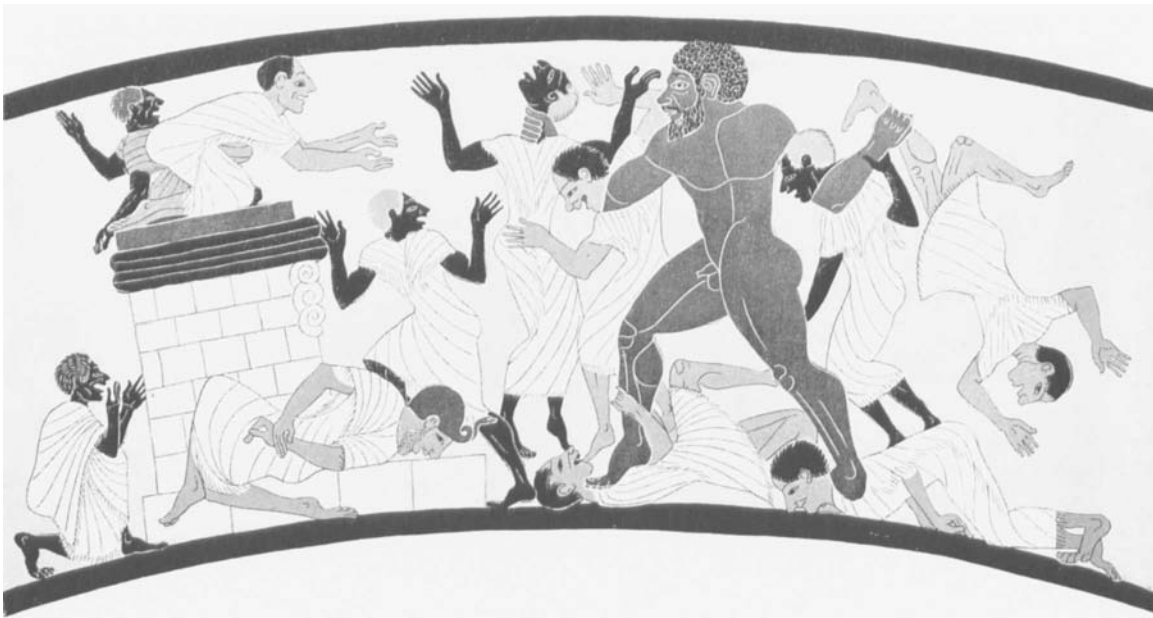


FIGURE 2. “Vienna Busiris” Caeretan hydria, name vase of the Busiris Painter (*CH*, no. 34). Obverse: Herakles killing King Busiris and the Egyptians. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3576. Drawing from *FR* 1 (1904), pl. 51.

with the tragic plight of the attacked or conquered. In other cases, however, the description may start from the right, for example, on no. 12 with Apollo and Artemis, who are riddling the fleeing Tityos with their arrows (*CH*, pl. 57). The same might be done with the Hydra hydria, the second vase described here, with Herakles attacking from the right in a symmetrical composition

(see fig. 18a). Here, however, the main point of interest is undoubtedly in the center.

Although the action usually moves from right to left, the painters worked from left to right, as demonstrated by the fact that the last figure on the right frequently overlaps with the handle tongues on the right (left to right was also the direction of the Eagle

Painter's handwriting; *CH*, pl. 106a, 107b, 108f, p. 82 with fig. 48¹²).

Since scenes are also generally directed from right to left in Etruscan art, it has been said that this is a sign that the Caeretan hydriai are "Etruscan."¹³ This opinion is often reflected in museum exhibitions of Caeretan hydriai: They are displayed among Etruscan black-figured vases. This is, I firmly believe, misleading. Though it is somewhat confusing to speak of art as if it had a clearly defined nationality, the two masters were undoubtedly Greeks, they spoke and wrote Greek (see above, note 12), and their great artistic discipline and eye for anatomy are very Greek indeed and typically un-Etruscan; besides, their subject matter is genuinely Greek—though perhaps not without a slight incidental adaptation to what Etruscan customers might like, as we shall see below.

COLORS AND DRAWING

The Caeretan hydriai differ in many respects from other Greek pottery, especially in the way colors are used. As a rule, white and red are painted over black or smears of dilute "black," which may be very thin and hardly visible. After the first, very rough, preliminary sketch had been made with a piece of charcoal or the like, the painting was plotted in thinned black; subsequently, those areas that were to become solid black received a second, definitive coating, but the parts that were to be covered with red or white were usually left in the first, very thin or more often streaky, dilute black; they were then defined more precisely by the added colors that were brushed over them. A good example of this streaky sketching is the young giantlike horse tamer on the hydria in Amsterdam, figure 3a (*CH*, no. 19), whose skin was undoubtedly once white (but all white is now lost).¹⁴

Of course, on certain parts of the ornaments and also on objects in figured scenes, wherever little or no planning was needed, red and white were sometimes applied directly on the clay (*CH*, p. 65).

When the colors are lost—which is unfortunately very common—the result is as on figure 3b. This is a palmette-bud frieze, filling the zone under the figure frieze, that is unique for the hydriai; parts of its buds, toruses, calyxes, and the inner leaves of flowers must originally have been painted red or white.¹⁵

A particular kind of discoloring that occasionally occurs elsewhere (e.g., in Attic) is very frequent on the hydriai: It is due to the influence of the added colors

on the underlying paint during firing. When the black clay-paint of the figures and ornaments is well fired and shiny deep black, the underpaint, when laid on thickly, may be dull or somewhat discolored wherever the added paint is now lost (e.g., on the upper edges of the calyxes of the buds in fig. 3b, which have turned brownish). Such dull or discolored patches indicate that the area was once painted white or red and that this added paint is now lost.

However, in other cases, parts of the vases are so badly misfired that the black paint has turned brownish or reddish-brown by oxidization. In such cases the areas once covered by added paint were protected against the flow of oxygen during firing and consequently tend to be black, provided, of course, that the clay-paint had been laid on thick enough under the white or red. The result of this complicated change of the colors is often baffling.

More remarkable, perhaps, is the fact that red and white (beside which there are two shades of an extra color, yellowish, on the Busiris hydria, fig. 2) are used more lavishly on Caeretan hydriai than on most other Greek fabrics,¹⁶ and that these colors were applied mainly for the decorative effect of nicely balancing colors. However, not without rules: women are always white (except on no. 12 where they are red, *CH*, pl. 57c-d), and red is rare for the skin of gods and men (*CH*, nos. 1, 12, and 34, p. 65). On the other hand, men may be painted white (*CH*, pp. 65, 173), which has led to strange misunderstandings: for example, a very sturdy peasant who, armed with shield and sword, attacks a fierce boar on a hydria in Copenhagen has been mistaken for Atalanta (*CH*, no. 15, pl. 69a).¹⁷ Rather surprisingly, white is used even for Herakles (e.g., *CH*, nos. 16 and 21, pls. 70d, 83-84), but it is mainly reserved for young men (e.g., "horse tamers," here fig. 3a; young fighters or hunters, see fig. 13b; Iolaos, see fig. 18q; and two comrades of Odysseus, see figs. 19a-b; see further *CH*, nos. 15, 19, 26, 27; pls. 69, 78-79, 96b, 97-98).

I. "NEW YORK MULE"

[Figs. 4a-c]

New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection. The hydria belongs to the Lotus-ivy Series (vases that have an ivy wreath on the shoulder and a lotus-palmette frieze around the lower belly: *CH*, p. 4, table A); it should be listed between nos. 31 and 32 as no. 31 bis.

Decorated by the Busiris Painter, the vase is in all respects a very remarkable work, even for this exceptional artist; I shall refer to it as "New York Mule."

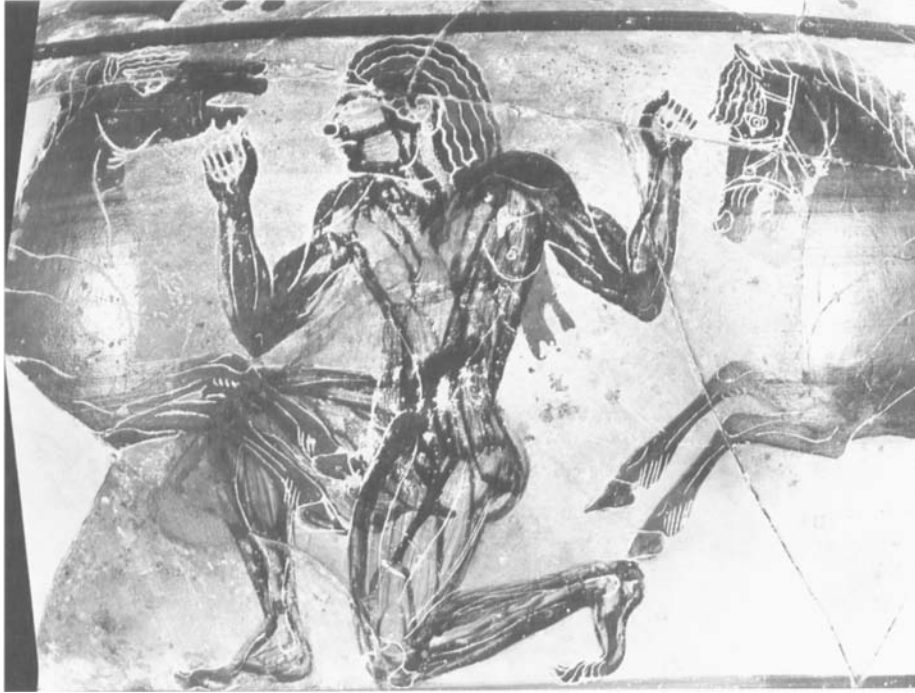


FIGURE 3a. "Amsterdam Horse-tamer" Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 19). Obverse: horse tamer. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1346. Photo: Michiel Bootsman.



FIGURE 3b. "Amsterdam Horse-tamer" hydria, figure 3a. Lotus-bud frieze. Photo: Michiel Bootsman.



FIGURE 4a. "New York Mule" Caeretan hydria. Obverse. New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection no. 742. Photo: Bruce White.



FIGURE 4b. "New York Mule" hydria, figure 4a. Reverse. Photographed straight on at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ \times height of vase to show perfect profile. Photo: Bruce White.



FIGURE 4c. "New York Mule" hydria, figure 4a. Side. Photo: Bruce White. Photographed straight on at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2} \times$ height of vase to show perfect profile.

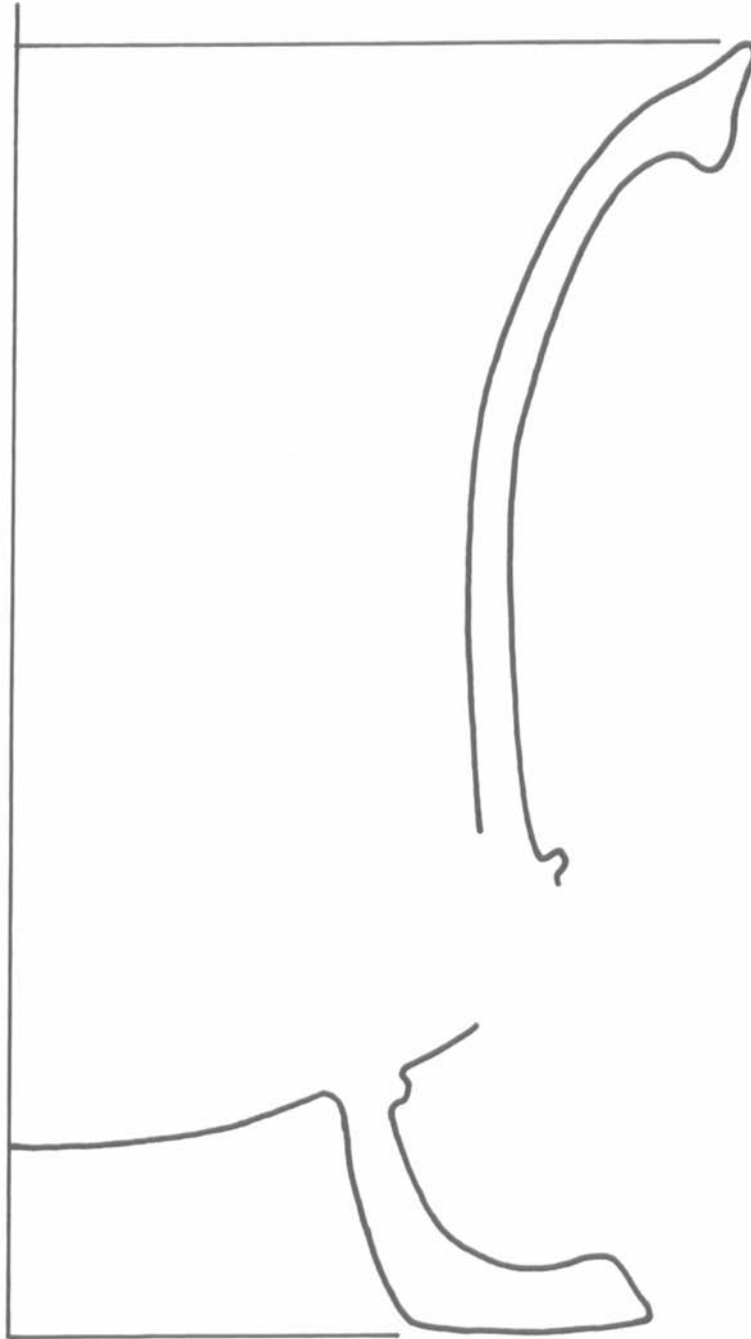


FIGURE 4d. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Profile of neck and foot. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

Preservation

Composed from many large and small sherds; incomplete; vertical handle modern; numerous fragments missing (see Description, below).

Surface and colors well preserved, surface somewhat mottled and full of tiny “mica” particles (as is usual in the clay of the hydriai, *CH*, p. 63). The wall of the neck at its curve only 5.5 mm thick (fig. 4d). No trace of the usual oxidization (see *CH*, p. 63), but shoulder and foot (incomplete and restored) have sagged (for this

sagging and other aspects of the generally rather defective technique of the hydriai, see *CH*, pp. 63 and 167).

Measurements

Ht. 41.5 cm; ht. of neck 10.5–11 cm (warped); diam. of mouth 19.6 cm; rim th. 1.6 cm; ht. of foot 3–3.5 cm; diam. of foot 17.2 cm; diam. without handles 33.2 cm, with handles 39 cm (Cf. *CH*, p. 5, table B).

Ht. of friezes exclusive of frieze lines (measured along curved surface): shoulder 10.5 cm; figure frieze 13–13.3 cm; lower belly zone 8–8.3 cm; rays at base 4.6–4.7 cm. See further below, note 18.

Shape

This is a very broad hydria with swelling contours, unlike the hydriai of other Greek or Etruscan schools of pottery but, because of its fluent, untectonic contours, somewhat reminiscent of bronze vessels. Its wide-splayed foot has a concave outline (starting from a foot ring); on the broad shoulder a powerful neck, springing from a necking ring, spreads with a swinging contour into a sturdy rim with a vertical edge. The heavy swell of the body and shoulder is somewhat unusual, even for a Caeretan hydria, and it is hardly surprising that both shoulder and foot have sagged a little.

Ornaments

[Figs. 4e–h.¹⁸ See *CH*, pp. 88–115]

The vase belongs to the Lotus-ivy Series, *CH*, pp. 4–6, nos. 19–34. The painting started with the frieze lines (*CH*, p. 69), which are exceptionally thick (10–15 mm). The decoration is colorful and lively.

Tongues

[See *CH*, p. 111, table H]

Tongues, common on metal vessels, decorate the inside of the mouth (fig. 4e), the attachments of the horizontal handles (figs. 4c and f), and the foot (see fig. 4a), rather like flowers in full bloom; they are unique in Greek pottery in that they consist of solid black tongues whose cores are covered with smaller, alternately white and red tongues; thus we get a corona of red and white tongues with thick black borders. The inside of the neck, below the tongues, is painted black except for a narrow reserved band (about 0.5 cm wide) just under the spring of the tongues.¹⁹

The tongues of the horizontal handles are particularly long and slender: contrast figure 4c with 18d and, much smaller still, 19e.

Neck Ornament

[Figs. 4a–c, f. See *CH*, p. 100, table F; for corrections of this table, see below, note 75]

Lotus flowers are the main element of the ornaments on the neck and in the lower belly zone (figs. 4a–c). These lotuses are elegant, sharply spreading, unnaturalistic, colorful designs. They have white calyxes; pointed, outcurving, black outer leaves; and sharp red central leaves flanked by thin, lightly curving white petals.

A mirrored (or double) pair of these flowers forms the central element of the neck ornament (figs. 4a and g, *CH*, pp. 99–100), which consists of a chain of three double lotuses around the neck, the outer leaves almost touching the tips of their neighbors, thus enclosing circular areas that are filled with elegant rosette-stars. These rosette-stars consist of a black cross of slender, budlike elements with a white dot in the center and a diagonal cross of red, slender “spikes” in between. The tips of all these elements touch the flowers. In these lotus-star motifs red and white were partly laid directly on the clay. There ought to have been a fourth mirrored lotus pair under the vertical handle, but it is nearly impossible to paint it there: therefore, it has been omitted, and the adjoining rosette-stars overlap under the handle (see figs. 4b and g).

The central double lotus ought to have been right in the mid-

dle of the neck, but on nearly all the vases it is somewhat off-center, and so it is here (see fig. 4a). Like the tongues, this neck ornament is unique in Greek pottery (and in Greek art in general; but, as is not unusual with the Caeretan hydriai, it has connections with the art of the Near East).²⁰

Lotus-Palmette Frieze

[Fig. 4h. See *CH*, pp. 94–95, table E, and p. 99]

In the lower belly zone the same lotuses (resting on short cross-bars, or “toruses”) rise from finely coiled sturdy spirals. Neighboring spirals come very close to each other but do not touch; they are interconnected by curved, loop-shaped bridges, which carry elegant palmettes with five leaves (alternately red and black; two red). There are red spikes under the flowers, and these and the three central leaves of the flowers are firmly fixed into the frieze lines, thus anchoring the chain to its place in the frieze (on certain other hydriai the chain seems to be “floating” in the frieze for lack of these anchors, e.g., on the “Polyphemus II” hydria, here figs. 19a, 21c–d, and also on my nos. 1, 5, 6, 20, and 21; *CH*, pp. 94–96).

The chain is well planned and painted with great assurance; there are some traces of a preliminary sketch (very lightly impressed in the surface) in some of the leaves of the flowers (deviating rather strongly from the final drawing, as is usual).

Handle Palmette

[Fig. 4b. See *CH*, pp. 110–12, table G, p. 108]

A palmette different from those of the lotus-palmette frieze hangs from a loop under the vertical handle; its seven leaves are painted like the tongues: alternately red and white (three red) with a thick black border (this border being the edge of the solid black leaf underneath the white and red paint). There is a subtle curve in the leaves as if they are held up by a natural turgor.

Ivy Frieze

[Figs. 4e, and see fig. 19k, left. See *CH*, p. 92, table D]

The most naturalistic of all these plantlike ornaments is found on the shoulder: a branch of large ivy leaves and bunches of berries on delicate twigs that spring with a fine curve from a double, intertwined central branch (*CH*, pp. 93–96). Note how the tightly plaited central branches form a regular pattern of fine, small loops, smaller even than those on figures 18g and i and strongly contrasting with the coarse, irregular interlacing of figures 19g and j.

This motif, too, is unique in Greek pottery because of its double central branch in combination with the nearly life-size leaves and bunches of berries (*CH*, p. 168). It is all black (in other fabrics, ivy wreaths are often colored, and so are the curious double ivies of nos. 14–16, *CH*, pl. 131), and it is painted almost faultlessly. It was painted before the handle tongues: The space between two tongues of the left handle (behind) has been widened to make place for a berry, and at the other handle a tongue was shortened for a similar reason (see fig. 4e; cf. *CH*, pl. 134c and e).

Rays and Rim

[Fig. 4a. See *CH*, pp. 115 and 111, table H.5; p. 104, fig. 61; for corrections to fig. 61, see below, note 57]

There are eighteen rays at the base, red and black, touching the



FIGURE 4e. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Shoulder and mouth. Photo: Author.

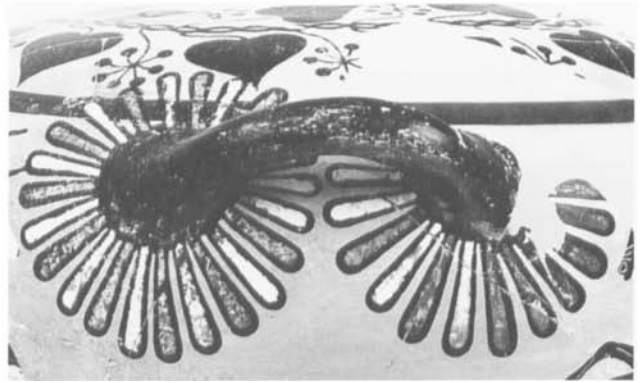


FIGURE 4f. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Tongues of right-hand handle. Photo: Bruce White.

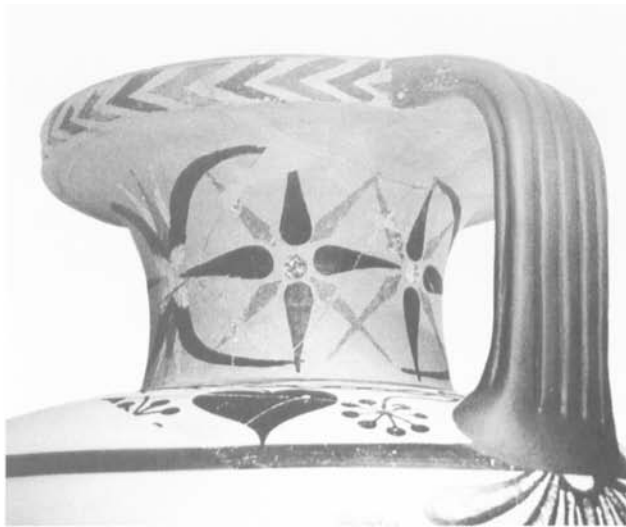


FIGURE 4g. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Ornament on neck at vertical handle. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 4h. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Belly zone with lotus-palmette. Photo: Bruce White.



FIGURE 5. "Rome Chariot" Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 31). Side. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia 74988. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 6. "Louvre Deerhunt" Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 33). Side. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 697. Photo: Author.

frieze line above them. The rim is decorated with a chevron pattern, black and red, as on nos. 13 and 14 (and, black only, on no. 18, CH, p. 104).

RELATION TO SHAPE AND ORNAMENTS OF OTHER HYDRIAI

Before we turn to the figure scenes, we must discuss how the shape and the ornaments of this vase fit into the whole series and into the work of the Busiris Painter in particular. Hereto the measurements of the vase and the numbers of its decorative elements, enumerated in note 18, should be compared with those of the other hydriai.

In nearly all respects our hydria conforms to and therefore belongs to the Busiris Painter's mature work, my catalogue nos. 31–34. It should be entered in the catalogue as no. 31 bis (e.g., in table A, CH, p. 4). In shape (see figs. 4c–d), it is between no. 31 ("Rome

Chariot," reconstructed from very many small sherds but generally trustworthy, fig. 5) and no. 33 ("Louvre Deerhunt," fig. 6): there is a very full swelling in the lower belly and the shoulder, but the body is less globular than that of no. 31, while the shoulder is more swelling and inflated than that of no. 33, which is more clearly set off from the body. Remarkably, the body of the "New York Mule" is even broader than that of no. 31, although they are exactly the same height (for all measurements, see CH, p. 6, table B). The foot is thin-walled just like those of nos. 31–34 (see fig. 4d; see CH, p. 72, table C, and pl. 154). The upper handle attachment (fixed onto the rim with little or no strengthening under it; the handle itself is modern) is like those of nos. 31ff. (also CH, table C, and pl. 155g).

Neck and foot differ markedly from those of the other two hydriai described here; compare the section drawings in figures 4d, 18e, and 19f: the wall of the

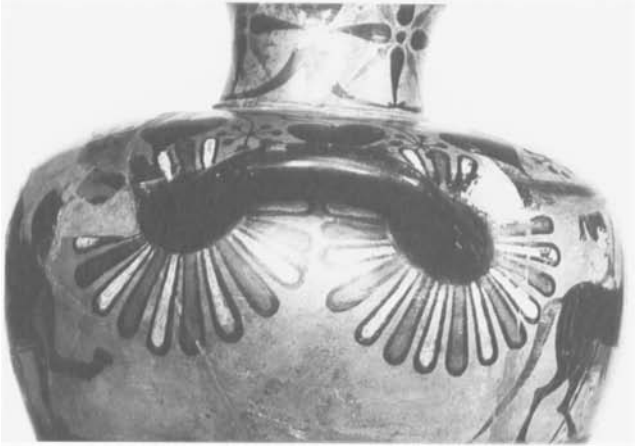


FIGURE 7. “Louvre Leda” Caeretan hydria (*CH*, no. 32). Handle tongues. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 699. Photo: Author.

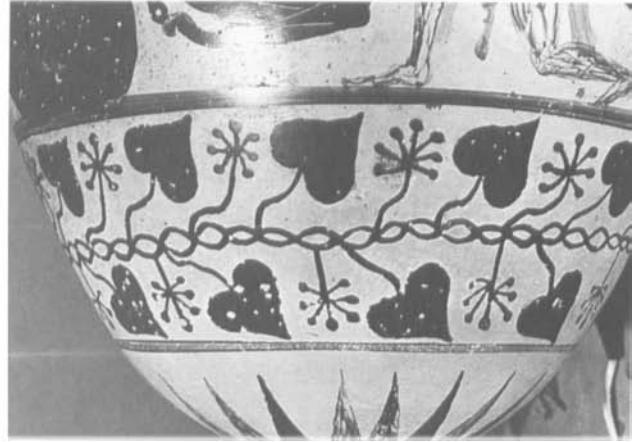


FIGURE 8. “Rome Cerberus” Caeretan hydria (*CH*, no. 11). Belly zone. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50649. Photo: Author.

foot is far thinner, and the outward curve of the neck toward the rim is far more pronounced in the other two hydriai. So much for the shape.

That the vase belongs with the hydriai nos. 31–34 is confirmed by the ornaments. The neck ornament is exactly as it should be: the three mirrored (double) lotus flowers enclose $3\frac{3}{4}$ rosette-stars. The number of ivy leaves on the shoulder is like that of the other mature vases by the Busiris Painter and lower than on all others (seven and ten in- and outside the central branch, on no. 32 even six and ten; *CH*, table D, p. 92). The delicate, elegant style of the ivy branch is typical of the Busiris Painter (see *CH*, pls. 133–34, 162–63). The ivy leaves are drawn freehand (i.e., without the use of templates; see below) and therefore vary a little, but they are very large, larger than on all other hydriai except vases such as no. 32 (“Louvre Leda”), as may be seen when we compare the two tracings in figure 19k and in *CH*, pl. 163a.

The lotus-palmette frieze of the lower belly (*CH*, p. 95, table E) is also exactly as expected: The whole ornament (see fig. 4h) is firmly pinned into the frieze lines with the three central leaves of the flowers and with the red spikes under the flowers; in the palmettes, which spring from loops (not from solid hearts), two of the five leaves are red, and the spirals have 3.5 coils (cf. *CH*, pls. 138–39, 163, 167b, 168).

The handle palmette (see fig. 4b) is as expected: seven leaves, four of which are white, three red (see *CH*, pp. 108–9, table G, and pl. 145c).

A striking feature is the length of the handle

tongues (see figs. 4c and f), found only on late vases, such as nos. 31ff. (figs. 5–7). The number of tongues on the mouth (twenty-eight) is like that of no. 31 (“Rome Chariot,” see fig. 5) and much greater than that on the foot (ca. twenty-two, much of the foot being lost; only nineteen on no. 31, see *CH*, p. 111, table H, pl. 110b). The rays at the base conform to the rules of these vases. Finally, thick frieze lines appear also on nos. 31 and 32 (see *CH*, pls. 109–10, 112–13; also on nos. 26–28, but, more surprisingly, on the early vases nos. 13–14 as well).

LOTUS-PALMETTES, IVY WREATHS, AND HELPMATES

This lengthy discussion of the shape and the ornaments was necessary for a full appreciation of the complexity of the ornamentation and for understanding the artistic intention of the painter who designed these ornaments. It is, I believe, clear that with those on the lower part of the vase he meant to support, so to speak, the shape—or weight—of the vase. This perhaps requires some explanation.

The rise of the body from the calyx-shaped foot is in the first tier supported by the spikes (or rays) at the base (common in Greek pottery but here alternately red and black), and in the second tier by the lotus-palmette wreath that embraces the lower belly. The upward surge of the flowers and palmettes (figs. 4a–c and 5–6) helps, as it were, the bulging body in its slow move upward from the foot. In this respect the vertical flowers and palmettes are artistically satisfac-

tory, in contrast to the ornament used in the Belly-ivy Series (*CH*, pls. 6–9, nos. 9–18), where we find an ivy wreath in the lower belly zone, a mainly horizontal motif (fig. 8). The reason this wreath was used in the Belly-ivy Series is that the ornaments of these ten vases were painted not by the two master painters themselves but by helpmates in the workshop, who undoubtedly found the complicated and subtle lotus-palmette frieze (such as fig. 4h) too hard to paint—even the ivy wreath was beyond them, as may appear from the shocking clumsiness of the ornament in figure 8. The figure scenes of this vase are by the Busiris Painter (*CH*, pls. 54–56), but that its ivy cannot be attributed to him is manifest when we compare it to the ivies by his hand (e.g., fig. 4e).

The ivy wreaths on the shoulders of the hydriai are very much like real ones such as were used for festive or ritual purposes; that they may actually have been meant as a replacement of such wreaths is suggested by the astonishing myrtle branch on the shoulder of the Busiris Painter's name vase in Vienna (fig. 9), very probably the most impressive ornament in all of Greek pottery. Wreathed hydriai may conceivably have served in the symposia, but since these vases come from tombs, the wreath might also point to some sort of apotheosis or hallowing of a deceased person, a funerary use that does not seem to have been a major concern of the painters of the hydriai but may occasionally have influenced the decoration. To Etruscan customers ivy wreaths probably seemed the right sort of ornament for objects in a tomb (see below).²¹

The complicated ornamentation of the hydriai was laborious and took much time; sometimes, perhaps when the workmen were pressed for time, helpmates were ordered to paint the ornaments (as we have seen on fig. 8 and the other vases of my Belly-ivy Series, *CH*, pp. 96.e and 112.8). This collaboration on a single vase by several artisans is common on the Caeretan hydriai (see above, note 12; *CH*, pp. 67, 81ff., and chap. IID), much more so than on Attic vases, where, however, it may have been less rare than is usually assumed. However, the hydriai nos. 31–34 were entirely decorated by the Busiris Painter,²² and so was no. 31 bis, “New York Mule.”

Figure Scenes

Every single detail of the figure scenes is characteristic of the figure style of the Busiris Painter and different from the way the Eagle Painter would have executed the same detail. The reader is referred to *CH*, pp. 76–88, but comparison of this hydria with the other two hydriai of this paper will bring out these differences to the full.



FIGURE 9. “Vienna Busiris” hydria, figure 2. Shoulder. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum.

A. Obverse

[Fig. 10a]

Panther and lioness attacking mule; peasant and “son” (or young companion or servant) coming to the rescue.

Preservation

[Fig. 10b]

Reconstructed from many, mostly large sherds, with only a few essential fragments missing. A major diagonal break running from lower left to upper right has caused some damage. Missing and repainted: section of lower part of forelegs of mule (just above the hooves); small sherd in hip of panther; part of hind legs and tail of lioness; point of spear (not restored); and nose, ear, and right hand of older peasant (missing parts painted black). Vertical break through face of youth (his forehead and eye lost and restored). Further, a large fragment is lost in front of the mule's muzzle, carrying off the greater part of some handle tongues. The other breaks have done little harm, but the right front claw of the panther, just above its thumb, is damaged.

Colors and Contour Incisions

Colors well preserved but the white seems somewhat coagulated, so the incisions are blurred and cannot be photographed.

Mule (figs. 10a, c): muzzle, mane, and belly stripe white; hooves and tuft of tail red. All contours incised except buttock and belly stripe. Some preliminary sketch lines at tail and hind legs.



FIGURE 10a. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: figure scene. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.

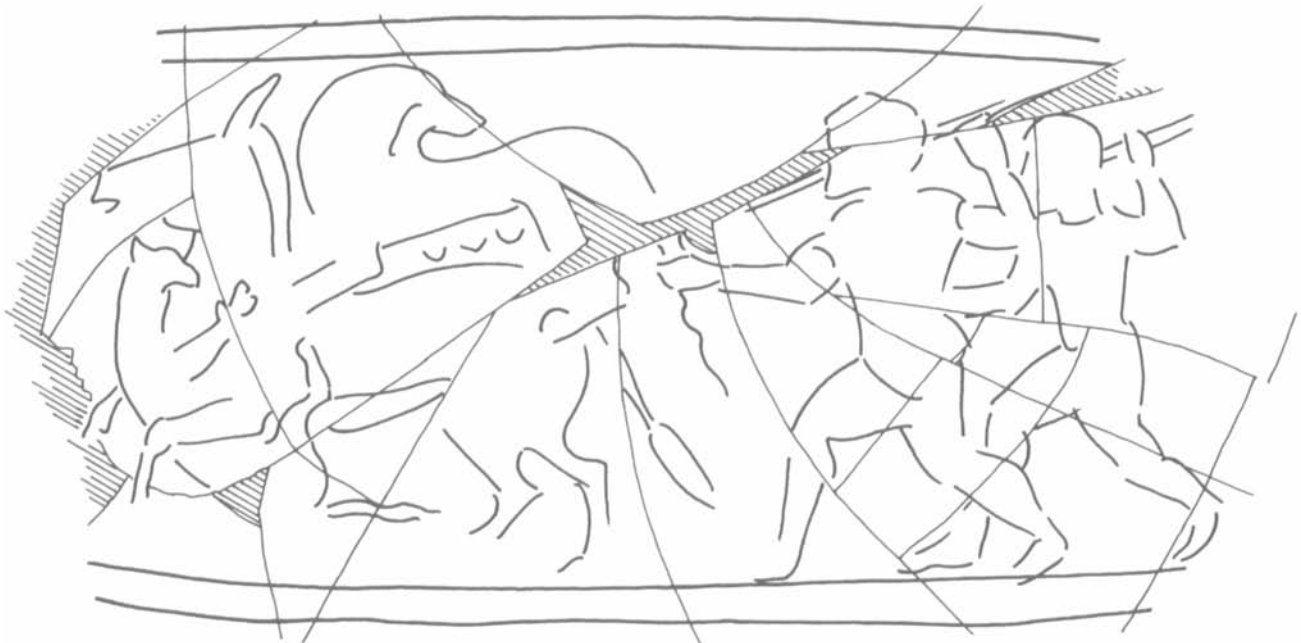


FIGURE 10b. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: sketch of breaks in figure scene. Drawing: Author.



FIGURE 10c. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: mule and panther. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 10d. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: lioness. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Panther (figs. 10a, c): teeth, dots, and belly stripe white. Contours incised except teeth.

Lioness (figs. 10a, d): dugs and teeth white; skin red; mane and tuft of tail black. Contours incised, except those of dugs.

Older peasant (figs. 10a, 13a): chiton white; hair and beard red. Contours incised except those of legs.

Younger peasant (figs. 10a, 13b): skin white. Less contour incisions (not in arms, legs, or front of chiton).

Description

A panther (or leopard²³) has flung itself from the front onto the neck of a mule and is hanging between its forelegs, biting its throat and tearing at its neck, holding on to the mule’s breast and shoulders with its claws, its long tail outstretched and quivering or swishing (figs. 10a, c).²⁴ The panther’s bloodthirsty fierceness is reflected in its eye, wrinkled muzzle, and large teeth (figs. 10c, e).

The panic-stricken mule tries to lift its front part up and away from the panther (its front hooves are off the ground), but the poor beast is weighed down by a great lioness that has jumped onto its back. The mule is braying desperately, its white muzzle open, teeth showing (but no tongue), terror written in its eye and scratchy facial folds (figs. 10a, c). There are very lightly drawn, expressive incisions in the lower lip and behind the nostril, now nearly invisible in the white (but see fig. 10e).

The lioness (figs. 10a, d) has just thrown her weight onto the mule’s back, but the ferocious attack is interrupted by the sudden intervention of an old peasant who has resolutely grasped her by her tail(!) with his left hand, while thrusting his spear at her with his

right. The lioness turns her head with a growl, her heavy mane bristling with anger: her mouth wide open showing large white teeth, her eye fiery and her face full of angry wrinkles (swiftly and lightly sketched in the red paint and therefore hardly visible on photos, but see fig. 10f). Of course, the painter had no direct knowledge of lionesses and therefore provided her with the dugs of a dog and the mane of a male lion, but the animal is no less impressive for it!²⁵

The lioness has not properly grasped the flesh of the mule’s back with her claws; the paws are shown in profile, claws retracted (figs. 10a, d)! This is a curious aberration of the two painters, who seem not to have liked the outstretched claw of a feline seen from above in the act of tearing at the flesh of a prey (cf. fig. 11; *CH*, p. 145 and n. 317). A rare exception is the right front paw of our panther (which is partly damaged), and this is, admittedly, a rather ineffective and clumsy rendering (see fig. 10c, but note the vicious thumbnail, which both painters love to depict), and compare the front paw of the red dog under the boar on figure 12.

While the remarkably foolhardy peasant is pulling the lioness’s tail, there is a wavy (or rather corkscrew-shaped) spear²⁶ flying through the air above, about to penetrate the lioness’s forehead. No doubt, the painter wants us to understand that it has just been launched by the peasant or his son (there is no “unity of time” in Greek art).

The father is running in front, his left leg forward, its foot not yet flat on the ground, his right leg far behind, toes touching the ground. He brandishes a spear in the powerful grip of his right hand. There is a nearly horizontal break (repainted) through his nose and ear (figs. 10b and 13a), but it is clear that he has a full beard and



FIGURE 10e. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: sketch of incisions of mule and panther. Drawing: Author.



FIGURE 10f. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: sketch of incisions of lion. Drawing: Author.

a clean-shaven upper lip, which is not very common on the hydriai.²⁷ There is another break through his waist and left elbow. A vertical break through the face of his son has carried off his eye and part of his brow (fig. 13b). He is running very close to his father on his right side, so close, in fact that his nose and chin coincide with the outline of his father’s lower right arm, and his chin had to be incised over it (very lightly) for lack of space! His left foot is stretched far forward, not yet touching the ground. What is meant to be his left shoulder is hidden behind his father’s right elbow. As is common on the hydriai, the distinction between front and back view is a little unclear.²⁸

Both father and son have short hair with a forelock combed down over the forehead (figs. 13a–b; cf. *CH*, p. 133.3, pls. 124–25), and both wear the short, belted chiton particular to the Busiris Painter (*CH*, pp. 81, 129): a slight overfall, or *kolpos*, on the belly covers the belt. The sleeves are cut and sewn with a lengthwise seam (fig. 13b; *CH*, pp. 129–30). The fabric is crinkly; there are long, slanting, wavy folds springing from different points on this seam on either shoulder (no buttons indicated); the folds in the father’s chiton are exactly like those in the chiton of the son, though the father’s are hardly visible now.

B. Reverse

[Figs. 4b–c, f, 13c–d]

Triton hunting Hippocamp with a spear. Catching, hunting, and defending animals belong, it appears, to the main themes on the hydriai. The scene on the reverse of this vase, however, seems unique. Though Tritons, or, Old Men of the Sea, and Hippocamps (with and without wings) may be frequent in Greek, and especially

in Etruscan, art (sculpture, bronze, pottery, tomb-paintings), nowhere else, to my knowledge, is the Old Man of the Sea seen to be hunting a winged Hippocamp with a spear!

Preservation

Reconstructed from many sherds, important fragments missing in both figures. Missing from Hippocamp: head (except nose and lower jaw), neck, and lower part of wing (near the body, see fig. 13c). Other breaks have done little damage. Missing from Triton (fig. 13d): most of face and head and large part of piscine body (fig. 4c, with most of the first fins, that on the back, and the belly; also part of the second fin under the belly).

Colors and Contour Incisions

Hippocamp. Mid-wing (worn), teeth, and central stripe in tail white. Hooves, breast part of wing, edges of two small fins, and fin at end of tail (not the tiny one under the last curve near the tail’s end) red.

Triton. Beard, mustache (tiny part preserved), hair, and central stripe in tail white. Spear head, edge of end fin, and of the two small fins next to it red.

No contour incisions in Hippocamp, except head and teeth; more contour incisions on Triton: shoulders, arms, hands, and belly (rippling outline), but not his profile and hair, nor his back and tail.

Description

[See *LIMC* 6 (Zurich, 1992), pp. 824–37, s.v. “Nereus” (Maria Pipili)]

Winged Hippocamp fleeing to left, its forelegs galloping, its fish body bent in two swinging curves as if lashing the water, wings



FIGURE 11. “Berlin Chariot” Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 8). Reverse. Once Berlin, Staatliche Museum 3345, now lost. Drawing from Kaiserlich Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1890), pl. 28.

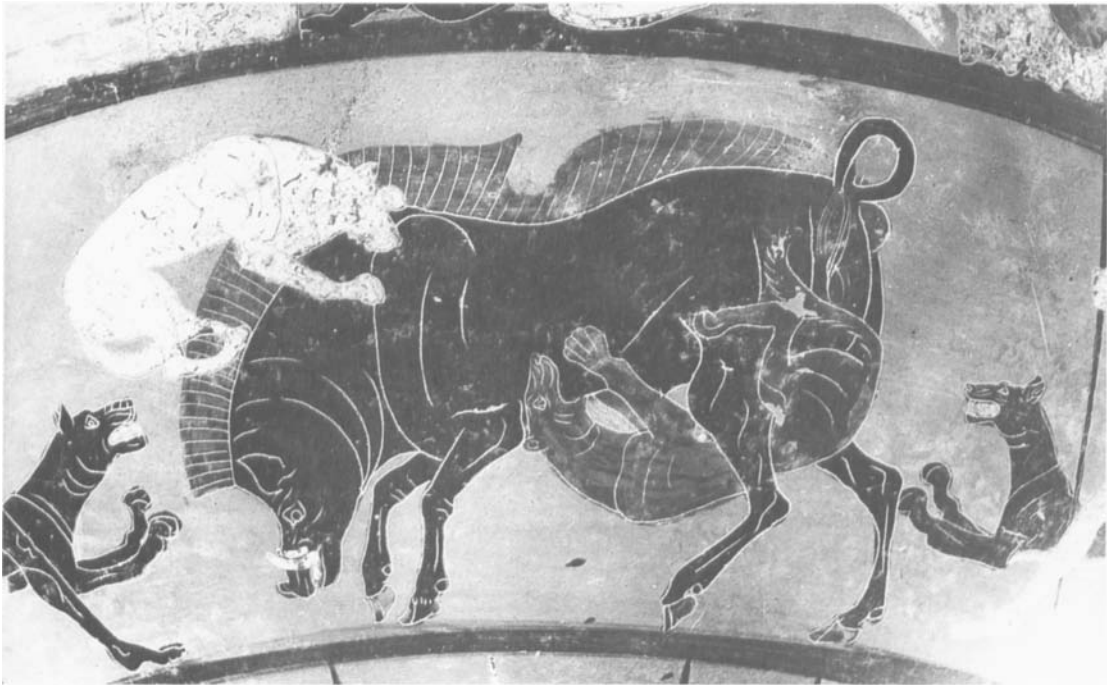


FIGURE 12. “Vienna Busiris” hydria, figure 2. Obverse: detail of belly zone. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 13a. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: old peasant. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.



FIGURE 13b. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Obverse: young peasant. Photo: Author.

raised, mouth open (figs. 4b, 13c). The front part of the horse is separated from the fish body by the wing (only one shown). The long, curving fishtail has a beautifully double-scalloped central stripe (white, well preserved; cf. the belly stripe of “Phokè,” *CH*, pl. 29) and three small fins, one on the back, two on the belly; the tail ends in a large sickle-shaped fin with a tiny interruption in the middle, shown from above. This kind of tail, which is essentially horizontal in nature, is always shown in top view on the hydriai, never in profile, as would be “correct” (cf. the tails of birds, such as the eagle in fig. 1). Note the curious shape of the two foremost fins.

The markings on the chin and nose, on the “wrists” (knees) of the front legs, and on the sickle-shaped wings (long, rather careless incisions continuing right through mid-wing and flight feathers, without any distinction between the two sections) are all typical of the Busiris Painter. The breast part and mid-wing were distinguished only by color (red and white, but the white is rather worn) and by a stripe reserved in the black underpaint between them, just as on the wings of nos. 11 and 31–33 (*CH*, pls. 56, 111b, 113, 117).

Triton (figs. 4b–c, 13d) is a proper Old Man of the Sea, with long white beard and hair, heavy wrinkles in his forehead, and powerful limbs. His age seems reflected in the rippling outline of his belly. The long wavy incisions in his hair are nearly invisible because the white is thickish (as if coagulated). His eyebrow is lightly incised. A minute incised circle in his earlobe indicates a perforation for an ornament, as is not uncommon on the hydriai (see below, and note 48). His fishtail, partly lost, was double curved like that of Hippocamp, but its end is stretched in a straighter line as it passes under the corona of tongues of the horizontal handle (fig. 4c). This tail has the same sickle-shaped end fin (but with a larger round opening in the middle) and double-scalloped white central stripe as Hippocamp’s (the white rather less well preserved than on Hippocamp). This central stripe starts at the incision that marks the border between the human and the piscine parts of Triton’s body, for Triton’s human part is separated from the fishtail by an incision running from his back to his belly and then curving toward his tail. A break runs upward from the belly, cutting through this curving incision. Thus it seems as if Triton is wearing a kind of saddle, but this is misleading: the vertical line is a break that has also carried off the hind part of the back fin, of which the front part is still present (the upper edge of what now seems a “saddle”). The foremost fin on Triton’s belly, preserved on Hippocamp, is lost, but its root, just under the human belly, is still present.

Triton is aiming his spear or javelin at the hind part of Hippocamp, stretching forward his left arm and hand like an ephebe training in the gymnasium. Both hands (fig. 13d), though lightly damaged, are well drawn and very different from hands made by the Eagle Painter (cf. here figs. 18n and t). Note the shape of the strong muscles in his arms, the bicepses, and the angular elbows.

The artist has tried to convey the impression of a hot pursuit, both by facial expression (numerous wrinkles) and by the powerful movement of arms, legs, and tails.

COMMENT ON THE FIGURE SCENES

Catching or killing an enemy or victim is one of the main subjects on the hydriai, whether it is a hare caught by an eagle (fig. 1), Cerberus caught by Herakles (*CH*, nos. 4 and 11), Hermes caught out by



FIGURE 13c. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Reverse: Hippocamp. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 13d. “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4a. Reverse: Triton. Photo: Author.

Apollo (*CH*, no. 3, here fig. 17), or even Europa swindled by the divine bull (*CH*, nos. 13 and 10, here fig. 27); and there are numerous other examples. To this class also belong the hunting scenes and, among them, those of animals that fight back, such as lions, panthers, boars, and wolves. The most complicated example of this is, no doubt, the fierce fight on the obverse of the “New York Mule” hydria, while the curious scene on its reverse seems related to the ordinary hunting scenes, in which fleeing creatures are chased. Both are exceptional, but they seem interconnected in some vague way, as instances of hunting and killing on what might be called a human and a super- (or infra-) human level.

The Obverse Scene

[Fig. 10a]

This is a striking picture that seems highly original to us, and so it may have been at the time of its making, at least with respect to the pulling of the lion’s tail (see below), but it certainly is not unique in Greek pottery: There is a remarkably close parallel on a Proto-corinthian aryballos from Nola in London²⁹ (fig. 14) with an even more elaborate rendering of a similar event: two lions are attacking a mule, and three men attack the lions from either side, with arrows, a thrusting spear, and a javelin, while, just as on our hydria, a

wavy (“corkscrew”) javelin (but now with an *ankyle*) is depicted in the air on the point of penetrating the neck of one of the lions (in addition, there are an arrow and a bird in the air). This scene is more than a century older than our hydria, but it seems unlikely that the similarity is a coincidence; it may be due to common sources, epic similes, and, probably, Oriental influence. However, let us first see how our scene fits into the repertory of the hydriai.

Purely ornamental animal fights were until recently unknown on the hydriai,³⁰ but peasants hunting wild animals or defending cattle against beasts of prey are themes of which both painters were very fond (*CH*, pp. 118, 180–81). There are eleven examples of such scenes and two mythological ones (the hunting of the Kalydonian Boar³¹; see *CH*, pp. 142–45). Most of these are by the Eagle Painter. From the hand of the Busiris Painter we have three stag hunts, one on horseback with a javelin (no. 33, *CH*, pl. 116a), one with two (nude) peasants hunting three stags with arrows (no. 2, *CH*, pl. 26), and one too fragmentary to tell the circumstances, but probably also on horseback (no. 35, *CH*, p. 55, pl. 126a–c); finally there is a fierce boar hunt with two dogs clinging fanatically to the wild brute (no. 34, see here fig. 12).

Clearly, the scene on the “New York Mule” hydria

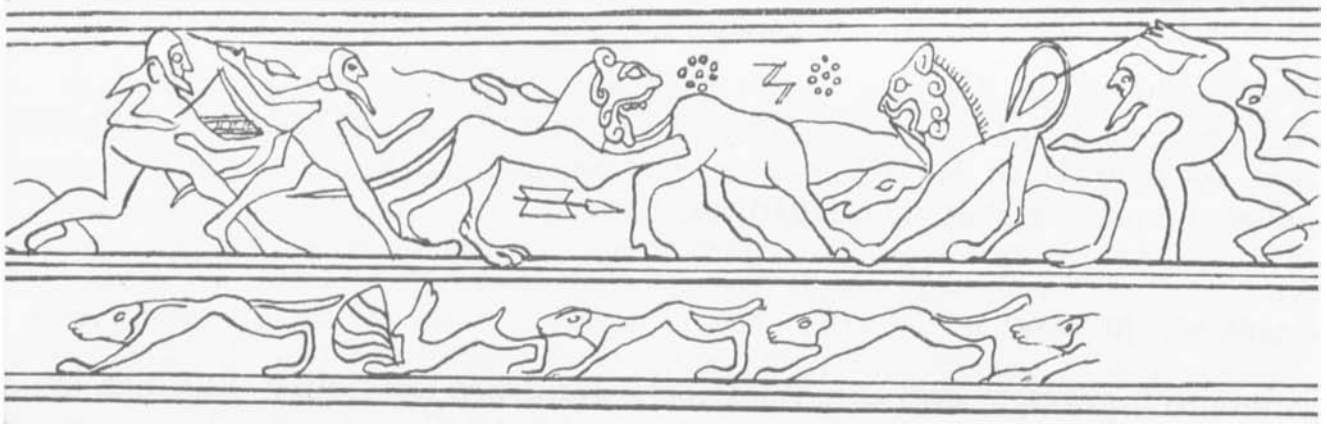


FIGURE 14. Protocorinthian aryballos from Nola. Drawing of scene. London, The British Museum 1856.123–26.199. From K. Friis Johansen, *Les Vases sicyniens* (Copenhagen, 1923), pl. 29.2b.



FIGURE 15. “Louvre She-wolf” Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 22). Obverse: figure panel. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 698. Photo: Author.

adds substantially to our knowledge of the repertory of the Busiris Painter. In that of the Eagle Painter, however, there are good parallels for it: a scene with an old and a young peasant (“father and son”), another with two different beasts of prey, and one with a mule as the victim. So far, our hydria is the only one with a combination of all three elements. Let us start with the one with the mule.

This famous scene (fig. 11) was on the reverse of

the beautiful hydria by the Eagle Painter once in Berlin (CH, no. 8, p. 145): a youthful peasant or shepherd (white skin) comes to the rescue of his mule, which is being attacked by a lion. Most probably, the painter conflated a more extensive scene in order to fit it into the limited space on the reverse of the hydria, for the participants in the “New York Mule” scene (fig. 10a) have been reduced to half their number by the omission of the “father” and the panther. Even so, the scene

on the Berlin hydria looks cramped. That the victim is a mule, as on our hydria, is rather exceptional (*CH*, p. 180 with nn. 785–86, see below).

On another vase by the Eagle Painter a father and “son” attack a ferocious mammal defending her two cubs in the forest (fig. 15). The right-hand part of that scene is very similar to ours and illustrates both the differences in style of the two painters and their close artistic similarity. This vase, no. 22, I have called the “Louvre She-wolf,” a clumsy name, which I would like to abandon, but the tail of the mighty mammal surely shows that she is not meant as a lioness; it is that of a dog, and its “cubs” are diminutive “Caeretan” dogs with the thickset proportions of puppies. Some archaeologists have called these baby animals the hunting dogs of the two expert, grim hunters, a misunderstanding that would surely have irritated, if not shocked, the Eagle Painter.³² That the dogs of the mother mammal are of canine type is of no account for the identification of the species, for so are those of our lioness in figure 10a. Perhaps the Louvre animal might be called a bear (see *CH*, p. 144 with nn. 316, 818). However, I believe we should not ask what animal is meant, for the Eagle Painter was often careless in the way he depicted beasts of prey, as we shall see below.

The scene of the “Louvre She-wolf” is striking but seems vaguely familiar because of similar scenes in similes in Homer. The cubs occur in *Iliad* 5.554f.: “On the mountains the pair of them was reared by, and under, their mother in the thickets of the deep forest”; how they are defended by their parent is related in *Iliad* 17.133ff., “He stood at bay like a lion who is suddenly confronted by huntsmen as he leads his cubs through the forest, and plants himself over the helpless creatures, breathing defiance, drawing the skin of his forehead downwards over his eyes”³³—but Homer never speaks of wolves or bears.³⁴

On no. 18 (fig. 16, “New York Bull,” *CH*, pls. 75–76) two fierce predators of different species are tearing away at a bull that has gone down on its back; the one on the left is a (young?) male, the other a spotted female (the spots have faded, as so often, but can be discerned in special lighting); clearly she is meant as a panther or leopard, but the tails of both are tufted like those of lions. Either the painter was not acquainted with the animals he wanted to paint, or he did not care and simply made them up to suit his imagination (the latter seems more likely).



FIGURE 16. “New York Bull” Caeretan hydria (*CH*, no. 18). Obverse. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1964, 64.11.1.

There is a Homeric simile (*Il.* 11.474ff.) in which jackals are devouring a stag when suddenly a hungry lion enters the scene; in view of this simile, one would perhaps like to call the animals of figure 16 a jackal and a leopard (or panther), but the left one may, I think, better be recognized as a young lion (see *CH*, p. 145). At any rate, once more the painter did not bother to identify the felines he depicted. In this respect the Busiris Painter was more explicit in his picture on the “New York Mule” hydria. Anyway, scenes with a lion and a leopard/panther together devouring a prey are not that unusual.³⁵

On the “New York Bull” hydria the story continues on its reverse (which is rather rare, but cf. figs. 19a and c): Two very young riders are galloping heraldically, to left and right, away from the handle palmette, toward the main scene, throwing their javelins (*CH*, pl. 76). Again we are reminded of a Homeric simile, “A pair of savage lions has seized a bellowing bull, who roared aloud as they dragged him off. Young



FIGURE 17. “Louvre Hermes” Caeretan hydria (*CH*, no. 3). Obverse. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 702. Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv.

men and dogs ran up to the rescue. But the lions had rent the great bull’s hide and were lapping up his dark blood and entrails” (*Il.* 18.579ff.), and, “Two lions . . . that prey on the cattle . . . plundering the farmers’ yard until they themselves are killed by the merciless bronze from the hands of man” (*Il.* 5.554ff. See also *CH*, p. 143).

These three hydriai by the Eagle Painter show that the scene on the obverse of the “New York Mule” hydria, painted by the Busiris Painter, fits perfectly into the repertory of the whole series as it is now known. In fact, we may, I believe, hope for further examples of such wildlife scenes in future finds.

The furious way in which the panther and the lioness have pounced upon the poor mule seems unusually drastic,³⁶ but this fierceness is not foreign to the mentality of the two painters: The same wild recklessness is shown by the dogs attacking the great boar in the belly frieze of the Busiris hydria, figure 12.³⁷ Here a white dog, like our panther attacking from the front, has avoided the formidable tusks by landing on the boar’s neck; and a red dog has made its assault from behind and is now clinging upside down to its belly, between its hind legs, in a way that is even

fiercer and more acrobatic than the attack of the panther on our hydria.

Hunting scenes are extremely common in Greek pottery, but peasants fighting beasts of prey to defend their cattle are less frequent (see *CH*, p. 180). This is, of course, due to the fact that painters had no firsthand knowledge of such scenes, as great beasts of prey were no longer found in the Greek world, and colossal boars must have been rare; besides, the great mythological battles between heroes and beasts may have satisfied the occasional need for glamorous pictures of this kind.

Though common in Homeric similes, scenes with beasts of prey attacking other animals and men coming to their rescue are rare in Greek art; the few examples that I know are from different schools (see *CH*, nn. 784, 786).³⁸ Examples of a mule being assaulted by a lion are mostly from the eastern part of the Greek world.³⁹ Besides, lions attacking horses are found in Scythian art.⁴⁰ In this, as in many other respects, the hydriai show their, admittedly rather vague, Eastern connections.⁴¹ I believe that our painters may have known “Phoenician” bowls, which were probably more common than we now think (e.g., as votive gifts in sanctuaries).⁴² But there are, of course, a number of related scenes from Greek art.⁴³

Nevertheless, the popularity of these themes with our painters is remarkable; the scenes may well have had a source other than the occasional depiction of this kind in other schools of pottery or in Syro-Phoenician art—but what may have prompted our painters to produce so many of these complicated scenes when they are so scarce in other Greek pottery? As I have suggested above, it may have been the painters’ familiarity with the epic style and its use of similes (as quoted above; see further *CH*, p. 143). The assumption that they must have been familiar with epic poetry is sometimes rejected by scholars. Yet, we have clear evidence for this: the *Odios* scene on no. 30 (“Louvre *Odios*,” see above, note 12, and *CH*, pp. 82–83, pls. 106–8).

This vase contains a surprisingly precise reference to Book 9 of the *Iliad* (the Embassy to Achilles). By adding the names of the participants in this embassy, including the unique name *Odios*, the painters make it clear that they wished to call to mind that particular “book” of the *Iliad*. The Eagle Painter (who probably did the writing; see note 12) shows how good his handwriting is, thus attesting to a thorough school education, which, anywhere in Greece, but at this time especially in East Greece (from where he must originally have come), means a training with Homer as

school text.⁴⁴ Familiarity with the epic tradition must also have inspired the very detailed rendering of the adventures of baby Hermes in figure 17 (see *CH*, p. 119, nn. 135 and 181). In short, I believe that the two “Caeretan” painters were directly inspired by the epic style and its use of graphic similes, following, not existing epic “texts,” but the mental images that had stuck in their minds while listening. In this respect they may be compared to the great narrators of myths, such as Exekias and Euphronios.

The Reverse Scene

[Fig. 4b]

The scene on the reverse is—to my knowledge—unique and rather surprising. It may be felt to be a pendant of the “heroic” hunting scene on the obverse, since it is a supernatural hunting scene with monsters that were familiar from sagas and pictures.

Triton and the Hippocamp are particularly common in Etruria, often in a funerary context,⁴⁵ but they may well derive at least partly from Eastern sources. A Triton on a well-known Scythian gold ornament—the fish from Vetersfelde in Berlin—is a fine example.⁴⁶

However, it is in itself hardly surprising that we do not immediately understand what the painter meant to convey with the picture. The painters stemmed from cultural surroundings that were very different from those reflected in Attic (and other mainland) pottery and, consequently, a number of scenes on the Caeretan hydriai (among them some possibly mythological scenes) are quite obscure to us. Thus, there was the remarkable departure scene on the vase once in Berlin (*CH*, no. 8, pls. 46–47), with a splendid chariot, the hoof of one of the horses entangled in one of the leather straps; a heavy necklace (which looks like an amber chain) around the neck of the very elegant lady who sends the young man on his journey strongly suggests that she has been bribed by the necklace: She may depict Eriphyle seeing off Polyneikes after she has promised to send her husband to Thebes; or Arsinoë saying farewell to Alkmaion after he had given her the necklace of Harmonia. Both heroes are going to die, which seems suggested by the horse’s entanglement in the strap (*CH*, pp. 118–19). Further, there is the puzzling no. 32, a beautifully dressed lady between her sons(?), two young men holding their horses (*CH*, pls. 112–14), which seems a little too delicate to be a simple “scene of daily life” (I call them Leda and the Dioskouroi: *CH*, pp. 118–19).

Then, of course, there is the vase that has become

the most famous of all Caeretan hydriai, the one with the fantastic sea monster attacked by a sturdy hero, now in the Niarchos collection, the only Caeretan hydria ever exhibited in Greece itself (see above, note 4; now called “Phokè” = seal, *CH*, no. 29, pls. 103–4⁴⁷); the appearance of the hero is definitely different from the Herakles pictures by both painters: he has neither curls in his hair, nor a mustache; but it is especially the perforation in his earlobe (a kind of earring,⁴⁸ like the one of our Triton) that is inconceivable for the Herakles of the two painters. Since the young lady in distress, Andromeda or Hesione, has been replaced by a wonderful “baby” seal jumping out of the water as if highly excited at the prospect of being rescued (a unique picture in all Greek pottery of the time), it seems very likely that we have a Phokaian myth here, a local saga of the city nymph of Phokaia, “Seal Town,” a parallel to those of Perseus and Andromeda or Herakles and Hesione (*CH*, pp. 119, 121, 142, 174, 179). After all, we ought to realize that we know very little of the countless local myths that must have been told to children and adults in Greek centers but that did not produce a flow of literature and art to come down to us, as was the case with Athens. However, let us return to the Hunting of the Hippocamp.

So far no parallels for this seemingly deadly pursuit are known to me. For vague reasons the subject seems occasioned more by the Etruscan surroundings of the workshop than anything else. (Etruscan influence on the hydriai must have been very slight indeed, but there are vague signs, such as the one under discussion.) There is a tendency over time in the work of both painters to produce scenes that become less and less intelligible to us (*CH*, p. 119). Some of these themes look Etruscan. For example, there are many parallels on Etruscan vases for the puzzling swordsmen of my nos. 25 and 31 (*CH*, pls. 94, 111, and p. 120),⁴⁹ but they are hard to understand from a Greek point of view. The single swordsman of figure 5 vaguely, but to my mind wrongly, reminds one of Achilles in ambush against the chariot on the obverse, which is racing to left with a person who could conceivably be explained as Troilos (*CH*, p. 119⁵⁰), in which case the Siren on the other side of the handle palmette would be a demon of death. The two other swordsmen (*CH*, pl. 94) seem to be engaged in a sword dance, which may be felt to be funerary as well.

The reverse scene on the “New York Mule” hydria may therefore remind us of the possibility that some of the hydriai may have been made for funerary purposes;

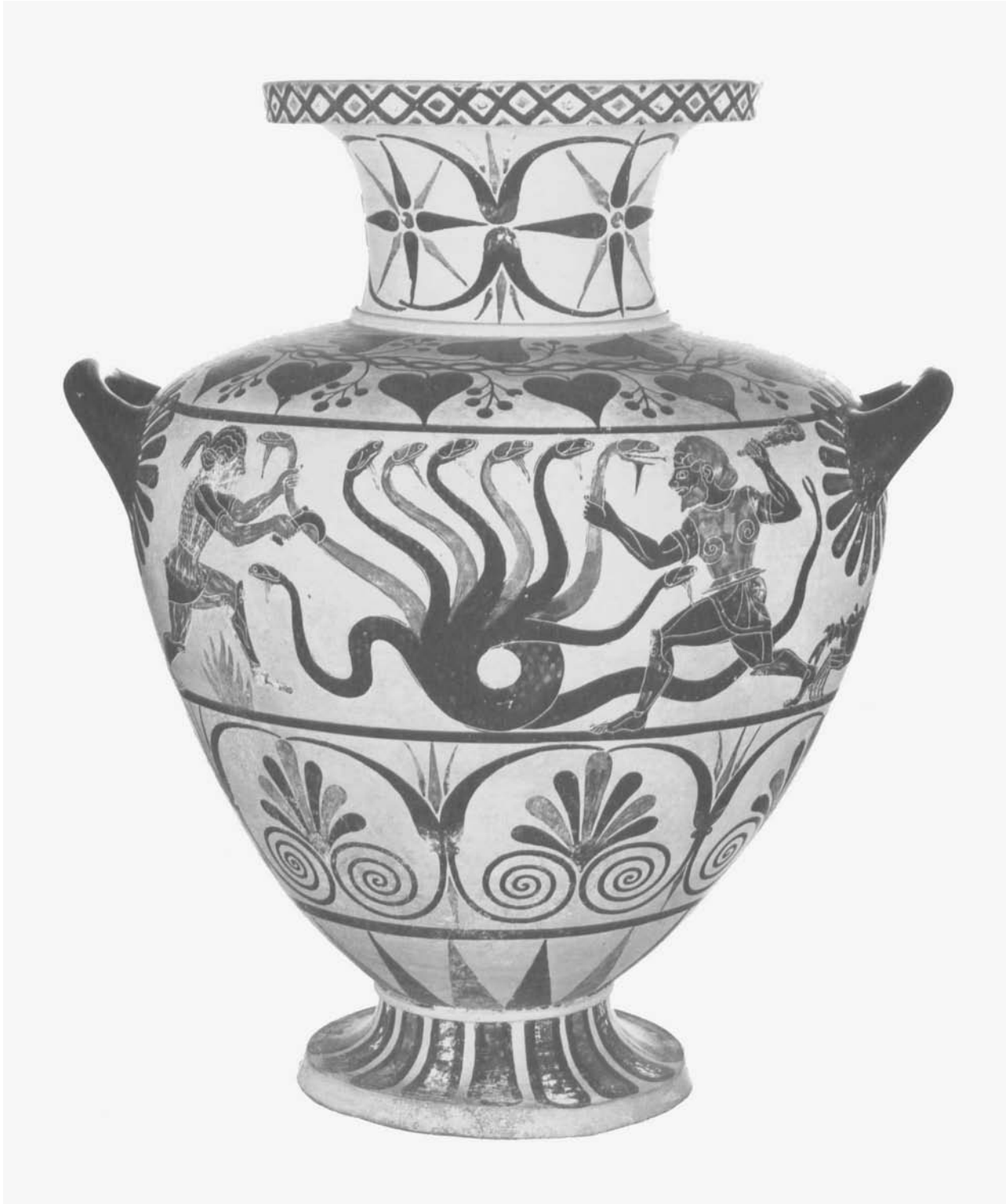


FIGURE 18a. “Malibu Hydra” Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 23). Obverse. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.346.



FIGURE 18b. "Malibu Hydra" hydria, figure 18a. Side. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photographed straight on at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ \times height of vase to show perfect profile.

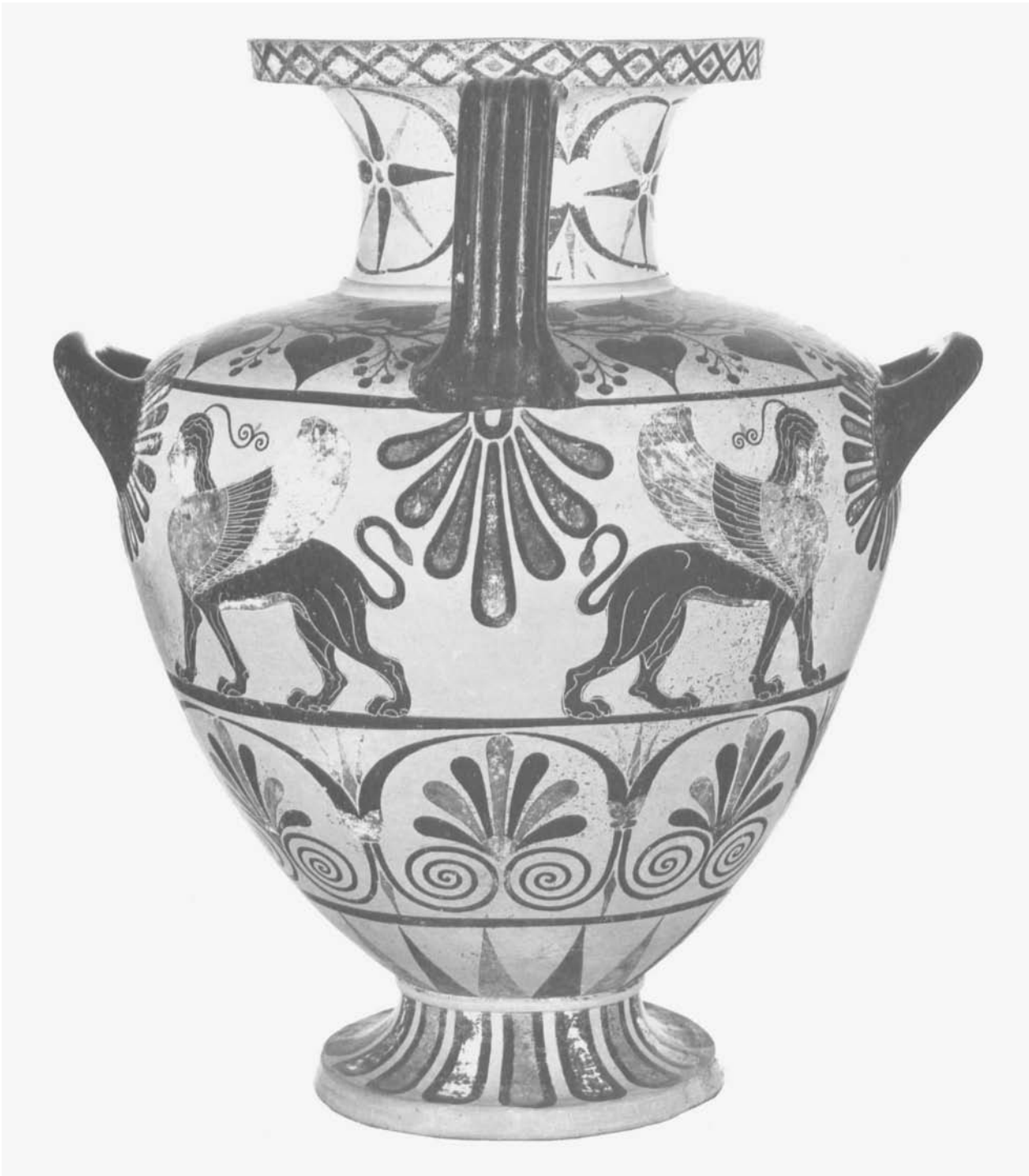


FIGURE 18c. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Reverse.

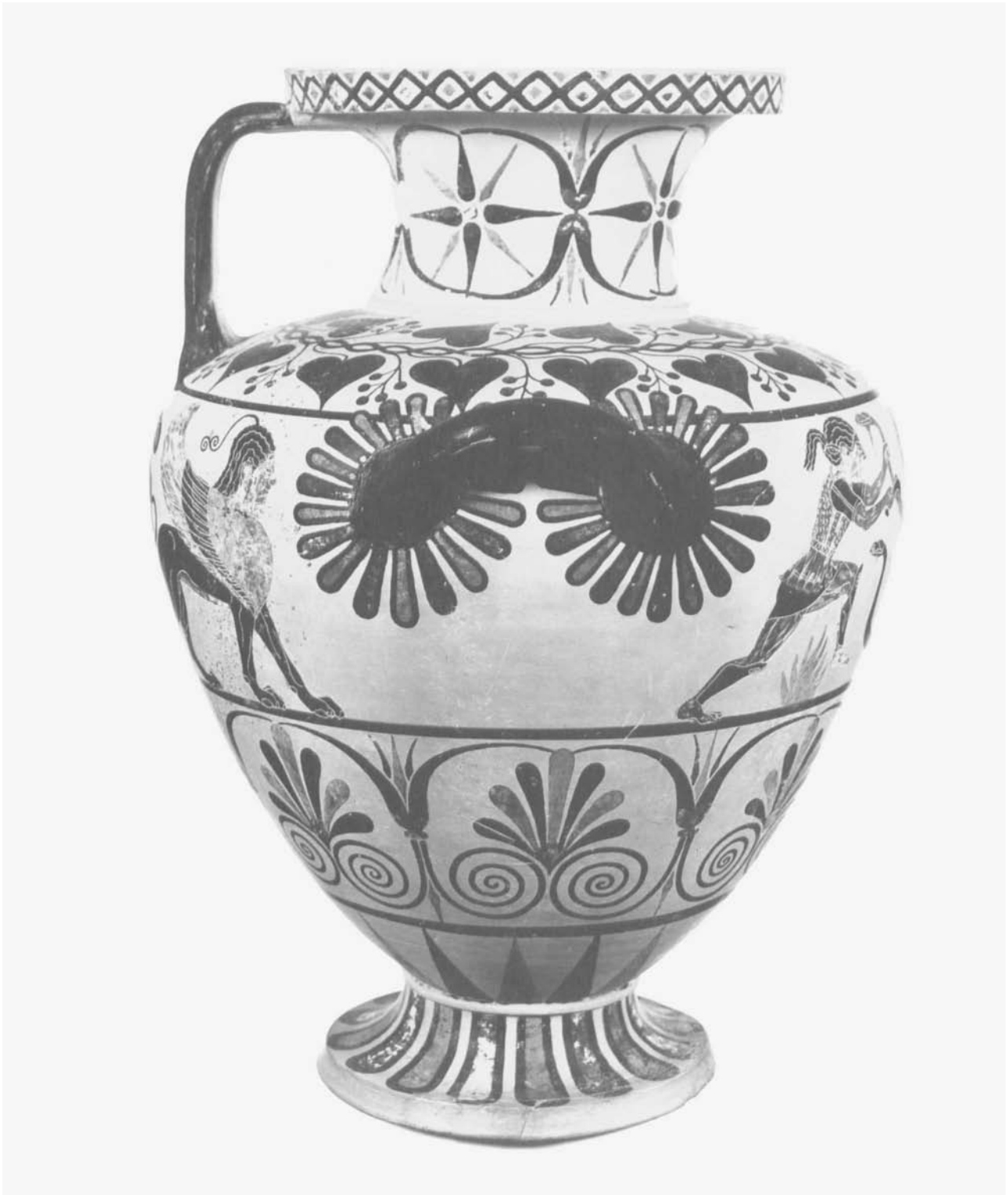


FIGURE 18d. "Malibu Hydra" hydria, figure 18a. Side.

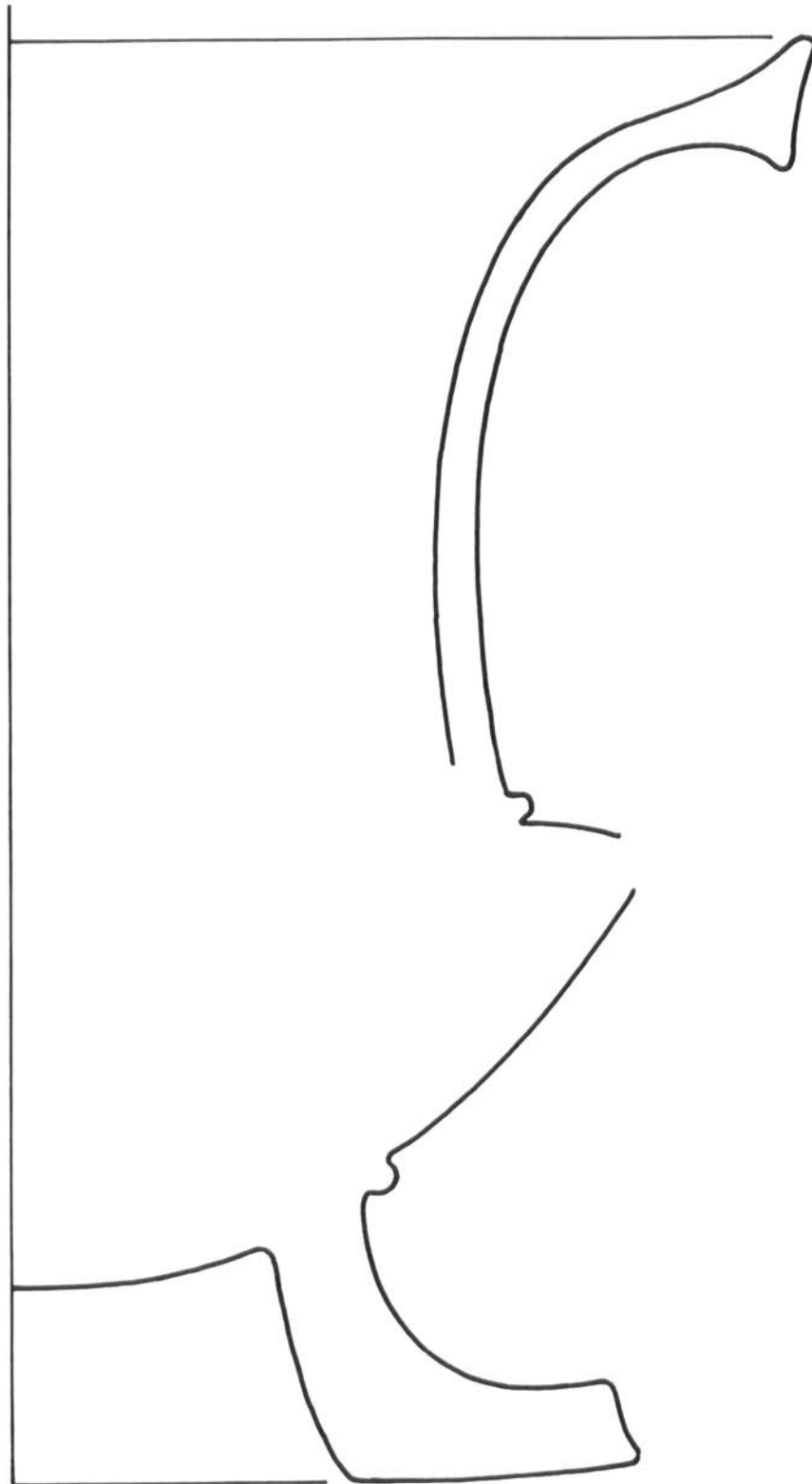


FIGURE 18e. "Malibu Hydra" hydria, figure 18a. Profile of neck and foot. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

both the two monsters in themselves, which are so well known from the Etruscan tombs, and the scene of killing might be understood as such. I repeat what I have said in *CH*, p. 120:

We do not know for what purpose the hydriai were produced; they may not, after all, have been made for ordinary daily use. At any rate, an explanation should be sought for the fact that only hydriai (and no other pots^[51]) were decorated with figure scenes and elaborate ornaments (contrast the amphorae of [*CH*] pl. 20). Therefore it should be considered if they may not have been made especially for funerary rites practised at Caere. . . .

Some of the scenes are perhaps more significant in a funerary context than as mere ornaments: this is not only true of the contest of swordsmen, but also of sphinxes, sirens, and perhaps also winged bulls, winged horses and eagles catching hares. [see *CH*, n. 198.] Though I am not inclined to believe this, . . . I confess that I cannot disprove it.⁵²

At present I feel inclined to say that, in producing the hydriai, the painters may from time to time have taken certain funerary preferences of the Etruscans into account to improve the sale of their vases. For it is clear that they worked for a varied public. Some of their vases seem to have been made for other Greek immigrants, who were sure to understand learned references to myths better than (most) Etruscans, while other hydriai (mostly later ones?) may have been meant for the Etruscan public (see *CH*, p. 193).⁵³

2. "MALIBU HYDRA"

[Figs. 18a-d]

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.346. The vase belongs to the Lotus-ivy Series (*CH*, p. 4, table A, no. 23). Published with a full description of all details and many photographs: J. M. Hemelrijk and St. Lubsen, *BABesch* 52-53 (1977-1978): 5ff.; *CH*, no. 23, p. 41. See further *Fine Antiquities*, Christie's, London, July 2, 1982, no. 252, with color plate of obverse, small print of reverse; D. C. Kurtz, *CR* 35 (1985): 340; J. J. Maffre, "Le Combat d'Héraclès contre l'hydre de Lerne," *RLouvre* (April 1985): 83-95, fig. 5; *LIMC* 5 (Zürich, 1990), p. 37, s.v. "Herakles," no. 2016*.

This vase has been known for more than sixty years. In 1935 Professor Ludwig Pollak (Rome) sent it to Vienna,⁵⁴ where it was acquired by Count Antoine Seilern. Later it was brought to London, where it was the only classical antiquity in Seilern's great art collection. After his death countess Henrietta Seilern loaned it to the British Museum, but in 1982 it was auctioned at Christie's. It appears that after this sale the "mist" of dark stipples was cleaned from the left half of the reverse, but not from the right half (fig.

18c). Apparently the cleaning was stopped because the white color of the left sphinx's skin, belly, and wing suffered (cf. fig. 18v with *CH*, pl. 91c, and fig. 18w with *CH*, pl. 91b, d).

Its scenes are by the Eagle Painter. Its ornaments are somewhat problematic; in *CH*, pp. 41, 97, and 99, I attributed them with some hesitation to the B Painter (with which, in *CH*, I indicate that the hand is probably that of the Busiris Painter as a painter of the ornaments). I now believe that this was wrong: The entire vase was painted by the Eagle Painter, in spite of the (slight) differences in the ornaments from those vases that are certainly wholly from his hand (*CH*, nos. 19-20; most ornaments of the Alkyoneus hydria, no. 21, are by the Eagle Painter, but the neck is surely from the hand of the Busiris Painter, and so are the figure scenes, *CH*, p. 37). See below and note 109.

Preservation

Very well preserved (apart from the edge of the foot), unbroken, no repaintings. Surface good, but a kind of mist of dark spots, once found all over the reverse, still covers its right half: the vase must have been lying on this side in the tomb. No faulty firing (oxidization). Red and white on obverse mostly lost, better preserved on reverse. Some red on very thin underpaint.

Good pottery work but foot warped and rim of mouth uneven (especially above the vertical handle). Small dents in ivy frieze above Herakles' head and in frieze line behind Iolaos's head.

Measurements

[See *CH*, pp. 5-6, table B, for comparison with the measurements of the other hydriai]

Ht. 44.3-44.5 cm; ht. of neck 10.7 cm; diam. of mouth 22.7 cm; rim th. 1.9 cm; ht. of foot 4.2-4.5 cm; diam. of foot 17.8 cm; diam. without handles 33.8 cm, with handles 39.9 cm.

Ht. of friezes exclusive of frieze lines (measured along curve of surface): shoulder 8.8-9.1 cm; figure frieze 12.5 cm; lower belly zone 10 cm; rays at base 6.3 cm. See further note 55.

Shape

[Fig. 18b]

The vase is among the tallest of the Caeretan hydriai (sizes vary from slightly under 40 cm to 44.8 cm). Its shape differs strongly from that of the "New York Mule" hydria. Comparing the two vases (figs. 4c and 18b) brings out the characteristics of the "Hydra" hydria. The body is comparatively slender, rising steeply from the foot, the curve from the body to the shoulder is more angular, the shoulder is rather flat, the neck is broad and spreading widely, the mouth is very wide (only to be compared with "Rome Vineyard," *CH*, no. 9, pls. 6a-b, 48c), and the rim is thick and vertical. The foot (slightly warped) is relatively high, its upper part rising steeply toward the foot ring (cf. figs. 4d and 18c); it is not very wide, but thick walled (cf. the section drawings of figs. 4d and 19f) and was meant to rest on its inner edge ("on heel"). Clearly the vase belongs to another shape group than the "New York Mule" hydria; however, though I have proposed tentative theories (*CH*, pp. 74-76), the problem of the different shape classes of the hydriai still seems unsolved to me.

The vertical handle is attached under the rim ("method c," *CH*, p. 74, pl. 155h, also found on nos. 5, 9, 10, 11, and 22). It is



FIGURE 18f. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Mouth and shoulder.

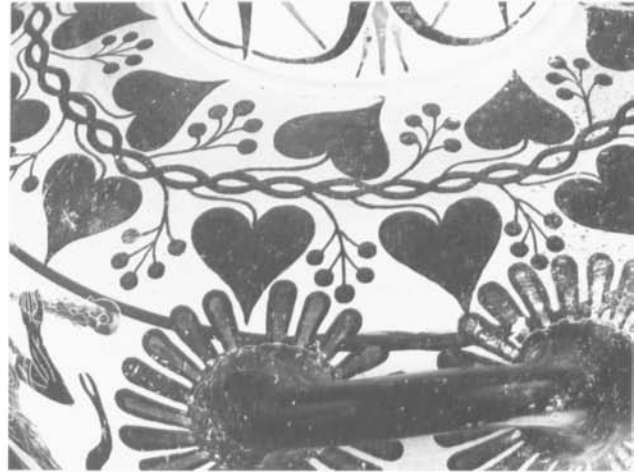


FIGURE 18g. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Ivy wreath on shoulder.



FIGURE 18h. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Neck ornament at handle.



FIGURE 18i. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Ivy wreath on shoulder. Photo: Author.

“reeded” (or “ribbed”), as usual, and composed in the typically Caeretan way of two thin, oblong straps of clay laid on top of each other. The outer layer is formed by four ribs, which merge at the lower end (fig. 18c); the smooth inner layer supports the reeded strap. The supporting strap facilitated handling and bending the handle while it was still wet, and together the two strips strengthen the wall of the neck under the mouth, where it is rather thin for the weight of a full hydria (see section drawing fig. 18e, and figs. 18c–d; *CH*, p. 64). The groove where the two layers join is visible along the edges (such handles occur on Wild Goat vases, in Corinthian and “Tyrrhenian,” on Pontic oinochoai, etc., see *CH*, p. 166).

The horizontal handles are not attached in exactly the right spots but are placed somewhat to the rear of the vase.

Ornaments

[Figs. 18f–j.⁵⁵ See *CH*, pp. 88ff.]

Like the “New York Mule” hydria, this vase belongs to the Lotus-ivy Series. Comparison between the two vases will bring out the characteristics of the “Hydra” hydria. Here the frieze lines are thin (figs. 18a–d), as they usually are (see *CH*, pls. 1–13).

Tongues

[See *CH*, p. 111, table H]

The tongues in the mouth and on the foot are much fatter and more widely spaced and therefore less numerous than on the “New York Mule” (twenty-two versus twenty-eight on the mouth, and sixteen versus twenty-two on the foot; cf. figs. 18f and 4e, 18a and 4a). The tongues around the horizontal handles are much shorter and fewer than on the “Mule” (figs. 18b, d and 4c). In three places the tongues make room for a berry or the tip of an ivy leaf (fig. 18g), but another tongue is painted right over a berry. Incidentally, such observations prove that the handle tongues were painted after the shoulder ivy and probably (together with the other tongues) after most other ornaments, but certainly before the figure scenes and the palmette of the vertical handle (for this sequence, see *CH*, pp. 69–70).

Neck Ornament

[See *CH*, p. 100, table F; for corrections to table F, see below, note 75]

The ornament around the neck is the same chain of double lotuses with rosette-stars discussed for the “New York Mule,” but here we have no less than five double lotuses and four stars, instead of the usual three flowers and $3\frac{3}{4}$ rosette-stars (see figs. 18b–c, h; cf. fig. 4g); two lotuses overlap at, or under, the vertical handle. This arrangement is unique (see *CH*, p. 100, table F). The colors are the same, but the inner leaves of the flowers are not only distinguished by color from the black outer leaves but also separated by delicate reservation.

Ivy Frieze

[See *CH*, p. 92, table D]

The shoulder frieze is much narrower (ca. 9 cm as against 10.5 cm on the “New York Mule” hydria). Its ivy branch is also very different, though near in elegance (figs. 18g, i, and 4e). It contains many more leaves, which are therefore closely set; the bunches of berries are narrower and hand shaped, with five berries only, not arranged in rosettes. Their twigs are straight compared to the double-



FIGURE 18j. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Lotus-palmette of belly zone. Photo: Author.

curving berry twigs on the “New York Mule” hydria; the leaves are smaller, less “inflated,” and more pointed. The interlaced central branch is slightly less refined. In short, stylistically the two branches differ noticeably, which leads one to believe that they are by different hands—as is to be expected since the figure scenes, too, are by different hands, the Eagle and the Busiris Painters. (The same holds for nos. 22 and 24—the latter now provided with a beautiful ivy wreath—but not for the “Pholos” hydria, no. 25, whose ivy looks sufficiently different to me to be attributed to the Busiris Painter; see below, note 109, contra *CH*, p. 93f.)

The drawing of this ivy branch started at the vertical handle from left to right: At the end there appeared to be no room left for the berries on the in- and outside (fig. 18i; note that two leaves are painted on the inside of the handle, which is rare).

Lotus-Palmette Frieze

[See *CH*, pp. 94–95, table E, and p. 99]

The lotus-palmette in the lower belly zone (fig. 18j) is also different from that on the “New York Mule” hydria (but the colors are the same). The zone is 10 cm high, much higher than on “New York Mule” (8–8.3 cm, figs. 4a and h). Since the number of elements—lotuses and palmettes—is the same (seven of each), and since the circumference of the vase is relatively less than that of the very bulging “New York Mule” hydria, the flowers and palmettes on the “Hydra” hydria had to be taller and more slender. Still, this does not fully explain the remarkable differences. The lotuses rise up more freely and easily, and the outer leaves are less strenuously spreading than those on the “New York Mule,” which seem to stretch far outward to reach their neighbors (a feature that is typical of the lotus flowers of nos. 25–34 of my Lotus-ivy Series, but not of nos. 20–23; see *CH*, pls. 137–39).

In contrast to the ornament on the “New York Mule,” the inner petals on the “Hydra” are separated from each other and from the outer leaves by reservation. The ends of the spirals, under the flowers, are separated from each other and even from some of the toruses (though not under all flowers); the spikes under the flowers are further marked off from the spirals by reservation (but this is not



FIGURE 18k. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Obverse: figure scene.

rare, see *CH*, pls. 136c, 137c, 138a–b). In short, the “Hydra” ornament is among the most refined of the whole series (see *CH*, p. 94, table E, column 2), only to be compared to the ornaments of the most refined vases, no. 7, “Louvre Centaurs,” and no. 8, the beautiful hydria once in Berlin (*CH*, p. 19, fig. 8).

The palmettes spring from solid hearts (not from loops), snugly fitting into the axles of the volutes without touching them—as is also the case on nos. 7, 8, 20, 22 (see *CH*, table E, pp. 94–95, pls. 136–37). These hearts were painted white over solid black. The ornament is pinned to the upper and lower border lines by the central petals and the spikes of the lotuses, but most of the sets of white petals flanking the central red one do not touch the upper border.

There are slight traces of some preliminary sketching in one or two flowers.

Again, it is natural to assume that all these differences are due to a different painter, that is to say, to the Eagle Painter as opposed to the artist of the “New York Mule” hydria, the Busiris Painter.

Handle Palmette

[Fig. 18c. See *CH*, pp. 110–12, table G on p. 108]

The handle palmette is in most respects like that of the “New York Mule” hydria (fig. 4b)—seven leaves, suspended from a loop—but it is more oblong and narrow, its upper leaves more drooping, as if its shape were adapted to the restricted room between the sphinxes. This seems to be rare: Often the handle palmette was not planned to fit into the scene of the obverse, between the figures flanking it (see *CH*, pp. 110, 112), but there are notable exceptions, and this may be one such case. The painter has carelessly touched one of the leaves of the palmette with the tail of the right-hand sphinx.

The petals are separated from the loop by reservation, which is a sign of distinction. The same is also found on the fine vases nos. 7 and 8 (“Louvre Centaurs” and “Berlin Chariot”), and on the curious Polyphemos hydria in Rome (no. 20) to which we will turn below.⁵⁶



FIGURE 18l. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Heads of Hydra. Detail of figure 18k.



FIGURE 18m. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Herakles and Hydra. Detail of figure 18k.



FIGURE 18n. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Herakles and one head of Hydra. Detail of figure 18k. Photo: Author.

Rays and Rim

The rays at the base of the vase roughly correspond to those on the “New York Mule” hydria: sixteen, red and black, versus eighteen.

The rim of the mouth is decorated with a rather complicated motif, a chain of diamonds (or two horizontal intersecting zigzags) flanked on either side by small triangular red dots and enclosing alternately white and red diamonds (figs. 18a–d).³⁷

Figure Scenes

For a full description, see J. M. Hemelrijk and St. Lubsen, *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978): 5ff. Comparing the figure style of this vase to that of the “New York Mule” hydria will bring out the differences between the two painters, but see *CH*, pp. 76–88 (these differences will not be discussed here).

A. Obverse

Herakles and Iolaos fighting the Hydra (figs. 18k–u). Symmetrical composition, Herakles fighting from the right. *LIMC* 5 (Zurich, 1990), p. 37, s.v. “Herakles,” no. 2016*.

Preservation

Well-preserved and unbroken, but colors partly lost.

Colors, Contour Incisions, and Preliminary Sketching

Most added colors lost.

Iolaos (figs. 18k, q–u): corslet and skin white (pupil black); fire red (on very thin dilute black).

Hydra (figs. 18k–n): five necks, body, and tail black with red



FIGURE 18o. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Foot of Herakles. Detail of figure 18k.

dots; four necks were once red on dilute black, once provided with white dots.⁵⁸ Red heads had black beards, black heads red (or white?) ones. The teeth of head no. 8, counting from left (fig. 18n), are now incised only, but may have been white.

Herakles (figs. 18m–o): chiton and perhaps the greaves white (though one would expect them to be red⁵⁹); hair and beard, bronze corslet red. The club was also painted; its present color is different from Herakles’ hair, suggesting that it may have been white—which would be surprising.⁶⁰

All contours incised except for the fire and the Hydra’s tail. Much preliminary sketching, deviating strongly from the final drawing.

Description

Huge nine-headed Hydra with curled-up body and tail ending—in the far right corner of the scene—in a kind of pincers (figs. 18a, k–m). Six of the necks are stretched high up, heads facing Herakles, one is lowered and points at his stomach under his left arm (fig. 18m), one tries to bite him as he grasps its neck with his left hand (fig. 18n). On the left side, the first snake head approaches Iolaos from below, while Iolaos grasps the second neck and is about to cut it off with his sickle.

The Hydra heads are snub-nosed with a long beard, the eye placed far forward, 8-shaped incision around “ear” and eye, and a long incision indicating the mouth. All are surprisingly calm, their mouths closed, no tongues showing, except the head Herakles throttles (fig. 18n).

Herakles, rushing into the attack from right (fig. 18m), grasps one of Hydra’s necks with his left hand, swinging his club (which overlaps the upper border) with full force in his right, apparently so as to smash the snake’s head. Note, however, that his eye does not look at the fearful menace of Hydra’s formidable mouth, vicious teeth, and long split tongue that darts out (fig. 18n) but seems to stare straight ahead. The eye is shaped as a pointed oval, the pupil

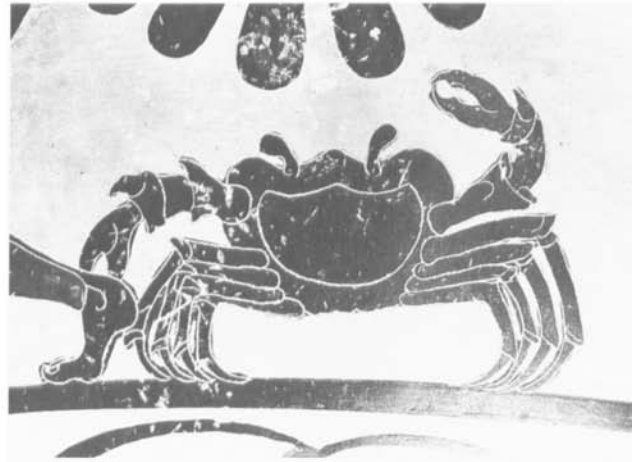


FIGURE 18p. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Crab. Detail of figure 18k. Photo: Author.

not touching the upper lid, a device used by the Eagle Painter to denote anger or extreme exertion. Herakles’ left foot is far forward, flat on the ground—sinking into the border line (fig. 18o)—his right foot far behind, only toes touching the ground (fig. 18p; note the second toe appearing behind the big toe with its nicely incised nail). Clearly, his back should be turned toward us, but the painter shows us the front of his metal corslet by providing it with the usual breast volutes and the low curve of the edge at the neck. As stated above, the Eagle Painter dislikes back views, especially in metal corslets, which he always provides with breast spirals, even those that are seen from behind. He does not even hesitate to confuse us in this way with nude male backs.⁶¹

It is a surprise to meet Herakles in action in the armor of a regular hoplite, clad in a metal corslet with sharply projecting loin protector and breast volutes, his greaves finely engraved with a small palmette on volutes at the knees.⁶² This outfit seems in stark contrast to his primitive weapon, a gnarled club full of knobs (indicated as strings of O’s) and a knob at the handle end. A metal corslet requires a short chiton underneath, here sewn with a hem along the edges of the short sleeves and the “skirt.” Herakles’ beard and mustache are of the simplest kind, but his hair is arranged with care: On the forehead it is wound around a fillet,⁶³ at the nape it seems wound inward.

As the myth tells us (and as the Eagle Painter was clearly happy to show us), Hydra had an ally, a great crab, which pinched Herakles’ heel as soon as he attacked. Here it is a truly terrifying monster, the span of its claws easily exceeding a meter (fig. 18p). It sidles forward on eight horrible legs and, waving its cery eyestalks, attacks with its great claw. The Eagle Painter is a lover of animals, but here he surpasses himself.⁶⁴

Yet, once more the painter makes a mistake of the kind we have met before: The great claw of the crab does not grab and cut Herakles’ Achilles heel but disappears lamely behind it (cf. the ineffectual claws of attacking felines we have met above, the lioness in fig. 10a).

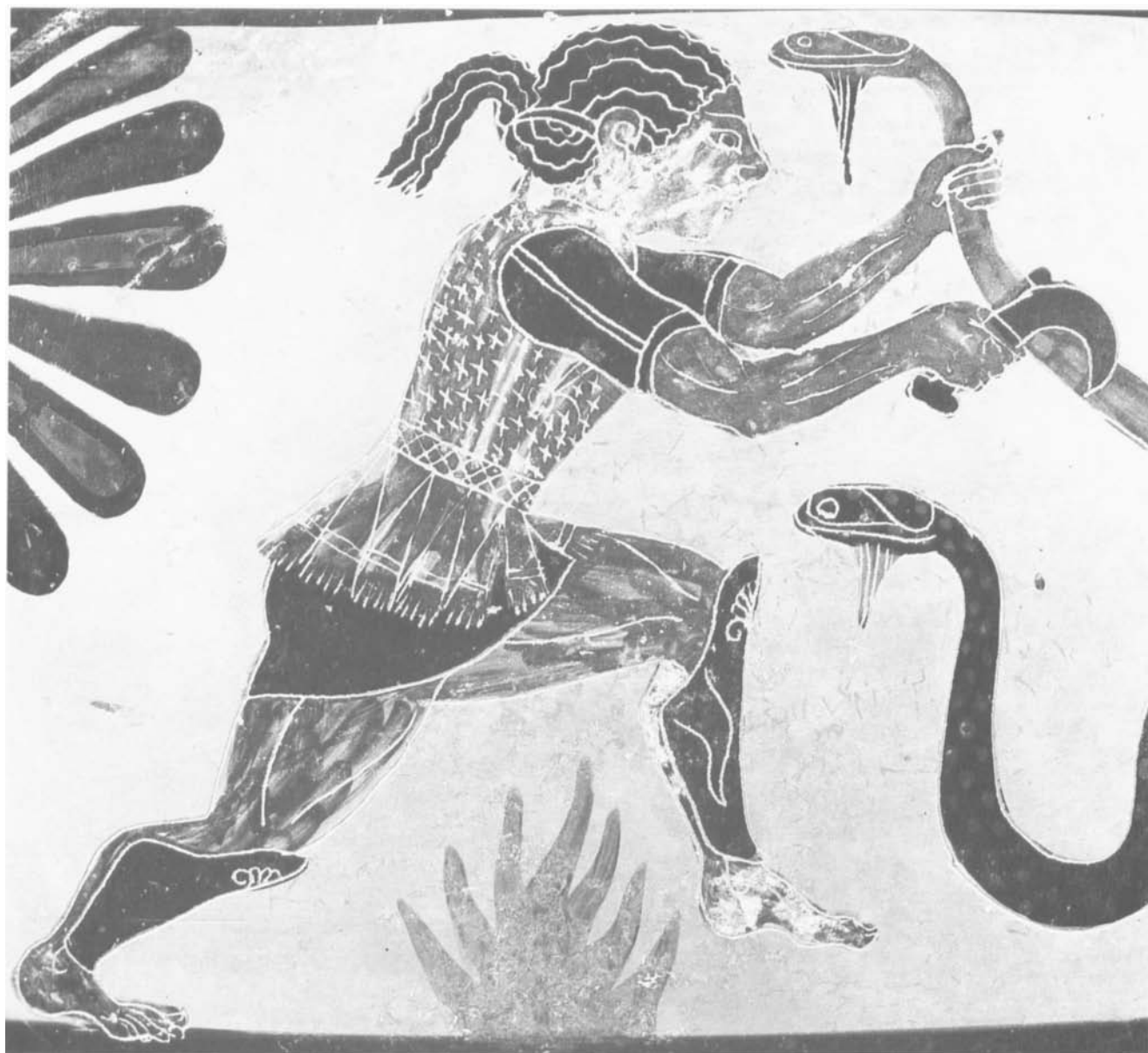


FIGURE 18q. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Iolaos. Detail of figure 18k.

Iolaos (figs. 18k, q) attacks from the left, rushing forward, left leg raised high, grasping a neck of the Hydra with his left hand, ready to cut it off with the sickle in his right. The figure is drawn in perfect profile, an accomplishment that does not occur in the painter’s early works and that contrasts notably with his habit of confusing front and back views (see above, note 28). Apparently the Eagle Painter knew of the fire used to sear the amputated necks (to prevent the growth of new heads⁶⁵), but he did not know how to fit this into the action. However, he gave it a prominent place, between Iolaos’s legs.

Iolaos’s face (fig. 18r) is curious because of its receding profile;

strong chin; snub nose; and long, curving mouth. Contrast his almond-shaped eye with the harsh oval of that of Herakles (see fig. 18n). Iolaos’s hair is long and bound up with a ribbon to form a *krobylos*. His ear is pierced (a tiny little incised circle that is not rare in the lobes of men painted by the Eagle Painter; it surely is an East Greek habit; see above, note 27). He wears a linen corslet, such as is common on the hydriai⁶⁶; it is elaborately decorated, with fringes along the pteryges and crosses embroidered all over. The shoulder guard is bound with a string to a button on the breast (fig. 18s, *CH*, p. 132, fig. 67). A rather unusual detail is the neck guard rendered as a projection at the nape of the neck.



FIGURE 18r. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Head of Iolaos. Detail of figure 18k.

There are three tiny comma-shaped scratches in the back of Iolaos’s right hand, which the painter often used to indicate the knucklebones (fig. 18t). By mistake, the left elbow overlaps the right forearm. The curvy V-shaped incisions on the left greave (see fig. 18q), below the palmette, belong to a right human leg and may therefore seem a mistake, but they are found in this place also on *CH*, nos. 1 and 7 (*CH*, pls. 22 and 43b). An incision in the right foot (fig. 18u) shows that it was begun as a left foot and then corrected.

COMMENT ON OBVERSE SCENE

[See the treatment of this myth by J. J. Maffre, *RLouvre* (April 1985): 84–95; and in *LIMC 5* (Zurich, 1990), s.v. “Herakles.”]

In spite of his costly hoplite armor, Herakles swings his usual crude weapon, the club; this seems in line with his rather primitive mentality and fighting technique. An interesting parallel for our scene is the poros gable in Athens (*LIMC 5.2* [Zurich, 1990], no. 2021*), where Herakles likewise wears a corslet, fighting with a club, and the crab is as colossal. Still, full armor seems unexpected in fairy-tale battles of this sort, although Iolaos, too, may wear a helmet and sometimes even

handle a shield in this myth (see Maffre, loc. cit., figs. 9–12; and the fragment by the Kleophrades Painter, Malibu 77.AE.11, *LIMC 5.2*, no. 1702*). The sickle here in the hand of Iolaos is often handled by Herakles himself (*LIMC 5*, nos. 2003–4, 2012, 2015, and 2037). However, that Herakles fights from right to left is very unusual.

The scene is nearly always much wilder than on our hydria: compare, for example, the fierce snakes with wide-open jaws and wild teeth and beards by the Kleophrades Painter in Malibu (*LIMC 5.2*, no. 1702*) or the Corinthian aryballos with a ferocious crab biting Herakles’ knee while the heads of two snakes are flying through the air (*LIMC 5.1*, p. 35, no. 1991), etc. Sometimes the Hydra’s tail is wound around Herakles (*LIMC 5.2*, nos. 1993–95*, Corinthian), or the snakes bite his arms, thigh, and calf (ibid., no. 1998, Tyrrhenian).

It is somewhat disappointing to notice that our painter, who in other scenes may be so original and

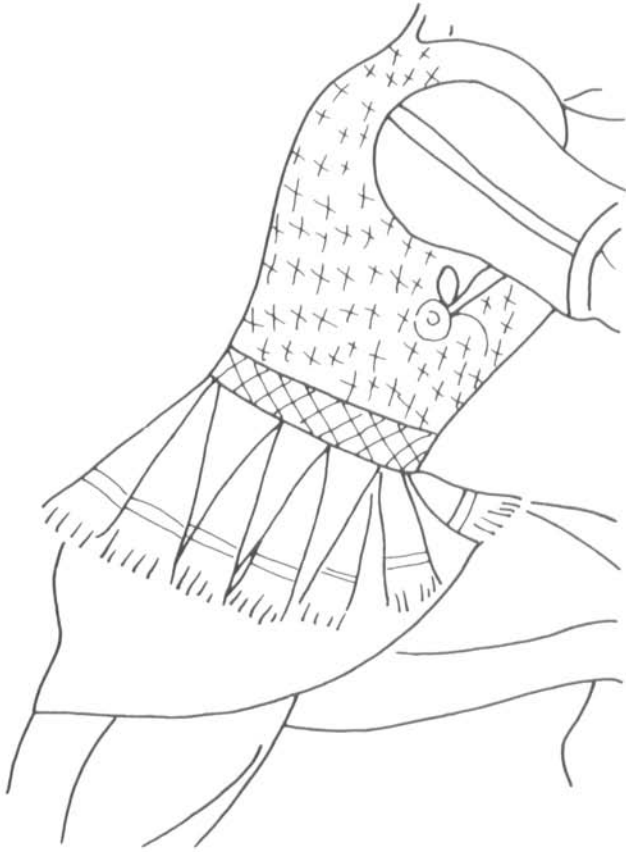


FIGURE 18s. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Drawing of details of Iolaos, figure 18q. Drawing: Author.

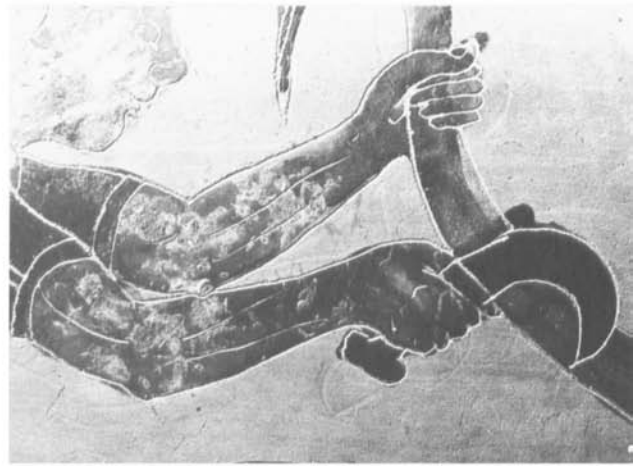


FIGURE 18t. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Hands of Iolaos. Detail of figure 18k. Photo: Author.

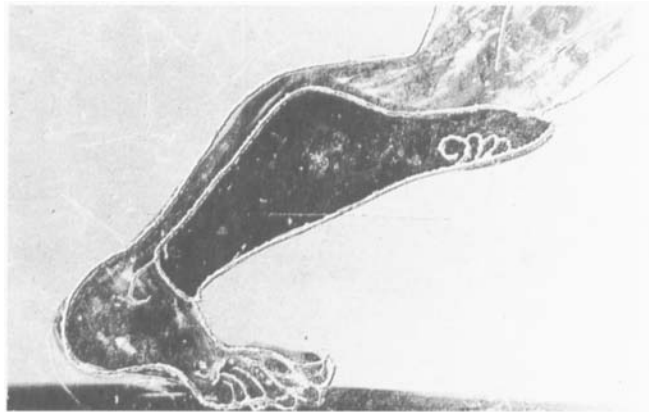


FIGURE 18u. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Right foot of Iolaos. Detail of figure 18k. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 18v. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Reverse: left-hand sphinx of figure scene.



FIGURE 18w. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Reverse: right-hand sphinx of figure scene.

striking, appears so conservative and relatively sedate in this scene—except, of course, for his wonderful portrait of the huge crab.

B. Reverse

Two sphinxes (figs. 18c, v–w).

Preservation

The mottled surface, once covering both sphinxes, has been partly cleaned since the publication of *CH*, not without damage to the white (see p. 115).

Colors, Contour Incisions, and Preliminary Sketching

Faces, belly stripes, flight feathers white. Breast piece of wings, buds on head spirals, tuft of tail and, probably, the pupil of the left sphinx red.

All contours incised except hair spirals; such complete contour incision on the reverse is unusual and marks this vase out as a very carefully executed work.

Much preliminary sketching, especially in the legs, deviating from the final drawing.

Description

Two sphinxes, walking outward, with powerful tripartite wings, long hair, female faces but incisions between the legs vaguely suggesting scrota (figs. 18v–w).⁶⁷ Head spirals: nicely curving twigs, finials consisting of a bud between spirals.⁶⁸ Beautifully curving tails. Note the tensely drawn incisions in the bodies and legs, typical of the Eagle Painter, and the fine indication of the nails in the front claws of the right-hand sphinx. The faces (figs. 18x–y) are very like

that of Iolaos (see fig. 18r). Both sphinxes wear triple necklaces (or “chokers”).

The wings are unusually elaborate. The feathers are double in the mid-wing and at the flight feathers, that is, on top of each large feather is incised a smaller one. The tips of the flight feathers are all drawn separately. However, usually the tip of the wing on the off-side is shown, which is not the case here, and there are no feathers indicated on the breast piece of the wings.

The contrast with the far more sketchy wings by the Busiris Painter (see figs. 4b and 13c) is remarkable.

COMMENT ON REVERSE SCENE

Sphinxes occur on four other hydriai, nos. 6, 17, 30, and 32 (*CH*, p. 125, pls. 42, 72, 108, and 113); on no. 17 they confront each other, which is awkward and is therefore abandoned on later vases. The wings of the sphinxes on no. 32, by the Busiris Painter, are like those of Hippocamp (see figs. 4b and 13c), lacking all calligraphic charm so typical of the others. None of the other sphinxes wears head spirals; ours are walking, the others are seated or crouching.

Among the many hundreds of Archaic sphinxes on vases and in the round, the closest parallels seem to be those of an altar from Miletos; they, too, are male(?).⁶⁹ The heraldic sphinxes, one of the old-fashioned traits of the hydriai, may be compared with those on Clazomenian sarcophagi, which likewise sometimes flank a “handle” palmette (see *CH*, p. 187). Like the other heraldic motifs discussed above (in connection with the meaning of the hunt of the Hippocamp, see comment



FIGURE 18x. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Reverse: head of left-hand sphinx. Detail of figure 18v.

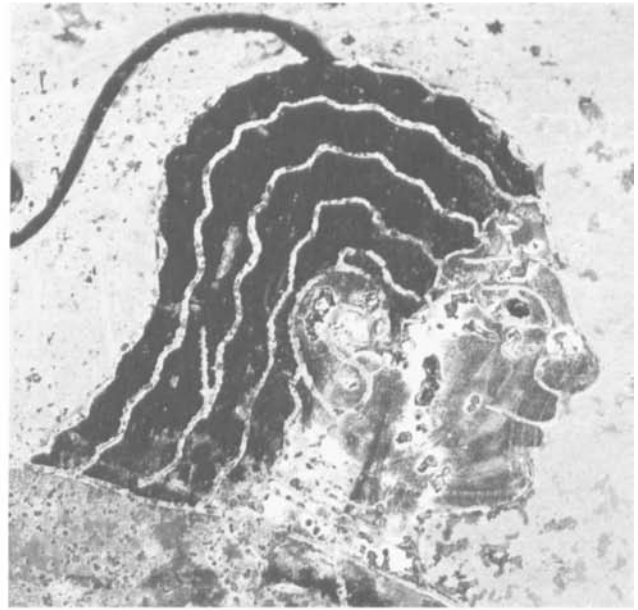


FIGURE 18y. “Malibu Hydra” hydria, figure 18a. Reverse: head of right-hand sphinx. Detail of figure 18w.

there), they may perhaps suggest a funerary intention on the part of the painters.

3. “POLYPHEMUS II”

[Figs. 19a–e]

New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection. The vase belongs to both the Lotus-ivy Series and the Swastika-spiral Group (*CH*, p. 4, table A), straddling the border between the two, and between nos. 18 and 19. Its ornaments are a combination of motifs that up to now belonged to two strictly separated systems of decoration. Those of its upper half (and possibly all tongues) are by assistant(s), mainly the Wind-blown-ivy Painter (*CH*, p. 91); those in the lower belly zone are by the Eagle Painter.⁷⁰ The figure scenes are by the Eagle Painter.

This hydria may be named “Polyphemus II” because it is the second hydria with a picture of the Polyphemus adventure; it should be entered in the catalogue of *CH* as 19 minus (*CH*, p. 34, and p. 4, table A⁷¹).

The other Polyphemus scene—*CH*, no. 20—is found on a hydria in Rome (see fig. 24); this “Rome Polyphemus,” here called “Polyphemus I,” is closely related to our hydria in several respects, in both its figure scene and its ornaments.

Preservation

Seemingly complete and hardly damaged, but in fact heavily restored, and colors (red and especially white) much repainted. Not oxidized. Surface (between the breaks) well preserved. Tiny mica particles (perhaps smaller than usual, *CH*, p. 63).

Put together from numerous large and some smaller fragments; all breaks repainted. A number of sherds are missing, but the gaps have been filled in and painted over so efficiently that they are hard to discover now. Even the incisions in these repaintings cannot be distinguished from genuine ones!

Photocopies of two color photographs taken after the sherds had been glued together but apparently before further repairs were made form the basis of two drawings showing the extant ancient parts of the vase and the missing pieces (figs. 19b and d; the photographs themselves are lost). A detailed description of the breaks and repairs is necessary, although the restorations do not affect the understanding of the painting. The main missing parts are as follows:

Neck: one sherd high up near the rim, roughly above the left-hand horizontal handle (fig. 19b); a similar sherd high up near the rim on the other side, “west” of the vertical handle (fig. 19d), touching the meander cross; a break under it has damaged the lower corner of this ornament.

Shoulder: a sherd above the frontal attachment of the left-hand horizontal handle, another above the hind attachment of the right handle (figs. 19b and d), damaging tongues, frieze line, and part of an ivy leaf.

Vertical handle: broken off with damage to the surface of the two uppermost petals of the handle palmette. Besides, a sherd is missing with the tip of the second leaf on the right of the palmette and part of the third leaf (fig. 19d; the leaves have been repaired and repainted, see fig. 19c).

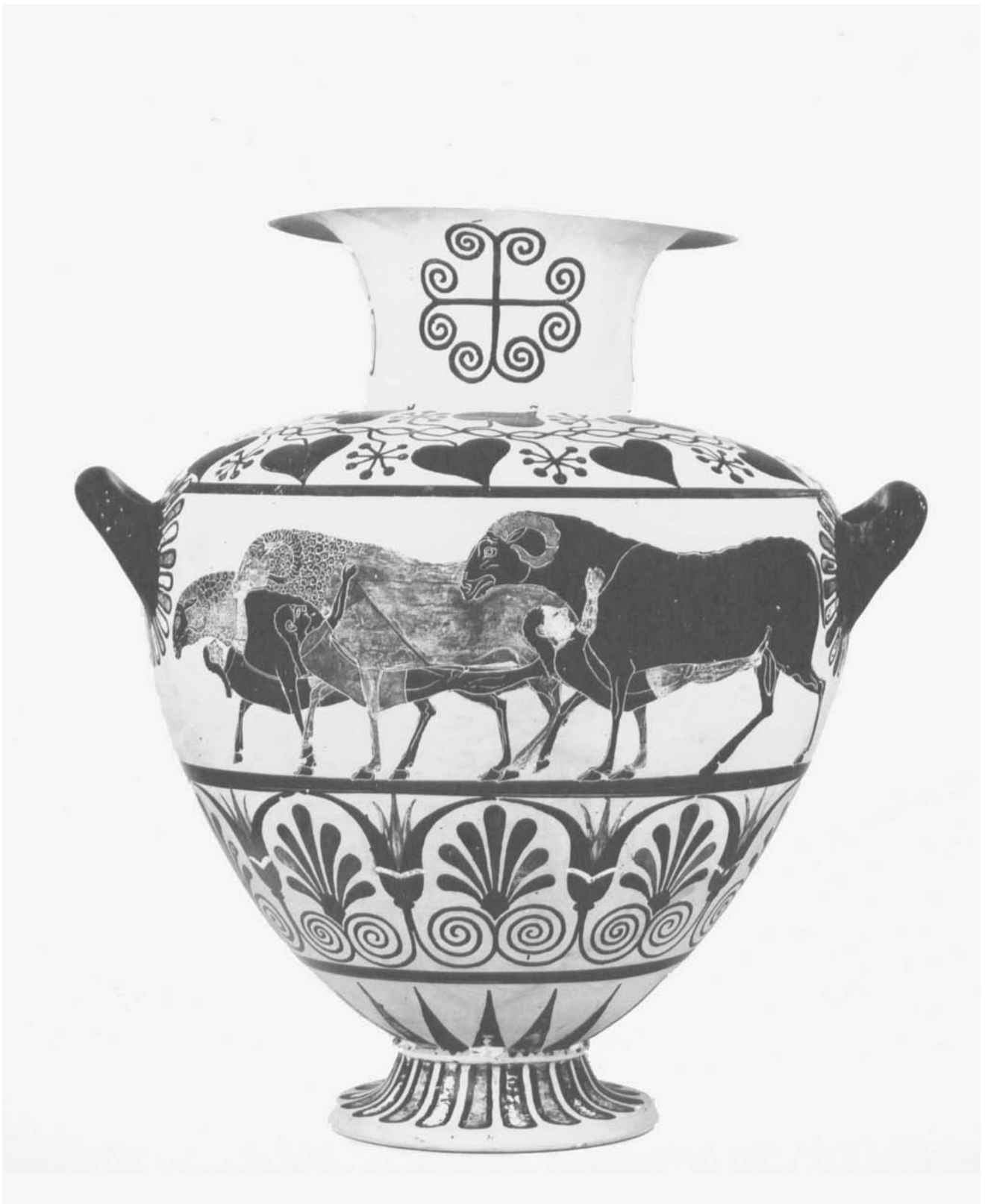


FIGURE 19a. "Polyphemus II" Caeretan hydria. Obverse. New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection no. 688. Photo: Bruce White.

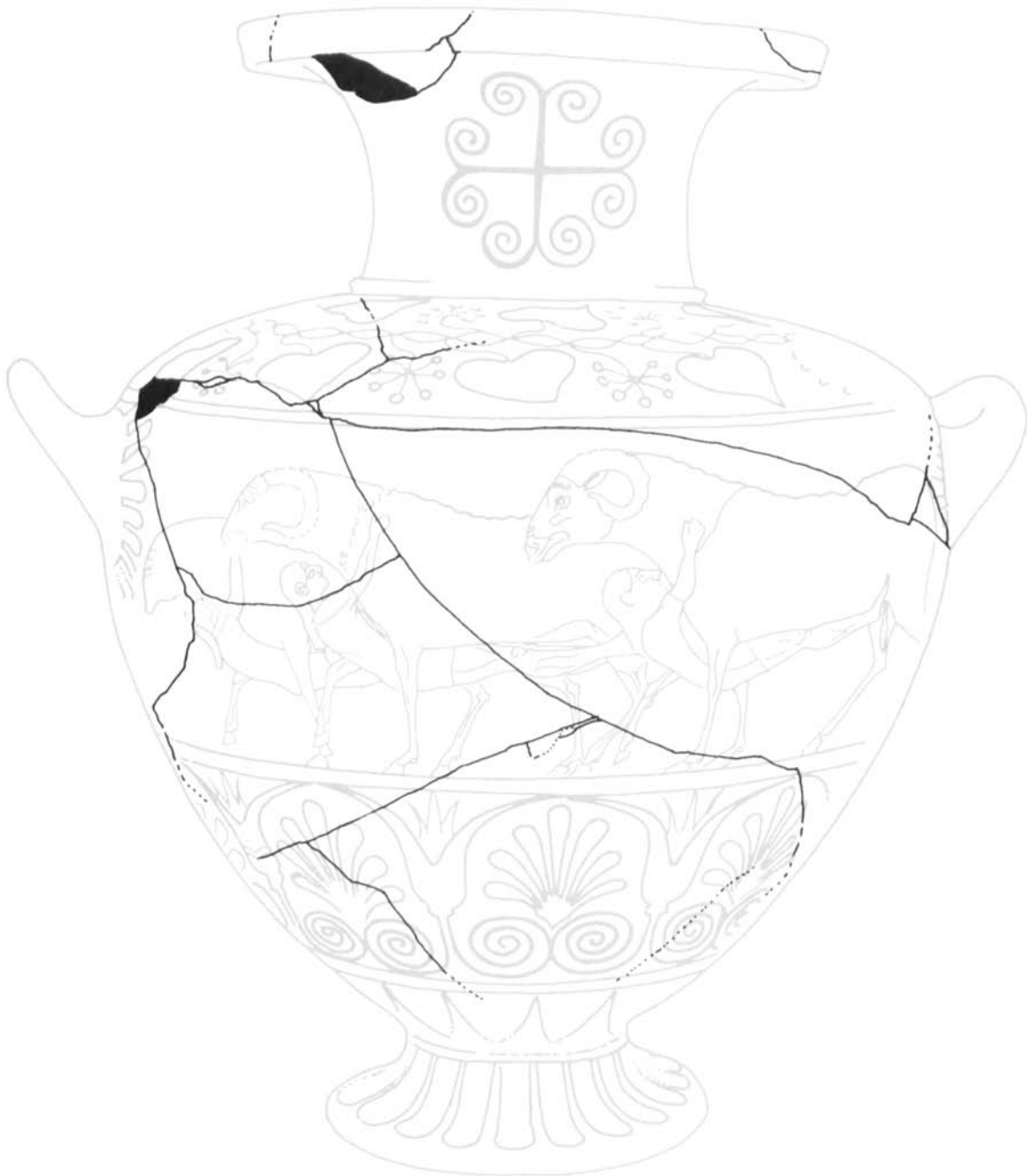


FIGURE 19b. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Obverse: Drawing by Peggy Sanders after photocopy of color photograph taken before restoration.



FIGURE 19c. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Reverse. Photo: Bruce White.



FIGURE 19d. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Reverse: Drawing by Peggy Sanders after photocopy of color photograph taken before restoration.



FIGURE 19c. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Side. Photo: Bruce White.

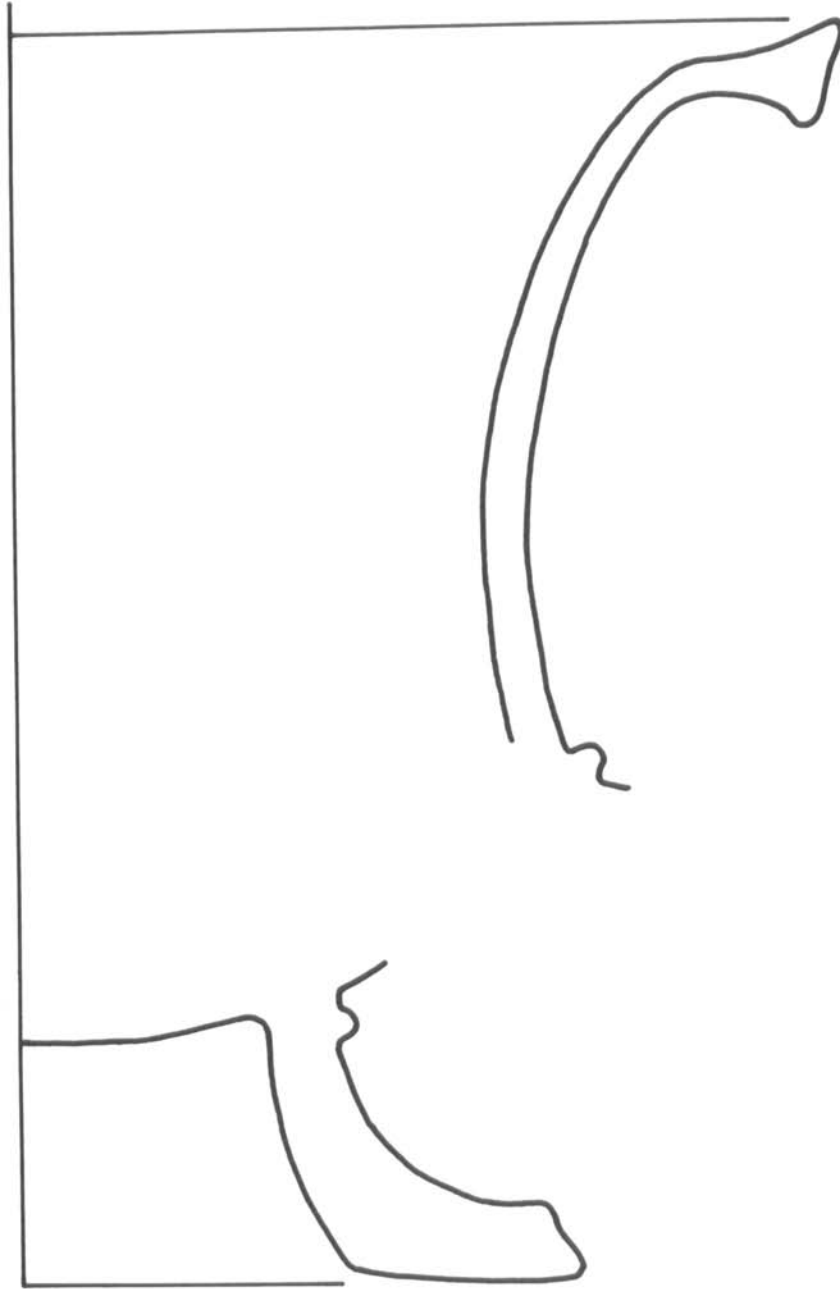


FIGURE 19f. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Profile of neck and foot.
Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

All other damage that should be mentioned is restricted to the figure scenes, where it will be described.

Measurements

[See *CH*, p. 5, table B]

Ht.: 41.5–42 cm (slightly uneven); ht. of neck 9.5–10 cm; diam. mouth 22.2 cm; rim th. 1.5 cm; ht. of foot 4 cm; diam. of foot 14.9 cm. Diam. without handles 32 cm, with handles 38.3 cm.

Ht. of friezes exclusive of frieze lines (measured along curved surface): shoulder 9 cm; figure frieze, obverse 12 cm, reverse 11.5–12 cm; lower belly zone 9–9.2 cm; rays at base 6 cm (length of rays 5.5 cm). See further note 72.

Shape

At first sight the vase seems ordinary enough, neither very broad nor very slender, of average height (figs. 19c, e). But when we compare



FIGURE 19g. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Mouth and shoulder. Photo: Author.

the measurements in *CH*, p. 5, table B (in which it should be inserted as no. 19 minus), it appears to be smallish; its rim is very wide, considering the size of the vase (only that of *CH*, no. 22, pls. 6c, 7a, is proportionally wider; cf. also no. 9, which is taller; see *CH*, pl. 6a–b). On the other hand, its foot is narrower than that of any other hydria, even of those that are smaller (e.g., *CH*, no. 5, pl. 3a, c). On the whole the shape is not far from no. 23, “Malibu Hydra” (fig. 18b), which, however, is a tall vase, whose lower body is less swelling. Compare also figure 19f with 18e and contrast figure 4d, which shows the differences and similarities. In many respects our hydria should be compared to no. 20, “Polyphemus I,” *CH*, pl. 10c–d, but its foot is modern.

The foot is “on toe” (fig. 19f, cf. again figs. 4d and 18e; see *CH*, p. 73). The vertical handle has, as usual, four ribs (see above, pp. 115, 117, and cf. fig. 18c) and is mainly attached under the rim to the neck, though some of the clay of the upper end has been smeared out onto the rim (fig. 19e); it is nearest to “method c” of *CH*, pl. 155h.

Ornaments

[See *CH*, pp. 88–115]

The vase belongs both to the Lotus-ivy Series (nos. 19–34) and to the Swastika-spiral Group (= Group A; *CH*, p. 4, table A, nos. 9–18).

We will treat first the ornaments that relegate the hydria to the more “primitive” part of Group A, namely, Series 2 (Belly-ivy Series, nos. 9–18; e.g., *CH*, pls. 8–9) and then its lotus-palmette frieze, which promotes the hydria to the refined Series 3 (Lotus-ivy Series, nos. 19–34; e.g., *CH*, pls. 12–13).⁷² The reader should again be warned that most of the red and white is modern.

Tongues

[See *CH*, p. 111, table H, with figs. 63–65, on pp. 107, 109, 113]⁷³

All tongues have been plotted with templates, as is the case on all vases of Group A (except no. 2, the earliest vase by the Busiris Painter; see *CH*, pp. 10, 89).

For the consistent but very light impression of the contour lines of the ornaments resulting from the use of these templates, see *CH*, pp. 88–89 and pls. 146d–g, 147a, c–f.

Tongues in mouth (fig. 19g) slender and very numerous: thirty-four (contrast *CH*, pls. 14–18), comparable to those of the five earliest vases of the whole series (*CH*, nos. 1–5, pl. 14).⁷⁴ The number of tongues on the foot (see figs. 19a–d) is average: twenty (note that vases nos. 19–23 have far fatter and therefore fewer tongues, only thirteen to sixteen; *CH*, pls. 10a–b, 11; the foot of no. 20, “Polyphemus I,” is modern).

The tongues of the horizontal handles are very short compared to the long, slender tongues we have met before (see fig. 19e and cf. figs. 4c, 5, 7, and 18b, d); they hardly reach over the upper frieze line (contrast no. 20, “Polyphemus I,” *CH*, pl. 10d); they are very like those of many early vases, for instance, *CH*, nos. 3, 4, 5, and 12, pls. 2, 3a, and 58b, and p. 107, fig. 63c (see above, note 73). However, the number of tongues (21, 22—left handle, behind and in front, and 21, 21—right handle) agrees better with those of the more developed, later hydriai, nos. 19–32 (see *CH*, p. 111, table H).

Neck Ornament

[Figs. 19e, h–i. See *CH*, p. 100, table F,⁷⁵ and pp. 102–3, figs. 58–60]

The neck ornaments of at least seven vases of the Swastika-spiral Group (*CH*, nos. 3–4, 13–15, and 17–18) consist of three simple ornaments: a spiral cross flanked by two meander crosses. The meander crosses (e.g., *CH*, pls. 8–9) can be said to have a direction insofar as their spiral hooks are wound to right or to left; here they are pointing inward (figs. 19c–e), which seems a natural rendering but occurs elsewhere only on no. 4 (see the arrows in *CH*, table F). In most cases the vertical branches of the meander crosses are red (on black),⁷⁶ but this does not seem to have been the case here. On our vase they are well drawn, like the ornaments on nos. 11, 13–15, 17–18 (*CH*, pls. 7d, 8–9, 54, 61, 64, 67, 72, 75), and much better than those of, for instance, nos. 9–10, which are surprisingly clumsy and clearly from another, less-experienced hand (*CH*, pls. 6a–b, d; 7b, 51). Our spiral cross, however, is unusual in that the rather clumsily drawn spirals have not been properly planned (figs. 19a, h–i). Neighboring spirals do not touch as they should, leaving awkward gaps between all four pairs (cf. *CH*, pp. 102–3, figs. 58–60), nor are they interconnected by “bars” (cf. *CH*, figs. 60a, c). The dots between the spirals are very faded, but they must have been white and/or red as on many other vases (see, e.g., *CH*, nos. 15 and 18, pls. 67, 75, and pp. 102–3, figs. 58–60); besides, there were four dots in the center as on the spiral crosses of nos. 3–4 (*CH*, pls. 29, 32, p. 103, fig. 58d). In clumsiness our spiral cross resembles that of no. 4 (*CH*, fig. 58); it is smaller than that of no. 13 (*CH*, fig. 60), but larger than all the others.

It is interesting to note that the clumsiness of the spirals (which I have not been able to reproduce exactly in the tracing in fig. 19i) as contrasted with the fine ones of the lotus-palmette



FIGURE 19h. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Spiral-cross central neck ornament. Photo: Author.



FIGURE 19i. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Drawing of spiral-cross central neck ornament. Scale 1:1. Drawing by author after tracing by Anne Leinster-Windham.

wreath in the lower belly frieze (see fig. 21c) shows that the two cannot be from the same hand (see below).

Ivy Frieze

[Fig. 19j. See *CH*, p. 92, table D, for information on the ivy wreaths of the other hydriai, and p. 90, fig. 55, for the templates used⁷⁷]

The number of leaves on our hydria is small, seven inside and eleven outside the central intertwined wreath (the same number on *CH*, no. 17, and even lower numbers on nos. 31–33, including “New York Mule”). The central branch is crudely intertwined with large irregular loops (contrast the wreaths of figs. 19g and j with 4e and 18g, i), and the twigs of the bunches of berries and the leaves are very twisted and may truly be called “wind-blown”; a close parallel is the belly ivy of no. 11 (“Rome Cerberus,” here fig. 8), though the twigs are even more angular on our hydria. Here, and on all vases of the Belly-ivy Series (*CH*, nos. 9–18, p. 4, table A), the wreath was “plotted out” by placing at regular intervals a pliable leaf template and tracing its contours lightly with a fine point or some sort of pencil (see *CH*, p. 89). The template used here (fig. 19k, right) seems to be template “a” of *CH*, p. 90, fig. 55, used on the shoulders of nos. 9 and 10 (*CH*, p. 91, pl. 128). On our vase it was applied eleven times on the outside of the branch; for the leaves on the inside it was reversed (turned upside down) and used seven times. It has been possible to recognize the use of six different templates, all used on more than one vase (*CH*, p. 91, nos. 9–18, p. 90, fig. 55). Template a, on the right side of figure 19k, is the largest.

Between the leaves the placement of the bunches was indicated as sketchy ovals and a stripe for the twig, all roughly drawn with a kind of pencil (fig. 19l). The central branch of the ivy wreath was

probably painted first. Many of the connecting twigs for the leaves were drawn in two parts, first a short stroke from the center of the heart-shaped leaf and then a curve toward the central branch. The ivy of “Polyphemus I” (fig. 20) is, it seems to me, by the same hand, though the twigs are less twisted, and there are no traces of the use of a template (*CH*, p. 96).⁷⁸

Handle Palmette

[See *CH*, pp. 105–12, with table G, p. 108; see tracings *CH*, pp. 106–7, figs. 62–63; see above, note 73]

Partly modern; see Preservation (p. 125). The stiff handle palmette with its pointed central leaf (figs. 19c, 21a–b) forms a remarkable contrast to those of the two vases described above, figures 4b and 18c. It also contrasts sharply with the elegant palmettes in the lower belly zone to be discussed below (see figs. 19a–e, 21c). This contrast is found on other hydriai (*CH*, p. 108, e.g., nos. 1, 3–5, pls. 1b, 2, 3c; cf. pls. 135, 136a) and provides manifest evidence of the hands of helpmates in the shop. All handle palmettes in Group A (except that of no. 2, see *CH*, p. 4, table A) were painted by assistants with the help of rather clumsy templates, and this is also the case with the palmette of the “Polyphemus II” hydria: It is in all respects similar to palmettes of my Group A (nos. 1–4, 9–18). Like those of nearly all vases of Group A, its central leaf is pointed, and it contains nine leaves (five white, four red) like the palmettes of nos. 5 and 10–12 (*CH*, pls. 3c, 7b–c, 58a, and *CH*, pp. 106–7, figs. 62–63); in figure 21b I have traced the impressed lines made by the painter when he followed the contours of the templates with a kind of pencil.

The upper two leaves (repainted, see figs. 19c–d) curve upward and cover the root of the handle and the frieze line. The heart of the palmette was plotted by tracing the contours of a tongue tem-



FIGURE 19j. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Ivy wreath on shoulder. Photo: Author.

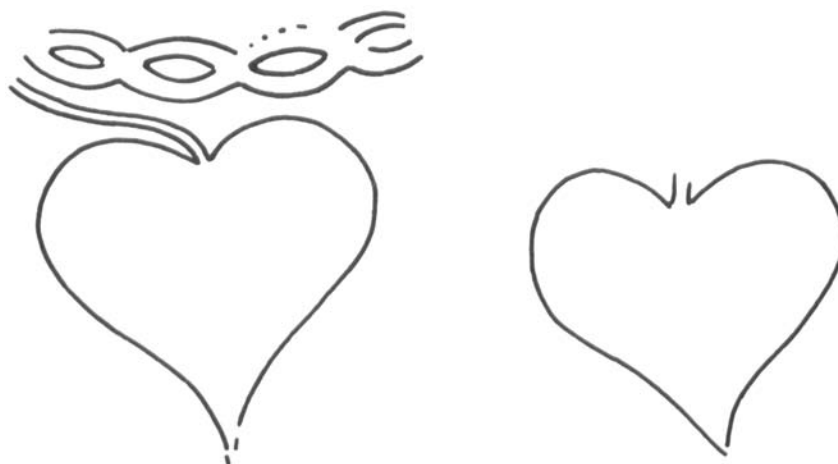


FIGURE 19k. Tracings of two ivy leaves. *Left*: leaf of wreath on “New York Mule” hydria, figure 4e; *right*: template-drawn leaf of wreath on “Polyphemus II,” figure 19j. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

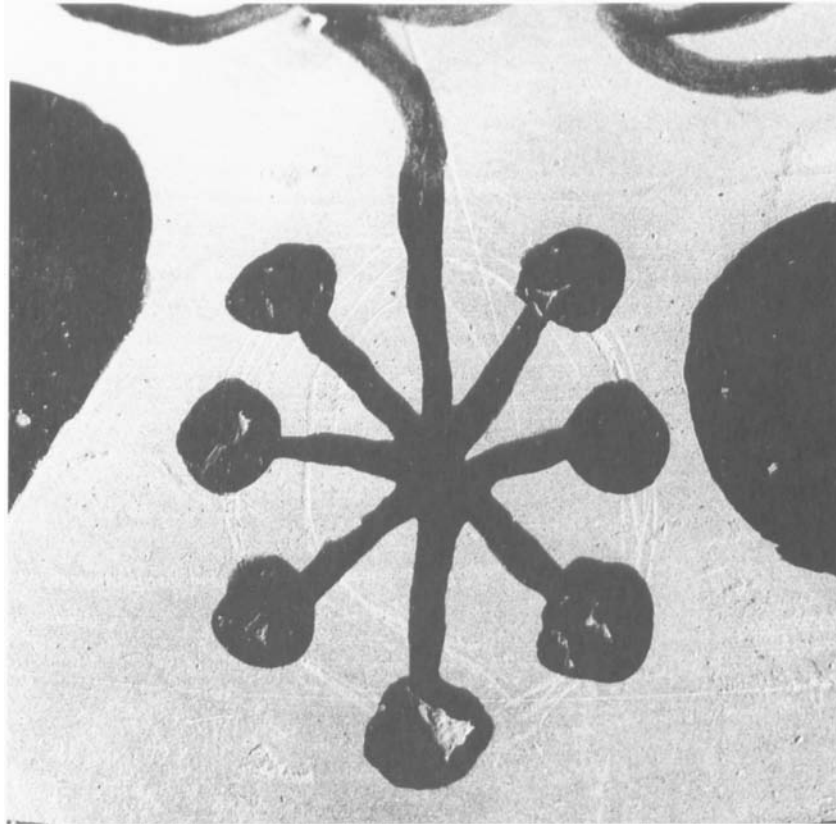


FIGURE 19. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Bunch of berries with grooves from preliminary sketch on ivy wreath. Photo: Author.

plate held vertically on the lower part of the handle (see fig. 21b, exactly as on nos. 5, 10, 11; *CH*, pp. 106–7, figs. 62b–d and 63d⁷⁹). As the tracing in figure 21b shows, the palmette is almost identical, also in size, with that of no. 11 (*CH*, p. 107, fig. 63d, "Rome Cerberus"), whose ivy wreath (fig. 8) we have already compared to the one on "Polyphemus II."

Rays and Rim

[Figs. 19a–e. *CH*, p. 115, and table H.5, p. 111]

The last ornament that consigns our hydria to the less refined and mainly early Series 2 is the rays (or "spikes") at the base, above the foot. They must have been painted right at the beginning or, at least, at an early stage, for the pot had to be upside down on the table. (Turning the vase upside down and back again after it is partly or wholly painted risks spoiling the painting.) The rays on our hydria are white, red, and black. They are outlined by impressed contour lines, that is, they were prepared with rulers, a kind of templates. Rays with three colors are found on nos. 3–21, all of which have more rays than the eighteen on our hydria. From no. 21 ("Rome Alcioneus," *CH*, pl. 83) onward the number of rays falls to eighteen or less, after which they are red and black only. In Series 2 the rays do not touch the upper frieze line (*CH*, p. 115), and neither do those of our "Polyphemus II."

Despite thus fitting into the Belly-ivy Series of nos. 9–18, the vase surprises us by having no ivy wreath in its lower belly zone.

Instead there is a beautiful wreath of lotus-palmettes, which promotes the vase to the much more successful and pretentious Group B, to which the "New York Mule" and the "Malibu Hydra" belong (i.e., the group with five leaves in the lotuses, the so-called Lotus-five Group, *CH*, p. 4).

The rim of our vase is exceptional: it is unpainted, an omission that occurs also on nos. 1, 3–4, *CH*, pls. 1a–b, 2.⁸⁰

Lotus-Palmette Frieze

[Figs. 21c–d. See *CH*, pp. 96–99, and table E, pp. 94–95, where "Polyphemus II" should be entered between nos. 8 and 19, as "19 minus." Read there as follows: 1: nine lotuses and palmettes; 3: heart of palmette probably black; 4: seven leaves, three red, four white; 8: floating]

All(?) white repainted. Above we have discussed the lotus-palmettes of the other two vases, figures 4h and 18j. We find the same colors here. The frieze is of average height, considering the size of the vase. It consists of nine lotuses and palmettes, a large number found also on the small group of the most elegant vases, nos. 6–8 (which combine tongues on the shoulder with a beautiful lotus-palmette frieze in the lower zone; *CH*, pls. 4a–c, 5a, c–d) and their forerunner, no. 5 (*CH*, pl. 3a, c).⁸¹

Compared to the flowers of the "Malibu Hydra" (fig. 18j), the lotuses here are sturdier and fleshier; they are very like those of no. 20, "Polyphemus I," here figure 22 (*CH*, pl. 137a). Besides, both

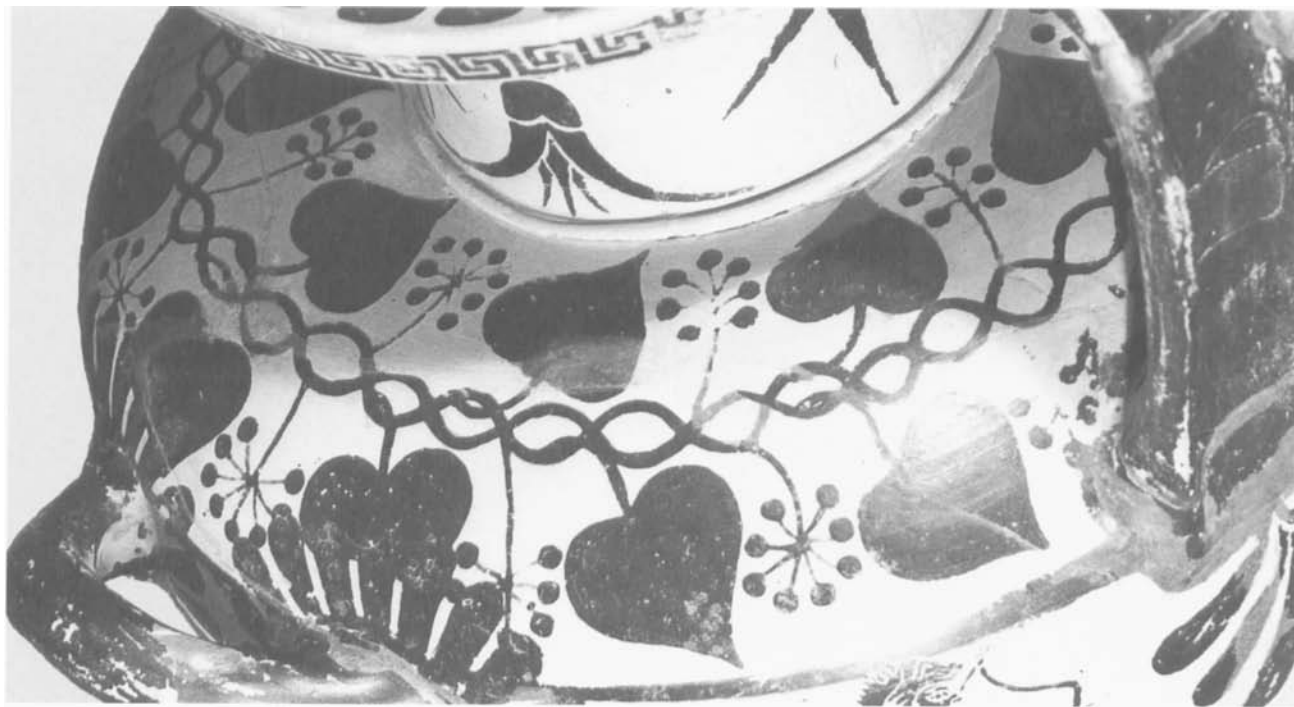


FIGURE 20. “Polyphemos I” Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 20). Mouth and shoulder. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, no inv. no. Photo: Author.

wreaths are without spikes under the flowers (they are “floating”), and the palmette hearts seem to have been black, which is unique.⁸² Very close, too, is the lotus-palmette frieze, and especially the shape of the lotuses, of no. 21, “Rome Alcyoneus” (CH, pl. 137b; also “floating”). However, the frieze of “Polyphemos I” (no. 20, which, like nos. 21 and 22, contains only eight lotuses, see CH, pp. 94–95, table E) is more refined since separation between most elements is made by reservation (CH, pl. 165b): reservation in the lotuses, between the inner leaves and the outer petals, and between these petals and the calyxes; besides, in the palmettes, between the hearts and their petals.

It should be noted that only the central leaf of the lotuses is pinned into the upper border (and not the white leaves at either side of it; see fig. 21c), but many of the widely spreading outer leaves touch this line (which is unusual).

In one respect this frieze may have been unique, but this is a problem that cannot, it seems, be solved: the restorer drew white V-shaped lines over the tops of the calyxes to mark the border between the calyxes and the black outer petals (fig. 21c). These imitate the rather emphatic reserved lines marking the same division in the lotuses of “Polyphemos I,” as seen in figure 22. The white lines in figures 19a, c and 21c seem surprising, for the calyxes ought to be painted white (in this case over solid black instead of a streaky wash as underpaint; cf. figs. 4h and 18j). However, I may be wrong in this, since in the color photograph copied in figures 19b (below left) and 19d (below right) there are traces of such white lines. In other words, the white V-shaped lines are highly unorthodox, but they may be original.

THE HANDS THAT PAINTED THE ORNAMENTS

Let us now summarize the observations noted above. We have repeatedly referred to no. 20, “Polyphemos I,” or, “Rome Polyphemos” (CH, pls. 10c–d, 81, 137a, 146b; here figs. 20, 22, 24); our hydria is closely related to that vase in both its figure scene and its ornaments. The badly painted ivy wreath on its shoulder (figs. 19g, j–k) is very like that of the “Rome Polyphemos” (cf. fig. 20 and CH, pl. 129b) and no doubt from the same hand. This painter is the clumsy helpmate I have named the Wind-blown-ivy Painter, who is responsible for most ornaments on CH, nos. 9–12 and 16 (see here fig. 8 and CH, pls. 128–29). Besides, “Polyphemos II” shares most ornaments found on these vases and, in fact, on all hydriai of the Swastika-spiral Group (= Group A, see CH, p. 4, table A): the neck ornaments (spiral cross and two meander crosses) and the primitive handle palmette (CH, pp. 106–7, figs. 62–63⁸³), a type restricted to Group A and never found on hydriai of Group B, which are decorated with the elegant lotus-palmette wreath in the lower belly zone—such as we have met on the other two hydriai here discussed. In other words, before “Polyphemos II” was

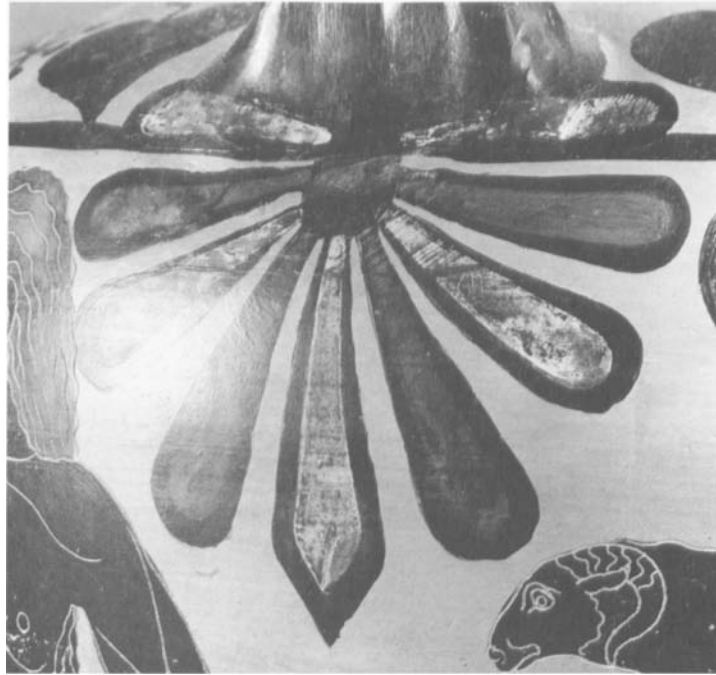


FIGURE 21a. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Handle palmette showing impressed lines of template contours at vertical handle. Photo: Bruce White.

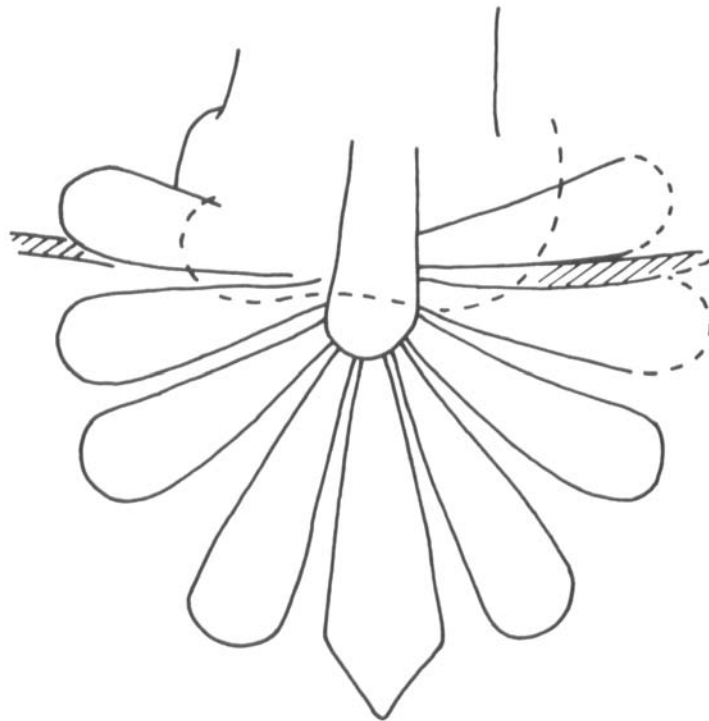


FIGURE 21b. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Tracing of template-drawn lines of handle palmette. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

known, there were three different, strictly separated systems of decoration, but now we see that the borderline between two of them—the Belly-ivy Series and the Lotus-ivy Series—is straddled by this new vase. The hydria combines the simple geometrical neck ornaments, the badly painted template-drawn ivy wreath, and the template-drawn short tongues and handle palmette of the Belly-ivy Series (and Group A) with the subtle lotus-palmette wreath in the lower belly zone that is characteristic of Series 3 (Group B).⁸⁴

The present reader probably finds these distinctions a little confusing and perhaps even superfluous or fanciful, but they are thoroughly explained in *CH*, pp. 71–72, and will also, I hope, have become clear in the course of what has been said so far.

Because of its exceptional decoration, the new vase may seem to pose a difficult problem, but the solution is easy enough: The ornaments of the upper part of the vase were, as I have said above, painted by the Wind-blown-ivy Painter, who also took care of the handle palmette (and possibly of the tongues and the rays, but these may, of course, have been painted by a third hand); then the Eagle Painter took over and painted the lotus-palmette frieze and the figure scenes. This is a cooperation of hands that, though so far unique in this special combination, is not at all surprising since, as we have seen above, the vases regularly passed from hand to hand during the long process of painting (see above with note 12, and *CH*, pp. 67–69).

Figure Scenes

The figure scenes pose no great iconographic problems, but there are notable difficulties in detecting the repaintings and the modern incisions where bits of the painting were lost in breaks. These we have to study first; see figures 19b and d (copied from colored photocopies of photos made before the repainting had started, or so I believe) and sketches of the breaks, such as figures 23c, 25b and d.

A. Obverse

Three huge rams with three Greeks clinging to their bellies (figs. 19a, 23a–d).

Preservation

Recomposed from large fragments with well-fitting edges except for ram 1, whose neck, ear, and horn were damaged (see fig. 19b), and the upper part of the head of Greek 1, whose skull, forehead, and eyebrow were lost in a break; besides, there is a chip in what must be the left hind leg of ram 2 (fig. 19b). These gaps have been filled in, all colors repainted in accordance with the remains that were visible, and incisions, where necessary, have been supplemented. In doing this, the restorer made a mistake in the hairline on the forehead and in the eyebrow of Greek 1 (figs. 23a, c): These should

have been drawn like those of Greeks 2 and 3 (figs. 23b, d). Yet, the expert way in which the restorer managed to draw the incisions is disconcerting; in the ram's head, horn, and woolly curls it is impossible to distinguish the modern from the old (fig. 23a)! Apparently the restorer has great knowledge of the style and character of the lines drawn by the Eagle Painter.

Colors, Contour Incisions, and Preliminary Sketching

All colors heavily repainted.

Ram 1: horn and neck red (the remainder black).

Greek 1: skin white, but pupil black (the restorer forgot to paint the hind part of his thigh, fig. 19a).

Ram 2: white, but pupil, horn, neck, and hooves black. Curiously, a break running diagonally through neck and belly has not been properly repainted, now forming a black stripe through the white skin of the beast (fig. 23b).

Greek 2: chiton red.

Ram 3: horn red.

Greek 3: skin white, but pupil black.

Much crude preliminary sketching, all contours incised except right hind leg of ram 3.

Description

Three huge rams are rhythmically striding to left, the right front and hind legs advancing together as if sheep were amblers; only the hooves of their right forelegs are off the ground. A youthful Greek clings to the underside of each ram by holding on to its neck or shoulder, his body and legs stretched out between the ram's forelegs along its belly, his feet held against the groins or thighs of the animal. This position suggests that the men are bound to the beasts with ropes fastened around their legs or buttocks, while they support the upper part of their bodies by clutching the wool of the animal. However, no ropes are indicated.

There is much overlapping. The rams cover each other from right to left (like a hand of cards), the level of their heads descending toward the left-hand handle. The three Greeks are progressively less visible from right to left. Note the way in which small details are hidden from sight: The right hand of Greek 1 disappears behind the white muzzle of ram 2 (figs. 23a–b), and the foot of Greek 2 disappears behind the hair of Greek 3 (figs. 19b and 23d).

The colors are rhythmically distributed: from left to right, red, white, black, white, red, black, white, black. As usual, the picture was painted from left to right, for the tail of ram 3 overlaps two tongues of the right-hand horizontal handle (fig. 19e; cf. the reverse).

The drawing is beautifully detailed, especially in the rams' heads. Note the small scratches in the contour of the nose above the nostril (figs. 23a–d); the curving stripe behind the corner of the mouth; the loop-shaped corner of the mouths of rams 2 and 3 (figs. 23b–d), which is pulled down as if the beast is annoyed at being weighed down by the heavy load;⁸⁵ the two curves above and below the eye in ram 2 (figs. 23b–c; one somewhat in the shape of a fishhook; a similar curved stripe in the other rams). The ribbed structure of the horns is beautifully indicated with wavy cross-markings.

The head of ram 1 is simpler than the others, but its ear is larger. Ram 2 is the finest animal: note its lachrymal gland, lips, and eyebrow. Ram 3 is the largest and the only ram with a shoulder line



FIGURE 21c. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Lotus-palmette in belly zone. The white is modern. Photo: Author.

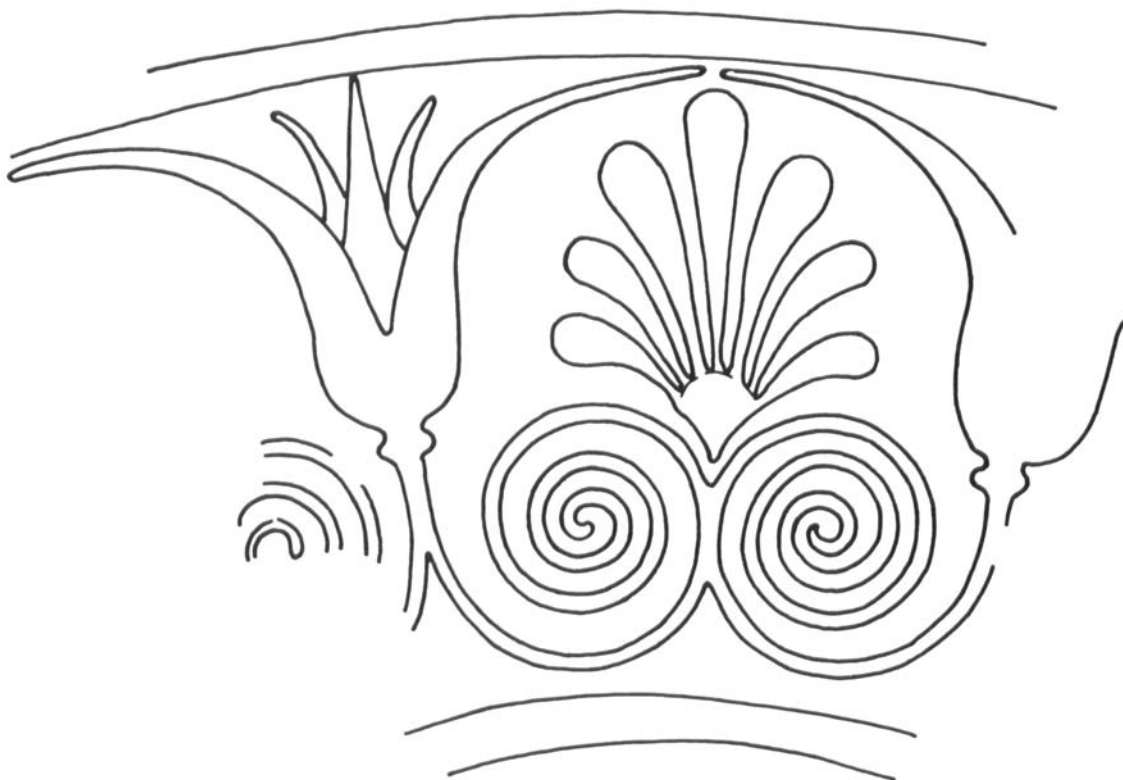


FIGURE 21d. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Tracing of lotus-palmette in figure 21c. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Author.

and a scrotum. It is somewhat surprising to see that the fluffy wool, so characteristic of these animals, is restricted to the neck of rams 1 and 2 and is omitted altogether on ram 3.

The three Greeks are surprisingly youthful. Their hair is very long, their faces unbearded, in fact, they look like boys. Their anatomy is in all respects typical of the Eagle Painter: the clumsy hands, the markings in thighs and calves, and especially the knees in the shape of a proudly twirled mustache with a tiny lower lip under it (more clearly visible in Polyphemos, see figs. 19c and 25a; see *CH*, pp. 67, 77, 183—I used to call the artist the “Knee Painter”). They wear the short, close-fitting chitons that we know from the other Polyphemos scene (fig. 24; *CH*, no. 20, p. 130, pls. 80a, 81, and fig. 25 on p. 36): unbelted, short-sleeved, with a “slit” seam right down the front, an old fashion known from Attic vase-painting but found also in East Greece (*CH*, p. 130). In Greeks 1 and 2 this seam running down the front is just visible under the belly of the ram; on Greek 3 the seam is pulled to the side. On Greeks 1 and 2 we see a seam running lengthwise in the sleeve (figs. 23a–d; *CH*, p. 129).

Their hairstyle is unique for (young) men on the hydriai; the hair is very long but without the usual indication of separate strands; so far this occurs only on women.⁸⁶ Of Greek 2 we see both legs, the left just appearing over the right one, under the ram’s belly.

COMMENT ON OBVERSE SCENE

There is more overlapping than is usual on the hydriai.⁸⁷ The upper line of the composition descends from right to left as if suggesting a kind of perspective (fig. 19a). Ram 3 is the only one in full sight; it is all black and even huger than the other two, a truly impressive animal. Being the last to escape, it would be expected to carry Odysseus himself, but the young beardless Greek under it with his big head and very short arm looks badly unheroic. One feels that the Eagle Painter, who loves depicting heroes, would not portray that paradigm of courage and genius in dodging, Odysseus, as so disappointing a human creature. He should, one would think, at least have a beard and a mustache (see *CH*, p. 137, and above, note 27)!

However, this is not certain. The same odd youthfulness of “Odysseus” and his comrades is found in the scene of the blinding of the Cyclops on no. 20, “Rome Polyphemos” (fig. 24). Here we have four youthful Greeks thrusting the pole into the giant’s (single!) eye. It is usually thought that the Greek on the left is meant to represent Odysseus, though he is hardly distinguished from his comrades (see *CH*, pl. 81a–c, p. 36). I am now more inclined to believe that the painter did not try to distinguish Odysseus from the other Greeks and more or less ignored him both in the escape scene and in that of the blinding. Anyway, if asked whom, in the scene of the escape, he meant to



FIGURE 22. “Polyphemos 1” hydria, figure 20. Belly zone with lotus-palmette. Photo: Author.

be Odysseus, he would not, I believe, have had an immediate answer.

The size of the rams dwarfing the Greeks they are carrying is extraordinary. The Eagle Painter loves giants, such as Polyphemos himself, Tityos (*CH*, pls. 83a, 58e), the “horse tamer” of figure 3, or the crab of figure 18p; that our rams are meant to be colossal is evident when we compare their size with that of the giant Cyclops and the sheep on the other side of the vase (see figs. 19c, 25c–d).

Although these are the first sheep or rams known on the hydriai, they do not bring much that is new: all incised details are as we would expect, judging from the way the Eagle Painter draws other animals. The only peculiarity is the great number of details, for example, the precision with which the painter incised the cloven hooves of the animals (see fig. 23b). Clearly he devoted much loving care to this picture.

For all the details described above we may compare countless other animals by the Eagle Painter: for instance, *CH*, pls. 62a, 68b, and 105d, or the horse’s head of no. 1, *CH*, pl. 23b.⁸⁸ The curls indicating the wool are not found on other animals on the hydriai, but are known from curly Herakles (*CH*, p. 135, fig. 70)!

THE RENDERING OF THE MYTH

[See the extensive treatment of the myth in Greek art in *LIMC* 6 (Zurich, 1992), pp. 954ff. (O. Toucheffeu-Meynier), and, in Etruria, *ibid.*, pp. 973ff., s.v. “Uthuze” (G. Camporeale); also *ibid.*, pp. 157ff., s.v. “Kyklops” (O. Toucheffeu-Meynier), illustrating our “Polyphemos 1” as no. 23]

The escape from the grotto of the Cyclops is a highly

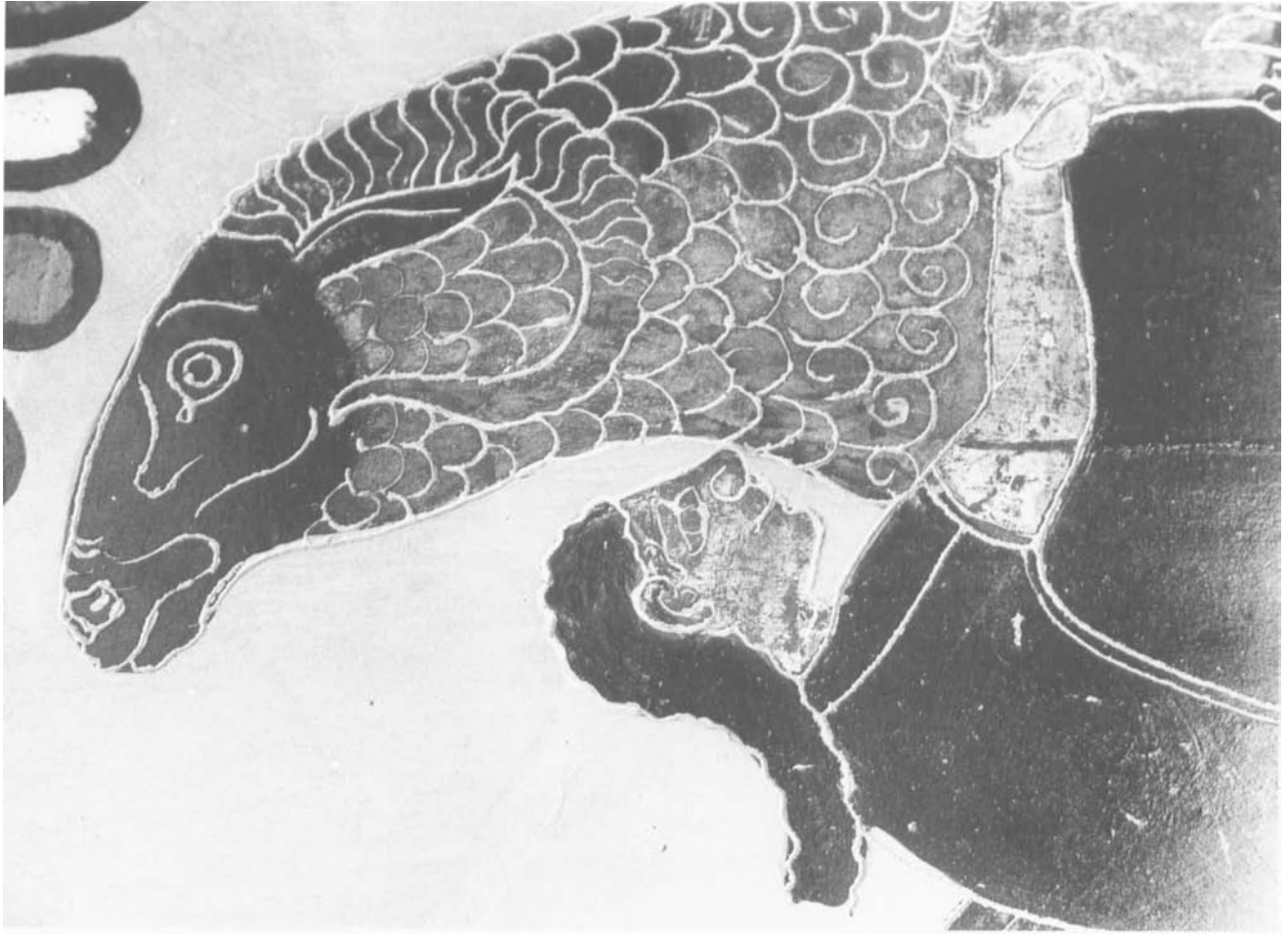


FIGURE 23a. “Polyphemos II” hydria, figure 19a. Obverse: ram 1 and Greek 1; skull and brow of Greek repainted (cf. fig. 23c). Photo: Author.

popular theme in Archaic Greek art, but it is rare in Etruria. Its simplest representation is a single ram with a Greek bound to its belly. Often we see more rams with Greeks under them, and not rarely Polyphemos is sitting confronting them. Odysseus may be more or less clearly identified, for instance, by a sword in his hand while clinging to the belly of his great ram, but this is remarkably rare.

Our picture is very unusual because of its direction to left and the size of the rams, but in other respects it is of the simplest type, for Polyphemos is relegated to the reverse, where he is reclining in a comfortable position, apparently drinking heavily. This may seem strange but is easily explained: There is hardly any doubt that this division of the story over the two sides of the vase (which is exceptional on the hydriai⁸⁹) is based on an escape picture destined for the obverse alone.⁹⁰ This is

proved, I think, by the bad asymmetry in the scene on the reverse (see fig. 19c). We may picture the original obverse scene as follows: Polyphemos sitting in the right corner in the same posture as on the reverse here, rams with Greeks passing him. We may perhaps want him to be blind—as in fact he is actually made on no. 20 (here fig. 24), but a Cyclops with a single eye is surprisingly uncommon! Conceivably, he was reclining and happily drinking, demonstrating the peculiar narrative method so dear to the Archaic Greeks.⁹¹

However, in discussing the obverse we may—or perhaps must—ignore Polyphemos, whom—after all—we need not yet have noticed!

B. Reverse

Cyclops drinking; two lambs (or young sheep) and three objects on the wall (figs. 25a–d).

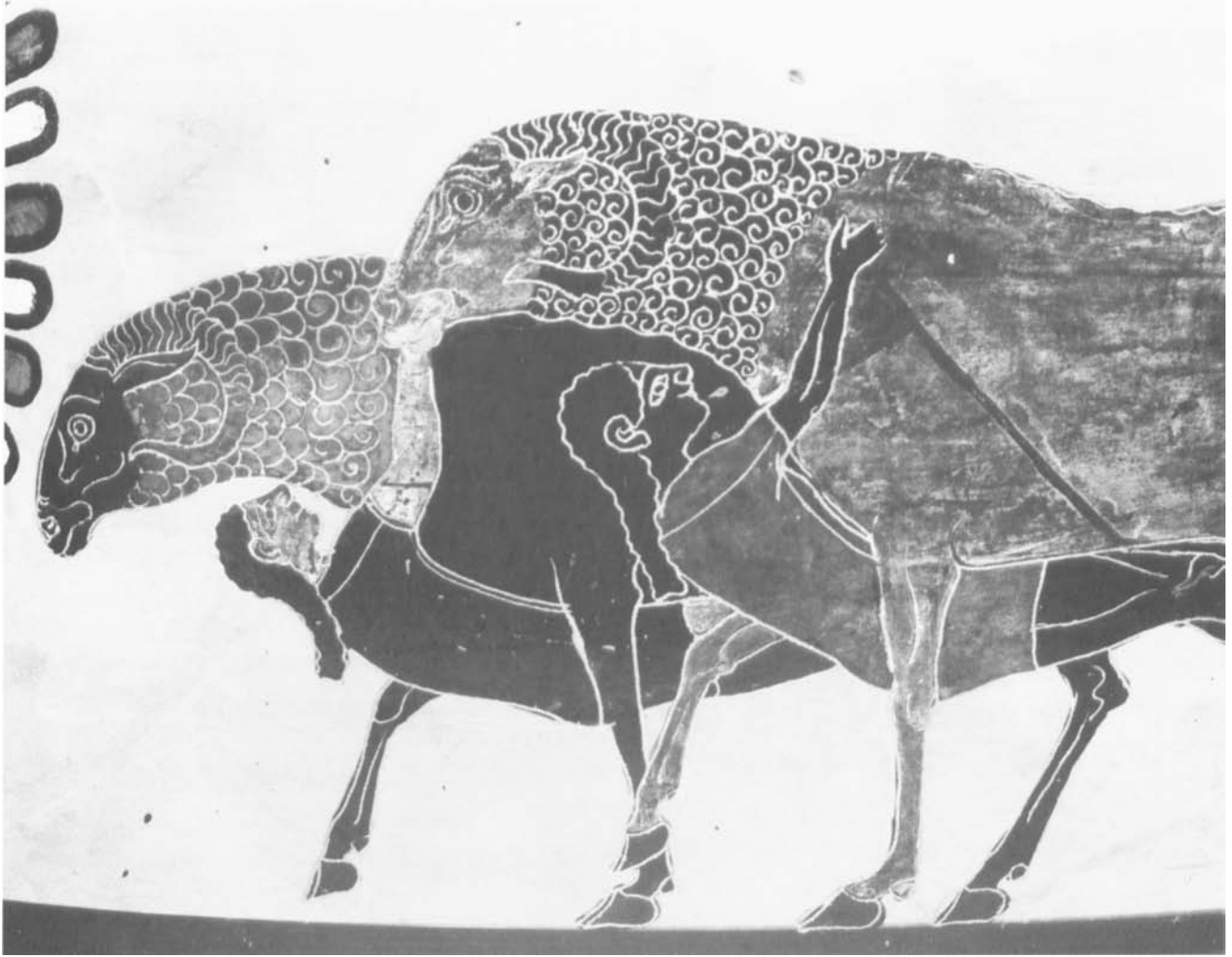


FIGURE 23b. "Polyphemus II" hydria, figure 19a. Obverse: rams 1 and 2 and Greeks 1 and 2. Photo: Bruce White.

Preservation

Cyclops preserved on large sherds with well-fitting edges and little damage to the painting except for slight slivers in right lower arm and lower belly. All breaks and damage thoroughly painted over.

Breaks (figs. 25b, d):

1. Horizontal through right hand, mustache, nostril, ear, and hair.
2. From ivy leaf above his head down through nose ending in break 1.
3. Vertical (descending from break 1) through lower right arm, belly, and left hip.
4. Vertical through spring of handle tongues, right shin, and left knee (just above the marking of the knee).
5. Slanting upward through left calf, knee, right thigh, and right elbow (ending in break 3).

We have no photographs of the original state of the lambs to the right of the handle palmette (fig. 25c). Breaks and repairs are now difficult to make out. The sketch in figure 25d gives my impression, kindly supplemented by Anne Leinster-Windham.

Breaks (figs. 25c-d):

1. Vertical through horn, tip of ear of lamb 1 downward: no damage.
2. A number of complicated breaks have carried off most of the shoulder of lamb 1 (see fig. 19d) and parts of the profile of lamb 2. The shoulder line of lamb 1 is partly modern, and there seems to be something wrong with its right foreleg (clumsy and therefore partly modern? Cf. fig. 19d). Surely filled in and supplemented with modern incisions are the nose and mouth and perhaps other parts of lamb 2 (but the eye seems all right).
3. Horizontal break, invisible in the photographs but pointed

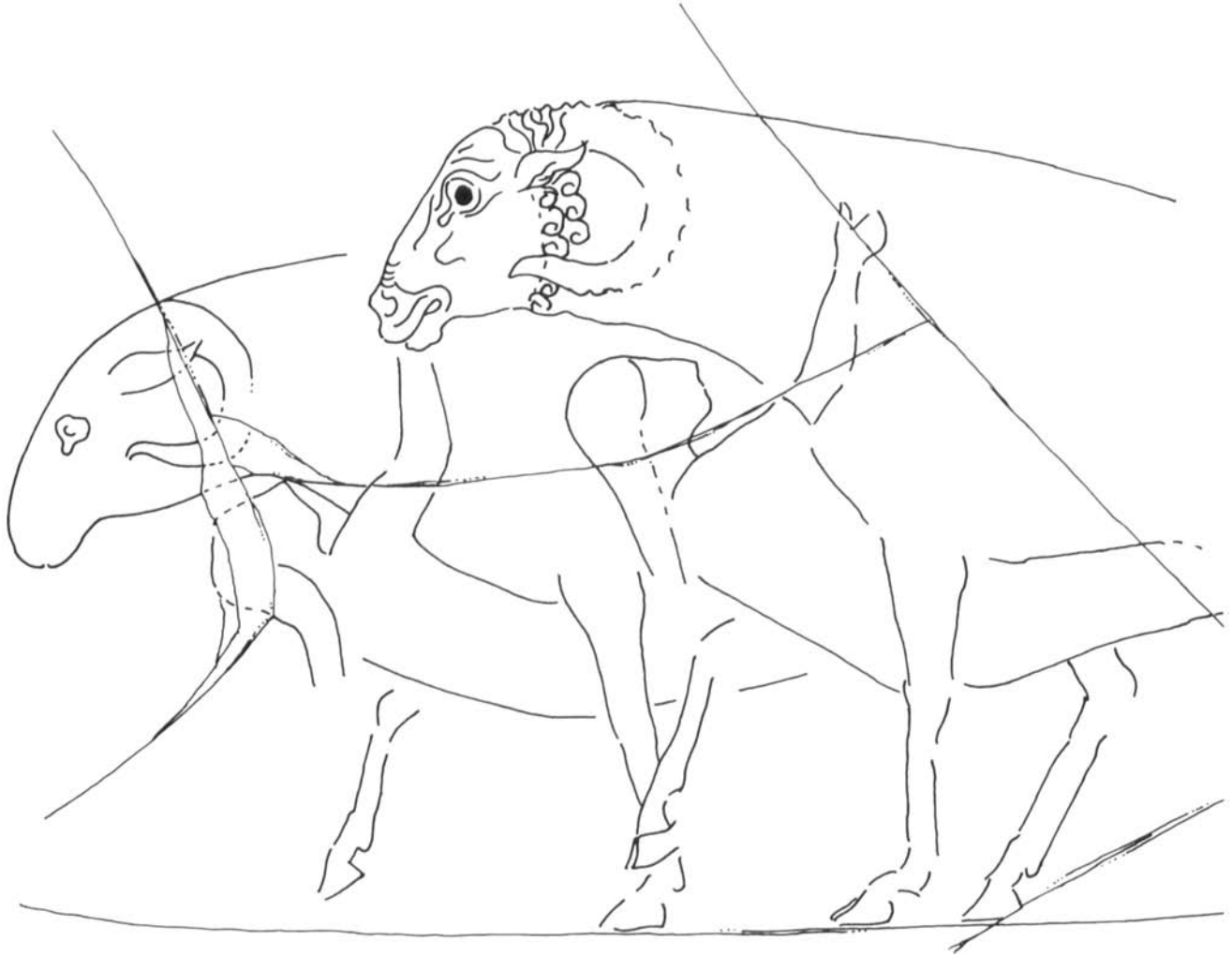


FIGURE 23c. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Obverse: sketch of breaks and repaintings. Drawing: Author, with corrections by Anne Leinster-Windham.

out to me by Anne Leinster-Windham: passing just above eye of lamb 2, through its ear and horn, continuing above back of lamb 2 and then curving downward through its tail; part of the surface above and in the back of lamb 2 is repainted.

4. Vertical break through center of body of lamb 2.

Of the three round objects above the lambs, half of the left roundel was lost in a break (fig. 19d), and there were breaks through the other two.

Colors, Contour Incisions, Preliminary Sketching, and Overlappings

Cyclops: beard and hair red; “band” of high-stemmed cup once colored, now modern white (which I accept, though the color photocopy on which fig. 19d is based seems to indicate that it might have been red).

Lamb 1: neck and horn possibly once colored (if so, probably red).

Lamb 2: horn red, head and neck white (pupil once black). Round objects: central one probably once red, lateral two white. All colors heavily repainted.

Much preliminary sketching in Cyclops (legs, shoulder, arms, etc.), in neck of lamb 1 and legs of lamb 2; in contours of round objects above them.

All contours incised except left foot of Cyclops and the three roundels above the lambs.

Hair of Cyclops overlaps leaf of handle palmette; tail of lamb 2 overlaps tongue of horizontal handle.

Description

On the reverse we see a unique asymmetry between the pictures to the left and right of the palmette (see fig. 19c). On the left side the



FIGURE 23d. “Polyphemos II” hydria, figure 19a. Obverse: ram 3 and Greek 3. Photo: Anne Leinster-Windham.

giant is crammed between the frieze lines and the ornaments of the horizontal and vertical handles, while on the right two timid, slender, smallish lambs seem almost lost in space. Polyphemos’s head and his huge cup are more or less balanced by three puzzling round objects above the lambs, but the empty space under those objects is a sharp contrast to the black mass of the giant’s body on the other side of the handle palmette.

Polyphemos reclines (figs. 19c–e, 25a), his eye (apparently meant as his left one⁹²) healthy and lively, his left elbow supported on a primitive cushion(?), a colossal drinking cup⁹³ in his right hand, his mouth wide open, as if half inebriated and bragging, as Homer tells us (*Od.* 9.355ff.): “Give me more, please, and tell me your name here and now—I would like to make you a gift that would please you” . . . and later: “I will eat Nobody [= Odysseus] last, and the rest before him. That shall be your gift!”⁹⁴

On the other side of the vertical handle are two lambs of normal size, and above them three round objects. To a Dutchman they look like the cheeses described by Odysseus when he tells what he found on entering the grotto with his comrades (*Od.* 9.219); but they are strangely hanging in the air without any support (however, so far there are no representations of shelves or similar furniture on the hydriai⁹⁵).

The figure of Polyphemos is a truly great monster and very close to his counterpart on no. 20 (“Polyphemos 1,” fig. 24). His

face is human but his nose is rather thick (though not quite satyr-like), his hair is so long that it should look uncivilized, but it is carefully combed and well kept, like that of “Polyphemos 1.” His body is a good demonstration of the way the Eagle Painter drew powerful nude males (cf. the sturdy young man of fig. 3a): note the “moustache-shaped” knees, and the misshapen thumb in his clumsy left hand. There is a slight indication of his pubic hair. The foot of the giant reaches far under the horizontal handle (fig. 19e).

We expect, of course, the Cyclops to be miserable and blind, just as we expect him to be stupefied by drink and fast asleep when he is blinded, but this was not to the liking of Greek painters. When he is blinded, he is often sitting more upright and is “still” holding his cup, though the pole is being stuck into his eye (fig. 24).

Comparing our happily drinking and bragging Polyphemos with the one that is being blinded, we see that the drinking giant of figures 19c and 25a is reclining lazily on his left elbow, while the Cyclops of figure 24 has raised his body into a more vertical position, sustaining himself on his left hand; his mouth, however, is less wide open than in figure 25a—as if he has not yet felt the cruel attack on his eye! At any rate, he cannot be said to be screaming in agony.⁹⁶ (This picture is unusual in that the painter suggests a single eye in the forehead by drawing an empty socket, where we see an eye in fig. 25a.) Note that his right leg is stretched and his left one bent, the reverse of our Cyclops.⁹⁷



FIGURE 24. “Polyphemos 1” hydria, figure 20. Obverse: Polyphemos. Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv.

The attitude of Polyphemos on our vase is very natural, and it is interesting to see how Greek artists loved to keep to such relaxed poses: compare the great youthful god in the East Pediment of the Parthenon, figure 26, who is in nearly the same position—though seemingly ages later (in fact hardly more than eighty years later)! His right arm is raised as if the hand was holding a cup; he is said to be Dionysos, but this may perhaps be doubted.⁹⁸

How did the painter of our vase fill the space to the right of the handle palmette? The size of the two animals (fig. 25c) indicates that we should call them lambs, or rather, young sheep, though their proportions are, I think, not convincing (their legs are too delicate, their bodies too long and slender).⁹⁹ The black one, on the off side, which apparently is meant to be a female, is strangely long necked. Its right foreleg would be the worst detail in all animals by the Eagle Painter, if its misshapen “wrist” (which is too low and lacks the indispensable curved incision) were not due to the restorer—though we cannot be sure about this since the breaks just visible in figure 19d do not prove that the “wrist” was lost in a break. The other lamb has a diminutive penis and a small scrotum. The outline of its profile is modern (see fig. 25d), but the incisions are indistinguishable from the ancient ones: once more the restorer shows us that he

can draw incisions as if he were the Eagle Painter himself—an entirely new, unexpected, and very disturbing aspect this hydria has brought home, both to archaeologists and to art dealers!

Note that both animals are ambling (like the rams on the obverse) and that they are neatly indicated as creatures with cloven hooves.¹⁰⁰ Their facial features are simpler than those of the rams on the obverse.

The three round objects above the lambs are heavily but, I believe, correctly restored. This half of the reverse scene being unique, we cannot look for help in pictures on other Greek vases. Odysseus, relating the story, speaks of “baskets laden with cheeses,” of “vessels, pails, bowls swimming with whey” (*Od.* 9.219–24). But these roundels cannot depict baskets and bowls; besides, Greek vase-painters hardly ever wanted to illustrate Homer literally. Nor did the Eagle Painter, though, as we have seen above, he must have had precise knowledge of at least one text in the *Iliad*—the Embassy to Achilles (*Il.* 9.165ff.)—and very probably also of the *Hymn to Hermes*, as we can see in our figure 17.¹⁰¹

Anyway, it is, I think, a fair guess that the roundels above the lambs are sheep’s-milk cheeses stored on some sort of (invisible) shelf; their white and red colors need not be realistic, for colors are



FIGURE 25a. “Polyphemos II” hydria, figure 19a. Reverse: detail of Polyphemos. Photo: Author.

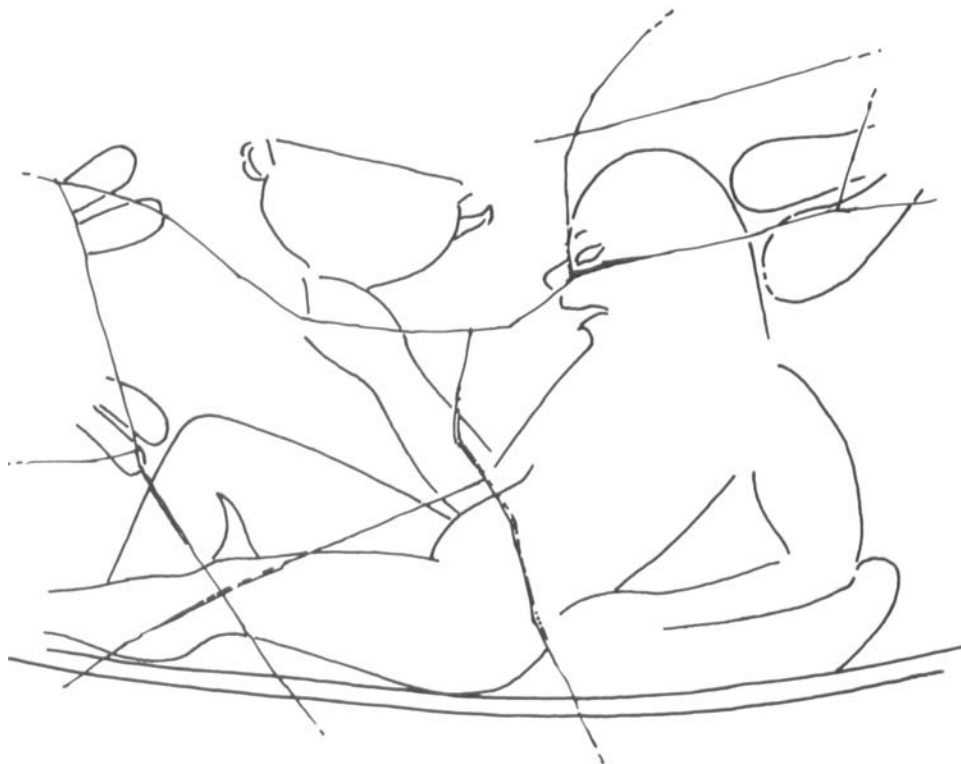


FIGURE 25b. “Polyphemos II” hydria, figure 19a. Reverse: sketch of repainted breaks in Polyphemos. Drawing: Author, with corrections by Anne Leinster-Windham.

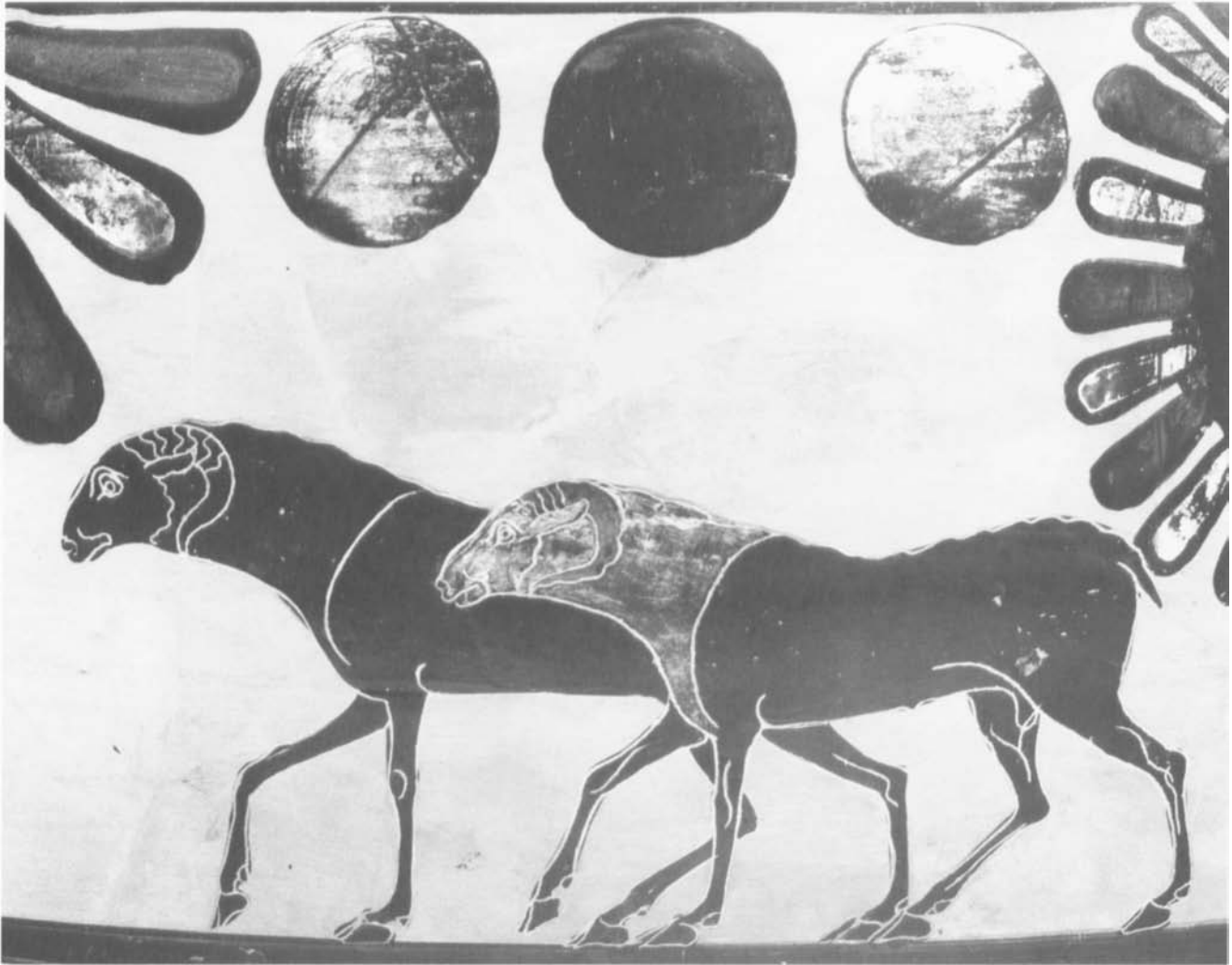


FIGURE 25C. “Polyphemus II” hydria, figure 19a. Reverse: young sheep on right-hand side. Photo: Bruce White.

used with great variation and liberty on the hydriai, but similar colors are, of course, not impossible for different types of cheeses.

COMMENT ON REVERSE SCENE

As a rule, both painters loved symmetry for their reverse pictures, especially on the “cheaper” vases of the Belly-ivy Series. Seven of these vases have a heraldic pair of sphinxes, horses, or horsemen on the reverse. On our vase the reverse picture—which, as we have seen, is probably based on (or part of) an escape picture destined for the obverse alone—could, of course, easily have contained the entire escape: Polyphemos on one side and Greek(s) escaping under ram(s) on the other. However, so far there are only three instances of a complete mythological scene relegated to the reverse: Herakles and the Lion (no. 24;

now known to be from a reverse, see above, note 5, and *CH*, pl. 89b–c), the Rape of Europa (no. 10, “Louvre Atalanta”), and Herakles contra Nessos on the reverse of no. 20 (“Polyphemus I,” *CH*, pls. 10c, 82¹⁰²). The reverse of no. 10 is interesting, for here, too, the main figures—Europa and the Bull—fill only half the available space (fig. 27).¹⁰³ To the left of the handle palmette the Eagle Painter designed a wholly original “portrait” of the isle of Crete, complete with hill, trees, and a hare.¹⁰⁴

On our vase the painter had a similar problem: He had to think of a subject to fill the other half of the reverse. Here he might have pictured the grotto itself, as he did on the obverse of no. 3, “Louvre Hermes,” where the cattle hidden in the cave make the scene intelligible (see fig. 17),¹⁰⁵ but he decided on

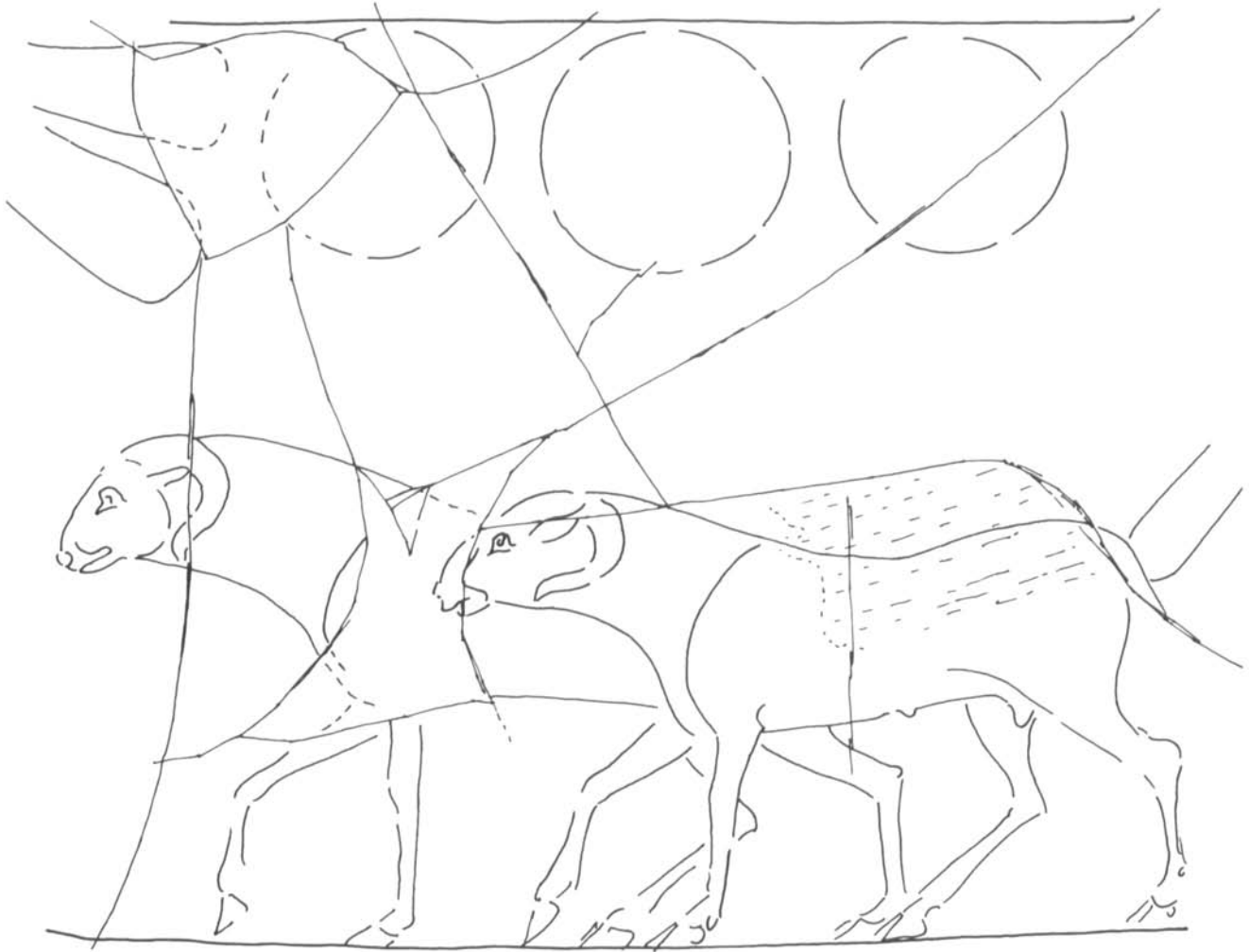


FIGURE 25d. “Polyphemos II” hydria, figure 19a. Reverse: sketch of repainted breaks in animals. Drawing: Author, with corrections by Anne Leinster-Windham.

rather insignificant animals, two slender lambs walking toward their master, and a very weak filler for the upper part, the three “cheeses.” Considering the entire oeuvre of the Eagle Painter, insofar as we know it now, it should be admitted that he chose a not very successful solution for this particular problem (which he had caused himself by relegating the blinded Polyphemos to the reverse, while restoring his sight and his mood). However, we must concede that the three pictures on this hydria once more testify to his delightful originality.

DATING, SEQUENCE, AND COLLABORATION

The dating of the Caeretan hydriai to the last quarter of the sixth century has been argued extensively in

CH and seems generally accepted. One of the arguments for so late a date is, apart from a significant stylization of drapery folds on a few hydriai (discussed below), the very progressive way in which the Busiris Painter draws such details as feet, wrists, and, to a lesser degree, the *linea alba*, etc. (*CH*, p. 157); with these he displays an understanding of the anatomy of these parts of the body that is hardly matched by the Attic painters until 510 or even later. However, so far do the Caeretan hydriai stand from the only tradition we know well—Attic pottery painting—that, if we did not know better, we might be inclined to date the hydriai to the third quarter of the century rather than the last one. Such a date is (misleadingly) suggested by the little we know of their tomb groups¹⁰⁶ and the



FIGURE 26. East Pediment of the Parthenon, Athens. Figure D. London, The British Museum 303. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

numerous traditional, old-fashioned elements that are found on them, such as the composition in friezes, the many heraldic themes (sphinxes, winged bulls, and horses), the emphasis on (mostly floral) ornaments, the usually stiffish rendering of drapery, and the poses of man and beast.

In spite of all this it is safe to suggest the following rough dates for the three hydriai discussed in this paper: “Polyphemos II” seems to be the earliest, ca. 520 B.C., and the “New York Mule” the latest, 510 or a little later; the “Malibu Hydra” should be dated in between these two. Incidentally, such a sequence is corroborated, for example, by the tongues of the horizontal handles, which start short and plump (fig. 19e) and then grow longer and more slender (fig. 18b) and

finally become very long and thin indeed (figs. 4c, 5, and 7). So much for the date of the hydriai.

The recently published *Secondo Supplemento* to the *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* (Rome, 1994–1997) contains the article “Ceretane, Idrie,” by H. P. Isler. In it Isler reiterates a number of opinions he published both before and after *CH* appeared in 1984.¹⁰⁷ The prestige of the *EAA* gives its articles a solid reputation of being up to date, definitive, and as accurate as possible; it is therefore necessary briefly to discuss here some matters in Isler’s article that ought to be corrected.¹⁰⁸

First a few words about the sequence of the hydriai. This cannot be determined in great detail, but there are some definite indications. The relevant argu-

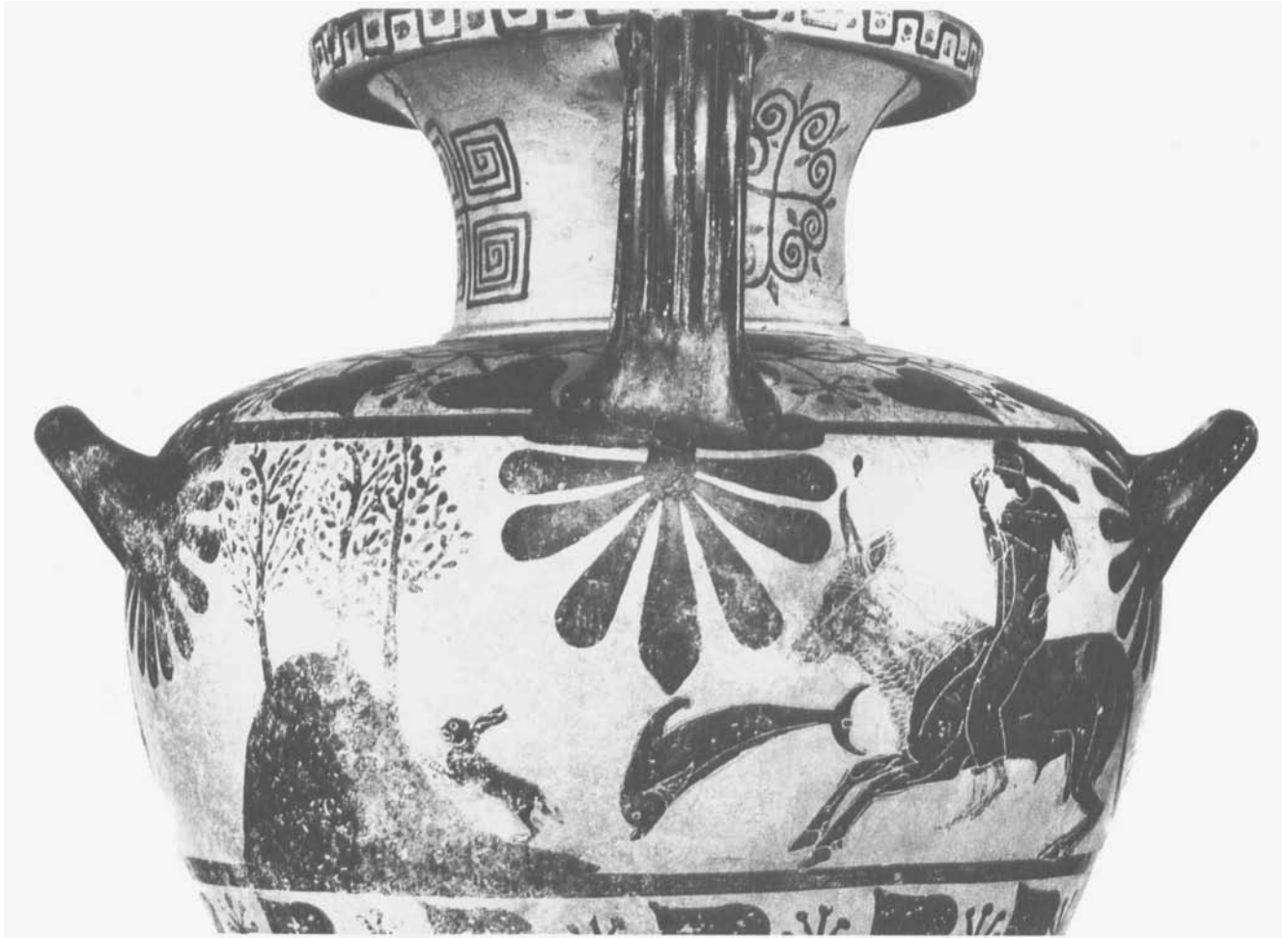


FIGURE 27. “Rape of Europa” Caeretan hydria (CH, no. 10). Reverse. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 696. Photo: M. Chuzeville.

ments have been fully discussed in *CH*, but they are spread over the different chapters and therefore not as easily found as one would perhaps wish (but see *CH*, pp. 98ff., 116, 152f.). Here it will suffice to point out just one piece of evidence, which is probably the most solid, if somewhat rough, basis for establishing the sequence of the hydriai, namely, the lotus-palmette frieze in the lower belly zone of the vases (Series 1 and 3, *CH*, p. 4).

On *CH* nos. 1, 3–8, and 19–21 (and, as we have seen above, probably also on nos. 22–24¹⁰⁹) this ornament was painted by the Eagle Painter. Its execution shows a steady development: The lotus-palmettes of nos. 1, 3, and 4 are rather clumsy and early; they are followed by the more elegant one of no. 5, and then by the fully developed, highly sophisticated five-leaved type of nos. 6–8, etc. (see here fig. 18j and *CH*, pls. 135–37; in the later group the slightly fatter flowers of our

“Polyphemus II”—figs. 21c–d—and nos. 19 and 21 look a little earlier). This rough indication of the sequence of the hydriai by the Eagle Painter is undeniable.

Similarly, we have two vases with an early lotus-palmette by the Busiris Painter: nos. 2 and 5 bis (see *CH*, pl. 135b, and above, note 8). That these two are early is manifest from a comparison with the painter’s classical lotus-palmettes (nos. 25–33; *CH*, pls. 138–39, including the “New York Mule,” here fig. 4h).

In spite of all this, Isler regards my nos. 1 and 2 (“London Battle” and “Boston Deerhunt”) as the last hydriai of the series. However, not only their lotus-palmettes but also the tomb group of no. 1 (see above, note 106) and many details of the vases—their shape, the decoration of the inside of the neck, the character and colors of the tongues, and the fact that the definite form of the hydriai had not yet been reached—prove beyond doubt that they are the earliest of the hydriai.

Like others before him, Isler was misled by the fact that these two vases are, curiously enough, nearly the only hydriai on which the painters displayed a lively interest in the depiction of drapery folds such as were fashionable at the time (see *CH*, p. 131). Those of no. 1 ("London Battle," *CH*, p. 9, fig. 2) are primitive and may still be early,¹¹⁰ but the lack of any interest in drapery folds in the later work of the Eagle Painter (apart from the beautifully curved folds in the edge of the skirt of the royal lady on no. 8 and the fine mantle of the hunter on its reverse, *CH*, pls. 46–47) shows that it was an experiment and not a late development.

On no. 2 ("Boston Deerhunt," *CH*, p. 11, fig. 3) the Busiris Painter produced a more advanced, rather ambitious rendering of drapery folds, a stylization that cannot—I believe—be earlier than 525 and may well be a little later (*CH*, p. 157). Similar but more easily drawn and simpler folds are found in two of his later pictures, no. 30 (*CH*, p. 82, fig. 48d) and no. 21 (*CH*, p. 39, fig. 30). However, his interest in drapery folds is not much greater than that of the Eagle Painter and certainly does not reflect his development as a draftsman.

Isler further believes that the figure scenes and ornaments on the individual vases were painted by a single hand and not, as is often the case, by two, or sometimes even three different hands. Here style is the only argument. As we have seen, comparison between some of the photos published here shows that the clumsy hand of an assistant must be recognized in certain ornaments, such as those of figures 8 and 19g, j–l, whereas the very fine ivies of figures 4e and 18g and i are safely attributed to the two masters (cf. further *CH*, pls. 128 and 133, and chap. IID).

Because Isler denies that part of the ornaments are from the hands of assistants (*CH*, chap. IID, pp. 88ff.), he comes to the misleading conclusion that the only indicator of the sequence of the hydriai is the palmette of the vertical handle. However, the palmettes he calls early are the stiff ones found in Group A (here figs. 21a–b and *CH*, pp. 106–7, figs. 62–63), all of which were drawn with the help of clumsy templates and are obviously by another hand than the often beautifully elegant palmettes in the lotus-palmette friezes of the same vases (see here figs. 21c–d). Thus he takes a difference of hands and technique (freehand drawing versus tracing with the help of templates) for the only trustworthy indication of the sequence of the series.

A NOTE ON HUMOR

Let us end with a few words about the most attractive feature of the hydriai and their two masters, namely, their conspicuous sense of humor. In the main scene of the "New York Mule" (fig. 10a) it should be pointed out—though it may well seem superfluous to most readers—that the tail pulling is meant as a detail that should surprise and amuse the onlooker. Both painters were fond of such drastic traits in their scenes, details that are certainly meant to make us smile. For example, the Eagle Painter depicts with gusto how a dog is cut in two by crashing into a boar, which seems quite stunned by the impact (*CH*, pl. 52a; we now have two examples of this scene, see above, note 5); six Egyptians are being killed in one huge onslaught by the Busiris Painter's Herakles, while their colleagues are squawking like fluttering birds, waving their hands in panic in an Oriental fashion (fig. 2); and there are countless more examples (see *CH*, pp. 151–52).

As for tail pulling, this is an old Near Eastern theme¹¹¹ that is not unknown in Greece. On a krater by Lydos a maenad seizes her partner by his tail, and on a Tyrrhenian amphora Herakles has a firm hold on the tail of Nessos while plunging his sword deep into the Centaur's buttock.¹¹² Greeks were very conscious, and even fond of tails: witness the beautiful, sensitive, and sweeping tails of satyrs in Attic pottery, but also the way in which the maenad on *CH* no. 4 (the reverse of "Vienna Hephaestus," *CH*, pl. 39a) steadies herself for better enjoyment of her love embrace—she has swung her leg over the tail of her gigantic lover! Or look at the fine swing in the sphinxes' tails on figures 18v and w, or the eagerly quivering slender tail of the panther in figure 10a, which is a perfect expression of the passion and tension at work in this blood-thirsty beast.

Now, sometimes archaeologists¹¹³ are so sceptical about the rectitude of our understanding of Greek art that they believe our smile to be due to an anachronistic misinterpretation. Perhaps this might have been so, had the study of Greek art been a branch of prehistoric archaeology with no literature and no link whatsoever with our own civilization, but fortunately this is far from true. In fact, we are very well acquainted with the mentality and way of thinking of sixth-century Greeks, especially those from the East Greek areas, from which our painters undoubtedly stem. We know the serious thoughts, anger, and humor of many poets and philosophers of this period, and we have the later, but convincing accounts of Herodotos and others; in fact,

since we also have the enormous corpus of Archaic Greek art and vase-painting, we understand sixth-century Greeks so well that we can explain and, as it were, “predict” how it came about that Aristophanes

and his colleagues in later times were destined to make such hilarious comedies!

Surely, the tail pulling of figure 10a should make us smile and not puzzle.

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NOTES

The text for this paper was completed and submitted in 1995. I am grateful for the permission to study and publish the vases of this article and for great hospitality and much help besides. This gratitude is due in the first place to Shelby White and Leon Levy, the owners of the two hydriai in New York published here, and to the authorities of the J. Paul Getty Museum, especially Marion True and her colleagues; further to Susanna Pancaldo, Anne C. Leinster-Windham, and Dietrich von Bothmer in New York. I thank the following for photographs and/or permission to publish them: Alfred Bernhardt-Walcher of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Alain Pasquier of the Louvre, Maria A. Rizzo of the Villa Giulia Museum, Moira White of the Otago Museum, and Dyfri Williams of the British Museum. Anne Leinster-Windham kindly corrected my sketches of the breaks in “Polyphemus II” (figs. 23c, 25b and d). Michiel Bootsman of the Allard Pierson Museum has managed to make good prints of some very bad negatives.

1. The hydriai are indicated with the catalogue numbers and denominations used in my monograph *Caeretan Hydriai*, Kerameus, vol. 5 (Mainz, 1984), here abbreviated *CH*.

2. While writing this paper, I was reminded of Prof. Emilie Haspels, who told me of a scathing remark made by Beazley about the work of Prof. Ure and his wife: “Nobody,” Beazley said, “wants to know the whole truth about Rhitsona.” With this I disagree: I want the whole truth—if it were possible!—about the Caeretan hydriai.

3. My nos. 35, 36, 38, and 39, *CH*, pp. 55–58, and some other sherds besides.

4. The two in the Shelby White and Leon Levy collection in New York are the “New York Mule,” fig. 4a, and “Polyphemus II,” fig. 19a.

One is now in the Niarchos collection, Athens (*CH*, no. 29, p. 45, formerly Hirschmann collection, “Zurich Monster”); see Sotheby’s, London, December 9, 1993, *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, no. 35 (beautiful color prints); since its present whereabouts are likely not to be permanent, it is now to be named “Phokè” (the Greek word for the funny little seal on it). It is the first Caeretan hydria ever on show in Greece; it was exhibited in Athens in the Museum of Cycladic Art, N. P. Goulandris Foundation, in 1995; see the catalogue: L. I. Marangou, *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos* (Athens, 1995).

Another is in the Angelo Marini collection in Cerveteri, until recently unknown to me, see *infra*, note 8.

5. My nos. 24 and 37; see F. W. Hamdorf, *MüJb*, Dritte Folge, 43 (n.d.): 194–95. The sherds nos. 24 and 37 will, we hope, in due time be incorporated into this vase, which is painted with another boar hunt with Atalanta, very like no. 10 (“Louvre Atalanta”). This new vase must, therefore, be renamed “Munich Atalanta” or “Atalanta II” and is now no. 24 in my catalogue (in *CH*, no. 24 is named “Louvre Nemean lion”). I believe that my no. 36 (a sherd in Munich, 893, inv. 6095), which Hamdorf tentatively includes, does

not belong to this complex. Incidentally, it is a pleasant coincidence that the alleged provenance of my no. 37 (which was said to be from Egypt) has now proved to be a mistake in the inventory data of the Louvre (*CH*, pp. 56 and 165). I shall deal with this hydria in what I expect will be my final paper on the hydriai (entitled “Addenda and Corrigenda”), forthcoming in *BABesch*.

Further, new sherds have turned up that belong to no. 8 (“Berlin Chariot,” now lost; see H. A. Cahn, in *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery* [Amsterdam, 1986], pp. 35–38, esp. fig. 3); and a fragment of no. 32 (“Louvre Leda”) has been given to the Louvre by Dietrich von Bothmer but has not yet been inserted into the vase. The sherds of no. 28 (“London Arimasian”) illustrated in *CH*, pl. 127a, b, c, and f have been given to the British Museum and are now incorporated in the vase.

6. My no. 25, *CH*, pp. 42–43, “Zurich Pholos,” now to be named just “Pholos” since its future whereabouts is unknown. See *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (*supra*, note 4), no. 36. It has since been cleaned but, I am afraid, not without some damage to the white of the body of the second Centaur.

7. See *CH*, p. 196. I do not count the Louvre sherds nos. 24 and 37, since they belong to “Atalanta II,” the vase in Munich. See *supra*, note 5.

8. Including the new hydria in the Angelo Marini collection in Cerveteri, published by M. A. Rizzo, *BdA* 56–57 (1989): 1–7. It belongs between my nos. 5 and 6, near the border of Group B (with the developed lotus-palmette friezes); it will be no. 5 bis in my catalogue (see *CH*, p. 4, table A) and is to be named “Arimasian II.” It belongs to series I (with tongues on the shoulder) and is very badly preserved; the figure scenes seem to be by the Eagle Painter, and the ornaments are by the Busiris Painter.

9. The reverse of the Caeretan hydria in New Zealand, *CH*, no. 26, Otago Museum F 53.61; *CH*, pls. 95–96. This eagle is exceptionally elaborate in that there are three rows of feathers in its wings instead of two.

10. *CH*, pl. 119.1. There are slight inaccuracies in the faces: see the corrections *CH*, fig. 41, p. 53. A number of amusing descriptions of this surprising vase are quoted in *CH*, pp. 151f.; add to them Brendel’s words, “an ancient version of Gulliver’s adventure with the Lilliputians” (*infra*, note 13, p. 172). The other vases by the Busiris Painter are nos. 2, 11, 21, 25, 31, 31 bis, 32, 33, and the fragments of no. 35 (lost); he collaborated with the Eagle Painter in the figure scenes of nos. 1 and 30.

11. See *CH*, index, s.v. “Direction of Scenes.” To right are: three with Herakles fighting Nessos, nos. 16, 17, and 20 (besides, there are sherds of a fourth!); one with Herakles fighting the Centaurs; and one with the killing of Alkyoneus (nos. 25 and 21); further the blinding of Polyphemos, no. 20 (here fig. 24); and the hunting scene on the reverse of no. 29, now in the Niarchos collection (see *supra*, note 4). In these pictures the painters may have been influenced by what they had seen on mainland pottery.

12. The unfortunately badly preserved vase no. 12, “Louvre Odios,” is a surprising case of collaboration of the two painters (*CH*, pp. 81–83). The handwriting of the names “Odios,” “Aias,”

and "Nestor" is probably that of the Eagle Painter, though the figures under these names were undoubtedly painted by the Busiris Painter. Of course, names were written when the decoration of a vase had been finished. Now, in this case, most ornaments had been painted by the Busiris Painter: the lines and stripes on the lower belly; the ivy pattern on the shoulder; and, at the horizontal handles, the long, slender tongues (*CH*, pls. 106–8; the ornaments of foot and neck are lost). He then started painting the obverse scene, but when he had finished the four figures in the left half of the scene—with Odios, Aias, and Nestor—he was apparently interrupted in some way, so the Eagle Painter took over, painted the right-hand part of the obverse, and then put in the inscriptions, before or after painting the decoration of the reverse, the sphinxes, and the small handle palmette and unusual volutes (*CH*, pls. 106 and 108).

13. J. P. Small, "Direction in Etruscan Art," *OpRom* 26 (1987): 125–35. In his excellent posthumous book, *Etruscan Art* (New York, 1978), O. Brendel says, "There is room for doubt whether these vases [the Caeretan hydriai] should be discussed at all in a volume on Etruscan art, rather than in one on Greek art. The answer probably is that they should be included in both" (p. 171), and about the (Busiris) Painter, "His style was decidedly Greek and indeed notably free from provincialism" (p. 173).

14. Similarly, we may be sure that Atalanta's dress on the new sherds in Munich (see *supra*, note 5) was once painted red, though no color has been preserved (her hair was black and her skin white, therefore the now-streaky dress was red). In rare cases the first sketch in dilute black may be changed and abandoned in the final painting: *CH*, no. 2, pp. 10–11, figs. 3d and e.

15. *CH*, pp. 34, 99, pls. 136d, 166a. In the flowers the calyxes, toruses (the short bars under the flowers and buds), and the two inner petals flanking the central one were white. The central petals were red. Of the buds the tips must have been red, and the calyxes and toruses were meant to be black. There is much discoloring of the black by oxidation, which makes it difficult to be sure about the original colors. Under the flowers are vague traces of slender, diamond-shaped spikes, apparently once colored (red?) on clay. On no. 2, "Boston Deerhunt," the lost colors are less difficult to discover (as on no. 5 bis, the Angelo Marini hydria, *supra*, note 8): here the petals flanking the central leaf of the flowers have lost the white color altogether but form a light shade on the surface, indicating that they were once painted (*CH*, pls. 135b, 164b).

16. Brendel (*supra*, note 13), p. 171, says that the colors are "so generously employed that many of the representations can hardly be described as black-figured, in the strict sense of that term." See also *CH*, n. 43; as in Corinthian, "the colour lies in fairly broad fields," not in panels and dabs as on Attic ware.

17. By K. Friis Johansen, K. Schefold, and others, see *CH*, p. 30 and n. 48.

18. Numbers of elements of the decoration of the "New York Mule" and their measurements; they should be entered as belonging to no. 31 bis in the relevant tables in *CH*.

Neck: Three double lotuses and $3\frac{3}{4}$ rosette-stars (overlapping under handle; see *CH*, p. 100).

Shoulder: Seven ivy leaves inside, ten leaves outside intertwined central branch.

Figure frieze: Width of scene A from hooves of mule to heel of the young peasant 31 cm; between palmettes of horizontal handles 28.3 cm on A and 29.5 cm on B.

Palmette of vertical handle: Ht. 8.1 cm; width 11 cm; seven leaves: three red, four white.

Lower belly zone: Seven lotuses and palmettes; palmettes with five leaves, two of them red; preliminary sketch in some flowers.

Rays at base: Length 4.6–4.7 cm; eighteen, red and black, touching the upper border.

Tongues: In mouth twenty-eight; on foot ca. twenty-two (many lost); around each of the four attachments of horizontal handles twenty-three, long and slender, up to 4.2 cm long; at the right-hand handle, behind, some tongues are lost, but two white ones are next to each other, as at the other attachments.

The frieze lines (which are, of course, rather uneven) are unusually thick (1–1.5 cm, especially the baseline of the scenes).

19. The reserved ring is lacking only in the mouth of the experimental hydriai nos. 1 and 2 (*CH*, pl. 14) but is quite common elsewhere, see *CH*, p. 65 with n. 45. In Attic pottery such reserved stripes are found in the mouth of calyx- and bell-kraters, indicating, as it were, the upper level (though somewhat too high) of the wine.

20. A striking parallel is seen on the crown of Darius in the Behistun relief, see *CH*, p. 172 and nn. 639–41; for more indications of Oriental influence, see *CH*, index sub "Oriental Art" (add n. 657) and sub "Assyrian Art."

21. I have only very hesitantly discussed a possible funerary intention on the part of the painters and potters: *CH*, p. 120 with n. 198; pp. 122, 158, 193, but see *infra*.

22. Except, perhaps, the rim of no. 33 (*CH*, pl. 115a; a clumsy castellated ornament with careless crosses, probably drawn by one of the helpmates in the workshop). I believe that in Attic pottery helpmates were likewise sometimes called in; see, e.g., the great difference in the style of the meanders on some pots painted by the Sabouroff Painter, *BABesch* 50 (1975): 30–32.

23. Panthers do not have a frontal face on the Caeretan hydriai; see *CH*, p. 145.

24. Note that it passes behind the hind leg on the offside.

25. Though the artist no doubt lacked direct knowledge of lions, he may have known this kind of reaction to tail pulling from smaller domesticated felines; one would love to think that he had a cat at home, but cats seem to have been surprisingly rare in Greece, in contrast to dogs. As for the lioness's canine dugs, see *CH*, p. 144 with n. 316. Incidentally, this is the first live lion by the Busiris Painter (see *CH*, p. 144); she lacks the tuft of hair above the tail seen on two male lions by the Eagle Painter, nos. 8 and 24.

26. For tail pulling, see *infra*, notes 111ff. For wavy (or corkscrew-shaped) spears, common on the hydriai, in Etruria but also elsewhere, see *CH*, p. 183e.

27. Herakles, of course, is always sporting a mustache and a beard, but the hero fighting the monster on no. 29 ("Phokè," Niarchos collection, *CH*, pl. 105b, cf. pl. 105a) is bearded without mustache; this is one of the reasons why he cannot be Herakles (*CH*, p. 137b; besides, he wears a slight ear ornament, see *infra*). A beard without mustache is also worn by the hunter on the reverse of the same vase; further, Dionysos on nos. 5 and 14, and some of the dancers on no. 12. It is quite common in all pottery but especially on earlyish and small vases.

A mustache without a beard is extremely rare in Greek art, though it is customary among modern Greeks and Turks: Apollo on no. 12 ("Louvre Tityos," *CH*, pl. 57e and fig. 12b) has a thin, rather elegant mustache, and he must be the only beardless Apollo on vases to have that. We find mustaches without beards also on some East Greek figure- or head-vases, e.g., *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 4 (Malibu, 1989), p. 10, fig. 5 (male head on a female bust in London), and *ibid.*, p. 60, fig. 14a (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.925 = E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, vol. 6.1 of *Samos* [Bonn, 1973], pl. 55, no. 480: a female head with a mustache painted on it?); further a vase, in Philadelphia, close to the La Tolfa series (*CH*, n. 1000). A mustache without a beard was also at home in Naukratis; see the miniature alabaster

kouros in Moscow, Pushkin Museum 1, ia 3000 (*Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens: Meisterwerke antiker Kunst*, exh. Kunsthau Zürich, January 29–May 2, 1993 [Zurich, 1993], no. 98, with lit.). In Etruscan art I can think only of a large head rising from the ground on a vase by the Micali Painter in Budapest, see M. A. Rizzo, ed., *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo: Il pittore di Micali* (Rome, 1988), fig. 19 (also with a pierced earlobe; see *infra*, note 48).

28. The Eagle Painter often paints the breast instead of the back of a figure (here fig. 18m). This is, I think, not a simple primitivism on his part, but seems intentional; see *infra*, note 61, and *CH*, p. 150. The Busiris Painter seldom makes the back view as ambiguous as we see it here. Anyway, the hands and feet of father and son show that the torsos and chitons are meant to be seen from behind.

29. See *CH*, n. 786; K. Friis Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens: Étude archéologique* (Rome, 1966), pl. 29.2. For the derivation of such scenes from the Orient, see *infra*, note 111.

30. The hydria recently published by Rizzo (*supra*, note 8), which I will discuss in my final article on the hydriai, has a feline attacking a stag at either side of the handle palmette, similar to the lion mauling a mule in fig. 11, but without a shepherd coming to the rescue. The scene is an ordinary animal fight and the first example of this traditional theme on the hydriai; it is divested of narrative content and has been turned into a symmetrical heraldic design.

31. The sherds in Munich mentioned *supra*, note 5; they will be published later; it contains also no. 7 of list g, *CH*, p. 118.

32. N. Plautine and K. Schauenburg, see *CH*, n. 316. Though these are cubs and not hunting dogs, the scene may be compared to Oriental examples, such as a frieze from Alaca Höyük where a hunter, assisted by two small dogs, is killing a panther (see *CH*, p. 143 with nn. 298–99; E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, trans. from German by C. McNab [New York, 1962], pl. 95).

33. All quotations are taken from E. V. Rieu's translation, sometimes slightly adapted. The influence of Homeric similes on such themes has often been discussed: see E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 84ff. with n. 5; and P. Müller, *Löwen und Mischwesen in der archaischen griechischen Kunst* (Zurich, 1978), index, s.v. "Gleichnisse."

34. Incidentally, there is a good parallel for this scene on a curious East Greek vase in Cairo with a lioness defending herself and her cubs against hunters on horseback with spears and a bow (see *CH*, p. 180 with n. 797).

35. E.g., in the Tomba degli Auguri (pediment); in Pontic, see the Nicossthenic amphora by the Paris Painter in Berlin, L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter* (Copenhagen, 1974), no. 37, pl. 19 (only partly preserved); also a kyathoslike bowl by the Tityos Painter in Rome, Villa Giulia 65465 (Rizzo [*supra*, note 27], figs. 43 and 173).

36. Vincent Tosto shows me a picture of the black-figured cup Florence 3888 (*ABV* 231.5, potter signature of Nikosthenes) with a closely comparable picture: a pantheress and a panther attacking a (rather impassive) doe. The pantheress, with white canine dugs, is on top of the doe, like our lioness, but she is biting its neck; the male panther clings upside down to the doe's belly and neck, tearing at its throat, like our panther. Again, some of the claws that are shown are in the weak profile view. The cup is possibly somewhat earlier than our vase, perhaps about 520.

37. The panther clinging to the mule's neck and the lion on its back are surprisingly true to nature, as seen in many a nature film of lions attacking wildebeests. Other examples of this fierceness are the wild onslaught of Herakles on the Egyptians (fig. 2) and the way in which the Kalydonian Boar cuts a hunting dog in two, slinging the front part high into the air (*CH*, pl. 52a). A comparable attack of a panther and a lion on a victim from the front and

from above is found on the kyathos by the Tityos Painter mentioned *supra*, note 35.

38. Two of them are men attacking female panthers that assault stags, by the Euergides Painter (*ARV²* 92.65–68), and a curious "Pontic" scene by the Paris Painter with a herd of cattle attacked by a panther, while the shepherd is running off (Hannestad [*supra*, note 35], no. 12, pls. 6–7).

39. According to John Boardman they are (apart from the Protocorinthian scene here on fig. 14): a slab of the Assos frieze; a Chalcidian vase; an Attic one (with the mule lying on its back, like the bull on the hydria in the Metropolitan Museum, here fig. 16); a clay arula from Sicily; a Siciliote black-figured pyxis in Basel; and three East Greek gems. See next note.

40. Here follow the references of *CH*, n. 785; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (New York, 1985), fig. 216.11; A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin, 1927), pl. 111; *AM* 47 (1922): pl. 14.2; *AA* 79 (1964): 733ff., fig. 49; J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (London, 1968), nos. 387, 440, 422 (on its back); Scythian, J. Boardman, *Preclassical, from Crete to Archaic Greece* (Baltimore, 1967), fig. 103. A remarkably close parallel to the attack on our mule is found about 150 years later on a "Greek" omphalos phiale from Scythia, St. Petersburg, Hermitage DM 1913 1/48: *Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens* (*supra*, note 27), no. 33, middle frieze (repeated seven times): a panther attacking from the front, similar to the one on our vase, and a big lion that has jumped on the back of the mule (which has sunk to the ground under the lion's weight); in the upper frieze (repeated about ten times): two lions mauling a supine mule—cf. the bull on the New York hydria, fig. 16.

41. See *supra*, notes 20 and 40. Such an Eastern derivation of the scene of no. 18 ("New York Bull," fig. 16) is suggested by a related scene in a Lycian tomb: three Scythian archers on foot have wounded a lion that is attacking a bull; there is a close parallel on a Phoenician silver bowl from Praeneste: two lions are at a bull, but a horseman is shooting at them. See *CH*, n. 788, and *infra*, note 42.

42. See Brendel (*supra*, note 13), pp. 54 and 173, about the influence of Syro-Phoenician bowls in Etruria. On such bowls, however, the victim usually is not an animal but a man (as on the Chigi jug), while the lion itself is attacked by men coming to the rescue. See, e.g., the well-known gilded-silver bowl from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, on which the air is full of arrows shot off by a horseman and a footman, while another hunter fights with a spear and shield (and a dog under the horse); the whole scene looks like a prototype of our hunting scenes (there is a good photograph in the guidebook by G. Rosati and Fr. Buranelli, *Egyptians and Etruscans: Vatican Museums* [Florence, 1983], pl. 19). For further parallels of no. 18, with the bull lying on its back, see *CH*, p. 180, nn. 790–94. To my knowledge no shepherds are coming to the rescue in the Greek and Etruscan examples (*CH*, p. 180).

43. E.g., *CH*, n. 789: an ivory from Sparta with a man killing a lion that is eating a bull; and a Pontic amphora by the Tityos Painter with a woman (Artemis?) shooting a lion that is chasing a deer.

44. See W. Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 43–62, esp. 56–57.

45. Vermeule (*supra*, note 33), pp. 188ff. (bibl. on Tritons: n. 12 on p. 250), says that "Tritons chase sea-horses," but unfortunately she does not give any example. Hippocamps and Tritons are frequent in Etruscan tombs and on Etruscan vases; see, e.g., M. A. Rizzo, *Prospettiva* 73–74 (1994): 7ff., esp. n. 100, with lit.; she refers to La Tolfa, nos. 4–8 and 50 of Zilverberg's list (M. Zilverberg, "The La Tolfa Painter, Fat or Thin?" in *Enthousiasmos* [*supra*, note 5], pp. 49–60), and Ivy Group, nos. 50–51 (A. Drukker, "The Ivy Painter

in Friesland," in *Enthousiasmos*, pp. 39–48). On p. 8 Vermeule expresses her surprise that sea creatures are so rare on the Caeretan hydriai (the only exception being no. 29, "Phokè"). The Busiris Painter has now fulfilled her expectations in this respect! See also *Prospettiva* 44 (1986): 1–5, figs. 2–11.

Apart and together sea creatures can also often be found on Pontic vases; I mention some examples. Hannestad (supra, note 35), no. 13 (both to left, Nereus looking back at the Hippocamp: *LIMC* 6 [Zurich, 1992], s.v. "Nereus," no. 8*, pl. 517, p. 825); L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter* (Copenhagen, 1976), pl. 24 (Tityos Painter; two Tritons and running women). A curious parallel is the Pontic vase with a Triton following a (wingless) Hippocamp on a vase by the Amphiaros Painter (ibid., no. 3: *EAA*, vol. 7, fig. 1123); and on that painter's name piece two warriors seemingly hunt a Hippocamp with spears (Hannestad, loc. cit., no. 1, pl. 3). Hunting a Hippocamp in this way, not by Triton himself, seems to occur elsewhere, though the pictures never clearly represent a regular hunt: e.g., a nenfro slab published in *NSc* 6, series 8 (1952): 230, where a man seems to be attacking a Hippocamp. Tritons are also common on La Tolfa vases and related (*LIMC* 6 [Zurich, 1992], s.v. "Nereus," no. 9, pl. 517, with human genitals just above the borderline between belly and tail); on the Northampton amphora; etc.

46. J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (New York, 1980), fig. 306; or K. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1967), p. 45, pl. 7. Boardman suggests that Tritons were ultimately inspired by Assyrian and neo-Hittite examples of demons, half man and half fish (op. cit., p. 79, referring to K. Shepard, *The Fish-Tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art* [New York, 1940]).

47. See *LIMC* 5 (Zurich, 1990), s.v. "Herakles," p. 121, no. 2844, where Boardman sticks to the interpretation of Herakles and Hesioné. Incidentally, the big amber pearls around the neck of the lady on no. 8, "Berlin Chariot," may perhaps also be seen as typically Etruscan, since such pearls are found on painted terracotta slabs; see M. A. Rizzo, in *Tyrrenoi Philotechnoi*, ed. M. Martelli, pp. 51ff., pl. 1.1–2 (Rome, 1994).

48. For earrings and pierced ears, see *CH*, index, s.v. "Ear Ornaments," e.g., pp. 141 and 173: pierced ears occur on Dionysos, Iolaos (here fig. 181), the Arimaspean, the sphinxes of no. 6, and on one woman (Deianeira of no. 16). See also J. Boardman, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 3 (Malibu, 1986), p. 61 ("Pierced ears identified the eastern male"); see the head-vase in Boston mentioned supra, note 27.

49. See also *CH*, nn. 250, 856ff., pp. 183 and 189c.

50. Cf. an amphora by the Paris Painter, Hannestad (supra, note 35), no. 16: a chariot and a sword-drawing man in front of it, both facing left and certainly not enemies of each other.

51. I feel obliged to confess that I am no longer sure that the little alabastron in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.7, is not a very clever fake (see my note in *Secondo congresso internazionale etrusco. Atti*, Florence, May 26–June 2, 1985 [Rome, 1989], 2: 729–32). In fact, I believe it should be ignored until positive evidence comes to light (e.g., by a thermoluminescence test).

52. I might have added lions and panthers killing a victim together or separately, which is a very common subject in the pediments of Etruscan tombs. Much has been written about such funerary implications; see, e.g., for hunting scenes, Vermeule (supra, note 33), pp. 66ff. (also about animals being attacked with their young), and p. 84; for sphinxes, see p. 69. In his article in *Il pittore di Micali* (supra, note 27), pp. 14–21, N. J. Spivey is, I believe, somewhat too easily convinced of a funerary connotation of the wildish subjects of the Micali Painter.

53. However, knowledge of Greek myths was apparently

widespread in Etruria already in the middle of the seventh century; witness the bucchero olpe published by M. A. Rizzo and M. Martinelli, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, 1988–1989: 12–56, depicting and naming Medea (boiling and rejuvenating Iason or Aison) and Daidalos (*LIMC* 6 [Zurich, 1992], s.v. "Medeia," no. 1, pl. 194). Incidentally, I have never said nor implied that the painters of the hydriai worked solely for immigrant Greeks in the region, as H. P. Isler writes in *Gnomon* 59 (1987): 721–31, esp. 727, and *EAA*, *Secundo Supplemento* (Rome, 1994–1997), vol. 2, s.v. "Ceretane, Idrie," p. 104.

54. See *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978): 2 n. 7.

55. Numbers of elements of the decoration of "Malibu Hydra" and their measurements; most of these can be found sub no. 23 in the relevant tables in *CH* (cf. supra, note 18).

Neck: Five double lotuses and four rosette-stars; reservation in lotuses; see *CH*, p. 100, table F.

Shoulder: Ten leaves inside, and fifteen leaves outside intertwined central branch; two leaves painted on inside of vertical handle. *CH*, p. 92, table D.

Figure frieze: The width of scene A between tongues of horizontal handles 33.1 cm; of scene B 32.5 cm.

Palmette of vertical handle: Length 9.6 cm; width 9.1 cm; seven leaves, four red, three white (*CH*, p. 108, table G); loop and leaves separated by reservation.

Lower belly zone: Seven lotuses and palmettes; palmettes with seven leaves, three of them red, white hearts. Much reservation. *CH*, p. 95, table E.

Rays at base: Length 6.3 cm; sixteen, red and black, touching the upper border.

Tongues (*CH*, p. 111, table H): In mouth twenty-two; on foot sixteen; around attachments of horizontal handles nineteen, twenty-one, nineteen, twenty-two; length 2.5–3 cm.

56. In *CH*, p. 108, table G, it is said that the handle palmette of no. 8 ("Berlin Chariot") likewise has "reserved" petals. This I must have guessed, but it is now certain since that part of the palmette has turned up: see Cahn (supra, note 5), p. 36, fig. 7.

57. Variations of this motif are found on nos. 5 and 15, see *CH*, p. 104, fig. 61. The reader is requested to correct this figure by changing the caption of the motif in the left column, third from below, containing a castellated motif: here one should read "10," and the present caption, "11/34 and (narrower) 27/31," should be moved down and placed under the meander under it.

58. This is uncertain. I know of one colored animal with spots, the third deer on *CH*, no. 2, "Boston Deerhunt," pl. 26. The colors of the skin of Hydra and its dots are lost. The skin may have been white with dark spots, or yellowish brown with white spots; see *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978): 10, fig. 53, and *CH*, p. 10. Snakes with goatee beards, such as we have here, derive from divine serpents in Egyptian art; see Boardman (supra, note 46), p. 151.

59. White is used for a metal corslet on *CH*, no. 37, pl. 126d—now part of "Atalanta 11," see supra, note 5, and *CH*, n. 18. It is also found in other pottery; see, e.g., Achilles' corslet on the fine Nearchos fragments with his horses (Acropolis 611, *ABV* 82.1). For silver or tin greaves (or perhaps rather tinned or silvered greaves), see *Il*. 18.612 and 21.592, cf. 3.330.

60. For white clubs, see *CH*, p. 41 with n. 19.

61. See supra, note 28. The Eagle Painter is only rarely concerned with this kind of reality, see *CH*, p. 150; metal corslets on nos. 1, 7, 37 (*CH*, pls. 22, 44b, 126d); male back provided with

breasts, see the Centaurs on *CH*, pls. 43–44, 97–98 (note their hands to determine what view is shown), and the unknown hero on *CH*, no. 29, pl. 104b.

62. See *CH*, pp. 141f. Herakles is depicted eleven times. His appearance and weapons vary astonishingly, which suggests that the rendering of this hero is borrowed from other vases and not an original invention of the painters. He never wears a sword or scabbard, weapons that are very common elsewhere from the beginning onward; sometimes he fights with his bare hands, but usually with a club, and he often carries a bow, sometimes shooting with it. He may be nude (and then colored red or white!), or in civilian clothes, and four times he wears the lion's-skin.

63. Like the Kritios boy; see *CH*, pp. 133–34, hairstyle no. 4, and p. 175 with n. 701.

64. See *CH*, p. 124 with n. 227 (fine crabs on coins from Kos, Akragas, Karia).

65. Often Iolaos attacks with a torch; e.g., on a fragmentary volute-krater by the Kleophrades Painter, Getty Museum 77.AE.II (see F. Brommer, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 [Malibu, 1985], p. 201, fig. 20), he is in the act of scorching the snakes' necks. He is in full armor, with shield, helmet, and greaves, but possibly without corslet or chiton (most of his body is lost).

66. Linen corslets: *CH*, p. 132.

67. For a male sphinx, cf. *CH*, nn. 251 and 805.

68. Head spirals: *CH*, p. 128 n. 252.

69. Miletos altar: C. Blümel, *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1963), figs. 186ff.; and *CH*, p. 181.

70. Therefore, what is said in *CH*, p. 71 ("The hydriai of the Lotus-ivy Series are restricted to Group B"), is no longer true.

71. I would that I had placed "Rome Polyphemus" on my lists as no. 19 instead of the hydria in Amsterdam (they are now 20 and 19, respectively): "Polyphemus II"—see table A, *CH*, p. 4—belongs in the no-man's-land between Series 2 (nos. 9–18) and 3 (nos. 19–34), and at the same time the vase is narrowly akin to no. 20, "Rome Polyphemus." It might therefore be listed as cat. no. 20 minus, but then it would not be placed on the border between the two series.

72. Numbers of elements of the decoration of "Polyphemus II" and their measurements to be entered in the various tables of *CH*, as no. 19 minus:

Neck: Meander cross, spiral cross, meander cross; see *CH*, p. 100, table F, in Group A (to be placed below no. 18).

Shoulder: Seven leaves inside, eleven outside central branch; template used. *CH*, p. 92, table D.

Figure frieze: Width of scene A between tongues of horizontal handles: 34 cm, of scene B 31.3 cm (handles placed somewhat toward the back). Distance between nose of ram 1 and heel of ram 3 is 36.5–37 cm! Length of Polyphemus from his toe to his elbow 21.8 cm.

Palmette of vertical handle: Nine leaves (five white); *CH*, p. 108, table G (like nos. 5, 8, 10, 12); length 7 cm (from border line), width 9.9 cm; template drawn, see here fig. 21b and cf. *CH*, pp. 106–7, figs. 62–63 (for misprints and corrections in figs. 62–63, see *infra*, note 79).

Lower belly zone: Nine lotuses and palmettes; palmettes seven leaves, three red, four white, hearts black(?); the wreath is "floating." *CH*, pp. 94–95, table E.

Rays at base (see also *CH*, p. 111, table H): Eighteen, red, white, black, not touching the upper border, length 5.5 cm (Ht. of frieze 6 cm), template drawn.

Tongues (*CH*, p. 111, table H): In mouth thirty-four! on foot twenty; around attachments of horizontal handles: twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-one, twenty-one; length 1.8–1.9 cm; all tongues template drawn.

73. In *CH*, p. 107, fig. 63, the captions of c and d have been switched: read "c. No. 5" and "d. No. 11."

74. We find even more tongues in the mouths of the two earliest, still-experimental vases, *CH*, nos. 1–2 ("London Battle" and "Boston Deerhunt," pl. 14a–b) and of no. 3 ("Louvre Hermes," pl. 14c).

75. The two headings above the two parts of table F should be corrected: "Group A" and "Group B" should be replaced by "Series 1–2" and "Series 3," respectively.

76. See *CH*, p. 101: for "The vertical branches of the crosses are red," read "of the *maeander* crosses."

77. In *CH*, fig. 55, there is a misprint in the right-hand lower corner. Read: "No. 17(e)" instead of "No. 27(e)."

78. Curiously, in fig. 20 here we see that, above the handle attachments, some leaves are cut short, and their tips are lacking; apparently this happened in order to leave room for the handle tongues. Yet, the tips of some tongues seem to cover them, and in this case, too, the tongues were possibly painted after the leaves. In *CH*, p. 69 F, I concluded, perhaps wrongly, that on this vase the tongues had been finished before the shoulder frieze; no certainty seems possible in this case.

79. *CH*, p. 106, fig. 62, contains two misprints, which the reader is requested to correct. The captions of *CH*, figs. 62c and d, have been switched; they should read: "c. No. 10" and "d. No. 5." For a similar mistake in *CH*, fig. 63, see *supra*, note 73.

80. The lip of no. 1 is painted red, the lips of nos. 3–4 are molded and therefore remained unpainted; see *CH*, p. 105.

81. Not counting the experimental vase no. 1, which has ten of each!

82. Except for *CH*, no. 1, pl. 135a, "London Battle," an experimental vase that is the earliest of them all.

83. For the misprints in *CH*, p. 107, fig. 63, see *supra*, note 73.

84. In other words: "Polyphemus II" belongs both to Group A (Swastika-spiral Group) and to Group B (Lotus-five Group). My statement in *CH*, p. 71, that "the hydriai of the Lotus-ivy Series (Series 3, nos. 19–34) are restricted to Group B" (Lotus-five Group), is no longer entirely valid.

85. Also seen in the head of the Zeus bull on no. 10—and, less so, on no. 13, *CH*, p. 23, fig. 11 and pl. 62a—who has little reason to complain about his load!

86. E.g., *CH*, no. 10, Atalanta, pl. 52e; here one of the hunters has longish hair that is somewhat comparable, pl. 52d; further Europa on this vase, pls. 53f.; no. 12, Artemis, pl. 57d, and the female dancers of *CH*, pls. 59–60.

87. But cf. *CH*, no. 15, pls. 67–68, the sacrifice of a bull.

88. Some animals are very simple: the donkey on no. 5, *CH*, pl. 37e; the doe on no. 7, *CH*, pl. 45c. Richly detailed are the horses on the showpiece of the series, no. 8 ("Berlin Chariot"), *CH*, pl. 46a and p. 148, fig. 78.

89. Cf. the burly Ethiopian policemen on no. 34, energetically arriving too late for the rescue of Busiris, *CH*, pl. 122. In other cases the scene on the obverse may be continued on the reverse, but without reference to a definite myth: *CH*, nos. 9, 18 ("Rome Vineyard," "New York Bull," *CH*, pls. 48, 75–76), and note the mating satyrs on the reverse of no. 4 ("Vienna Hephaestus," *CH*, pls. 36 and 39).

90. An obverse scene may be placed on the reverse of a hydria, but we never find one of the main actors of the obverse picture taken out and relegated to the reverse (except on our hydria). Cf. the Nessos stories of *CH*, nos. 16, 17, 20, pls. 70, 72, 82 (on no.

20 the story is relegated to the reverse). Cf. also nos. 10 and 13: the myth of Europa removed from the obverse of no. 13 to the reverse of no. 10 (here fig. 27; *CH*, pls. 61 and 51). On the other hand, the obverse scene of no. 3, "Louvre Hermes," here fig. 17, is divided through the middle so that it seems to have been designed for the reverse of a hydria.

91. For this I used the term "synoptic" in a review of an excellent treatise on the rendering of Greek myths by N. Himmelmann Wildschütz (*Gnomon* 42 [1970]: 166–71). In *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 29–42, A. F. Stewart rightly points out that such terms are "not fully satisfactory since they suggest a greater degree of conflation than the pictures usually warrant." This is right, and it is, of course, of little importance what terminology one uses. However, the often used notion of "compression of time and space" is, in my opinion, an anachronistic misconception that may be avoided by using the term "synoptic."

92. Polyphemos is, I take it, meant to be one-eyed, but is hardly ever portrayed as such: see *LIMC* 6 (Zurich, 1992), p. 159.

93. In Homer it is a cup of olive wood, but here it is apparently meant to be of metal, with a silvered(?) band between the handles—rather curious for so uncivilized a creature. Cf. fig. 24, where the cup is similar, though less colossal; its stem is broadening downward, and the handles are also bent upward; Polyphemos is holding it not by its stem but with his fingers under its bowl and his thumb hooked over its rim. The third drinking vessel depicted on the hydriai likewise seems to be meant as a metal cup: the kantharos in the hand of Dionysos on no. 5, "Vienna Hephaestus," and, identical, on no. 14, "Rome Hephaestus," *CH*, p. 15, fig. 5, and p. 28, fig. 17, pls. 37a, 65a. Among pottery cups no convincing parallels are known to me, but see the high-stemmed cup on a sherd by the C Painter, H. A. G. Brijder, *Siana Cups 1 and Komast Cups* (Amsterdam, 1983), p. 42, fig. 2a.1. I thank Prof. Brijder for this reference.

94. The great significance of Greek myths may not always be clear to us, but, when, in 1940, by order of the Germans, the Jewish Council was being organized in Holland by certain prominent Dutch Jews, my father, himself a Jew, repeatedly quoted these prophetic words of Polyphemos.

95. The only piece of furniture on the hydriai is the "cot" on wheels on which baby Hermes lies while Apollo accuses him of the theft of his herd of cattle (see here fig. 17); the cot is a faithful portrait of a rather old-fashioned tea trolley on wheels, unique in Greek art (*CH*, no. 3, pl. 30b), but perhaps not unexpected in Etruria where in early times braziers and containers on wheels seem to have been fashionable.

96. Again there is a relative calm in a horrible situation; cf. the "calm" snakes of the Hydra in figs. 18a and l. The Eagle Painter is less keen on depicting fierce emotions and fright than is the Busiris Painter.

97. Note the way in which, in fig. 24, feet and legs of the Greeks and the Cyclops overlap; the foremost Greek has lost his lower left leg under the knee of Polyphemos, where the painter did not want to confuse his public, though he painted the foot of this Greek under the thigh of the giant.

98. The figure seems rather too strong and youthful; I wonder whether it is impossible to return to the old suggestion that he is meant to be Ares (holding his helmet in his right hand), thus forming a counterpart to his mistress, Aphrodite, outstretched in the other corner of the gable. At any rate, Herakles, the other candidate, whom the muscular physique of the figure would suit, is, I think, sorely out of place at the birth of his protectress.

99. Baby animals are rare on Greek vases though young hares do occur (on choes, such as no. 6254 in Amsterdam: *Gods and Men in the Allard Pierson Museum* [Amsterdam, 1972], pl. 21). One or

two hares on the hydriai are meant to be young ones; at any rate their proportions differ strongly, see *CH*, pls. 35d, 81e, 87c–d—adult animals—and pls. 53c (here fig. 27) and 95b, which seem to depict baby hares. Further there are the chubby little "cubs" of our fig. 15 running toward the great teats of their fierce mother on no. 22 ("Louvre She-wolf").

100. This is not always so clearly indicated, but see *CH*, pls. 30a, 68b, 69b, 75, 79, and, by the Busiris Painter, pls. 26 and 116a.

101. *CH*, p. 117 with n. 135; for the literary knowledge of the painters, see *CH*, p. 119 with n. 181.

102. Of this scene we now have four(!) examples on the hydriai (one preserved in some sherds somewhere on the market). We may be sure that there is not a single myth on the hydriai that was not treated more than once (*CH*, pp. 125ff.), though the complex composition of the Busiris scene (fig. 2) could not easily be repeated!

103. The proportions had to be adapted to the small space: the bull had to be shortened and Europa lengthened (cf. the main scene on "Rome Europa," no. 13, *CH*, pls. 61–62).

104. Cf. the trees of nos. 4, 9, and 5 (*CH*, pls. 35c, 49e, and 40d; incidentally, no. 5 is the only proof of the hand of a rather clumsy assistant being active in a figure scene); the hill of our fig. 27 and the grotto of fig. 17 are reminiscent of Eastern art, such as the trees and hills with hares and other animals on Phoenician bowls and in Assyrian art: see *CH*, p. 181, and *supra*, note 42.

105. See *supra*, note 90. This obverse scene, consisting of two clearly separated halves, looks like one designed for the reverse of a hydria; perhaps one day parts of such a hydria may turn up.

106. See chapter on tomb groups in *CH*, pp. 158–59. Cristofani has shown that no. 1 was the last vase deposited in a tomb dated 570–540 (it was perhaps put in even later, he suggests, adding that the context shows beyond a doubt that no. 1 is the earliest of the whole series). Also nos. 9 and 20 may have been late among the numerous vases found in their tomb. Isler provides information previously unknown to me on the tomb group of nos. 25, 29, and A2, which contained two earlyish "Tyrrhenian" amphorai (from before 540 B.C.; see H. P. Isler, *JdI* 98 [1983]: 17 and n. 4). Material from Monte Abatone Tomb 546, in which no. 6, "Rome Chariot," was found, is on show in Cerveteri; the latest item seems to be a black-figured eye-cup (A and B: ivy and maenads; I: Medusa) of about 520 (previously unknown to me, *CH*, p. 158).

The dates of these tomb groups, badly established as they may be, would perhaps suggest an earlier date for the hydriai, but this is quite out of the question for stylistic reasons. The "lateness" of some of the hydriai in their tombs might be regarded as a sign that they were bought—if not sometimes made—for funerary purposes.

Isler, *Gnomon* (*supra*, note 53), points out that the amphorai A1–3 (*CH*, p. 59, pl. 20) are connected with the potter Pamphaios and therefore must date to 525–515.

107. H. P. Isler, "Drei neue Gefässe aus der Werkstatt der Caeretaner Hydrien," *JdI* 98 (1983): 15–57, and *idem*, review of *CH*, in *Gnomon* (*supra*, note 53). In this review several of my conclusions or assumptions are misrepresented or misunderstood (e.g., about the fact that some—not all—hydriai seem made for Greek immigrants rather than for Etruscan customers, on p. 727; about the Busiris scene, on p. 728; about the painting of the tongues, on p. 724; and about Centaurs, on p. 725); however, other remarks are very useful; I will discuss them elsewhere.

108. I will reconsider these and other matters more fully in a later article on the Caeretan hydriai, see *supra*, note 5.

109. As I have pointed out above, I felt a little uncertain about the ornaments of nos. 22–24; see *CH*, pp. 40–42, 99, where I attributed them with some hesitation to the B(usiris) Painter. I now believe that it was the Eagle Painter who drew them, but, as I

remarked in *CH*, p. 99, on these vases the two painters came particularly close to each other. No. 24 is now more fully known thanks to the beautiful sherds in Munich (see *supra*, note 5); it is very like its predecessor, no. 23; I will republish the vase in *BABesch* (see *supra*, note 5).

110. All traditional dating based on drapery folds may be a bit shaky, but I find it surprising that a curious psykterlike amphora in Rhodes (inv. 12.200: *Greek Vases in the Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 3 [Malibu, 1986], p. 48, figs. 10a–b) is dated 540–530 (*ibid.*, p. 52); at so early a date this stylization must have been extremely progressive, especially since the folds in the lower edge of the “skirt” form rounded loops, not the ordinary early zigzags: yet the painting certainly is not by an artist of any particular talent. As Boardman suggests, the vase may prove to be non-Attic and therefore old-fashioned in style and much later in date.

111. Similar scenes occur in the Near East from the third millennium B.C. onward, e.g., on an Accadian cylinder seal, W. Wreszinski, *Morgenland* 23 (1932): pl. 2, fig. 4: a lion attacking a bull is himself attacked by two men, one of whom has grasped his tail. More generally, holding your prey by the tail is a sign of superhuman strength: thus, a god may hold two winged bulls by their tails, and Assurbanipal holds a lion by its tail before killing it (on slab 118 in the Assyrian collection in the British Museum; see R. D. Barnett, *Assyrische Skulpturen im British Museum* [Recklinghausen, 1975], pl. 122).

112. *ABV* 108.5 (*MMS* 4 [1932–1933]: 170); *ABV* 96.13; *BABesch* 70 (1995): 94, figs. 30–31; *LIMC* 6 (Zurich, 1992), s.v.

“Nessos,” no. 1*, pl. 534; cf. nos. 2, 4, and 5 there; see *CH*, p. 151. On an Etruscan krater in the Louvre, E 631 (*StEtr* 29 [1961]: 55f., pl. 14; M. Martelli, ed., *La Ceramica degli etruschi* [Novara, 1987], p. 133, no. 86), two men with short swords follow a bull, while one of them grasps the bull by its tail. *Potnia Theron* usually holds her two lions by a hind paw, but on a Greek carnelian scarab in Hannover she holds them by the tail, as she does on Rhodian gold and electron ornaments (e.g., *LIMC* 6 [Zurich, 1992], s.v. “Melissa,” p. 445, no. 3; and U. Gehrig and H. G. Niemeyer, *Die Phönizier im Zeitalter Homers* [Mainz, 1990], no. 97 [about 650], where, on no. 154—a silver-and-gold comb from Etruria of the seventh century—a man with a spear holds a lion by its tail, a horseman approaching from the other side). But the finest examples are the handles of metal jugs, e.g., the exquisite silver oinochoe formerly in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, *BMAA* 42.1 (1984): no. 35: a kouros bending backward and holding the tails of two couchant lions on the edge of the trefoil lip.

In most of these cases this detail is definitely not meant to be humoristic; this depends, among many other things, on the degree of sophistication of the artists, which is more than sufficiently apparent in our two painters.

113. Especially Isler in his review of *CH* in *Gnomon* (*supra*, note 53), where he asks whether the hydriai are really to be considered “komisch und witzig. Sind sie dies wirklich? Oder ist es die ungeschickte Malweise welche im modernen Betrachter diese Wirkung hervorruft?” (p. 726. I disagree with “ungeschickte Malweise”!).

THE BERLIN PAINTER AND TROY

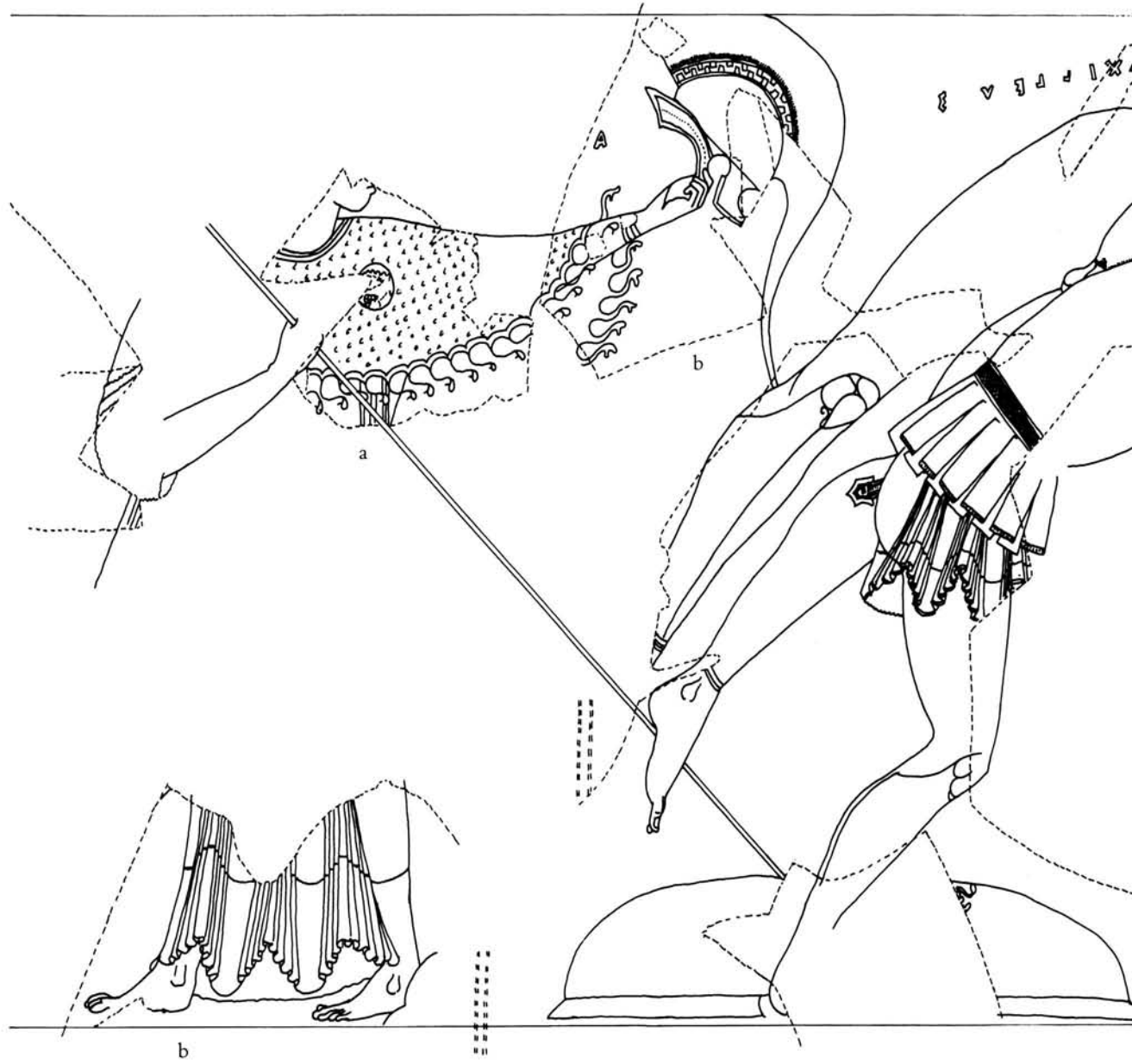
Mary B. Moore

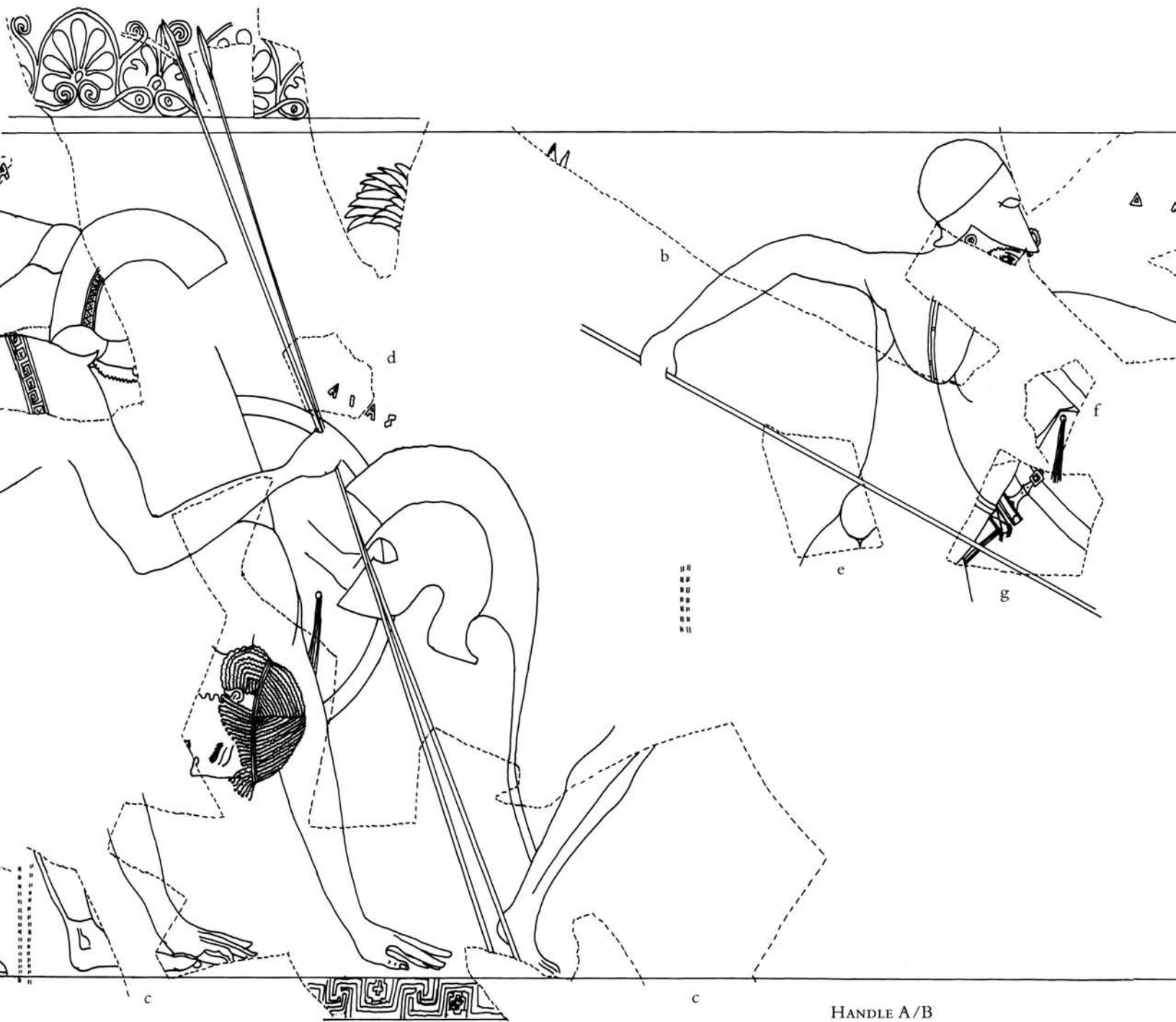
When modern scholars seek illustrations of Greek heroic mythology, it is natural that they turn first to Attic vase-painting of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., for this period provides the richest corpus of material from which to choose examples. Of all the heroes, Herakles is the most popular, his wide range of adventures sparking the imagination of nearly every painter we know. He is the hero par excellence, the one who overcame the most challenging odds, who defeated the most ferocious beasts and monsters, and who achieved immortality. Nevertheless, the most memorable scenes of Greek heroes that have come down to us from this time depict those who fought at Troy and whose praises and deeds were recited in the poems that comprised the Epic Cycle. The heroes who fought at Troy, be they defending Trojans or attacking Greeks, are depicted by Greek vase-painters in such a way that they often arouse our sympathy and understanding in the deepest human terms. Just a few representations may serve as examples. Two by Exekias: Ajax and Achilles playing a board game on Vatican 344 where, by subtle touches, the artist makes it clear he intends Achilles to win; the Suicide of Ajax on Boulogne 558, which shows the hero patting down the earth around the sword, his furrowed brow attesting to his concentration on this final destructive act; a calyx-krater by Euphronios, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10, where Hypnos and Thanatos carry away the youthful body of Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, who came to help the Trojan cause and gave his life for it; an amphora by Euthymides, Munich 2307, which depicts Hektor arming in the presence of his parents, who look at their son with such intensity that one assumes they know he will not live to see the end of

the war; and an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, Würzburg 508, which illustrates the interrupted battle between Ajax and Hektor on that day when neither was the better man and each gave the other a gift—Hektor a sword to Ajax, Ajax a belt to Hektor, both gifts that later were important in the death of each hero.¹ To these, a newcomer may be added, a fragmentary calyx-krater by the Berlin Painter that shows Ajax rescuing the body of Achilles in the presence of Athena, with the Greeks keeping the Trojans at bay.²

Nearly all the fragments that preserve part of the figural decoration may be positioned so that one sees what approximately three-quarters of the composition looked like. Some of the fragments are placed more tentatively than others, as the text below tries to make clear. The arrangement of the extant fragments is shown in illustration 1,³ but out of respect for the Berlin Painter and the exceedingly high quality of his drawing on this early krater, I have not attempted to fill in any of the missing parts except in the most superficial manner. The exception is the helmet that I believe Ajax held in his left hand along with his shield (see below). In the following I shall describe the composition from left to right, beginning with the figure of Athena, since she appears above and to the right of one handle (see below), then suggest how the missing parts of the composition might have looked, so that the reader may gain some idea of the whole. There follows a discussion of this scene as well as other Trojan subjects by the Berlin Painter; and, finally, I consider the place this krater takes in the painter's oeuvre, as well as the light it sheds on the relationship between his work and that of painters belonging to the Pioneer Group, especially Euphronios.

SIDE A





HANDLE A/B

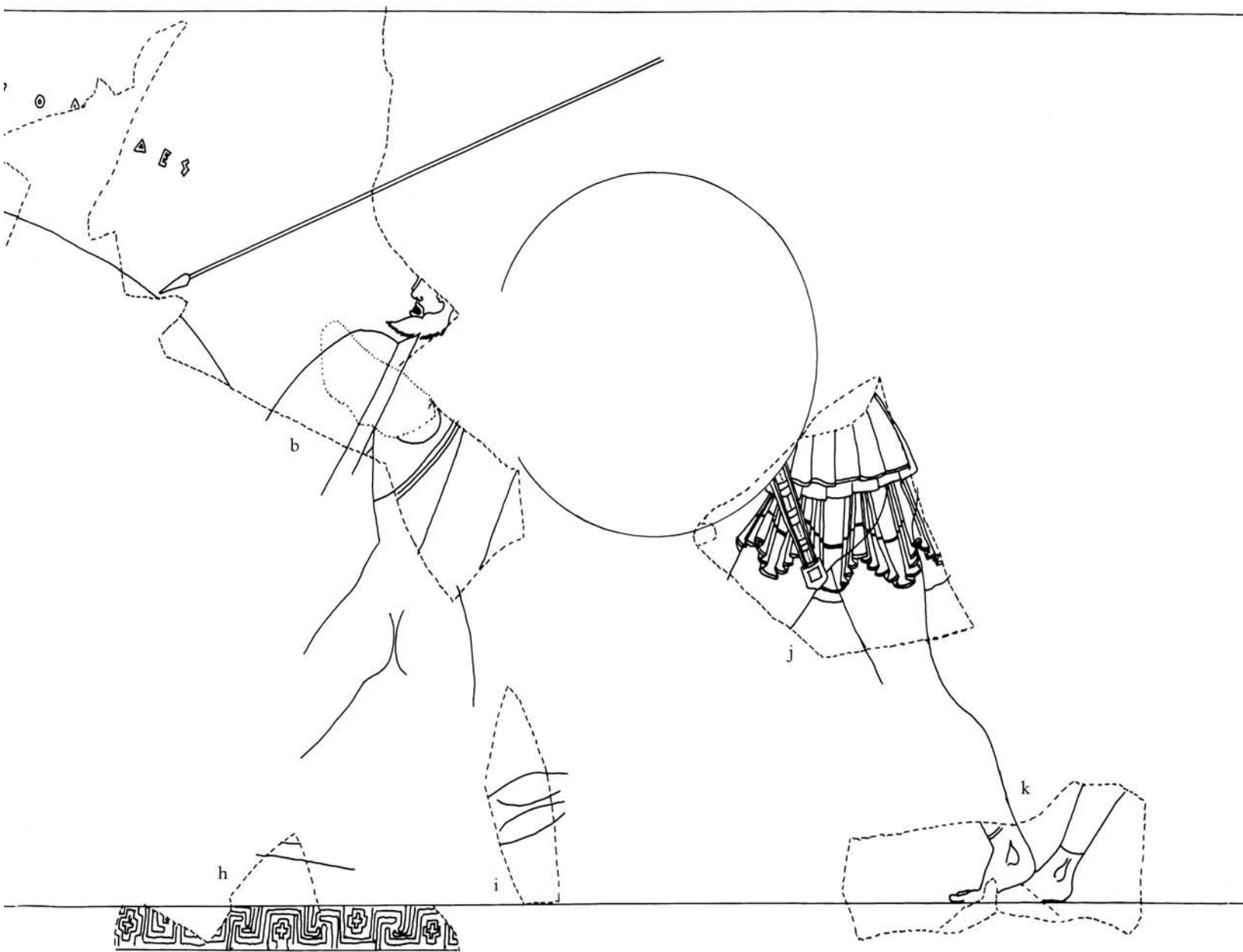
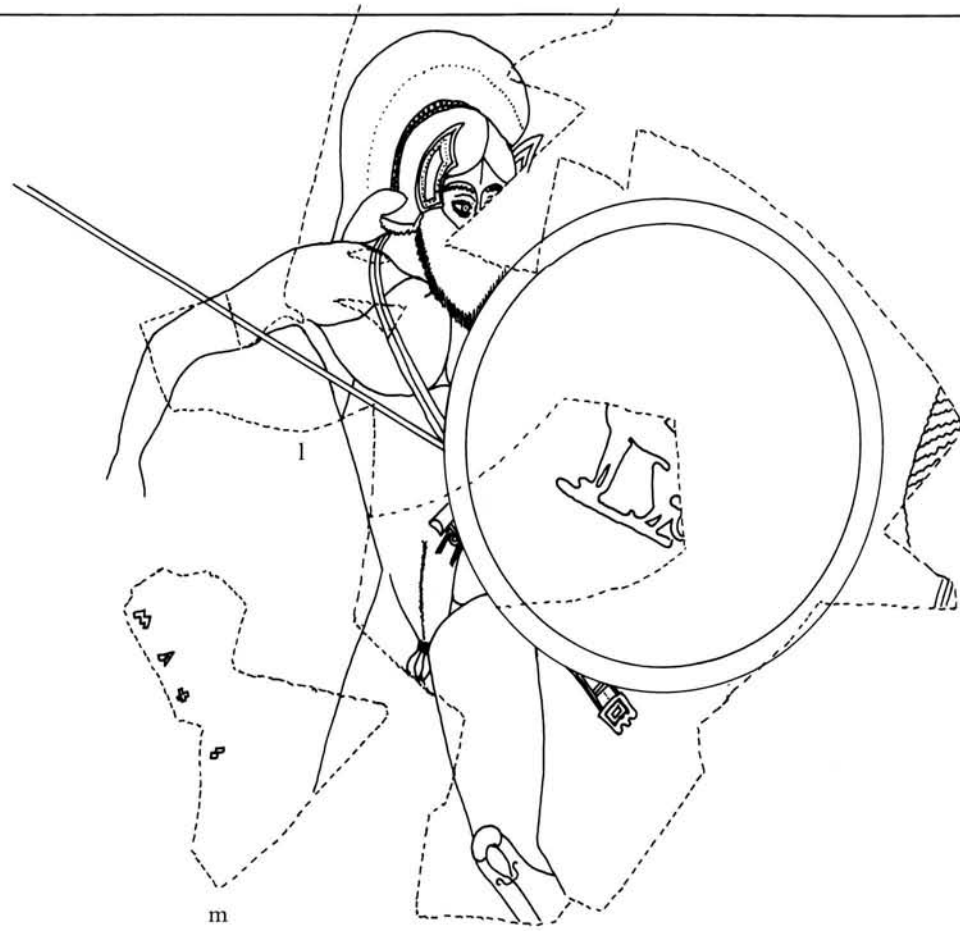


ILLUSTRATION 1. Drawing of the entire figure panel. Drawing: Author.



HANDLE B/A

THE GETTY CALYX-KRATER:
DESCRIPTION AND COMPOSITION

Fourteen fragments comprise what remains of the figural decoration of this krater; other fragments, of rim, handles, cul, and foot, give us further information. Below the torus rim is a frieze of upright lotuses and palmettes, the latter composed of seven petals (see figs. 1b, d and 5a-c); on the cul is an exploded swastika meander with cross-squares (see figs. 1e and 5c). The krater was supported by a foot in two degrees: a reserved vertical member above a glazed torus. A red line articulates the outer edge of the topside of the foot. On its underside is a graffito (fig. 1a). Some of the glaze misfired: on fragment *a* and on part of *b* to a reddish-brown; on fragments *k*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, to a greenish cast. This technical feature was helpful in trying to position most of these pieces. The krater was broken and mended in antiquity, for there are holes for lead mends in the torus rim on fragment *b*. Fragment *b* preserves enough of the rim so that one may calculate the diameter and circumference at the outer edge: the diameter is 50.0 cm; the circumference is 1.57 m. The thickness of the torus rim is 1.6 cm; the thickness of the wall below the lotus-palmette frieze is 0.74 cm. Working down from the torus rim, the outer diameter just below the ornament is 48.4 cm, and the approximate length of the figured decoration at the top is 1.52 m. There is not enough preserved of the cul to estimate the length of the groundline. The height of the figural zone, given by fragment *b*, is 27.5 cm. The diameter of the foot is 24 cm; the height of the torus is 3.1 cm.

This is not the initial publication for some of these fragments. Part of fragment *b* (the hand of Athena holding her helmet and the hips and thighs of Ajax as well as the legs of Achilles) was known to Carol Cardon but not illustrated by her when she wrote her dissertation on the Berlin Painter under the guidance of Dietrich von Bothmer.⁴ In 1983 Martin Robertson published eight fragments: *a*; *b* (now with considerable additions); *i*; a small fragment of the rim with part of a palmette, a tendril, and the central frond of a lotus; and two small fragments without decoration.⁵ After Robertson submitted his manuscript, the Getty Museum acquired several more fragments of the krater, too late for him to add to his text,⁶ but important enough to deserve a new and fuller publication of the krater. When several commitments prevented Robertson from undertaking this project, I was invited to do it. Since then, still more fragments have come to the Museum, the latest group in 1990.⁷

Fragment *a* (fig. 1b) shows the mouth, chin, and neck of Athena facing to right, part of her chest shown frontally, the aegis held over her outstretched left arm. The scales of the aegis are drawn in dilute glaze; in its center is a Gorgoneion. In the lower left of the fragment is the shaft of Athena's spear, which she holds in her right hand, its butt resting on the ground (see fig. 1d). Just a little of her hand remains. The glaze misfired reddish-brown.

The very large fragment *b* preserves the feet of Athena to left, the lower part of her linen chiton and, at the upper left, a bit of reserve that belongs to her himation (fig. 1c). Here, too, the glaze misfired reddish-brown. On the far right of fragment *l* (see fig. 5g) is a little of the right sleeve of Athena's chiton and, below that, folds of her himation, the glaze likewise reddish-brown.⁸ In the upper left of fragment *b* is more of the aegis with snaky fringe, the goddess's left forearm decorated with a red bracelet, and her left hand holding out her helmet, a low-crested one with a visor (see fig. 1b).⁹ Crenellation decorates the crest support; very short strokes define the start of the horsehair crest.¹⁰ At the far left, about opposite the visor, is the last letter of the goddess's name: AΘENAI]A. In this area of the fragment, the glaze fired reddish-brown, too. Lower down is more of the goddess's spear and, lying on the ground, most of a round shield in profile emblazoned with a Gorgoneion (fig. 1d). The shield belongs to Achilles, since Ajax carries his (see below).

The rest of fragment *b* depicts Ajax with the body of Achilles (see fig. 1d) and Diomedes fighting two Trojans (see figs. 5b, c). Abdomen and legs with greaved calves are all that remains of Achilles on this fragment, but from what is preserved, he is clearly larger in size than the other figures on this vase, which is in keeping with Homer's description of him as the biggest and bravest of the Greeks, second to none.¹¹ Above his thigh: AXIAAEVΣ, retrograde, but for the Σ.¹² The thin line of reserve in back of the hero's leg is the tail of Athena's helmet crest. About half of Ajax is preserved: the back of his head protected by a low-crested helmet, his short hair protruding from beneath its rim at the back, the tip of his earlobe and the start of his beard; his back protected by a splendid corslet complete with outturned neck guard; the skirt of a pleated chiton; the start of his right thigh, and most of his right leg; and his lower left leg with greave heel. At the very top of fragment *c* (fig. 1e) is his right forearm overlapping the left shoulder of Achilles. The low position of Ajax in this representation indicates that he is



FIGURE 1a. Calyx-krater, attributed to the Berlin Painter. Graffito on underside of foot. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.5.



FIGURE 1b. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Head, aegis, and helmet of Athena. Fragments *a* and *b*.

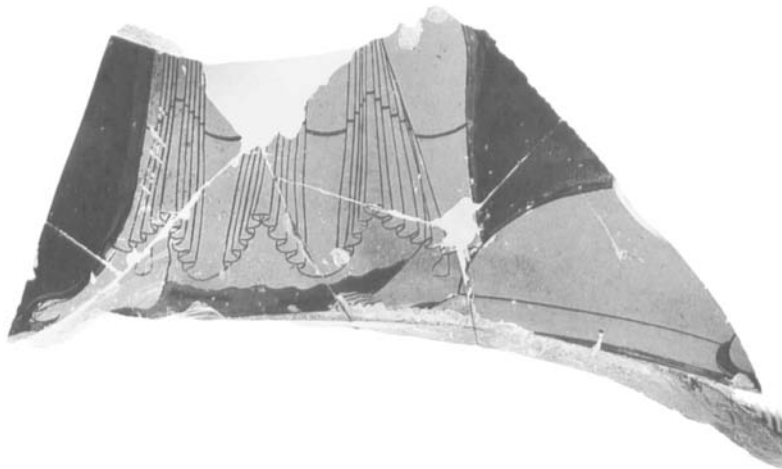


FIGURE 1c. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Feet and lower drapery of Athena. Fragment *b*.



FIGURE 1d. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Ajax with Achilles. Fragment *b*.

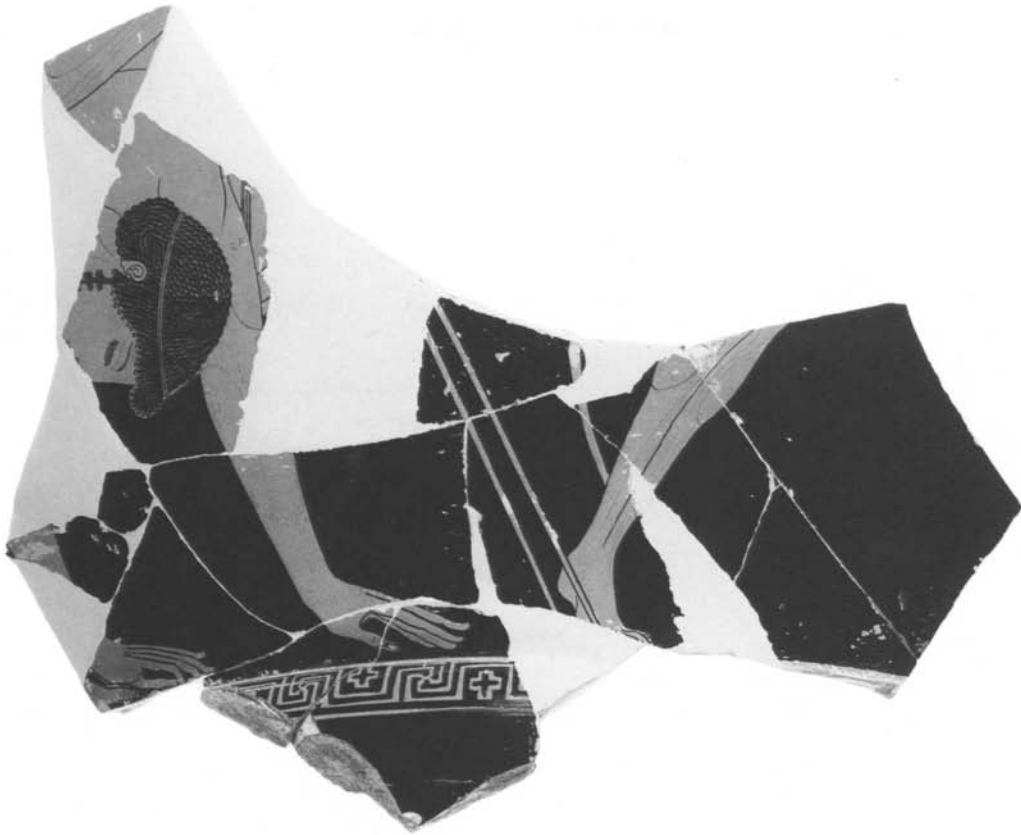


FIGURE 1e. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Achilles. Fragment *c*.

not yet walking, but instead is still rising, steadying himself with his two spears (see below) as he strains beneath the heavy burden he shoulders. He looks out at the battle in front of him, in which Greeks keep the Trojans at bay.

Fragment *c* shows the youthful head of Achilles hanging down, parts of each arm, and both hands touching the ground lightly (see fig. 1e). Next to his right hand are the toes of Ajax's left foot. Achilles' eyes are closed, the lids fringed with lashes, his hair tied up and held by a fillet (fig. 1f). Dilute glaze covers the surface between the wavy lines of hair and defines his sideburns as well, achieving a light-haired effect that recalls Sarpedon on Euphronios's calyx-krater in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 2).¹³ At the very edge of the fragment is a small bit of relief line that represents the nostril of Achilles. Above it, to the left, are traces of dilute glaze that define the corner of his mouth and the line that separated his teeth, indicating that his lips were parted, thus offering a further link with the representation of Sarpedon. Behind Achilles'

shoulder is a little of the rim and a bit of one tassel on the inside of a round shield; on the right, lower down, are the ends of two spears, weapons held by Ajax, the shield on his left arm, the spears in his right hand. On fragment *b* (see fig. 5a), the heads of the spears overlap the ornament on the rim. The shafts continue on fragment *d* (fig. 3), a small piece that may be positioned by lining up the shafts on each fragment. Inscribed on this fragment: *AI[Aζ*. In the lower right of fragment *c* are more of the spears and the right calf and foot of a man striding to right (see fig. 1e). This warrior is Diomedes, for his name appears on the far right of fragment *b* (see below). The thin, slightly curved object between his leg and Ajax's spears is the tail of a helmet crest; this helmet, which is held by Ajax along with his shield, belongs to Achilles, for Ajax wears his. Because this helmet, except for the tail of its crest, is completely improvised in the drawing, I have not opted for a specific type. I suggest a low-crested helmet, because the helmet worn by Achilles in the work of the Berlin Painter has a low crest. It may have been of the

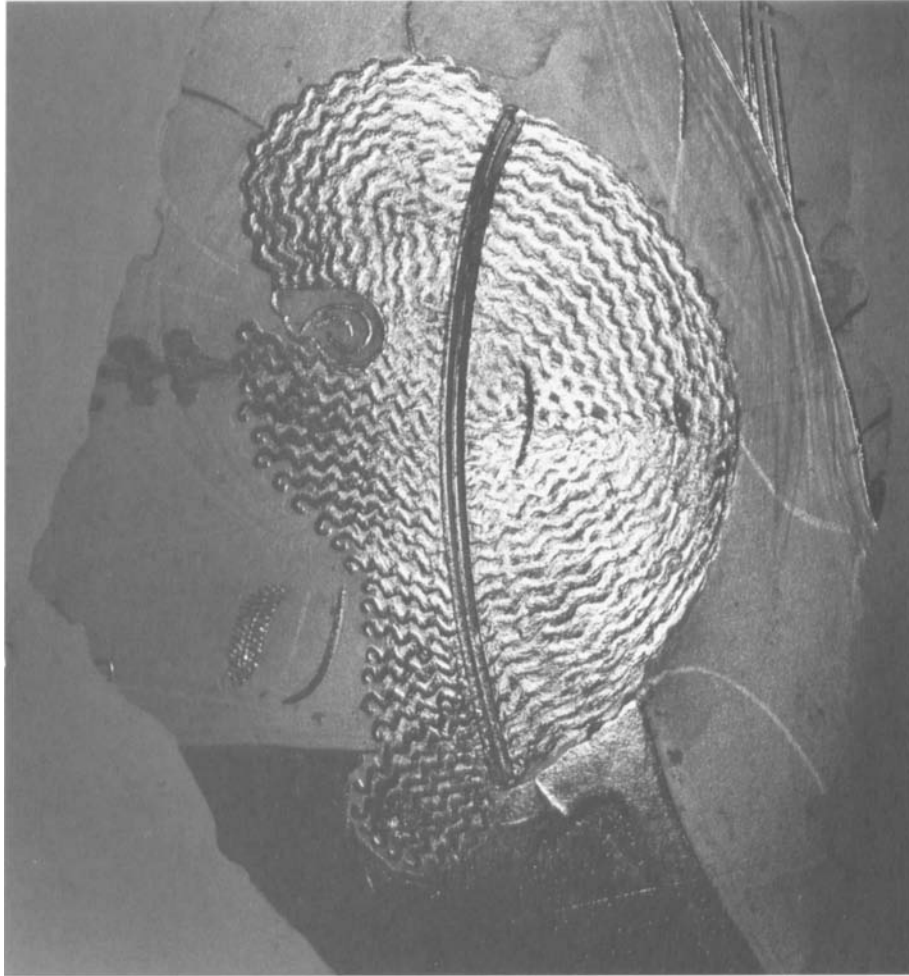


FIGURE 1f. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Head of Achilles. Fragment *c*.

“Chalcidian” type, well known on other figures of Achilles by the Berlin Painter, such as the one on New York 10.210.19 (fig. 4).¹⁴ Judging from the position of the end of the tail next to Diomedes’ leg, Ajax very likely held Achilles’ helmet either by a cheekpiece or by the nasal, in which case the cheekpiece would be turned up so that it would not interfere with the rim of the shield. So far, I have not been able to find an example of a warrior carrying *both* a shield and a helmet in the same hand, but because there are so many special features about the scene on this vase, this unusual one should not be discarded simply for lack of parallels.¹⁵ Thus, this small area of the reconstruction drawing is very general. To determine the size of the helmet, I drew it as if Achilles still wore it, then inserted it into its proper place in the reconstruction.

The resulting helmet, while admittedly nearly all fictitious, fills the space nicely in this area of the composition (see ill. 1).

Next on fragment *b*, are the tips of the wings and the toes of the eidolon of Achilles, which flutters above his body, head downward (fig. 5a).¹⁶ Then comes most of the head of Diomedes, his crestless helmet pushed back with his forelock poking out in the space between the cheekpieces (fig. 5b),¹⁷ his right shoulder and outstretched arm as well as part of his chest with baldric. His lower right leg and foot appear on fragment *c* (see fig. 1e); his right hip and the start of his thigh also appear on fragment *e* (see fig. 5b), while part of the right side of his torso, a sheathed sword suspended from the baldric, and a little of the inside of his shield are preserved on fragments *f* and *g* (see fig. 5b),



FIGURE 2. Calyx-krater, signed by Euphronios as painter. Side A, head of Sarpedon. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bequest of Joseph H. Durkee, Gift of Darius Ogden Mills and Gift of C. Ruxton Love, by exchange, 1972, 1972.11.10.

making it clear that it was a round shield seen in three-quarter view from the inside.¹⁸ More of the outer surface of this shield appears on fragment *b*. Above the shield: $\Delta\text{IOM}\overline{\text{E}}\Delta\text{E}\zeta$.

The hero's opponent appears at the far right of this fragment (fig. 5c): the lower part of his face with clenched teeth and long beard, part of his back, the upper half of his round shield in profile held on his left arm, and a baldric over his right shoulder. The narrow reserved area in front of his nose is the nasal of his helmet, a detail paralleled on other vases by the Berlin Painter.¹⁹ The clenched teeth of this Trojan indicate that he is wounded (fig. 5d), and his low position in the composition suggests that he is down on his knees.

This is indicated by fragments *h* and *i*, which preserve part of each calf (see fig. 5c). The right one, on fragment *i*, is greaved and seen horizontally from the back. I take the small portion of the left calf to be part of a leg bent rather sharply at the knee and viewed in profile (the glaze lines on the inside suggest this placement). If the interpretation of these two fragments is correct, it means this Trojan was drawn in a very ambitious pose for the Berlin Painter: seen from the back with head and left leg in profile. The Berlin Painter seldom paints figures seen from the back, unlike the painters of the Pioneer Group and the Kleophrades Painter, his talented contemporary.²⁰ It would seem, particularly with the figure of this Trojan,

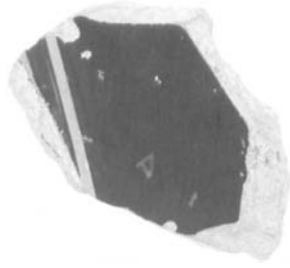


FIGURE 3. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Fragment inscribed Aias. Fragment *d*.



FIGURE 4. Kalpis, by the Berlin Painter. Front, Achilles and Penthesilea. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910, 10.210.19.

that on this occasion the Berlin Painter was trying a pose favored by another. One is reminded a bit of Hippomedon on the Berlin krater by Euphronios.²¹ Although standing, his head and left leg are seen in profile, the rest of him from the back.

Cutting diagonally across the field above the head of our Trojan is a spear that should belong to a Trojan who rushes in to rescue his companion from Diomedes. The spear seems to be too high in the composition to belong to the wounded Trojan. Fragment *j* (fig. 5e) shows part of a warrior striding to left whom I take to be this spear-wielding Trojan. All

that remains of him on this fragment are the ends of the pteryges of his corslet, the skirt of his chiton, and the start of his thighs. At the left is his scabbard and a little of the rim of a round shield that agrees in size with the one held by the Trojan who appears on fragment *l* behind Athena (see below and fig. 5g). From the remains of him, he must have held his spear very near the end of its shaft, just as Diomedes does (see above and fig. 5b). The distance between fragments *b* and *j* is given by the size of the rescuing Trojan's shield, which must not interfere with the black glaze at the throat or at the right side of the Trojan speared by

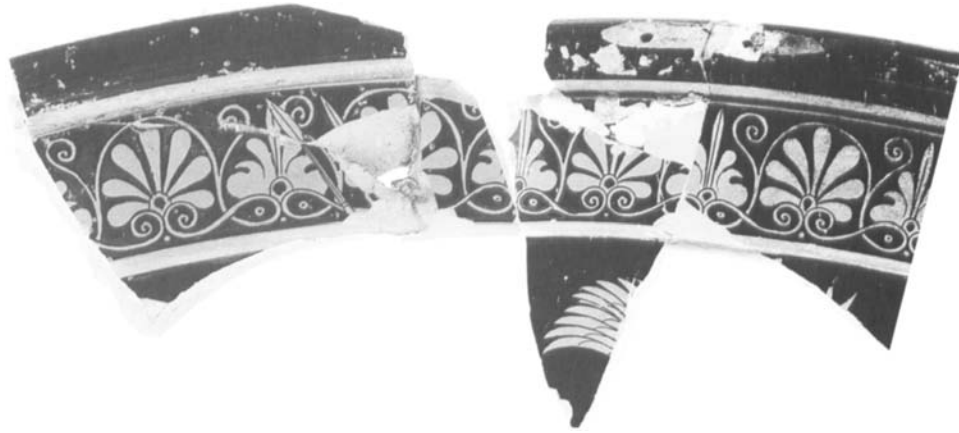


FIGURE 5a. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Eidolon. Fragment *b*.



FIGURE 5b. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Diomedes. Fragments *b*, *e*, *f*, and *g*.

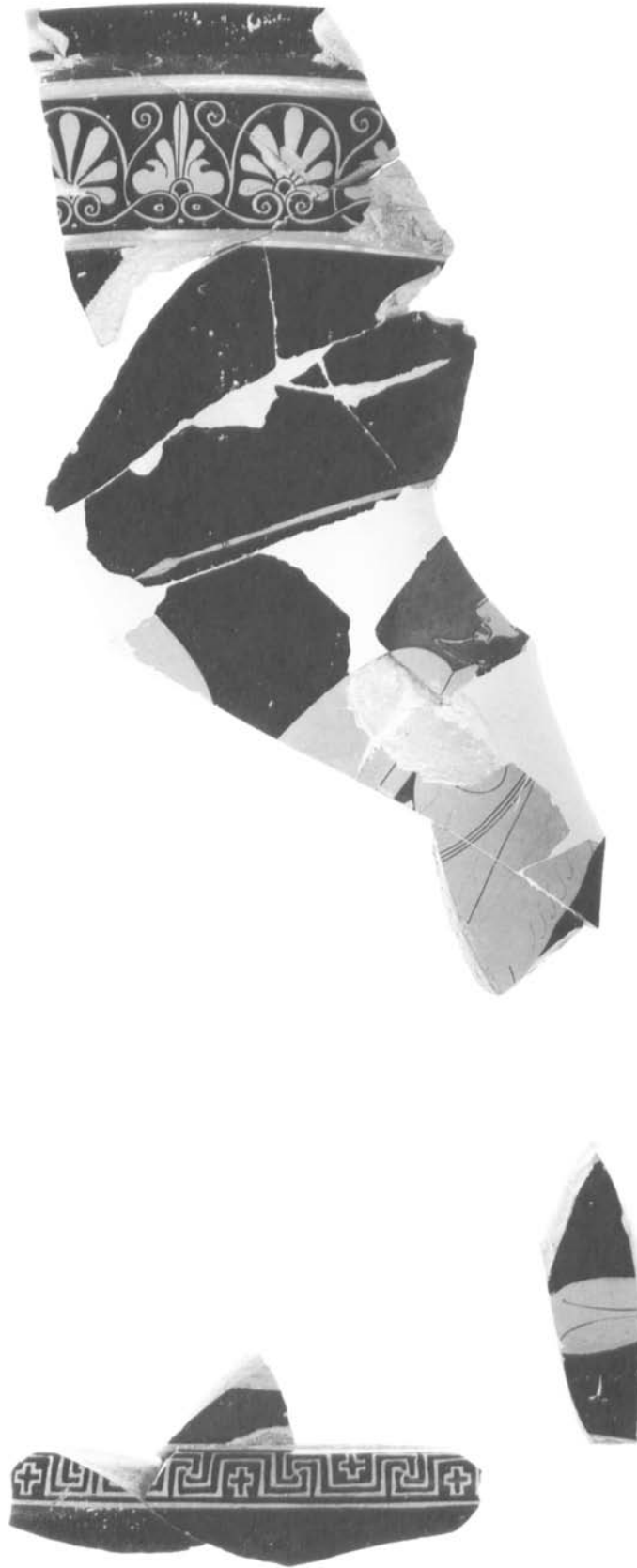


FIGURE 5c. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Diomedes' opponent. Fragments *b*, *h*, and *i*.



FIGURE 5d. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Head of Diomedes' opponent. Fragment *b*.

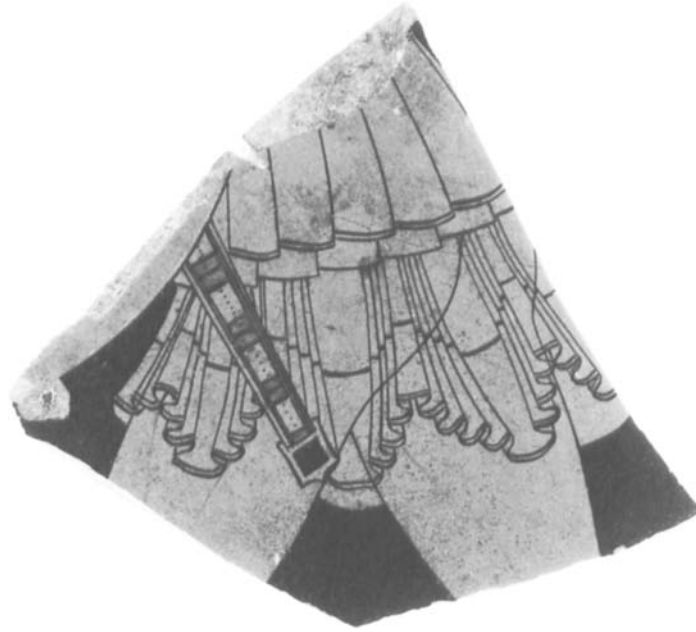


FIGURE 5e. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Trojan rescuer. Fragment *j*.

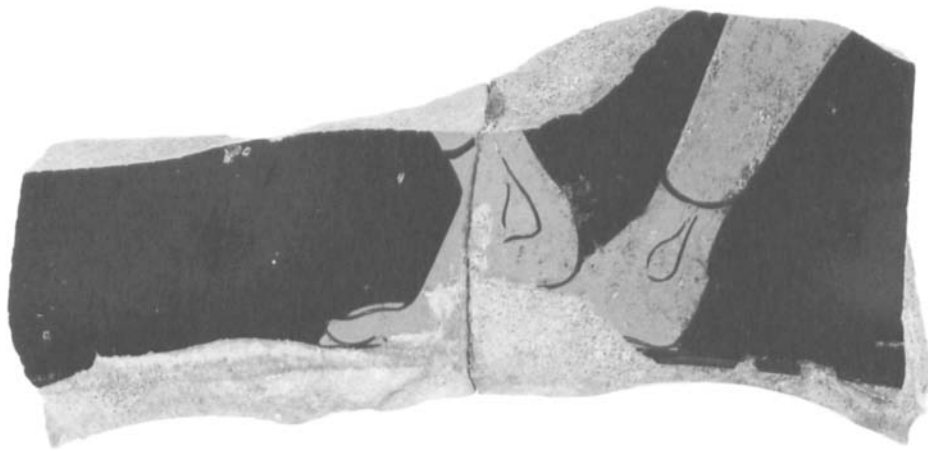


FIGURE 5f. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Feet, one of a Trojan, the other perhaps of a Greek. Fragment *k*.

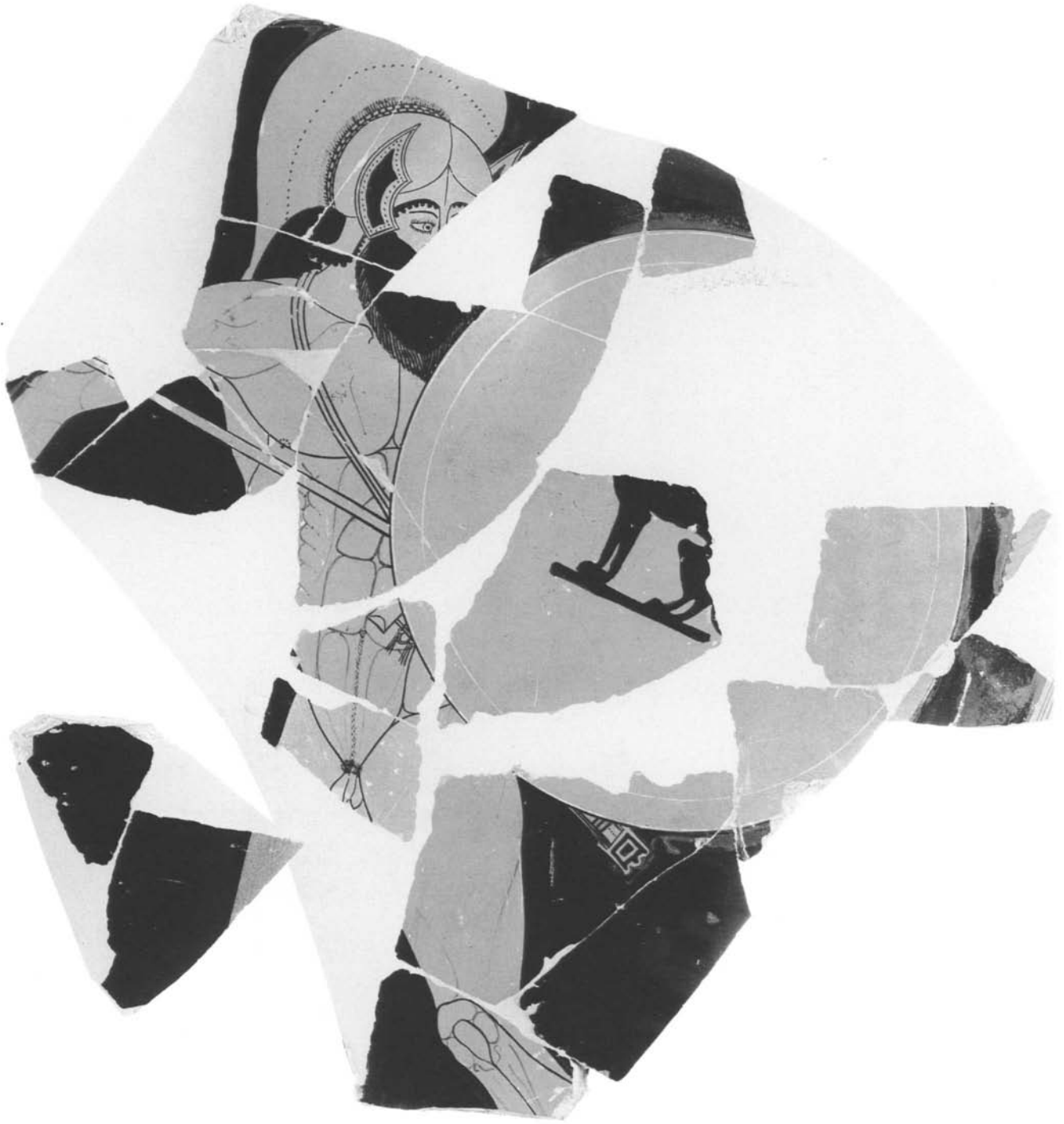


FIGURE 5g. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Trojan behind Athena. Fragments *l* and *m*.



FIGURE 5h. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Detail of face of Trojan. Fragment *l*.

Diomedes. Fragment *k* (fig. 5f) shows the rescuer's right foot and the lower edge of the greave, as well as the greaved lower left calf and part of the foot of another figure, probably a Greek. The latter is a problematic figure. In fact, much of this area of the composition is difficult to reconstruct without more fragments. I am not certain that everything here is correct.

After this, there is a gap of some 18–20 cm before we come to the last figure, whose position in the com-

position may be determined with some degree of accuracy. This is the Trojan on fragment *l*, who stands frontally just behind Athena on fragment *a* (fig. 5g). What remains of him on this fragment is most of his face and beard, his head protected by a low-crested helmet with the cheekpieces turned up (fig. 5h), all of his torso, part of his outstretched right arm, and a good bit of his left leg with decorative greave. An empty scabbard is suspended from a baldric over his right shoulder, and on his left arm he holds a large round shield



FIGURE 51. Calyx-krater, figure 1a. Unplaced fragment. Fragment *n*.

emblazoned with a seated sphinx (her head is missing, but the start of her wing remains, indicating that this is not a panther or a lion). This Trojan probably held his sword in his right hand, for his scabbard is empty (compare Diomedes' scabbard with sword on fragment *g*, fig. 5b). The shaft of a spear crosses his chest, presumably held by the Greek opponent who attacks him (see below). Fragment *m* may show, on its right side, a little of the right thigh of this Trojan; on the left are four letters of a name:]MAX[O]Σ (see fig. 5g). The positioning of this fragment is not completely certain, but the greenish cast of the glaze and the thickness of the wall indicate that it belongs in this section of the composition.

It is difficult to be certain whether this inscription names a Greek or a Trojan. In the preserved ancient literature, there is neither a Greek nor a Trojan with a name ending in *-machos* who takes part in this battle (see below). Before trying to decide which figure the inscription names, one should mention that in other works by the Berlin Painter (who does not often name figures), as well as in the work of other first-rate artists, such as Exekias, the painters of the Pioneer Group, or the Kleophrades Painter, each inscription is written carefully on the background so that it not only identifies a specific figure but also enhances the composition.²² This is certainly the case with the four partially preserved inscriptions on our krater. As for the name ending in *-machos*, it would be easiest and simplest if it named the missing Greek. The direction of the name, from left to right, would agree with that of the Greek. For various reasons, however, I wish to suggest that the inscription names the Trojan, not the Greek. To begin with, the inscriptions identifying Athena, Achilles, Ajax, and Diomedes appear relatively high in the composition, and I would like to believe that the Berlin Painter wrote the name of the Greek closer to his head. Secondly, it would be better if this

attacking Greek were named Odysseus (see below). If one imagines the figure of this Greek complete with shield in the space provided for him, the inscription would appear closer to the Trojan he attacks than it would to him. And if my suggestion is correct—that the Trojan held his sword in his right hand with the blade pointing diagonally downward to his right—the inscription, even if the name was a long one, would not interfere with any part of the figure.

Our last fragment, *n* (fig. 51), misfired greenish, belongs in this section, but so far I have not been able to position it. It preserves two letters,]ΦI[, and I am not certain which figure it names. The thickness of the wall indicates that it belongs rather high in the composition.

Thus, the composition shows Athena standing to left, but facing to right, her aegis held over her outstretched left arm, her left hand holding her helmet. She watches Ajax as he rises with the body of Achilles and Diomedes as he spears an opponent. Behind Athena is another Trojan, who may or may not be wounded (there are no traces of blood, but clearly he is on the defensive, and his life may be in jeopardy). In the space that remains between the latter figure and Diomedes' opponent were two figures fighting back-to-back—a Trojan coming in to help his companion who has been speared by Diomedes and the Greek who fights the Trojan behind Athena. Fragments *j* and *k* preserve part of the avenging Trojan. If the Greek behind him, who attacks the Trojan on fragments *l* and *m*, were about the same size and in a similar stance, the rest of the composition would be nicely filled without any crowding. He probably would not have held a round shield seen completely from the inside, as the Trojan attacking Diomedes does, for, if he did, part of it would have to appear on fragments *l* and *m*. I opt for a shield either in profile or in three-quarter view. This Greek might have looked much like the Amazon on the Basel neck-amphora whose shield has an apron.²³

It is difficult to decide who the Greek and the three Trojans are, for part of only two names survive; the one on fragment *m* is probably that of the Trojan behind Athena, but surely the other two Trojans and the Greek were also named. Odysseus would be a good candidate for the Greek, particularly because the three preserved ancient sources tell us that he was instrumental in keeping back the Trojans and preventing them from capturing the corpse of Achilles.²⁴

Fragment *n* (see fig. 51), unfortunately, casts doubt on this suggestion, because of where it has to be placed. Aeneas may well be the avenging Trojan who attacks Diomedes, for he too took part in this struggle,²⁵ and he appears on a late sixth-century Attic black-figured amphora as well as on a mid-sixth-century Chalcidian amphora (now lost) that showed the fight over the body of Achilles. Both vases are discussed below. I take the two attacked Trojans to be doomed, for the bared teeth of the one and the frontal face of the other support this interpretation.²⁶ Few Trojans are named in the literature. In the most detailed description, that of the fourth-century-A.D. writer Quintus Smyrnaeus, the Trojans killed in this skirmish are slain mostly by Ajax himself.²⁷ So this will not fit our representation. A look elsewhere for the name of a Trojan that ends in *-machos* produces very few candidates. Apollodoros mentions a son of Priam named Archemachos²⁸ who seems otherwise to be unknown. So, too, for the others that occur in Quintus Smyrnaeus: Antimachos, who does not play a fighting role in the war;²⁹ and Eurymachos, who fights together with Aeneas, but later in the war than the battle for the body of Achilles.³⁰ So, for the moment, it is perhaps best to leave open the question of who the Trojans are, who the *-machos* inscription names, and to whom the two letters on fragment *n* refer (see fig. 51).

As mentioned above, the figures continue around the krater without the interruption of a floral ornament above the handles. Even though much is missing, it is possible to estimate which parts of the composition appeared above each handle. Using as a guide the maximum circumference of 1.52 m estimated for the figure zone and then conjecturing that the area above each handle took up about 15 cm, the amount of space on each side would be about 60 cm. It seems most likely that Ajax and Achilles should appear approximately in the middle of one side of the krater and, considering the amount of space they take up—about 30–35 cm—this leaves enough room for Athena to appear behind them, above and just to the right of the handle, and for Diomedes to appear above the other handle. If this estimate is reasonably correct, it means that the large round shield of the frontal Trojan on fragment *l* appears above one handle and most of Diomedes above the other. On Side B, one would have the Trojan wounded by Diomedes, his rescuer, and the Greek who attacks the Trojan behind Athena. The composition should be thought of, however, as a continuous one, and the representation as one moment in time.

ICONOGRAPHY

In the literature, Achilles and Ajax are well known as good friends. In Archaic Greek representations, the best evidence of their friendship is the numerous illustrations on vases of the two companions playing a board game to while away the time between skirmishes on the Trojan plain.³¹ Therefore, it is suitable that when Achilles is slain by Paris's arrow, Ajax should carry the corpse of his friend back to the Greek camp. The story was told by Arktinos of Miletos in the *Aithiopsis*, the poem that followed the *Iliad* in the Epic Cycle. While only the briefest summary of it is known today,³² it must have been a particularly memorable episode for all who were fortunate enough to hear it recited at a festival. It is perhaps no accident then that Ajax carrying the body of Achilles is among the oldest representations of scenes from the Trojan War. The earliest of these may date as far back as the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C., and while uncertainty exists due to the lack of inscriptions, this theme is likely to be what the artists had in mind.³³ So far, Kleitias is the first to name the figures, thus assuring the identification of the subject. His two illustrations appear on the back of each handle of his famous krater in Florence, where minor differences prevent the two scenes from being mere duplicates of one another.³⁴ Not long afterward, the Phrynos Painter depicted the subject, also with inscriptions, in the tondo of a lip-cup now in the Vatican.³⁵ Examples before the middle of the sixth century show Ajax carrying the body to right.

When Exekias takes up the subject, in the third quarter of the century, he reverses the direction of the two heroes and shows them to left, Ajax walking slowly, steadily, beneath his heavy burden.³⁶ Exekias also includes the splendid set of armor that became the subject of the bitter quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over who most deserved to inherit it. When the award unfairly went to Odysseus, the beaten and angry Ajax went mad and killed much of the cattle of the Greeks, believing the animals to be the Greeks themselves; later, recovered from his maddened state, he was so ashamed of what he had done that he took his own life.³⁷ Elsewhere, I have tried to show that the direction to left, which is the one usually accorded to the loser in battle in Archaic Greek art, may allude to the gloomy future that awaits Ajax.³⁸ In any case, the change in direction initiated by Exekias is taken up almost without exception by his black-figure contemporaries and successors.³⁹ Ajax with the body of Achilles is a popular theme in late Archaic black-figure vase-painting,

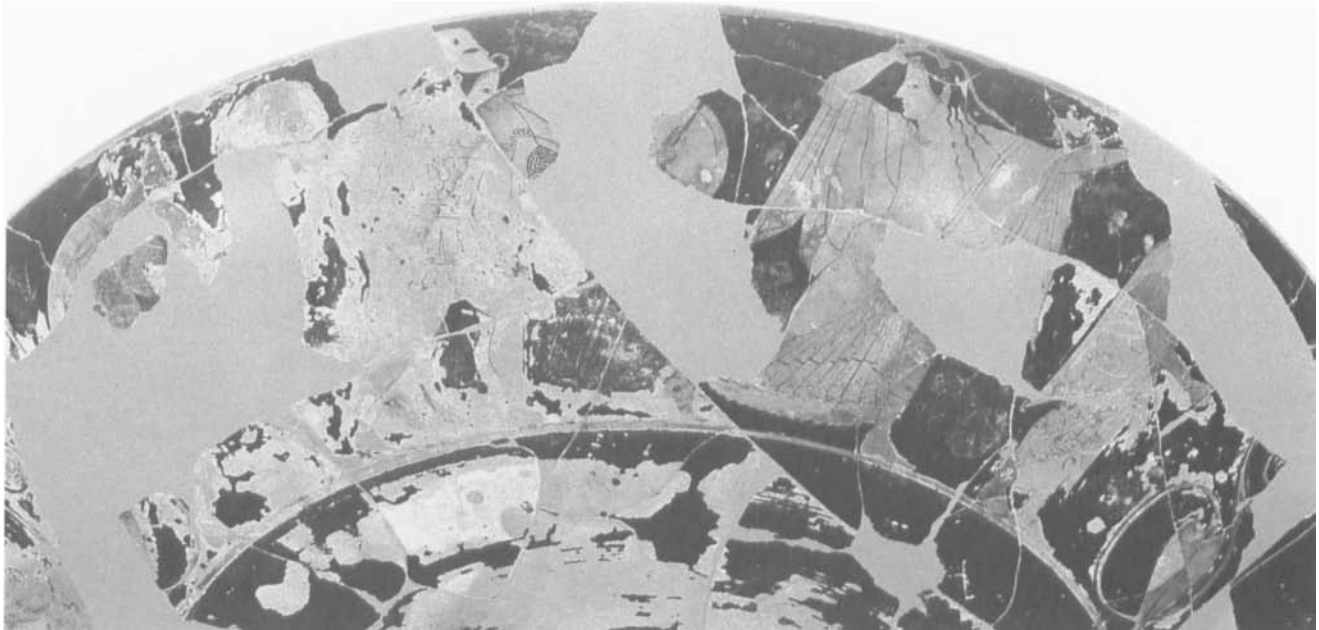


FIGURE 6. Attic red-figured cup attributed to Euphronios. Side A, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.20.

but the theme is rare in Attic red-figure. Besides the one by the Berlin Painter on the Getty calyx-krater, I know only the following: a Nicosthenic neck-amphora in Vienna; a cup by Euphronios in the Getty Museum (see fig. 6); and a fragmentary cup by Douris in the Cabinet des Médailles.⁴⁰

Nearly all of the representations depict Ajax carrying his dead friend, alone or accompanied by his half brother Teucer, by a warrior, or occasionally by a woman who may be Thetis. On a few vases, however, either a slightly different moment is depicted or else the scene includes Greeks protecting the two heroes from Trojan attack. Since the representation on our calyx-krater belongs with these exceptions, a brief review of them might be useful.

In addition to his three scenes showing Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, Exekias has left us one that depicts an earlier moment in this tragic episode, one that so far is unique. On the right half of the obverse of his well-preserved amphora in Philadelphia⁴¹ he shows Ajax leaning over the corpse of Achilles, which is stretched out on the ground extending almost across the entire length of the panel. The hero grasps Achilles firmly by his left wrist and upper right arm, lifting the heavy torso a bit above the ground. The dead hero's head hangs down, and the crest of his helmet trails on

the ground. His name is inscribed above his thigh (*A+IAEΩΣ*, retrograde); presumably Ajax's name also appeared in the upper right portion of the panel, now missing. The rest of this panel and all of the reverse depict an earlier Trojan moment: the slaying of Antilochos, the youngest son of Nestor, and the routing of Memnon's Ethiopian warriors.

On the obverse of an amphora Type A in Melbourne attributed to the Painter of London B 174,⁴² a contemporary of Exekias, Ajax carries the body of Achilles accompanied by several Greek warriors and by Teucer, who is identified by his pointed cap and Oriental trousers. Behind Ajax and Achilles is a woman, probably Thetis, who puts one hand to her head in grief. The rather quiet procession of Greeks as well as the absence of defensive gestures or spears held ready for attack suggest that the scene takes place very near or perhaps even in the Greek camp. Otherwise, one would expect to see Trojans. A similar moment seems to occur on a very poorly preserved cup in the Getty Museum, attributed to Euphronios (fig. 6).⁴³ The obverse shows a procession to right with Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Heading the line is a man who should be Phoinix, followed by a woman with hand to head in a gesture of mourning. Bringing up the rear of the procession is another male, very likely

Odysseus.⁴⁴ Probably mention should be made here of the scene on the small neck-amphora in Vienna that belongs to the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 218.⁴⁵ There, Ajax bends forward to left, shouldering the body of Achilles, which faces to right, its feet still touching the ground. Inscribed between the legs of the two heroes: *A+|IAEΟΣ*. The other inscription is a nonsense one. The scene looks like a very watered-down, though earlier, version of the one on the Getty calyx-krater.

The fierce fight is in full cry on the next three vases. The earliest of these is a mid-sixth-century Chalcidian amphora once in the Pembroke-Hope collection.⁴⁶ The dead Achilles lies stretched out on the ground, his chest and left heel pierced by arrows. Athena stands protectively near his head, spear in hand, the snakes of her aegis fully extended, looking very threatening. Ajax strides in to avenge his friend; he spears Glaukos, while Paris flees to right, looking back as he shoots an arrow at the Greek hero. Aeneas and Laodokos come in to help, fighting as a pair, and on the right a Trojan named Echippos strides toward an unnamed Greek who stumbles forward, mortally wounded.

In the panel of a hydria in Munich by a painter of the Leagros Group,⁴⁷ Ajax has already shouldered the body and is just about to rise with it. The eidolon of Achilles flies away to left, and on the left two warriors come in, one looking particularly fierce with spear poised. Behind Achilles and Ajax, another warrior runs in holding two spears (their points appear above Achilles' Boeotian shield, which hangs down his back; their ends may be seen in the lower right of the panel). On the far right are the foreparts of a chariot team, a convention favored by painters of the Leagros Group. In this representation, it is difficult to be certain which warriors are Greeks and which are Trojans.

This is not the case with our next scene, an unattributed amphora Type A, also in Munich, which is contemporary with the Leagros Group hydria.⁴⁸ On the Munich amphora most of the participants are named. Ajax has lifted the body (its face is frontal, eyes closed, arms hanging limply, the left foot dragging on the ground) and looks around warily at the battle. Directly in back, Achilles' son, Neoptolemos, who figures prominently in the Sack of Troy, fights Aeneas, who has speared him in the left thigh, piercing his metal thigh guard. On the right, Menelaos attacks Paris. Two warriors, one of them in Oriental dress, complete the scene. The direction of Menelaos to

right in this scene might offer some evidence for arguing that the two warriors who attack to right on the Leagros Group hydria just discussed ought to be Greeks, yet the direction to left of Neoptolemos lessens this suggestion a bit.⁴⁹

The Berlin Painter's illustration of this Trojan episode on the Getty calyx-krater belongs among these special representations, for, like them, the moment shown and the manner of showing it are far from the expected ones. His composition is elaborate and filled out, but not as dense as those on the Melbourne amphora or the two scenes in Munich, where the overlapping of the figures tends to make the compositions look cluttered and difficult to read. Like the lifting scene by Exekias on the Philadelphia amphora, the representation by the Berlin Painter communicates directly and simply with the viewer, and in this way the tragic implications of this Trojan moment are heightened. Rescuing Achilles' body from Trojan capture and defilement was Ajax's bravest and noblest deed, his last and highest service to his dead friend. The illustrations of this event by Exekias and by the Berlin Painter demonstrate how epic poetry and epic illustration may on occasion coincide very closely with one another.

TROJAN SUBJECTS IN THE WORK OF THE BERLIN PAINTER

Trojan themes are not so numerous in the work of the Berlin Painter, and for the most part they appear on his early vases. Exceptions are two late neck-amphorae that depict Menelaos pursuing Helen.⁵⁰ A brief discussion of the subjects set at Troy that appear on his early vases may shed light on how monumental and ambitious the representation on the Getty krater is.

On the shoulder of a kalpis in St. Petersburg,⁵¹ Achilles crouches behind a fountain, lying in wait for Troilos, the youngest son of Priam. There was a prophecy that the Greeks could not take Troy if Troilos reached his twentieth birthday. The ambush and pursuit of Troilos were narrated by Stasinos in the *Kypria*, the poem that chronicled the events of the war preceding the opening book of the *Iliad*.⁵² The Berlin Painter has depicted a somewhat abbreviated account of the ambush, for only Polyxena, the sister of Troilos, is present. She has filled her hydria to overflowing, and from the gesture of her hands, it looks as if she has just sighted Achilles. Apollo's raven perches on top of the fountain.

Once, possibly twice, the Berlin Painter depicts Achilles taking the life of Hektor to avenge the death

of Patroklos at the hands of Priam's son. On the reverse of the painter's volute-krater in London,⁵³ where the name of each figure is inscribed, Achilles has already severely wounded Hektor in the chest and thigh, and he lunges at him again, spear in hand, shield held out, eyes riveted on his hated opponent. Hektor stumbles backward helplessly, his spear pointed downward, his shield held in back of him, of little use. At the left, Athena encourages Achilles; at the right, Apollo walks away, abandoning Hektor to his fate. But the arrow in his hand very likely alludes to the death of Achilles that will take place on another day in the not too distant future. This Olympian abandonment recalls the moment in Book 22 of the *Iliad* when Zeus balances the scales and "Hektor's death-day was heavier and dragged downward toward death, and Phoibos Apollo forsook him."⁵⁴

This is likely to be the subject on the obverse of the stamnos in Munich, only there the names are not inscribed, thus leaving a bit of doubt about the identification.⁵⁵ At the left is a youthful warrior who looks a bit like Achilles on the London krater, except that he is not nude but wears a corslet over a linen chiton, aiming his spear at his opponent, whom he has already wounded in the chest and thigh, and who falls backward, sword held out. His eyeball has begun to roll up beneath the upper lid, a sure sign that the end of his life is near. Athena strides to right between the two heroes, looking back at Achilles, her helmet held out in her left hand.

The two representations of Achilles and Hektor just discussed seem to be the only episode by the Berlin Painter that is based on a passage from the *Iliad*. Except for the Ambush of Troilos on the St. Petersburg kalpis and the board game scene on the New York kalpis (see fig. 7)—a subject so far not connected with a specific moment in the Epic Cycle—the Berlin Painter's remaining Trojan themes derive from the *Aithiopsis*. The first of these, another kalpis in New York,⁵⁶ shows Achilles fatally spearing Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons, who came to Troy to help the Trojan side (see fig. 4). Achilles has already wounded his adversary in the chest just below her right breast, and he now plunges his spear into her right thigh. Penthesilea has collapsed onto one knee, her right arm extended toward Achilles in a futile gesture of supplication. In her left hand, she holds her bow, but she has no arrows. Obviously helpless, she is close to death.

The next foreign contingent to arrive at Troy to fight against the Greeks was that of Memnon and his

Ethiopians. In this fierce battle, Memnon lost his life to Achilles, a subject that appears fairly often in Archaic mythological representations.⁵⁷ The usual composition shows Achilles attacking Memnon, the pair flanked by their mothers, Thetis and Eos, respectively. The Berlin Painter used this arrangement on the obverse of his volute-krater in London,⁵⁸ surely as a pendant to Achilles spearing Hektor, which appears on the other side. Killing these two brave and respected fighters ranks high among the achievements of Achilles during the long years of the war. In this illustration, the two heroes lunge at each other, Achilles armed with a spear and a shield, Memnon with a sword and shield. Each hero is nude, but for a helmet. Unlike the scene with Hektor, on the other side of the vase, no wounds have been inflicted, and the outcome is not yet decided. But Achilles seems a little fiercer than his opponent and perhaps better equipped, since his spear can not only mortally wound Memnon but also keep him at bay. Both goddesses gesture excitedly, each encouraging her son.

Fragments of a loutrophoros in Erlangen also illustrate a scene from the Memnon episode, only there it is more difficult to establish the precise moment.⁵⁹ The largest fragment shows a Greek spearing one of Memnon's Ethiopian followers. On analogy with a similar scene by Exekias on his amphora in Philadelphia that has the names inscribed,⁶⁰ this Greek could be Menelaos. Another fragment of the vase preserves the head and shoulders of a dead Ethiopian, while a third fragment gives the thighs of this figure and parts of the legs of his opponent, as well as a bit of the shield seen from the inside.

After Ajax rescued the body of Achilles and successfully carried it back to the Greek camp, a fierce quarrel arose between him and Odysseus over which of the two most deserved to inherit the divine set of armor. Odysseus had been instrumental in driving off the Trojans and believed that his just reward for this brave effort was the armor. Ajax had rescued the body and thought he was just as deserving. Their angry confrontation must have been a memorable section of the latter part of the *Aithiopsis*.⁶¹ This heated quarrel, decided by a vote of the Greeks, is depicted on a few vases of the early fifth century.⁶² On his neck-amphora in Madrid, the Berlin Painter shows the two heroes in a fierce confrontation.⁶³ One appears on each side of the vase, Ajax with sword drawn and fire in his eye, Odysseus seeming somewhat defensive, also with sword drawn, but not held ready. If anything, he looks a bit

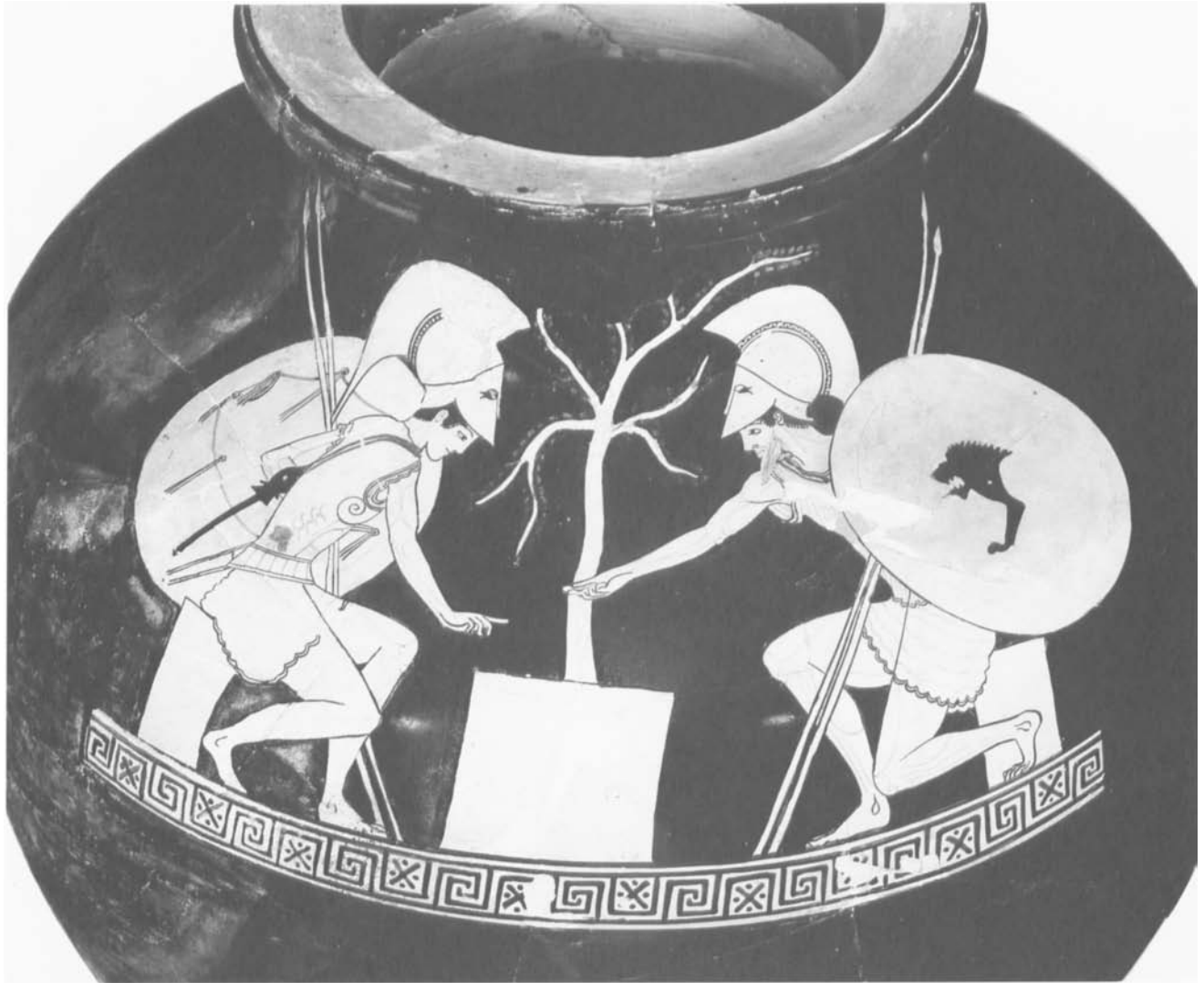


FIGURE 7. Kalpis by the Berlin Painter. Front, Ajax and Achilles playing draughts. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Arnold and Janetta Whitridge Fund, 1965, 65.II.12.

apprehensive. It is as if he knows that in physical combat he is the weaker of the two, while in verbal skills he is unmatched. The outcome of this quarrel and vote led to the suicide of Ajax, the scene with which the *Aithiopsis* may well have concluded, though the episode was also narrated in the *Little Iliad* by Lesches of Mytilene.⁶⁴

An easier moment in the lives of Ajax and Achilles may be observed on another kalpis in New York (fig. 7),⁶⁵ which shows the two engaged in a board game, a theme that surely implies tense moments over who will win, but without the tragic overtones of the episodes just discussed. We do not know the rules of this game,⁶⁶

but on the New York kalpis, Ajax clearly holds a playing piece, and Achilles gestures with his right index finger, perhaps delaying the move.⁶⁷ One cannot be certain exactly what the gesture means, but the spirit of this representation is very different from that of the playing scene by Exekias on the obverse of his amphora in the Vatican, where it is clear that Ajax is the loser.⁶⁸

Trojan subjects are among the best works by the Berlin Painter. Usually, the compositions are simple, with the figures limited to those essential for the narrative, a pictorial device that in some ways recalls Exekias, whose preference for spare, elegant compositions is



FIGURE 8. Calyx-krater, figure 2. Side A. Thanatos.

well attested. Though depicting a full representation of the episode, the composition on the Getty calyx-krater illustrates very clearly this approach to narrative. It is somewhat akin to the illustrations on the fragments in Erlangen discussed above or to the very early pelike in Vienna that shows the Death of Aigisthos, the theme divided between the back and the front of the vase.⁶⁹ For the most part, the Berlin Painter prefers simple compositions that have just one or two figures on each side of the pot.⁷⁰ Of all the red-figure painters, he is without a doubt the one who is most skilled in painting scenes in which less seems to be more. Thus the very ambitious and complicated composition on the Getty krater exhibits a marked difference from what one expects from the brush of the Berlin Painter, and this requires some discussion.



FIGURE 9. Calyx-krater, signed by Euphronios as painter. Side A, head of Kyknos. New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection no. 510. Photo: Bruce White.

THE BERLIN PAINTER AND THE PIONEER GROUP, ESPECIALLY EUPHRONIOS

As others have recognized, the Getty calyx-krater is one of the earliest works by the Berlin Painter; it ought to date in the very last years of the sixth century. The drawing is fine and careful, but here and there it reveals that the painter has not yet completely mastered his craft.⁷¹ It has long been recognized that the early work of the Berlin Painter is greatly indebted to the painters of the Pioneer Group, chiefly to Phintias, who was probably his teacher, to a lesser extent to Euthymides.⁷² What the Getty krater shows, however, is that on occasion the Berlin Painter was influenced also by Euphronios.⁷³ A few examples of this influence have already been mentioned, but the subject needs fuller discussion, for there are certain details on our

krater that help to establish more definite links between the two artists.

First of all, the ambitious representation—the many figures in a fully integrated composition—would in its monumental quality be virtually impossible without the advancements in the red-figure technique made by the painters of the Pioneer Group, especially Euphronios. One is reminded of the Antaios krater in the Louvre or the Kyknos krater in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy.⁷⁴ Many details of drawing on the Getty krater by the Berlin Painter show the influence of Euphronios. Four specifics recall his New York calyx-krater.⁷⁵ First, the large round shield seen in profile lying on the ground: on the reverse of Euphronios's krater, below Achilles on ours. Second, Ajax on the Getty krater is almost a mirror image of Thanatos on the New York krater (cf. figs. 1d and 8). Third, the forelock poking out between the cheekpieces of Diomedes' helmet (cf. figs. 5b and 8). Fourth, and most of all, the striking resemblance between Achilles and Sarpedon (cf. figs. 1e, f and 2). Each hero is nude except for greaves, while customarily Achilles is fully armed.⁷⁶

The rendering of Achilles' hair—individual locks drawn in black glaze, the harsh contrast with the clay background mitigated by a wash of dilute glaze that achieves a light-haired effect—would be unthinkable without Euphronios, who, more than his contemporaries, used this technique with such splendid effects. It is a hallmark of his style.⁷⁷ The inclusion of eyelashes as well as the curved line of dilute glaze marking the fold of flesh on the upper lid, a detail rarely seen in the work of other painters, strengthens the comparison between the two artists.⁷⁸

Compare, also, the open mouth with teeth visible, alluding to the wounds each has suffered, without distorting the handsome youthful faces. Distortion of the facial features of gods, heroes, and mortals seems to be unacceptable to Archaic and Classical Greek artists. As mentioned above, the corner of Achilles' mouth indicates that his lips, too, were parted with teeth showing. Bared teeth were also used for the Trojan speared by Diomedes (see fig. 5d).⁷⁹ Kyknos on the White/Levy krater (fig. 9) offers a good parallel with the Trojan to the left of Athena on our krater (see fig. 5h). Kyknos's face is frontal, his helmet askew, and the hair on the nape of his neck prominent. This combination of details is close enough to the drawing of our Trojan so

that it may even help to restore what is missing. The elaborate detailing on Achilles' greave is another feature more easily paralleled in the work of Euphronios than in the work of the other Pioneers. Compare especially Hypnos and Thanatos, or even Sarpedon, on the New York krater, Kyknos on the White/Levy krater, or Telamon on the Arezzo krater.⁸⁰

One more detail deserves mention, namely, the transverse line that marks the fold of flesh on the joint of Achilles' left thumb (see fig. 1e). I have not been able to parallel this feature on other vases by the Berlin Painter, nor in the work of Euthymides and Phintias, but it occurs often enough in the work of Euphronios to count as a criterion for attribution.⁸¹

This calyx-krater by the Berlin Painter sheds a whole new and shining light on the earliest part of his career. The Getty krater demonstrates beyond a doubt that, far from being simply a pupil of Phintias, and perhaps also of Euthymides, the Berlin Painter on occasion learned from Euphronios, and perhaps even observed the Pioneer artist at work. We may also say that the Berlin Painter's treatment of the theme of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles belongs among the innovative and exceptional, for it shows the painter's acute sensitivity to the spirit and themes of epic poetry. In its measured cadences, sense of restraint, and absence of unnecessary detail or embellishment, the Berlin Painter's illustration of this Trojan episode recalls those by Exekias. The Berlin Painter probably did not know the work of the best of our black-figure painters, but on this particular occasion, he seems to be a kindred spirit.

I should like to close with a quote from the lecture on the Berlin Painter given by Beazley in Melbourne, Australia, in 1964, for it seems as pertinent now as it did then.

It is fifty-five years since I first became aware of the Berlin Painter, and he has been a friendly presence ever since. I would rather not sum him up in a few sentences. Much in him he shares with artists of his time; but much is unique and personal to him, and we noticed some of his qualities as we went along. We have looked at some of his works; there are many more, and among them fine pieces. In time to come the earth will yield others, and we may learn how he treated figures and subjects that are not represented on his vases hitherto known.⁸²

NOTES

I wish to thank Jiří Frel for inviting me to take on the extended publication of the calyx-krater when I first visited the Getty Museum in March 1983. From January 1985 until February 1987 the fragments were on loan to the Metropolitan Museum so I could study them at leisure (L.1985.21.1a-dd and L.1985.21.2a-h). An oral version of this article was presented at the British Museum in June 1985, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Sir John D. Beazley. Since then, more fragments have been acquired by the Getty Museum, and Marion True invited me to Malibu to study them. I am particularly indebted to her for her gracious hospitality and the friendly cooperation of her staff. It made my brief visit in June 1993 especially enjoyable. I also wish to thank other friends and colleagues for taking time to look at these fragments with me, in particular Dietrich von Bothmer, Joan R. Mertens, and Marjorie Venit.

Abbreviation:

Euphronios der Maler *Euphronios der Maler*, exh. cat., Berlin, Antikemuseum, March 20–May 26, 1991 (Milan, 1991).

1. Vatican 344 (*ABV* 145.13; *Paralipomena* 60.13; *Beazley Addenda*² 40); Boulogne 558 (*ABV* 145.18; *Paralipomena* 60.18; *Beazley Addenda*² 40); New York 1972.11.10 (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 4, with earlier bibliography); Munich 2307 (*ARV*² 26.1; *Paralipomena* 323.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 155); and Würzburg 508 (*ARV*² 182.5; *Paralipomena* 340.5; *Beazley Addenda*² 186).

2. The primary accession number for this vase is now 77.AE.5. That number is comprised of the following fragments: 77.AE.5.1–4, .6–7, .9–12; 82.AE.124.1–42; 84.AE.68; 84.AE.972.1–8; 87.AE.51; 88.AE.147; 90.AE.2.1–15; and L.89.AE.43.1–3, .5, .7, .9, .10, .13–15, .20, .23, .24, .28, .30, .39. A small fragment (84.AE.972.1) preserving the fringe of Athena's aegis belonged to Dietrich von Bothmer and was given by him, along with a further seven fragments, to the Getty Museum. The attribution is Frel's. Because the accession number often refers to more than one fragment, to make things simpler in the text and drawing, I shall assign a letter to each fragment. For a profile of the mouth, cul, and foot of this krater, see the one by K. Huber, in *Euphronios und seine Zeit*. Colloquium, Berlin, April 19–20, 1991 (Berlin, 1992), p. 69, fig. 20. The vase broke already in antiquity but was repaired; an ancient bronze rivet remains in one of the holes near the rim; see fig. 5a.

3. Because of the considerable difference in circumference at the top and the bottom of the composition, I have had to "stretch" it near and at the groundline to avoid distortion. Double pairs of short vertical strokes indicate where I have done this. Also, I did not draw all of the preserved border ornament, but just a few units of each, since the patterns are clear in the photographs.

4. C. Cardon, "The Berlin Painter and His School" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977), p. 7, no. 14 bis.

5. M. Robertson, "The Berlin Painter at the Getty Museum and Some Others," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 (Malibu, 1983), pp. 55–59. Robertson's figs. 2, 4, and 5 are now combined into one fragment, *b*. Most recently D. von Bothmer published fragment *c* ("Euphronios: An Attic Vase-Painter's View of the Human Body," *Ἰδρυμα Νικολάου Π. Γουλανδρή, Διαλέξεις*, 1986–1989 [Athens, 1991], p. 41, fig. 31); also, M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 81, fig. 68.

6. Robertson, "Berlin Painter" (supra, note 5), mentions some of them in a postscript on p. 69.

7. For the accession numbers, see supra, note 2.

8. The upper part of Athena may have looked something like

the figure of her on London E 268, only reversed (*ARV*² 198.24; *Beazley Addenda*² 191). This Athena was particularly helpful to me in understanding how the right sleeve of our Athena's chiton and the falling folds of her himation below her arm may have looked. See also the sleeves of Nike's chiton and the folds of her himation on Philadelphia 31.36.11 (*ARV*² 198.15; *Paralipomena* 342.15; *Beazley Addenda*² 191).

9. For this motif, see N. Kunisch, "Zur helmhaltenden Athena," *AM* 89 (1974): 85–104.

10. This unusual feature may also be seen on Athena's helmet on Basel BS 456 (*ARV*² 1634.1 bis; *Paralipomena* 342.1 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 190) and on the warrior's helmet on Louvre Cp 10799 (*ARV*² 200.129; *Beazley Addenda*² 194).

11. *Il.* 2.768–70 and 17.278–80; *Od.* 11.550–51. In these contexts, Ajax is praised as being the bravest and most stalwart of the Greeks except for Achilles. Similarly, Pind. *Nem.* 7.26–27. Compare the size of Diomedes' leg on fragment *c* (infra, fig. 1e) with that of Achilles. If Achilles were to stand, he would tower above the rest of the figures. Ajax also seems a bit larger than the others, but not as large as Achilles.

12. Robertson, "Berlin Painter" (supra, note 5), p. 55, suggests that in writing the name of Achilles retrograde, the Berlin Painter may have made a three-stroke sigma the wrong way round and tried to correct it by adding a fourth stroke. For four-stroke sigmas on Archaic vases, see *AK* 26 (1983): 74 n. 8.

13. Supra, note 1.

14. *ARV*² 209.169; *Paralipomena* 343.169; *Beazley Addenda*² 195. For other depictions of Achilles with this helmet, see London E 468 (*ARV*² 206.132; *Paralipomena* 343.132; *Beazley Addenda*² 194); St. Petersburg 628 (*ARV*² 210.174; *Beazley Addenda*² 195); two where one figure is likely to be Achilles: Munich 2406 (*ARV*² 207.137; *Paralipomena* 343.137; *Beazley Addenda*² 194); a neck-amphora in the Hirschmann collection (*Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, ed. H. Bloesch [Zurich, 1982], no. 29). Add the following: Louvre Cp 10799 (supra, note 10); Basel BS 453 (*ARV*² 1634.30 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 191); and Florence 3989 (*ARV*² 198.14). On the last three, the first is a warrior who may be Memnon or Hektor (see infra, note 55), the second is a Greek in an Amazonomachy, and the third is an Amazon. Also the two Trojans preserved on our vase, one on fragments *b* and *h–j* and the one on fragments *m–n*, wear this kind of helmet.

15. For holding helmets, the illustrations given by Kunisch (supra, note 9) offer a good range. The preference seems to be to hold such a helmet by a cheekpiece.

16. A similar eidolon appears on Louvre G 163, by the Eucharides Painter (*ARV*² 227.12; *Paralipomena* 347.12; *Beazley Addenda*² 199). Here, Sleep and Death carry off Sarpedon. All that remains of the eidolon is part of one wing and most of its left hand. I wish to thank Dietrich von Bothmer for drawing my attention to this parallel.

17. For the crestless helmet, cf. the warriors on London E 269 (*ARV*² 199.27) and Bonn 464.25–27 (*ARV*² 200.43; *Beazley Addenda*² 191), both works of the painter's middle period; on Munich 2406 (supra, note 14) the helmet held by Athena has no crest. See also a fragmentary neck-amphora on loan to The Metropolitan Museum from a New York private collection, L.1980.93.3.

18. This position of the shield is a bit unusual for the Berlin Painter, who prefers to draw round shields seen fully from either the inside or the outside. For other shields seen in three-quarter view, see the one on Munich 2406, held by the warrior who is probably Achilles (supra, note 14), and two on the Amazon neck-amphora in Basel, BS 453: the fallen Amazon attacked by Herakles and the Amazon on the reverse next to handle B/A whose shield has an apron (supra, note 14).

19. Here are some examples: the figure who may be Achilles on the neck-amphora in the Hirschmann collection (supra, note 14); Louvre Cp 10799 (supra, note 10); Munich 2406, the figure who is very likely to be Achilles and the departing warrior on the other side (supra, note 14); New York 1988.40, ex-Bastis, ex-Castle Ashby, departing warrior (*ARV*² 207.141; *Beazley Addenda*² 194); New York 10.210.19, Achilles (*ARV*² 209.169; *Paralipomena* 343.169; *Beazley Addenda*² 195); and St. Petersburg 628 (supra, note 14).

20. In the work of the Berlin Painter the best parallel for the greaved leg seen from the back on our krater is one of the Amazons attacking Herakles on the neck-amphora in Basel, BS 453 (supra, note 14). For a view completely from the back, see Herakles on the amphora in Havana, Lagunillas collection (*ARV*² 209.163; *Beazley Addenda*² 195; R. Olmos Romera, *Vasos Griegos: Colección Condes de Lagunillas* [Zurich, 1990], p. 100).

21. Berlin 2180 (*ARV*² 13.1; *Paralipomena* 321.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 1).

22. Good examples in the work of the Berlin Painter: the name piece, esp. Side A (*ARV*² 196.1; *Paralipomena* 342.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 190); Vienna 3725 (*ARV*² 204.109; *Paralipomena* 342.109; *Beazley Addenda*² 193); and London E 468, both compositions (supra, note 14).

23. Basel BS 453 (supra, note 14).

24. Proc. *Chrestomathia* ii (*Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. Evelyn-White [Cambridge, Mass., 1967], p. 509). Cf. also, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.3–5, and Quint. Smyrn. *The Fall of Troy* 3.295–339.

25. *Ibid.*, 3.214.

26. “In archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard” (J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* [Berkeley, 1951 and 1964], p. 28; rev. edn., 1986, p. 26). For the presence of teeth, see *infra*, note 79.

27. Two killed by Odysseus are named Proteus and Alkon (Quint. Smyrn. 3.303 and 308); they seem to be otherwise unknown, and thus it would be hazardous to assign either of these names to the Trojan in back of Athena or to the one speared by Diomedes.

28. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5.

29. Quint. Smyrn. 1.405: his daughter, Tisiphone, is mentioned; *ibid.*, 13.434: his palace is burned in the final battle. In the *Iliad* (11.123), his sons fight alongside Hektor.

30. Quint. Smyrn. 11.130 and 168, 14.323. One may perhaps mention other names: Hippomachos, a Trojan slain by Leonteus (*Il.* 12.189); the rest are Greeks: Amphimachos, killed by Hektor (*Il.* 13.185); Antimachos, who is slain by Aeneas (Quint. Smyrn. 11.41); Eurymachos, slain by Polydamas (Quint. Smyrn. 11.60); three Greeks inside the Trojan horse: Antimachos, Amphimachos, and Eurymachos (Quint. Smyrn. 12.321–25).

31. For the subject, see *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 96–103, s.v. “Achilleus” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); S. Woodford, “Ajax and Achilles Playing a Game on an Olpe in Oxford,” *JHS* 102 (1982): 173–85.

32. Collected in *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica* (supra, note 24), pp. 507–9.

33. For brief discussions of the earliest examples, see H. von Steuben, *Frühe Sagen Darstellungen in Korinth und Athen* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 65–67, and K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen Darstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 179–81. More recently and more generally, *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 186–87, s.v. “Achilleus” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

34. Florence 4209 (*ABV* 76.1; *Paralipomena* 29.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 21).

35. Vatican 16596 (317) (*ABV* 169.4; *Beazley Addenda*² 48).

36. Berlin 1718 (*ABV* 144.5; *Beazley Addenda*² 39) and Munich 1470, both sides (*ABV* 144.6; *Beazley Addenda*² 39). For a

discussion of these examples, see *AJA* 84 (1980): 424–27; also, S. Woodford, *AJA* 84 (1980): 27–28; *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 185–91 and 192–93, s.v. “Achilleus” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

37. For the subject and a brief discussion of the main examples down to about 470 B.C., see M. B. Moore, *AJA* 84 (1980): 431–32, with bibl. A more general treatment of the theme appears in *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 329–30, s.v. “Aias” (O. Touchefeu).

The award of Achilles’ armor to Odysseus by the contriving of Athena and the madness of Ajax were told by the author of the *Little Iliad*, Lesches of Mytilene (Fragment 1: *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica* [supra, note 24], p. 509). Pindar (*Nem.* 7.20–30 and 8.19–32) may have followed a different version, for he lays the blame for Ajax’s suicide on the blindness of the Greeks, who failed to realize that Ajax was the better man and therefore awarded Achilles’ armor to the smooth-tongued Odysseus. In the tondo of the Brygos Painter’s cup once in the Bareiss collection, now Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286, which shows Ajax and Tekmessa, the dead hero’s hair is loose and dishevelled, perhaps alluding to his madness (see M. Davies, *AK* 16 [1973]: 63; *CVA* Malibu 8, pl. 419.1). The story of Athena driving Ajax mad, causing him to kill first the cattle and then himself may be later than the sources given above. The brief mention in the *Little Iliad*—“The adjudging of the arms of Achilles takes place, and Odysseus, by the contriving of Athena, gains them” (ἡ τῶν ὀπλῶν κρίσις γίνεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηνᾶς λαμβάνει)—is not enough to establish exactly what it was Athena did to ensure Odysseus’s victory. The earliest undeniable description of Athena driving Ajax mad seems to be in Sophokles’ *Ajax*, ll. 52–70.

38. *AJA* 84 (1980): 425. S. Woodford (*AJA* 84 [1980]: 27) reaches a different conclusion, namely, that the direction to left allows the device of Ajax’s shield to be displayed. We may both be right.

39. See supra, note 38.

40. Vienna 3722 (*ARV*² 11.3; *Paralipomena* 321.3; *Beazley Addenda*² 151); Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.20 (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 35, and here fig. 6); Cab. Méd. 537 and 598 (*ARV*² 429.19; *Beazley Addenda*² 236; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases*. Kerameus, vol. 9 [Mainz, 1995], p. 74, cat. no. 32, pl. 21).

41. Philadelphia 3442 (*ABV* 145.14; *Paralipomena* 60.14; *Beazley Addenda*² 40).

42. Melbourne 1729.4 (*Paralipomena* 58.4 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 38).

43. Supra, note 40.

44. The identifications are Robertson’s (*GettyMusJ* 9 [1981]: 25–26).

45. Vienna 3607 (*ABV* 319.10; *Paralipomena* 140.D 7; *Beazley Addenda*² 86).

46. A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), pl. 12; *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), p. 182, no. 850, pl. 140, s.v. “Achilleus” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

47. Munich 1712 (*ABV* 362.34).

48. Munich 1415 (*CVA* Munich 1, pls. 45.2 and 47.3; *LIMC* I [Zurich, 1981], p. 189, no. 877, pl. 142, s.v. “Achilleus” [A. Kossatz-Deissmann]).

49. Here, the artist may have been aiming at a somewhat symmetrical composition, with a Greek flanking the central group of Ajax and Achilles, trying to drive off a menacing Trojan. Since Neoptolemos is instrumental in the Sack of Troy, one can probably assume that the wound inflicted by Aeneas in this representation is merely a superficial one.

50. Naples 126053 (*ARV*² 202.88; *Beazley Addenda*² 192) and Vienna 741 (*ARV*² 203.101; *Beazley Addenda*² 193).

51. St. Petersburg 628 (supra, note 14).

52. Proc. *Chrestomathia* i (supra, note 24), p. 495.
53. London E 468 (supra, note 14).
54. *Il.* 22.212–13, trans. R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), pp. 440–41.
55. Munich 2406 (supra, note 14). Perhaps we should also add a neck-amphora in the Hirschmann collection (supra, note 14); there, as on the Munich stamnos, the names of the heroes are not inscribed. The obverse shows a youthful warrior dressed in a short chiton with a corslet over it, a low-crested “Chalcidian” helmet with the cheekpieces turned up, and greaves. He strides to right, his spear poised and his round shield held out. A sheathed sword is suspended from a baldric over his right shoulder. His bearded opponent, falling backward, appears on the reverse. He wears only a chiton and a low-crested helmet pushed up on his head. He, too, has a sheathed sword. Blood gushes from a wound in his right thigh, his eyeball rolls up beneath the upper lid, and he loosens his grip on his shield. He tries to regain his footing by using his spear. The spirit of this representation has much in common with its inscribed counterpart on the London volute-krater E 468 (supra, note 14). H. Giroux (*RA*, 1972: 248–49) suggests that the aggressive warrior on the fragmentary volute-krater Louvre Cp 10799 (supra, note 10) might very well be Hektor or Memnon, with Achilles appearing on the other side of the vase.
56. New York 10.210.19 (supra, note 19).
57. *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 175–81, s.v. “Achilleus” (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
58. London E 468 (supra, note 14).
59. Erlangen 526 (*ARV*² 204.108).
60. Philadelphia 3442 (supra, note 41).
61. Proc. *Chrestomathia* ii (supra, note 24).
62. For the examples, see Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³, pp. 417–18. For a discussion, mainly of the scenes on the Brygos Painter’s cup once in the Bareiss collection, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, see M. Davies, *AK* 16 (1973): 67–70; for the representation in general, see *LIMC* I (Zurich, 1981), pp. 325–27, s.v. “Aias” (O. Touchefeu).
63. Madrid 11118 (*ARV*² 200.50; *Beazley Addenda*² 192).
64. For the suicide, see supra, note 33.
65. New York 65.11.12 (*ARV*² 1634.175 bis; *Paralipomena* 343.175 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 195).
66. See Beazley, in CB, 3: 2–4, for what we know of the game.
67. For this suggestion, see H. Mommsen, in *Tainia*. Festschrift Roland Hampe, ed. H. A. Cahn and E. Simon, p. 150 (Mainz, 1980).
68. Vatican 344 (supra, note 1).
69. Erlangen 526 (supra, note 59); Vienna 3725 (supra, note 22).
70. A notable exception is the dinos in Basel Lu 39, which shows a very full procession of Olympian gods (R. Lullies, “Der Dinos des Berliner Malers,” *AK* 14 [1971]: 44–55); also the big Amazonomachy on the neck-amphora, likewise in Basel, BS 453 (supra, note 14). These are not among his earliest works, for they date well after 500 B.C.
71. Robertson, “Berlin Painter” (supra, note 5), p. 59.
72. The first published suggestion that the Berlin Painter learned from Phintias and Euthymides seems to be by Beazley, in *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 38: “the Berlin Painter might have learnt his craft from Phintias, and this may well be true. At the same time the subtle flow of his lines and his fine sense of composition place him nearer Euthymides”; then Beazley’s 1922 article on the New York citharode amphora: “Between his masters—Phintias, or Euthymides, or both, or another—and his pupils—Hermonax and the rest—his personality stands out as distinct as that of Douris, or Epiktetos, or Euphronios” (*JHS* 42 [1922]: 90); three years later: “Aus dem

Kreis des Phintias und Euthymides hervorgangen . . .” (*Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* [Tübingen, 1925], p. 76); then in 1930: “Die Frühvasen weisen auf Phintias und Euthymides, die die Lehrer des Berliner Malers gewesen sein müssen” (*Der Berliner Maler. Bilder griechischen Vasen*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1930], p. 15); and in 1964: “The Berlin Painter learnt his craft, we may be sure, from one or more of the Pioneer artists of the late sixth century: . . . from Phintias, it may be or Euthymides, or both” (*The Berlin Painter* [Melbourne, 1964], p. 1).

Robertson recognized that the pelikai Vienna 3725 (supra, note 22) and Florence 3985 (*ARV*² 204.110; *Beazley Addenda*² 193) were by the Berlin Painter and not by Euthymides as thought by Furtwängler and as hesitantly accepted by Beazley (M. Robertson, *JHS* 70 [1950]: 28). Later, in the same article (p. 34), Robertson remarks that the volute-krater Cambridge 5.1952 (*ARV*² 206.127) recalls the work of the Berlin Painter’s masters, especially Phintias. A few years later he makes an even stronger statement: “The exchanges between Phintias and Euthymides suggest that they worked together; and it is an acceptable hypothesis that the Kleophrades and Berlin Painters and Myson learned their trade in a workshop in which Euthymides, Phintias and the Dikaos Painter sat” (*AJA* 62 [1958]: 64); then: “Phintias was almost certainly the Berlin Painter’s first master and this [a fragment in the collection of H. A. Cahn] was surely painted under his immediate influence” (“Berlin Painter” [supra, note 5], p. 65); and, most recently, the general remarks in *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 80–81. See also D. C. Kurtz, *JHS* 103 (1983): 71.

73. Curiously enough, F. Winter thought that the Berlin Painter’s name piece was by Euphronios (*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 3 [1899]: 127–28). This may well be the first association in print of our painter with the Pioneer.

74. Louvre G 103 (*ARV*² 14.2; *Paralipomena* 322.2; *Beazley Addenda*² 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 3); the White/Levy krater (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 6).

75. New York 1972.11.10 (supra, note 1).

76. Sarpedon appears similarly on the red-figured cup by Euphronios in the art market, formerly in the collection of Nelson Bunker Hunt (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 34). As for Achilles, after 550 it is very uncommon for him to appear in this scene without all of his armor. Besides our example, I know only the following: Munich 1415 (supra, note 48), an unattributed late sixth-century amphora where he is completely nude; on the hydria Munich 1712, by a painter of the Leagros Group (supra, note 47), he is bareheaded but wears a short chiton and greaves and has a shield and scabbard; on the Getty cup by Euphronios (supra, note 40, here fig. 6) he appears as on the Munich hydria just cited, but without shield; and on the cup by Douris, Cab. Méd. 537 and 598 (supra, note 40), Achilles appears to be nude, but since his head and lower legs are missing, one cannot rule out that he wore a helmet and greaves.

77. Besides the vases mentioned in note 72, cf. also a krater in Munich, inv. 8935 (*ARV*² 1619.3 bis; *Paralipomena* 322.3 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 5).

78. For this feature, see D. von Bothmer (supra, note 5), pp. 33–34.

79. The inclusion of teeth is more likely to occur on animals, or on monsters that are part human and part animal, than it is on fully human figures. Good examples are the mount in the tondo of the cup in Munich signed by Euphronios (Munich 2620: *ARV*² 16.17; *Paralipomena* 322.17; *Beazley Addenda*² 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 41), or the Centaur being speared by a youth who looks like Theseus in the tondo of a cup, also in Munich, attributed to the Foundry Painter (Munich 2640: *ARV*² 402.22; *Paralipomena* 370.22; *Beazley Addenda*² 231). Other good examples are these two by Euphronios:

Antaios on Louvre G 103 and Kyknos (see fig. 9) on the White/Levy krater (supra, note 74). All of these are large and menacing figures in whom the presence of bared teeth enhances the threat.

Quite the opposite expression results when the teeth of heroes or mortals are visible, for these are drawn in nice even rows, and it would seem that the painters distinguished between the teeth of figures who are fully human and those that are subhuman or partly human and partly animal. The small even teeth of Sarpedon on the New York krater and the large, rather protruding ones of Antaios on the Louvre krater or those of Kyknos on the White/Levy krater (see fig. 9) offer good contrasts. Euphronios makes clear distinctions between the two worlds, and probably other painters did too. Since the appearance of teeth on fully human figures is rather rare, it might be useful to draw up a list of the examples I have been able to find. Besides Achilles and the opponent of Diomedes: Cleveland 1976.89, by Psiax, the warrior on Side A with the frontal face (*ARV*² 7.7; *Paralipomena* 321.7; *Beazley Addenda*² 151); Sarpedon on New York 1972.11.10, by Euphronios (supra, note 1, and fig. 2); Patroklos on Berlin 2278, by the Sosias Painter (*ARV*² 21.1; *Paralipomena* 323.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 154; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 59); Priam and the wounded Trojan brandishing a sword on a cup formerly in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.362, by Onesimos (*Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5 [Malibu, 1991], p. 51, fig. 8f, and p. 54, fig. 8i); the youth on Bryn Mawr P-184, a fragment of a column-krater near the Flying Angel Painter (*ARV*² 282.-); Hektor on Vatican 16563 (545), in the manner of Douris (*ARV*² 449.2; *Paralipomena* 376.2; *Beazley Addenda*² 242); Philoktetes on Louvre G 413, by Hermonax (*ARV*² 484.22; *Paralipomena* 379.22; *Beazley Addenda*² 248); Phoinix and King Lykomedes on Ferrara 44701 (T 18 C VP), by the Boreas Painter (*ARV*² 536.4; *Paralipomena* 384.4; *Beazley Addenda*² 255); and the figure, perhaps

Theseus, sitting in three-quarter view on the name piece of the Niobid Painter, Louvre G 341 (*ARV*² 601.22; *Paralipomena* 395.22; *Beazley Addenda*² 266). Apropos of this figure, F. Hauser, in *FR*, 2: 244, remarks that Pliny (*NH* 35.58) claims that the muralist Polygnotos was the first to depict the mouth open with the teeth showing.

Besides Achilles and our wounded Trojan, there does not seem to be another fully human figure by the Berlin Painter in whom the presence of teeth may be determined for sure. The one exception may be the concerned-looking warrior on Florence 14 B 4, which joins Vienna, University 631e (*ARV*² 200.42; *Beazley Addenda*² 191). The lips of this warrior are parted and the area between them reserved, but the one or two lines that could be teeth are drawn diagonally, hence some doubt.

80. New York 1972.11.10 (supra, note 1); the White/Levy krater (supra, note 74); Arezzo 1465 (*ARV*² 15.6; *Paralipomena* 322.6; *Beazley Addenda*² 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 13). Elsewhere in the work of the Berlin Painter, there is a similar grave on a fragment in Florence, 19 B 25 (*ARV*² 213.229), and on the volute-krater London E 468 (supra, note 14).

81. These are the examples I have been able to find: New York 1972.11.10 (supra, note 1); Louvre G 103 (supra, note 74); the Arezzo krater (supra, note 80); the White/Levy krater (supra, note 74); Munich 8935 (supra, note 77); and Louvre Cp 11071 (*ARV*² 15.10; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 22). In addition, it occurs on a fragment of a calyx-krater in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.140.6, that is thought perhaps to be a late work by Euphronios, though it does not appear in *ARV*² or in *Paralipomena* (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 12). Cf., also, Achilles and Patroklos on the cup in Berlin, inv. 2278, by the Sosias Painter (supra, note 79).

82. J. D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (supra, note 72), pp. 14–15.

MEDEAS WIDDERZAUBER ALS PHLYAKENPARODIE

Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann

Der Bestand der unteritalischen Keramik des Getty-Museums hat sich kürzlich um einige bedeutende Phlyakenvasen vermehrt, die sich früher in der Slg. Fleischman befanden. Zu diesen zählt ein apulischer Glockenkrater mit einer höchst interessanten, m.E. bislang noch nicht überzeugend gedeuteten Darstellung (Abb. 1a–b)¹. Die Vase entstand gegen 370 v.Chr. und wurde von Trendall dem Rainone-Maler zugewiesen. Dargestellt ist die übliche, hier auf zwei Pfosten lagernde Bühne mit der Andeutung eines Gebäudes am linken Bildrand. Dies ist kenntlich gemacht durch zwei ionische Säulen, auf denen eine mit einem Akroter geschmückte Giebelhälfte ruht; zwischen den Säulen ist ein halbgeöffneter Türflügel zu sehen.

Auf der Bühne befinden sich drei männliche Personen in Bühnenkostümen. Zwei der Männer sind mittels weißer Haare und Bärte sowie Stirnglatzen deutlich als Greise charakterisiert. Beide sind mit Körpertrikots bekleidet, die an Armen und Beinen zahlreiche Falten werfen. Darüber tragen sie das einem Badeanzug gleichende ausgestopfte Somation, welches die eigentliche Nacktheit andeuten soll. So sieht man besonders bei dem Alten rechts die nackte Brust, die Bauchmuskeln und -falten. Weiter haben beide noch ein Manteltuch um die Hüfte gewickelt, das absichtlich so kurz ist, daß die am Somation befestigten künstlichen Phalloi noch sichtbar sind.

Der linke Greis hat gerade den Stülpedeckel eines pyxisartigen Korbes hochgehoben, der so groß ist, daß der Alte den Deckel mit beiden Händen umfassen muß. Sein Gefährte rechts stützt sich mit einer Hand auf seinen Stock und hält mit der anderen die dritte Figur am Arm fest. Diese befindet sich im Zentrum des

Bildes und steht im Unterteil des großen Korbes. Da die Person wesentlich kleiner ist als die beiden Greise, muß ein Knabe oder Jüngling gemeint sein. Infolgedessen hat er auch im Gegensatz zu den Alten dickes, lockiges Blondhaar. Auch er trägt das Theatertrikot und das Somation, jedoch ohne Mantel darüber—ist also als ganz nackt zu verstehen—so daß man deutlich seinen erigierten Phallos sieht. Befremdlicherweise hat er aber anstelle eines menschlichen Gesichtes einen weißen Widderkopf.

ZUR HANDLUNG

Wie ist diese Szene zu entschlüsseln? Zwei alte Phlyaken haben vor einem Haus oder Palast einen Deckelkorb geöffnet, aus welchem sie einen jungen Mann mit Widderkopf herausholen. Daß des Rätsels Lösung im Widderkopf liegen muß, haben die bisherigen Deutungsvorschläge klargestellt. Während François Lissarrague hier "a hybrid with the looks of Pan" als Parodie einer göttlichen Erscheinung erkennt², deutet A. D. Trendall die Darstellung als eine sonst nicht bezeugte Parodie des Erichthoniosmythos³. Das Gebäude sei das Erechtheion, und statt der Kekropstöchter, die den Korb mit dem ausgesetzten Erichthonioskind finden und öffnen, seien hier Phlyaken auf den besagten Korb gestoßen. Als sie ihn öffnen, entdecken sie zu ihrem großen Erstaunen ein Mischwesen. Den Widderkopf bei Erichthonios möchte Trendall mit einem aus der Sage bezeugten Wollknäul erklären. Als Athena vor den Nachstellungen des Hephaistos floh, und der Samen des sie verfolgenden Gottes sich deshalb auf ihren Schenkel ergoß, habe sich die Göttin mit einem Stück Wolle abgewischt und dieses auf der



ABBILDUNG 1a. Apulischer Glockenkrater des Rainone-Malers. Seite A. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.112.

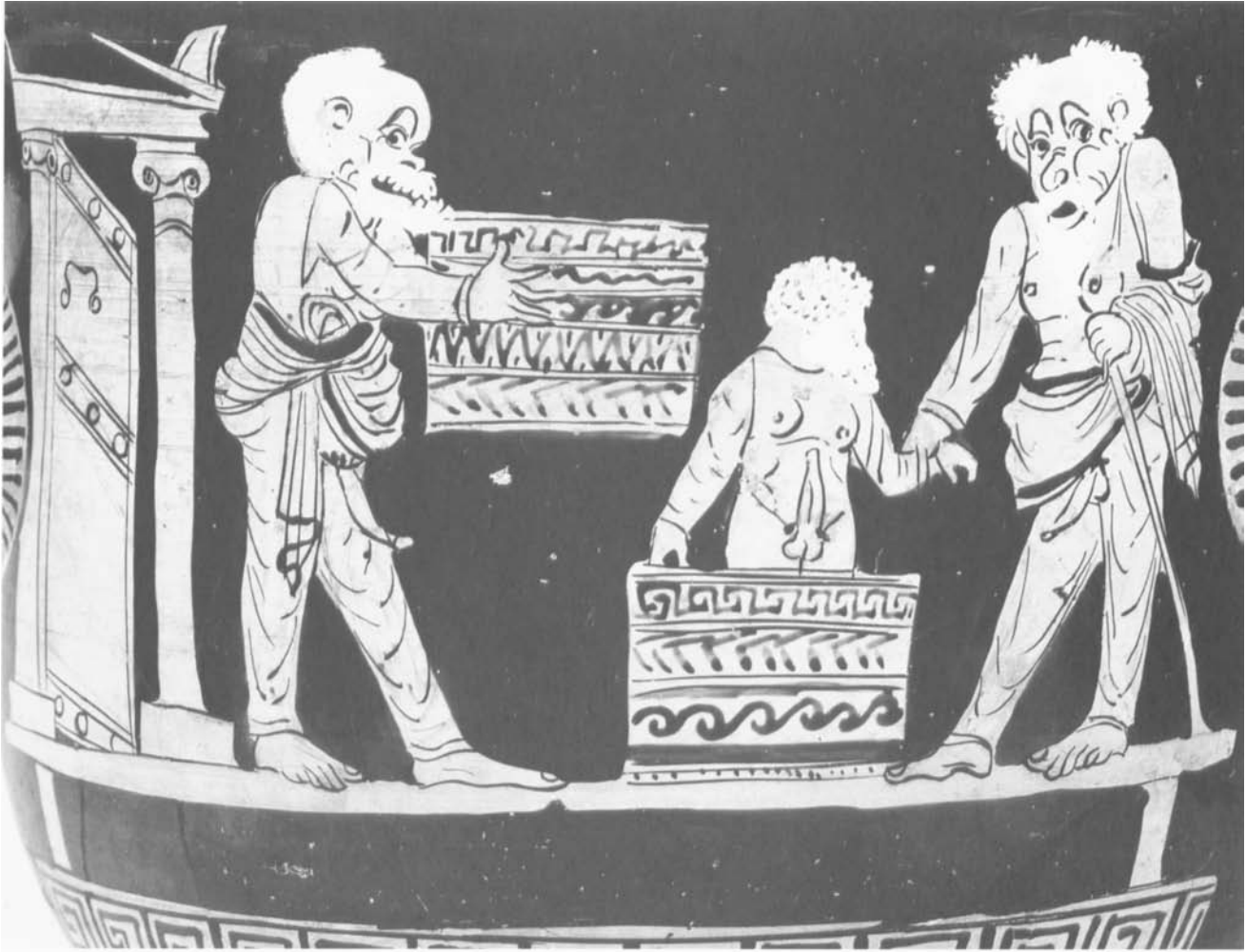


ABBILDUNG 1b. Apulischer Glockenkrater, Abb. 1a. Detail der Seite A.

Erde geworfen. Die Erdmutter Ge nahm den Samen auf und brachte später den Erichthonios hervor⁴.

Daß in einer nicht erhaltenen Komödie der Mythenstoff derart parodiert worden sei, daß der Knabe aufgrund der Wolle das Gesicht eines Widders hatte, scheint mir wenig überzeugend. Zudem wird Erichthonios sonst eher als Säugling oder Kleinkind dargestellt. Auch Oliver Taplin lehnt diesen Deutungsvorschlag ab, da hierbei der erigierte Phallos keine Erklärung findet und zudem für Erichthonios im Falle einer Mischgestalt eher ein Mensch mit Schlangenleib in Frage käme⁵. Taplin erwägt stattdessen eine Burleske, die vielleicht mit dem Mythenstoff in Zusammenhang stünde, den der attische Dichter Kratinos, ein Zeitgenosse des Aristophanes, in seiner Komödie *Dionys-*

alexandros bearbeitet hat⁶. Aus den Fragmenten geht hervor, daß hier das Parisurteil parodiert wurde. Das Stück spielt auf dem Ida vor der Behausung des Hirten Paris, der aus Angst davongelaufen ist. Hermes beauftragt deshalb Dionysos, das Urteil über die schönste Göttin zu fällen. Er erwählt Aphrodite und erhält dafür die schöne Helena, mit der er nun auf dem Ida lebt. Aus Furcht vor dem zurückkehrenden Paris verwandelt Dionysos Helena in eine Gans und versteckt sie in einem Geflügelkorb. Sich selbst staffiert er als Widder aus. Doch entdeckt Paris-Alexandros die beiden und will sie den Griechen übergeben. Helena erreicht durch Bitten, daß Paris sie als Gattin behält, während Dionysos allein ausgeliefert. Das einzige *tertium comparationis* zwischen diesem Stoff und unserer bildlichen

Darstellung ist die Verwandlung bzw. Verkleidung einer menschlichen Figur als Widder. Doch wenn auf unserem Bild Dionysos als Widder gemeint wäre, fände weder die Knabenhaftigkeit der betreffenden Figur, noch ihr Aufenthalt in einem Korb, noch die für Dionysos unübliche Ithyphallie eine entsprechende Erklärung. Deshalb sei hier eine weitere Deutung versucht, die ebenfalls auf einer Mythenparodie basiert.

Beim Betrachten des Bildes fällt auf, daß die Altersunterschiede besonders hervorgehoben sind. Deutlich ist der Gegensatz zwischen den beiden Greisen und dem Jüngling charakterisiert (kleinere Körpergröße, jung an Jahren, dickes blondes Haar, erigierter Phallos), weshalb man wohl hier nach einer Aussage zum Thema suchen muß. Dabei muß das Widdergesicht berücksichtigt werden und die Tatsache, daß sich der Jüngling in einem Korb, d.h. in einem Behältnis befindet. Alle diese Eigentümlichkeiten könnten als Parodie des ewigen Traums der Menschheit nach Wiedererlangung der verlorenen Jugend in folgender Geschichte eine Erklärung finden: Drei alte Phlyaken wollen hier wieder jung werden. Dabei finden Überlegungen statt, wie man so etwas bewerkstelligen könnte. Schließlich kommt man auf die Geschichte, wie Medea vor der geplanten Verjüngung des Pelias mit ihren Zauberkräutern bzw. mit Kochen in einem Kessel einen Widder zu einem Lamm und auch verschiedene Heroen (Aison, Jason) verjüngte⁷. Dafür, daß in unserer Parodie Medeas Wunderkur aus sexuellen Gründen benutzt wird, läßt sich vielleicht schon in der Medeasage selbst eine Parallele finden. Bei Euripides (*Medea* 714–18) bietet Medea dem kinderlosen alten Aigeus eine Kurierung seiner Zeugungskraft an, „ich schaffe, daß dir eine Kinderschar hinfort erblühe: solche Zauber sind mir wohlbekannt“. Deshalb beschließen unsere beiden Greise nun, dies zunächst mit einem von ihnen erst einmal auszuprobieren. Aber wahrscheinlich versteht sich nur Medea allein auf die ganze Hexerei. Denn wie es den Peliastöchtern nicht gelang, ihren alten Vater zu verjüngen, so geht auch bei den Phlyaken etwas schief mit dem Rezept. Was in der Tragödie zum Tod führt, muß natürlich in einer Komödie ein heiteres Ende nehmen. So wird der Phlyax zwar jung und vor allem potent—was wohl für die Alten der Hauptanlaß für den Wunsch nach Verjüngung gewesen dürfte—doch hat er nun dafür das Gesicht eines Widders. Dies dürfte im Komödiengenre eine willkommene Metamorphose gewesen sein, da hiermit noch zusätzlich auf sexuelle

Assoziationen angespielt wird. Denn der Widder selbst galt in der Antike als Symbol für Fruchtbarkeit und sexuelle Potenz, weshalb er auch meist phallischen Göttern wie Hermes, Pan und Priapos zugeordnet war⁸. Ob sich der verjüngte Greis aber mit seinem Widdergesicht in der Damenwelt wird beliebt machen können, sei dahingestellt, auch ob die beiden alten Phlyaken nun mit der eigenen Verjüngung weitermachen und bereit sind, um den Preis ihrer Potenz willen das Antlitz eines Widders in Kauf zu nehmen.

Wahrscheinlich haben die beiden vergeßlichen Alten Medeas diverse Rezepte zu den Verjüngungen von Widdern bzw. Menschen irgendwie verwechselt und sind nun baß erstaunt über das Ergebnis. Die Parodie lebt von der Vermischung der verschiedenen Verjüngungskuren Medeas. Die unterschiedliche sexuelle Potenz alter und junger Männer, die in unserem Bild angesprochen wird, war ein beliebtes Komödienthema⁹. Besonders deutlich kommt dies etwa in der *Lysistrate* des Aristophanes zum Ausdruck bei dem Auftreten zweier verschiedener männlicher Halbchöre. Zu dem anfangs agierenden Greisenchor kommt später am Schluß noch ein Halbchor junger Choreuten hinzu. Die sexuellen Vor- und Nachteile beider Chöre werden ständig angesprochen.

Man fragt sich, wie die Verjüngungsszene auf der Bühne vonstatten ging. Doch darüber kann man nur spekulieren. Feuermachen und Kochen im Kessel erwies sich vielleicht auf einer einfachen hölzernen Bühne als nicht sehr praktikabel. Auch scheinen Medeas Verjüngungen nicht immer zwingend mit einer Kochprozedur verbunden zu sein. Bei Ovid *Met.* 7.163–294 verjüngt Medea den alten Aison nur durch Einflößung eines Zaubertranks. In unserer Parodie verwendete man für den Zauber einen großen Korb. Ob hier eine weitere Mythenparodie, etwa ein Motiv aus einer anderen Sage zum Tragen kommt, läßt sich nicht sagen. Da in vielen Geschichten über Verjüngungen—wie auch bei Pelias—der Prozedur eine Tötung vorausgeht, konnte das ganze Geschehen auch als eine Art Wiederbelebung verbunden mit erneuter Geburt aufgefaßt werden¹⁰. In diesem Fall könnte die Kiste eine Reminiszenz an Mythen sein, in denen sich Kinder in Behältnissen und zwar öfter in kistenförmigen Körben befinden, aus denen sie gleichsam zum zweitenmal „geboren“ werden (Erichthonios, Ei der Helena, Ion, Perseus usw.)¹¹. Dabei käme auch hier die Vorstellung zum Tragen, daß Behälter an sich als Metaphern für Frauen gelten können und Symbole für

weibliche Fruchtbarkeit sind¹². So kann z.B. bei Aristophanes in der *Lysistrate* (1184f.) der Begriff *κίστη* (Korb) mit dem ähnlich klingenden *κίσθος* (vulgärer Ausdruck für die weibliche Scham) assoziiert werden¹³. Wenn die Frauen sich am Ende des Stücks ihren Männern nicht mehr sexuell verweigern und *Lysistrate* (a.O.) spricht: "wir laden euch auf die Burg ein und bieten euch an, was wir in unseren Kisten (*κίσται*) haben", so mag sich das vordergründig auf die Vorräte beziehen, mit denen sich die Frauen auf der Akropolis verbarrikadiert haben. Da Aristophanes jedoch die obszönen Anspielungen liebt, könnte aber auch durchaus ein Wortspiel mit *κίσθος* gemeint sein¹⁴. Nachdem unser Vasenbild ja auch eine Komödie oder Posse zur Vorlage hat, könnte hier die Wiedergeburt des jugendlichen Phlyax aus einer Kiste vielleicht ebenfalls als sexuelle Anspielung zu deuten sein.

Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre, in dem Deckelkorb einen Hinweis auf den Zauberkasten der Medea zu sehen. Dieses Behältnis, in dem sie ihre magischen Kräuter aufbewahrt, hat in manchen Darstellungen das Aussehen eines kleinen geflochtenen Korbes¹⁵. Sogar in Bildwiedergaben des Widderwunders können Frauen, bei denen in der Forschung die Deutung zwischen Medea oder Peliade schwankt, mit einem großen, einem Opferkorb ähnlichen Kasten ausgestattet sein¹⁶. Aus den Schriftquellen erfahren wir, daß Medeas geheimnisvoller Kasten als *phoriamos* bezeichnet wird¹⁷. Doch muß dies nicht immer ein kleinformatiger Gegenstand sein. Homer verwendet die Bezeichnung *phoriamos* für eine Kiste (Truhe), in der Kleidung und Wäsche aufbewahrt wird, was dann kein Kästchen sein kann¹⁸. So scheint mir, daß jedes größere im Haushalt vorhandene Deckelbehältnis als *phoriamos* gelten konnte, wobei ein Korbgefäß am leichtesten zu tragen war. In der nicht erhaltenen Tragödie *Rhizotomoi* (Wurzelschneiderinnen) des Sophokles, welche den Peliadenstoff behandelte, war von Medea und dem Schneiden der zum Verjüngungszauber nötigen magischen Kräuter die Rede¹⁹. Dabei heißt es sogar *expressis verbis*, daß die besagten Pharmaka in Kisten aufbewahrt wurden: *αἱ δὲ καλυπταὶ κίσται ριζῶν κρύπτουσι τομάς*²⁰. Daß bei unseren Phlyaken dann kein Kessel mehr benutzt wird, sondern eine solche Zauberkiste gleich für die gesamte Prozedur verwendet wird, mag mit der oben genannten möglichen sexuellen Konnotation des Behältnisses zusammenhängen.

Der dritte Alte, der verjüngt wurde, muß zuvor als Greis auf der Bühne zu sehen gewesen sein, sonst fehlt

der Witz der Geschichte. Als man dann über die Verjüngungskur diskutierte und sich dabei auf den Zauberkasten der Medea besann, muß die Idee mit dem großen Deckelkorb aufgekommen sein. Möglicherweise ist der Phlyax auf offener Bühne in den Kasten gesteckt und mit Zauberkräutern bestreut worden. In jedem Fall muß der Korb dann aber vorübergehend "hinterszenisch" gewesen sein, damit der junge Phlyax hineinsteigen konnte. Der geschlossene Korb wurde dann wieder herausgebracht und vor dem Publikum geöffnet, wie es auf unserem Bild zu sehen ist. Denkbar wäre auch, daß der Korb nur einmal auf die Bühne kam. In diesem Fall wäre der Alte zum Vollzug der Prozedur ins Haus geführt worden und später würde dann der besagte Zauberkasten mit dem jugendlichen Phlyax aus dem Haus hervorgeschleppt. Vielleicht wäre diese Lösung einfacher, denn zur Verjüngung des Pelias gehörte ja die zuvor erfolgte Zerstückelung, die in der Komödie irgendwie umgangen werden mußte. Eine Erklärung zur ausgefallenen Tötung konnte bei einer Verlagerung ins Haus wegbleiben. Auch die Verjüngung des Demos in den *Rittern* des Aristophanes fand nicht *coram publico* statt²¹. Die Personifikation des Demos agiert zunächst in Greisengestalt auf der Bühne, wird dann hinterszenisch gekocht und kommt schließlich als junger Mann wieder zur Tür heraus zum Publikum.

Das Widdergesicht unseres Phlyax muß zu einem großen Lacherfolg und vielleicht auch zur Schadenfreude beim Publikum geführt haben. Ich möchte annehmen, daß es sich dabei um eine Art doppelte Maske handelte, d.h. daß der Schauspieler entweder eine zweite Maske trug oder daß über der normalen Theatermaske noch ein Vor- oder Aufsatz befestigt war. Pollux überliefert uns solche Masken wie z.B. die des Aktaion *κεράσφορος* (Geweihträger)²². Dieser muß beim Bühnenauftritt zuerst "normal" und nach seiner Metamorphose in einen Hirsch als Mann mit einer zusätzlich mit Hirschgeweih dekorierten Maske zu sehen gewesen sein. Vor allem in der Komödie waren theriomorphe Masken beliebt. Dies gilt bereits für die frühen Tierchöre²³ wie auch für Einzelfiguren.

Anscheinend gefielen dem Rainone-Maler, der unseren Krater bemalt hat, solche Maskenspielerereien. Denn obwohl nur ein sehr geringes Oeuvre dieses Malers bekannt ist, gibt es eine weitere Phlyakenvase, auf der er eine Mythenparodie wiedergegeben hat, bei der ein Schauspieler vielleicht zeitweise zwei Masken übereinander trug oder bei der über einer männlichen



ABBILDUNG 2. Apulischer Glockenkrater, aus Sant'Agata dei Goti. Ehemals Slg. Rainone. Zeichnung nach Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, S. 147, Abb. 130.

Maske noch ein Frauengesicht befestigt war. Dabei handelt es sich um das namengebende Werk des Malers, einen Glockenkrater aus Sant'Agata dei Goti, der sich früher in der Slg. Rainone befand (Abb. 2)²⁴. Parodiert wird die Antigonesage. Die literarische Vorlage ist nicht bekannt. So muß die Geschichte aus diesem Vasenbild erschlossen werden. Da Kreon der Antigone verboten hatte, ihren Bruder Polyneikes zu bestatten, hat diese anscheinend ihren alten Diener ausgesandt, damit er an ihrer Stelle die Totenriten ausführe. Antigone zieht zu diesem Zweck dem Diener ihre eigenen Kleider über und stattet ihn mit einer weiblichen Maske aus. Der verkleidete Diener wird jedoch ertappt und vor Kreon geführt, wo die Geschichte aufgedeckt wird. Diese Szene zeigt das Vasenbild: Ein Wächter hält die vermeintliche Antigone an der Schulter gepackt, während links Kreon erstaunt zuschaut, denn die Demaskierung hat schon begonnen, und die vermeintliche Antigone entpuppt sich als Mann. Der alte Diener hat die Frauenmaske bereits abgenommen und hält sie in der gesenkten Hand. Er trägt jedoch noch das Frauengewand, das

pikanterweise aus durchsichtigem Stoff ist, so daß der vorgebundene Phallos des männlichen Theaterkostüms sichtbar ist. Im linken Arm hält er die für die Totenspenden bestimmte Hydria. Falls hier und auch bei unserem Phlyaken mit Widdergesicht wirklich zwei Masken übereinandergetragen wurden, so mußte die zweite ein wesentlich größeres Format gehabt haben und wäre deshalb wohl kaum als normale Maske verwendbar gewesen. Deshalb wäre es zu überlegen, ob es große Masken gab, die nur als Zweitmasken fungierten oder ob bei so verwendeten Masken in der Praxis die sonst obligatorische Haarperücke weggelassen wurde, so daß nur mit einem zweiten "Gesichtsvorsatz" gearbeitet wurde. Taplin bezweifelt die Verwendung von doppelten Masken und möchte in diesen Fällen eher einen Maskenwechsel annehmen²⁵.

Unser Vasenbild und dessen literarische Vorlage sind nicht die einzige Parodie des Peliadenstoffes. Der Medea-Peliaden-Mythos, der im 5. Jh. ein beliebter Tragödienstoff war, wurde bereits bei Aischylos in dem nicht erhaltenen Satyrspiel *Dionysou Trophoi* travestiert²⁶. Hier wurden von Medea die "Ammen" des



ABBILDUNG 3a. Attisch rotfiguriger Glockenkrater. Seite A. Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche 3198.



ABBILDUNG 3b. Attisch rotfiguriger Glockenkrater, Abb. 3a. Seite B.

Dionysos (wohl die Mänaden) zugleich mit ihren Männern (= Silene) verjüngt. Ein Nachklang dieser Travestie ist vielleicht auf einem attisch rotfigurigen Glockenkrater in Ancona aus der Zeit um 460 v.Chr. erhalten (Abb. 3a–b)²⁷. Hier soll anstelle des Pelias ein alter Silen verjüngt werden. Eine Frau (Medea?) zieht den gebrechlichen Alten, der am Stock geht, zu einem Dreifußbecken hin. Leider wissen wir nicht, wie im Satyrspiel die Geschichte ausging und welchen Verlauf die Verjüngung des auf dem Vasenbild dargestellten Silens nehmen wird. Erika Simon vermutet, daß hier des Guten zuviel getan wird und daß der Silen nicht nur jünger, sondern sogar zu jung und ein kleines Satyrkind werden wird, wie sich vielleicht aus der Wiedergabe einer Satyrfamilie mit Kind auf der Gegenseite schließen läßt. Wer weiß, ob er nicht auch nach der Prozedur einen Widderkopf hatte wie unser Phlyax. Dies würde dann bedeuten, daß der “Gag” unserer Parodie keine neue Erfindung war, sondern schon literarische Vorläufer hatte. Leider ist von der *Peliades* betitelten Komödie des Diphilos, einem Vertreter der Neuen Komödie und Zeitgenossen Menanders, fast nichts erhalten, so daß wir nicht erfahren, wie der mythische Stoff hier parodiert wurde²⁸.

Verjüngungen sind an sich ein beliebtes Komödienmotiv²⁹. Der wieder jung gekochte Demos aus den *Rittern* des Aristophanes wurde bereits genannt. Erwähnt sei hier nur noch, daß zwei nicht erhaltene Komödien des Aristophanes Verjüngungen als Hauptthema des jeweiligen Stücks hatten. Im *Amphiaraios*³⁰ wird das altbekannte Motiv des Jungbrunnens verwendet. Da reist ein alter Mann mit seiner Frau ins Orakel-Heilbad nach Oropos, um dort im Amphiareion eine Badekur zu machen, weil er seine Jugend wieder erlangen will. Die Geschichte scheint hier zum Anlaß gedient zu haben, den ganzen Kurbetrieb als Verjüngungszauber zu parodieren.

Im zweiten Drama, das schon den vielsagenden Titel *Geras*³¹—τὸ γῆρας, das Greisenalter—trägt, bestand der Chor aus lauter alten, verjüngungssüchtigen Männern, die sich irgendeiner Prozedur unterziehen, deren Beschreibung uns leider nicht erhalten ist. Während bei den Greisen auf unserem Vasenbild der Wunsch nach amourösen Abenteuern sicher der Hauptanlaß für die Verjüngung gewesen sein dürfte, verwenden die jung gewordenen Greise im *Geras* des Aristophanes ihre neu erlangten Kräfte erst einmal dazu, einen Bäckerladen zu überfallen.

Sicherlich handelt es sich bei uns, wie in den eben genannten Komödien auch, um eine Alltagsszene, bei der in der Travestie statt des mythischen Pelias ein gewöhnlicher Mann auftrat, oder wie auf der hier betrachteten Vase mehrere Männer. Die beiden Männer auf unserem Vasenbild sind ähnlich alt und gebrechlich charakterisiert wie ihr mythisches Vorbild Pelias³². Daß hier der Peliassstoff und nicht die Verjüngung Jasons, bzw. Aisons, die Vorlage bildete, läßt sich schon daraus schließen, daß die Widdergeschichte im wesentlichen mit der Peliassage verknüpft ist. Zwar spielen Widder, Zerstückelung, Kessel und Wiederbelebung auch das Hauptthema in Mythos und Opferritual für Pelops³³, doch war diese Sage als Verjüngungsmythos längst nicht so populär und sprichwörtlich wie die Peliassgeschichte³⁴. Der Lacherfolg beim Publikum beruhte zunächst auf dem Spiel mit dem Wiedererkennungseffekt der jeweiligen mythischen Entlehnung, da häufig bekannte Sagenversionen parodiert wurden. Erinnert sei hier nur an die *Thesmophoriazusen* des Aristophanes und eine Darstellung auf einem Phlyakenkrater in Würzburg³⁵, wo das gängige Motiv des am Altar Zuflucht suchenden Telephos, der dabei den kleinen Orest als Geisel benutzt, zu einer neuen Geschichte persifliert wird: Eine alte Amme will ihre Trunksucht geheimhalten und hat deshalb ihren Weinschlauch als Säugling kaschiert. Dieses “Kind” entreißt ihr ein Mann, flieht damit vor seinen Verfolgerinnen zu einem Altar und droht mit der Ermordung des “Kleinen”. Die besorgte Amme eilt mit einem Gefäß herbei und begehrt, wenigstens das vermeintliche Blut (den Wein) ihres Lieblings auffangen zu dürfen.

Häufig werden vorwiegend aus Tragödien bekannte Sagen aufs Korn genommen, so daß die jeweilige Mythentravestie auch zugleich eine Tragödienparodie ist. Neben dem Wiedererkennungswert sorgte dann die Erwartung der noch unbekanntem Veränderung der Geschichte und ihr komischer Ausgang für Spannung und Heiterkeit, wie etwa unsere nicht ganz geglückte Verjüngungskomödie. Die Zuschauer dürften sich zuanfangs des Stücks an Pelias erinnern haben und harrten nun des lustigen Endes der Travestie.

ZUR ARCHITEKTUR

Daß wir hier ein Theaterstück vor uns haben, wird auch durch die Angabe der Tür deutlich. Denn das Requisit “Tür” findet sich auf unteritalischen Vasen gern als Abkürzung für Gebäude in Bühnenszenen³⁶. Bernd Brandes-Druba hat beobachtet, daß solche

Darstellungen vor allem zwischen 380 und 360 v.Chr. beliebt sind, und daß Apulien dafür das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet ist; weiter sind die Türwiedergaben häufig auf Phlyakenvasen zu sehen, wobei Kratere hier zu den bevorzugten Gefäßformen zählen³⁷. All diese Kriterien passen auch zu unserem Vasenbild, das sich somit bestens in die Studie von Brandes-Druba einfügt. Trendalls Vorschlag einer mythischen Deutung beruhte u.a. darauf, daß er die Architektur wegen des Giebels nicht für ein gewöhnliches Haus, sondern für einen Tempel ansah³⁸. Auch Taplin bemerkt, daß "the . . . door . . . is unusually ornate"³⁹. Wenn man deshalb hier jedoch eine Palastarchitektur erkennen möchte, hieße das, daß hier keine Alltagsszene dargestellt wäre, sondern die Verjüngung des Pelias selbst vor seinem eigenen Palast, der als prächtiges Gebäude vielleicht auch auf der fragmentierten Vase in Würzburg mit der Wiedergabe einer Skenographie zu erkennen ist (Abb. 4)⁴⁰. Allerdings fehlt dann Einiges vom Witz der Sache, da dabei nur die Peliasverjüngung parodiert wäre und keine zusätzliche Mythentravestie vorhanden ist. Wenn der Knabe im Korb der verjüngte Pelias wäre, müßten zudem die Umstehenden die Peliaden sein, also Phlyaken im weiblichen Bühnenkostüm, und keine männlichen Greise wie auf unserem Bild.

Der halbe Giebel gehört hier nicht unmittelbar zur Tür, ist also keine Abkürzung eines über der Tür befindlichen Schmuckgiebels, bzw. eines Giebels über einem vorspringenden Hallenflügel wie bei Paraskenien, sondern ist die Bildchiffre für eine Haustür mit vorgelegertem Schrägdach⁴¹. Bei Bühnendarstellungen mit Türen im Hintergrund sind bei einer Wiedergabe in Vorderansicht in der Regel immer doppel­flügelige Türen zu sehen. Eine Tür mit einem auf Stütz­pfeilern oder -säulen ruhenden Vordach in Frontalansicht ist perspektivisch schwierig wiederzugeben, weshalb man sich in solchen Fällen gern mit einer Seitenansicht behelf. Bei einer der seltenen Darstellungen einer Haustür mit geneigtem Vordach darüber in Vorderansicht auf einen attischen Chous in New York (Abb. 5)⁴² sind denn auch die das Vordach tragenden Stützen komplett weggelassen, sodaß nicht klar ist, wie das Dach eigentlich in dieser Position festgehalten wird. Wenn man Stützen hätte darstellen wollen, so müßten diese sich entweder links und rechts der Tür befinden, wobei dann das Dach wesentlich breiter sein müßte als die Tür. Oder man hätte das Problem mit einer Überschneidung der Tür lösen können, wie es z.B. bei der Wiedergabe der Vorhalle auf der erwähnten Würz-

burger Skenographie der Fall ist (s. Abb. 4). Die rechte der beiden vorderen Säulen verdeckt deshalb den größten Teil des rechten Türflügels. Doch war die perspektivische Wiedergabe einer Vorhalle vielleicht leichter zu bewältigen als eine überzeugende Darstellung einer Dachschräge in Vorderansicht. Deshalb griff der Vasenmaler zu einer für ihn einfacheren Lösung, nämlich der formelhaften Wiedergabe einer Seitenansicht. Dafür verwendete er als "architektonische Erkennungszeichen" in der Regel einen aus der Wand vorspringenden Balken als Träger des Vordachs, ein Schrägeison, dessen Dreieck leer wie bei uns oder ausgefüllt sein kann und schließlich als Stütze für den Dachvorsprung eine Kranbalkenverstrebung wie z.B. auf einem campanischen Glockenkrater in Melbourne (Abb. 6) und einem apulischen Skyphos in London (Abb. 7), oder wie bei unserem Krater eine Säule⁴³. Bei einer solchen Seitenansicht wird dann auch zwangsläufig nur *ein* Türflügel zwischen den beiden das Vordach tragenden Stützen gezeigt. Es handelt sich also nicht um eine seitliche einflügelige Tür, sondern um einen der beiden nach vorn geöffneten Flügel einer Skenetür an der Rückwand, wie er beim Durchblick von der Seite des Bühnengebäudes her zu sehen wäre. Selten sind eine zweiflügelige Tür in Vorderansicht mit einer Kranbalkenkonstruktion kombiniert wie auf dem Madrider Krater mit der Asteasbühne (Abb. 8a–b)⁴⁴. Hierbei handelt es sich, wie Gogos in seiner Rekonstruktion der Bühne aufgezeigt hat, um eine reine Frontalansicht⁴⁵. Der Kranbalken gehört hier nicht zur Türanlage, sondern ist Träger des vorgelagerten Bühnendachs, ist also ebenfalls von vorn zu sehen.

Jedoch gelangt bei der oben beschriebenen Seitenansicht nicht immer die komplette Türanlage zur Darstellung, sondern einzelne Elemente können zuweilen weggelassen werden wie z.B. Türflügel (Abb. 9)⁴⁶ oder Schrägeison (s. Abb. 7)⁴⁷. Wenn die Vasenmaler eine derartige, von der Seite her gesehene Türanlage auf einem Bühnenpodest wiedergeben, so werden häufig zwei verschiedene Perspektiven kombiniert, die an ihrer "Nahtstelle" unvermittelt aufeinandertreffen wie auch auf dem Getty-Krater (s. Abb. 1a–b), nämlich die Aktion auf der Bühne in Vorderansicht und direkt anschließend die in Seitenansicht gezeigte Tür mit Vordach. Dabei befindet sich diese jedoch—genau wie eine Tür in Vorderansicht—gleichfalls auf der Breitseite der von vorn gesehenen durchlaufenden Bühnenplattform. Daß hier eigentlich der Boden des nach hinten in die Tiefe gehenden



ABBILDUNG 4. Apulische Kelchkraterfragmente, aus Tarent. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum H 4696 und H 4701.



ABBILDUNG 5. Attisch rotfiguriger Chous. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1937, 37.11.19.

Teils der Spielfläche, also die Schmalseite, zu sehen sein müßte, wird nicht eigens angegeben. Besonders kraß ist die "Vermischung" der Perspektiven etwa auf dem campanischen Glockenkrater in Melbourne (s. Abb. 6)⁴⁸. Hier sieht man die Bühne in Vorderansicht, die Türanlage in Seitenansicht von links und die zur Bühne hinaufführende Treppe in Dreiviertelansicht von rechts. Zu den wenigen Darstellungen, auf denen Vordachkonstruktion, Bühnenboden, Treppe und Aktion der Schauspieler einheitlich in derselben (seitlichen) Perspektive gezeigt werden, gehört der schon genannte Phlyakenkrater mit der Ankunft des Kentauren Chiron im Heilbad (s. Abb. 9)⁴⁹.

Es fragt sich, ob eine Haustür mit schrägem Vordach immer die Bildformel für einen Palast sein muß. Eher würde man hier einen vorspringenden Flügel erwarten wie bei der Würzburger Skenographie. Denn das besagte Architekturzitat "Türflügel mit Dachschräge" begegnet auch in weiteren Darstellungen, die nicht unbedingt mythischen Inhalts sind. So

geleitet etwa auf einem apulischen Glockenkrater in Sydney Eros ein menschliches Paar zu einem Haus, das durch die in Seitenansicht dargestellten Versatzstücke Türflügel, Vordach mit Schrägeisen und Kranbalkenstütze charakterisiert ist (Abb. 10)⁵⁰. Aus dem Bereich der Phlyakenbilder mit solchen Türen wären vielleicht zwei bereits erwähnte Vasen zu nennen: der apulische Skyphos in London mit einem Liebespaar an einer Tür (s. Abb. 7)⁵¹ und der campanische Krater in Melbourne (s. Abb. 6), der wohl ebenfalls eine Alltagsszene wiedergibt⁵².

Andererseits bieten Phlyakenvasen mit mythischen, vor Gebäuden handelnden Szenen, bei denen man eine reichere Architektur erwarten würde, oft nur sehr einfache Türen. Die Darstellung der Geburt der Helena aus dem Ei, die sich vor dem Palast des Tyndareos in Sparta ereignet, zeigt auf dem Bühnenpodest links eine doppelflügelige Tür in Vorderansicht, aus der Leda hervorschaut (Abb. 11)⁵³. Weder Schmuckgiebel noch Vordach zeichnen hier den Palast aus. Die Tür gleicht



ABBILDUNG 6. Campanischer Glockenkrater des Libation-Malers. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria D 14/1973.



ABBILDUNG 7. Apulischer Skyphos. London, The British Museum F 124. Mit Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum.

vielmehr völlig der auf einem apulischen Phlyakenkrater in Mailand, mit der wohl eine Genreszene vor einem einfachen Wohnhaus gemeint ist, wie sich aus der Handlung und den Namensbeischriften der drei mit einem Teller Naschwerk beschäftigten Akteure schließen läßt (Abb. 12)⁵⁴. Dagegen zeigt ein apulischer Glockenkrater in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Abb. 13)⁵⁵, dessen Darstellung—eine alte Frau begrüßt vor einem Haus einen alten Mann—wohl ebenfalls als Alltagsszene zu verstehen ist, eine Doppeltür mit Giebel und Akroterien wie auch das Haus auf dem Getty-Krater. So können einfache Türen und auch solche mit Giebel und Schmuck beide als allgemeine Chiffre für ein Gebäude an sich fungieren, sei es Wohnhaus, Palast oder Ähnliches, wie wohl auch die überdachte Tür in Seitenansicht nicht unbedingt auf einen bestimmten Gebäudetypus festgelegt zu sein scheint. Die bildlichen Beispiele für Themen aus dem Mythos mit schlichten Türen sowie Genreszenen vor prächtigeren Türanlagen ließen sich vermehren.

Zurück zu dem Haus auf unserem Vasenbild. Wenn man hier eine aufwendige Architektur sehen wollte, so gäbe es einerseits die Möglichkeit, daß die Phlyaken, die ja hier auf der Straße agieren, sich nicht vor ihrem Wohnhaus befinden, sondern vor einem öffentlichen Gebäude. Doch belegen die oben aufgezeigten Bildchiffren für die verkürzte Wiedergabe eines Hauses auf der Phlyakenbühne durchaus auch die Verwendung von Türen mit Vordach für Wohnhäuser, vor allem wenn sie in Seitenansicht zu sehen sind.

Während Türen, auch Palasttore, sobald sie frontal zu sehen sind, oft ohne Giebel wiedergegeben werden, so scheint in der Gattung der Phlyakenvasen das Schräggeson mit Vordach geradezu fester Bestandteil der Bildformel für die Umrahmung einer Tür in Seitenansicht zu sein, ohne daß hiermit auf unterschiedliche architektonische Anlagen Bezug genommen wird. Deshalb wäre es vielleicht auch denkbar, hier einen Hinweis auf das Wohnhaus eines der Phlyaken zu sehen, in dem sich die hinterszenische Handlung der Verjüngung abspielt.

Die Frage nach dem unserem Vasenbild zugrundeliegenden Drama läßt sich nicht exakt beantworten. In jüngster Zeit wurde in der Forschung häufig diskutiert, ob solche Darstellungen überhaupt von der tarentinischen Phlyakenposse inspiriert sein können, da diese um Rhinthon als Hauptverfasser entstandenen Bühnendichtungen erst nach der Epoche, in der der größte Teil dieser Vasenproduktion anzusetzen ist, schriftlich fixiert wurden. Deshalb wollte man hier eher Einflüsse der attischen Alten Komödie erkennen, wobei deren Blüte jedoch vor der Hauptentstehungszeit der Phlyakenvasen lag, so daß man spätere Wiederaufführungen in Großgriechenland erschließen müßte. Während für Athen Tragödienreprise ab 386 v. Chr. bezeugt sind, ist die ältere Komödie dort erst von 339 v. Chr. an erneut gespielt worden⁵⁶. Ob es in der Magna Graecia bereits vorher Wiederaufführungen gab, ist zwar nicht bezeugt, wird aber aufgrund einiger Darstellungen auf Phlyakenvasen vermutet, die man in Abhängigkeit von



ABBILDUNG 8a. Pästianischer Kelchkrater. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11094. Foto: A. Trigo, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.



ABBILDUNG 8b. Pästianischer Kelchkrater, Abb. 8a. Zeichnung der Tür an der rechten Seite. Zeichnung: Patrick Finnerty.

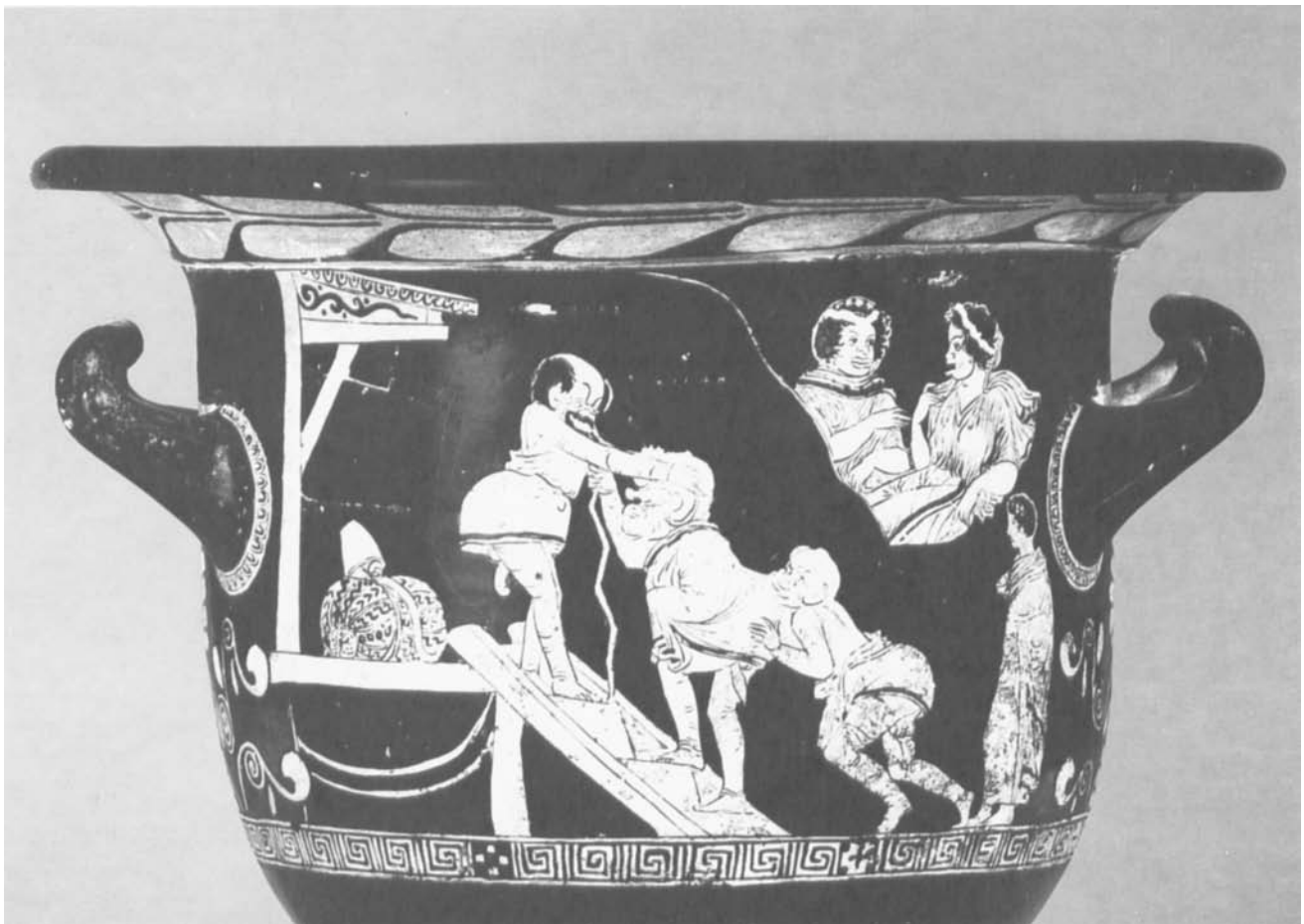


ABBILDUNG 9. Apulischer Glockenkrater. London, The British Museum F 151. Mit Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum.



ABBILDUNG 10. Apulischer Glockenkrater. University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum 98.42 (ehemals Nr. 66).



ABBILDUNG 11. Apulischer Glockenkrater. Bari, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 3899. Photo: DAI, Rom.



ABBILDUNG 12. Apulischer Glockenkrater, aus Ruvo. Mailand, Museo Civico, ohne Nr. Nach A. Baumeister, Hrsg., *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (München, 1888), 3: 1753, Abb. 1829.

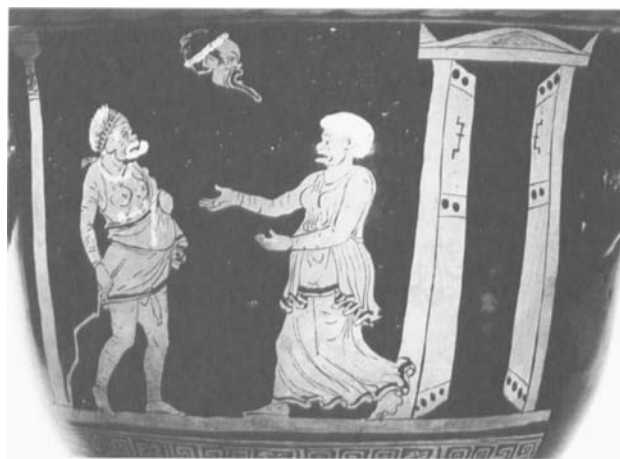


ABBILDUNG 13. Apulischer Glockenkrater. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum TL33186. Mit Genehmigung des Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Leihgabe der McDaniel Sammlung, Department of the Classics, Harvard University. Foto: Michael Nedzweski. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Harvard University.

Aristophanesstücken bringen wollte⁵⁷. Auf die Diskussion—aristophanische Stoffe oder literarisch noch nicht bezeugte Phlyakenposse als Vorlagen unserer Vasengattung—soll hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Verwiesen sei auf eine neue Untersuchung von Margot Schmidt zu diesem Thema⁵⁸. Was unser

Vasenbild betrifft, so wurde oben aufgezeigt, daß das Verjüngungsmotiv an sich ein beliebtes Komödienthema war, so daß auch unsere auf der Medea-Peliadensage basierende Mythenravestie sicher von einer Komödie angeregt ist, wobei offen bleiben muß, ob diese in Athen oder in Großgriechenland entstanden ist.

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ANMERKUNGEN

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Abkürzungen:

Billig, "Bühne"	E. Billig, "Die Bühne mit austauschbaren Kulissen", <i>OpAth</i> 13 (1980): 34–83.
Brandes-Druba, <i>Architekturdarstellungen</i>	B. Brandes-Druba, <i>Architekturdarstellungen in der unteritalischen Keramik</i> (Frankfurt, 1994).
Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur"	S. Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur und antike Bühnenmalerei: Zwei Rekonstruktionsversuche nach Griechischen Vasen," <i>ÖJh</i> 54 (1983): 59–86.
<i>Pandora</i>	<i>Pandora's Box: Women in Classical Greece</i> , Ausstellung, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1995 (Baltimore, 1995).
<i>Passion</i>	<i>A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman</i> , Ausstellung, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1994).
<i>Phlyax Vases</i> ²	A. D. Trendall, <i>Phlyax Vases</i> ² (London, 1967).

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.112; früher New York, Slg. Fleischman F 100: *RVAp*, 1: 96, Nr. 224a (mit anderem Aufbewahrungsort); *RVAp*, Suppl. 2.1: 15; A. D. Trendall, in *Passion*, S. 129–30, Nr. 57, mit Abb.; O. Taplin, in *Passion*, S. 23; A. D. Trendall und J. R. Green, *Phlyax Vases*³, Nr. Ap 32 (im Druck).—Der Terminus Phlyaken und Phlyakenposse wird hier als eingebürgertes Gattungsname für die betreffende unteritalische Vasengruppe verwendet und soll keine Aussage über die zugrundeliegende literarische Vorlage machen, s. dazu weiter hier S. 198.—Die Rückseite zeigt die gewöhnliche Darstellung von drei Manteljünglingen.

2. F. Lissarrague, in *Pandora*, S. 97.

3. Trendall, in *Passion*, S. 129.

4. Schriftquellen und bildliche Darstellungen der Erichthoniossage: *LIMC* 4 (Zürich, 1988), Addenda, S. 923–51, s.v. "Erechtheus" (U. Kron), mit weiterer Lit.; G. J. Baudy, "Der Heros in der Kiste: Der Erichthoniosmythos als Aition athenischer Erntefeste", *AuA* 38 (1992): 1–47; H. A. Shapiro, in *Pandora*, S. 39–48, mit Lit.; E. D. Reeder, *Pandora*, S. 250–66. Die Variante mit der Wolle ist etwa bei Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.188 und anderen späten

Quellen zitiert. Sie dürfte auf etymologischer Spielerei beruhen, da man den Namen des Erichthonios u.a. von ἔριον (Wolle) ableiten wollte. Allerdings sind Widderopfer für Erechtheus bezeugt: W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin, 1972), S. 163, 175.

5. O. Taplin, in *Passion*, S. 23; zur Schlangengestalt des Erichthonios s. auch ausführlich Baudy (a.O., Anm. 4).

6. Zu den Fragmenten s. R. Kassel und C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin, 1983), 4: 140–47, Nr. 39–51. Es wurde bereits versucht, eine andere Phlyakendarstellung (apulischer Glockenkrater, Bari 8014, *Phlyax Vases*², S. 28, Nr. 20, Taf. 1a) mit dieser Komödie zu verbinden. Man wollte die Szene als Dionysos deuten, der dem Menelaos die Helena abspenstig macht. Doch scheint mir dieser Vorschlag zu hypothetisch.

7. Zu den Verjüngungen der Medea und deren bildlichen Darstellungen s. Hypothesis zu Euripides, *Medea*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (New York, 1964–1965), 2: 210–18; P. J. Sijpesteijn, "The Rejuvenation Cure of Pelias", *ZPE* 9 (1972): 104–10; H. Meyer, *Medeia und die Peliaden* (Rom, 1980), passim; M. Vojatzi, *Frühe Argonautenbilder* (Würzburg, 1982), S. 94–100, 122–24; *LIMC* 5 (Zürich, 1990), s.v. "Iason", Nr. 58–64 und lit. Quellen (J. Neils); J. J. Clauss und S. I. Johnston, Hrsg., *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art* (Princeton, 1997), passim, mit ausführlicher Bibl.; M. Halm-Tisserant, *Cannibalisme e immortalité: L'enfant dans le chaudron en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1993), S. 26–38; V. J. Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les sarcophages d'époque impériale* (Rom, 1994), S. 111–24, mit Lit.; *LIMC* 7 (Zürich, 1994), s.v. "Peliades" (E. Simon); ebenda, s.v. "Pelias" (E. Simon); M. Schmidt, in *Pandora*, S. 57–62. Zu den bildlichen Darstellungen von Medea Widderzauber in der attisch rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei finden sich auch im Getty-Museum zwei Zeugnisse, eine Schale des Euphronios und ein Glockenkraterfragment, M. Ohly-Dumm, *GettyMusJ* 9 (1981): 5–21; und M. Robertson, ebenda, S. 22.

8. Zum sexuellen Aspekt des Widders s. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (1909; Nachdruck, Hildesheim, 1963), 1: 319–26.

9. Alte Männer und sexuelle Potenz als beliebtes Komödienthema: K. J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* (Chapel Hill, 1987), S. 236–37.

10. Dazu M. Renard, *Latomus* 13 (1954): 384–89; Halm-Tisserant (a.O., Anm. 7), passim; F. Graf, in Clauss und Johnston (a.O., Anm. 7), S. 41–42 (zum Kochen im Kessel als *rite de passage*, bes. Initiationsritual bei Männerbünden).—s. auch C. Weber-Lehmann, *JdI* 112 (1997): 220–21, Abb. 22: etrusk. Spiegel (London, British Museum) mit der Darstellung eines Liebeszaubers der Medea. Sie flößt hier Jason einen Trank ein. Zugewen ist rechts noch ein junges Mädchen, dessen Gewand im Gestus des Anasyrma vorn bis zur Taille hochgehoben ist und die Scham entblößt. Die Beischrift nennt sie Rescial. Es wurde vorgeschlagen, diesen Namen von lat. *revivere* abzuleiten, s. weiter bei *LIMC* 7 (Zürich, 1994), S. 623, s.v. "Rescial" (A. Parrini). Falls die Darstellung auf die Verjüngung des Jason anspielt, so deutet die Person der Rescial die

mit dem Verjüngungsritual verbundene Idee der Wiederbelebung und -geburt an. Zugleich weist sie durch ihr Anasyrma auf eine mit der Verjüngung verknüpfte sexuelle Konnotation, welche ja auch in unserer Phlyakenparodie und in der oben zitierten Euripidestragedie (*Medea* 714–18) im Dialog Medea-Aigeus besonders zum Tragen kommt.

11. Zu Erichthonios, s. a.O., Anm. 4. Baudy (a.O., Anm. 4), S. 31–40, sieht in der Kiste des Erichthonios eine agrarische Funktion (Kisten zum Keimen von Saatgut, die er als repräsentativ für den Uterus der Erdmutter deutet, der den Samen des Hephaistos empfing). Zu Helena, Ion, Perseus, s. die jeweiligen Artikel im *LIMC* und F. Lissarrague, "Women, Boxes, and Containers: Some Signs and Metaphors", in *Pandora*, S. 91–101. Bei Perseus wird eine Kiste aus Holz verwendet.

12. s. dazu Lissarrague (a.O., Anm. 11); E. Reeder, "Containers and Textiles as Metaphors for Women", in *Pandora*, S. 195–99.

13. Dazu J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*² (New York, 1991), S. 130; s. auch Ders., *Aristophanes Lysistrata* (Oxford, 1987), Kommentar zur Stelle.

14. Vgl. Henderson (a.O., Anm. 13). Den Ausdruck *κύσθος* gebraucht Aristophanes in den *Acharnern* 782.

15. z.B. auf der attischen rotfigurigen Hydria des Meidias-Malers, London, British Museum E 224. Detailabb.: *LIMC* 6 (Zürich, 1992), s.v. "Medeia" 70*, mit weiterer Lit. (M. Schmidt).

16. Attisch rotfigurige Schale, Vatikan 16538: Meyer (a.O., Anm. 7), S. 11–12, 26, Taf. 12.2, dort auch zu den Deutungsvorschlägen. Dem Widderwunder ist auf der anderen Seite die Führung des Pelias zum Kessel gegenübergestellt; *LIMC* 7 (Zürich, 1994), s.v. "Pelias" 21* (E. Simon).

17. Apoll. Rhod. 3.802, 844.

18. *Il.* 24.228; *Od.* 15.104.

19. S. Radt, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1986), 4: 410–11, F 534–36.

20. Ebenda, F 534.

21. *Ar. Eq.* 1321–36. s. auch S. D. Olson, "The New Demos of Aristophanes' Knights", *Eranos* 88 (1990): 60–63.

22. *Poll. Onom.* 4.141.

23. Vgl. G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (London, 1971); J. R. Green, "A Representation of the Birds of Aristophanes", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Bd. 2 (Malibu, 1985), S. 95–118.

24. *RVAp* 1: 96, Nr. 224; *Phlyax Vases*², S. 44, Nr. 59, Taf. 4a; *LIMC* 1 (Zürich, 1981), s.v. "Antigone" 13* mit Lit. (I. Krauskopf); Ch. Zimmermann, *Der Antigone-Mythos in der antiken Literatur und Kunst* (Tübingen, 1993), S. 209–11, 366, Abb. 3; O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (Oxford, 1993), S. 83–88, Abb. 21–22 (vermutet eher Wegführung der Antigone).

25. Taplin (a.O., Anm. 24), S. 86.

26. Radt (a.O., Anm. 19), 3: 349–51, Nr. 246a–d; H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin, 1963), S. 147–48.

27. Ancona, Museo Nazionale 105: F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (Berlin, 1959), S. 42, Abb. 39, S. 44–45. Zur Deutung mit der früheren Lit.: E. Simon, in D. C. Kurtz und B. Sparkes, Hrsg., *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge, 1982), S. 140, Taf. 35b; Halm-Tisserant (a.O., Anm. 7), S. 25–26, Taf. 1.1. R. Germar und R. Krumeich, in R. Krumeich, N. Pechstein und B. Seidensticker, Hrsg., *Das griechische Satyrspiel*, Texte zur Forschung, Band 72 (Darmstadt, 1999), 197–202, Taf. 23.

28. Athen. 4.156f. Kassel und Austin (a.O., Anm. 6), 5: 89–90, Nr. 64.

29. s. dazu auch G. Murray, *Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1933), S. 138f.; A. M. Bowie, *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy* (Cambridge, 1993), S. 76, und passim, s. Index, s.v. "rejuvenation" (mit Lit.).

30. Kassel und Austin (a.O., Anm. 6), 3.2: 41–51, F 17–40, bes. F 33.

31. Athen. 3.109f.; Kassel und Austin (a.O., Anm. 6), 89–100, F 128–55.

32. Zu Darstellungen des greisen Pelias, s. etwa *LIMC* 7 (Zürich, 1994), s.v. "Pelias" 11*, 19*, 21* (E. Simon).

33. Dazu ausführlich Burkert (a.O., Anm. 4), S. 113–19. Doch ist bei Pelops immer von einem schwarzen Widder die Rede, während unser Phlyax ein weißes Widdergesicht hat.

34. Vgl. weiter bei Simon (a.O., Anm. 32), S. 274.

35. *Ar. Thesm.* 689–98, 726–55. Apulischer Glockenkrater, Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum H 5697: *RVAp* 1: 65, Nr. 4a; A. Kossatz-Deissmann, in *Tainia*. Festschrift R. Hampe (Mainz, 1980), S. 281–90, Taf. 60; O. Taplin, *PCPS* 213.33 (1987): 96–99, Taf. 2; Taplin (a.O., Anm. 24), S. 36–41, Abb. 11.4; J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (New York, 1994), S. 64, Abb. 3.7; J. R. Green und E. Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre* (London, 1995), S. 52, Abb. 27; R. Finnegan, *Women in Aristophanes* (Amsterdam, 1995), Frontispiz; weitere Lit. bei G. Güntner, *CVA* Würzburg 4, Taf. 4. Der Krater war in jüngerer Zeit Gegenstand zahlreicher Untersuchungen—vor allem von Taplin—zum Problem, ob die Phlyakenvasen Stücke der späteren schriftlichen Phlyakenposse oder der attischen Alten Komödie wiedergeben.

36. Dazu Billig, "Bühne": 66–69; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 59–70; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 146–57.

37. *Ibid.*, S. 154–57.

38. Trendall, in *Passion*, S. 129.

39. Taplin, in *Passion*, S. 23.

40. Martin-von-Wagner-Museum H 4696. H 4701: E. Simon und B. Otto, *AA*, 1973: 121–31, Abb. 1–6; Billig, "Bühne": 68, Abb. 1–6; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 71–86, mit Abb.; G. Güntner, *CVA* Würzburg 4, Taf. 53, mit weiterer Lit.

41. Zur Wiedergabe einer Haustür mit Vordach, s. Billig, "Bühne": 66–69; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 152–57. Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 65, vermutet, daß es sich hier nicht um das Vordach der Haustür, sondern um die Wiedergabe des Bühnendachs handelt.

42. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.19: E. Simon, *AntK* 6 (1963): 16–17, Taf. 5.4; L. Todisco, in *Modi e funzioni del racconto mitico nella ceramica greca, italiota ed etrusca dal VI. al IV. secolo a.C.* Kongreß, Raito di Vietri sul Mare, 1994 (Salerno, 1995), S. 140, 153, Abb. 4.

43. Glockenkrater, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria D 14/1973: A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, 3. Suppl. (London, 1983), S. 201, Nr. 337a; A. D. Trendall, *Greek Vases in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1978), S. 25–28, Taf. 14b; C. W. Dearden, in J. H. Betts, J. T. Hooker und J. R. Green, Hrsg., *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* (Bristol, 1988), 2: 34, Taf. 3.1; A. D. Trendall, *Rotfigurige Vasen aus Unteritalien und Sizilien* (Mainz, 1990), Abb. 304.—Apulischer Skyphos, London, British Museum F 124: *Phlyax Vases*², S. 57, Nr. 94; M. Bieber, *The History of Greek and Roman Theater*² (Princeton, 1961), S. 137, Abb. 500; G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966), Abb. 650; Billig, "Bühne": 68, Abb. 19; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 66, Abb. 7; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 152, 279, Nr. VIII A 11, mit Lit.; Green und Handley (a.O., Anm. 35), S. 56, Abb. 30. Das vorkragende Schräggeison wird bei solchen Konstruktionen durch eine von der rückwärtigen Stütze ausgehende Verstrebung in Form eines Querbalkens gehalten. Beispiele für Kranbalkentüranlagen in Seitenansicht sind gesammelt bei Billig, "Bühne": 66, und Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 152–53. Zuweilen ist der Schrägbalken kunstvoll verziert, z.B. als Schwanenhals wie auf dem oben genannten Skyphos in London.

44. Pästanischer Kelchkrater, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11094: A. D. Trendall, *Red-figured Vases of Paestum* (The British School at Rome, 1987), S. 84, Nr. 127, Taf. 46; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 59–70, Abb. 1a–b; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 242, Nr. v A 16, mit ausführlicher Lit.

45. Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 59–70, 67, Abb. 9 (Rekonstruktion).

46. Die Tür ist weggelassen bei dem Gebäude auf dem apulischen Glockenkrater mit Chirons Badereise: London, British Museum F 151, *Phlyax Vases*², S. 35, Nr. 37; Bieber (a.O., Anm. 43), S. 135, Abb. 491, und S. 146, Abb. 540; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 64, Abb. 5a–b; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 286, Nr. VIII B 4, mit Lit.

47. Auf dem in Anm. 43 genannten apulischen Skyphos in London fehlt z.B. das Geison.

48. s. die Lit. a.O., Anm. 43. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der Darstellung auf einem apulischen Phlyakenkrater in Neapel, Museo Nazionale H 1977: *RVAp* 1: 213, Nr. 157; Billig, "Bühne": 67, Abb. 15; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 62, Abb. 4; C. Courtois, *Le Bâtiment de scène des théâtres d'Italie et de Sicile* (Providence, R.I., 1989), S. 26, Abb. 9; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 223, Nr. II B 5. Hier sieht man die Bühne frontal, die Treppe in Dreiviertelansicht von links und das Gebäude auf der Bühne in Seitenansicht von rechts.

49. Die Vase ist hier bereits in Anm. 46 genannt.

50. University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum 66: *RVAp* 1:

90, Nr. 187, Taf. 31.1; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 282, Nr. VIII A 26, Taf. 30.

51. a.O., Anm. 43.

52. s. a.O., Anm. 43.

53. Apulischer Glockenkrater, Bari, Museo Archeologico 3899: *RVAp* 1: 148, Nr. 96; *LIMC* 4 (Zürich, 1988), s.v. "Helene" 5* (L. Kahil); Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur": 65, Abb. 6; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 278, Nr. VIII A 3, mit Lit.

54. Museo Civico: *RVAp* 2. Suppl., 1: 7, Nr. 123; *Phlyax Vases*², S. 38, Nr. 45, Taf. 2, mit Lit.; Bieber (a.O., Anm. 43), S. 139, Abb. 509; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 280, Nr. VIII A 12.

55. Fogg Art Museum: *RVAp* 1: 99, Nr. 244; *Phlyax Vases*², S. 30, Nr. 24; Billig, "Bühne": 66, Abb. 14; M. E. Mayo, Hrsg., *The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia*, Ausstellung, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1982 (Richmond, 1982), S. 94, Nr. 24; Courtois (a.O., Anm. 48), S. 24, Abb. 6; Brandes-Druba, *Architekturdarstellungen*, S. 278, Nr. VIII A 6, mit Lit.

56. Zu den Wiederaufführungen, s. U. Wagner, "Reprisen im Athener Dionysos-Theater im 5. und 4. Jh.", in E. Pöhlmann, Hrsg., *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike* (Frankfurt, 1995), S. 173–78; s. auch die Lit. bei M. Schmidt, *AntK* 41 (1998): 19, 35.

57. s. dazu vor allem die hier in Anm. 24 und 35 genannten Arbeiten von Taplin; Dearden (a.O., Anm. 43), S. 33–42; weitere Lit. dazu bei Schmidt (a.O., Anm. 56).

58. Schmidt (a.O., Anm. 56), S. 17–32.

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