

The Passas Painter: A Protoattic “Realist”?

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IN ANCIENT ATHENS, the first two periods of vase painting are defined by very distinct styles, the Geometric and the Protoattic. Geometric art is named for the patterns that decorated vases as well as other objects made throughout Greece during the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries B.C.¹ Figures are drawn in silhouette and reduced to their essentials: for humans, heads and limbs appear in profile, torsos in front view, arms and legs are sticklike, and often a large eye occupies much of the face. Gender is sometimes omitted, at other times barely indicated. Garments are minimal, arms and armor simple. Animals and objects are in strict profile. When figures, whether human or animal, overlap there is no distinction between which is on the right and which is on the left. A large standed krater from the Hirschfeld Workshop, New York MMA 14.130.14, which dates about 725 B.C., illustrates the style very well (Figure 1).²

Protoattic, on the other hand, is a less comprehensive term than Geometric for, as the name implies, it refers only to vases made in Athens and its environs during the seventh century B.C.³ It is characterized by a complete abandonment of the precise Geometric formulas and by an energy not seen before in such abundance in Greek vase painting. Its artists convey an unbridled enthusiasm for their work and their subjects; the exuberant spirit of Protoattic artists knows no bounds. The word “failure” is not part of their vocabulary. The namepiece of the Nessos Painter, MMA 11.210.1, a tall neck-amphora of about 650 B.C., depicts the essence of this style at its peak (Figure 2).⁴

While the pure Geometric and Protoattic styles are easy enough to recognize, it is much more difficult to chart the transition from the one to the other, which occurred during the last two decades of the eighth century B.C. and the opening years of the seventh. Sometimes whether to call a vase Late Geometric or Early Protoattic is a matter of opinion. Over the last half century, scholars have identified quite a few work-

shops and vases by individual painters active during this time of significant artistic ferment.⁵ Exceptional are the painters who broke with the Geometric idiom to found and embrace the more progressive Protoattic style. Best known among these is the Analatos Painter, who is named after an ancient site located between Athens and Phaleron and whose name vase is a hydria in the Athens National Archaeological Museum, NM 313.⁶ Another artist who worked during this transitional period is the Passas Painter. His work exhibits some details that are Late Geometric, others that are Early Protoattic. In the Renée and Robert Belfer Court at the Metropolitan Museum, there is a small neck-amphora attributed to him, MMA 21.88.18 (Figures 3–9). Dating to about 700 B.C., it and its painter are the focus of this article.⁷

THE NECK-AMPHORA

This little vase has a convex mouth and a tall neck that flares slightly to join it (Figure 3). The body is ovoid and tapers to a low conical foot with a flat resting surface. Two strap handles attached to the shoulder and the neck divide back from front. The ornamental decoration framing and bordering the figures is simple. On the side of the mouth, between a line above and below, is a frieze of upright crosshatched triangles, then three lines. At the top of the neck, above the join of the handles, the artist painted a zone of lozenge chain without dots. On the neck of Side A (the better-preserved side), vertical bars hatched diagonally frame the figure. Side B is the same but with a column of Ms on the right between the diagonal bars and the figure. A broad band of glaze separates the neck from the shoulder. On the shoulder, on each side, diagonally hatched vertical bars serve as frames. On the body below the figures and separated by three lines are: a frieze of upright crosshatched triangles; a zone of four-limbed sigmas; eighteen lines. On the back of each handle are groups of six or seven horizontal bars framed by a line. The sides of the handles are glazed.⁸

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On Sides A and B of the neck a man walks to right, and over his shoulder is a large cloth that hangs down almost to the ground in front and in back of him (Figure 4). Nearly all of the cloth is crosshatched except for the area overlapped by his outstretched arms; a panel on the portion behind him contains a reclining goat (Figure 5); at each end there is a zone of upright and hanging crosshatched triangles, then three large pendent tassels, probably the warp threads tied together. Much of the man's face is reserved;⁹ he has a large eye and long crosshatched hair. His pronounced pointed chin suggests the painter had in mind a beard, but he did not make this feature absolutely clear. The man's torso is drawn in outline, his limbs are in silhouette, and the area between his legs is crosshatched, indicating that he wears a long garment. Both arms reach out to clasp a staff topped by a finial, and a remarkably long sword is suspended at waist level. Behind him a vulture or an eagle flies toward him. There is a modest amount of filling orna-



Figure 1. Side A of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. 725 B.C. H. 108.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.14)

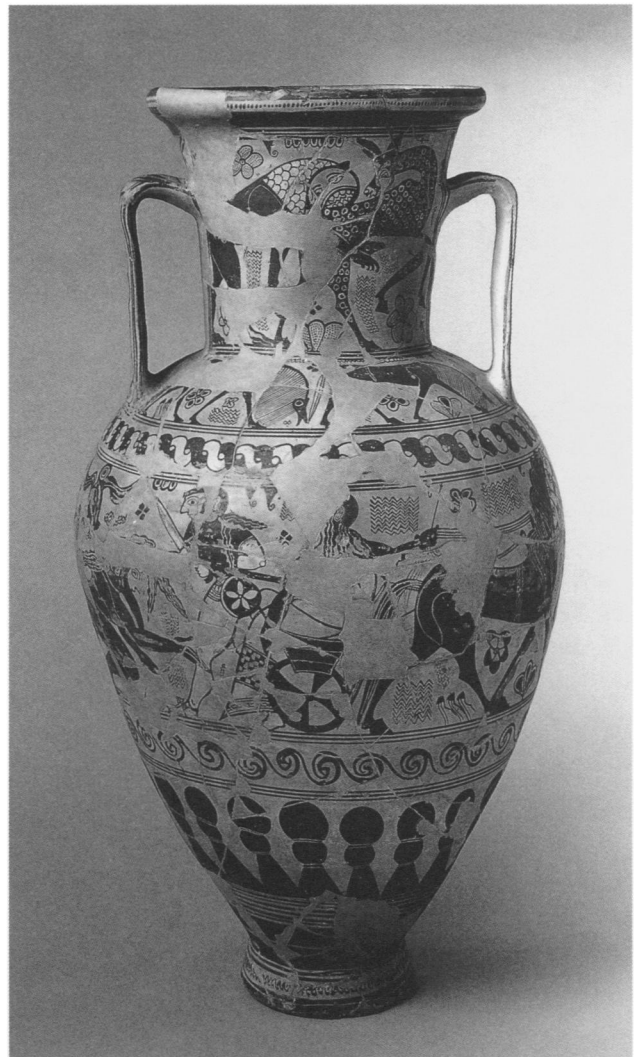


Figure 2. Side A of a Middle Protoattic neck-amphora by the Nessos Painter, ca. 650 B.C. H. 108.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.210.1)

ment: zigzags and a small sunburst with central dot; on Side B, at the lower right, are three upright solid triangles.

On the shoulder, Sides A and B, a horse grazes to right (see Figure 3). Its head is in outline with a small eye; its short mane sticks up; its body, neck, and legs with their large sturdy hoofs are drawn in silhouette; its tail is mostly pipelike except for long hairs at the end. Zigzags, upright crosshatched triangles, a double outline triangle, a lozenge star with rays in outline, and a swastika constitute the filling ornament.

On the body (Figures 6–9), a procession of four chariots continues around without interruption. The head of each charioteer is drawn like that of the man on the neck: face mostly reserved with large eye, crosshatched shoulder-length hair, and long pointed chin

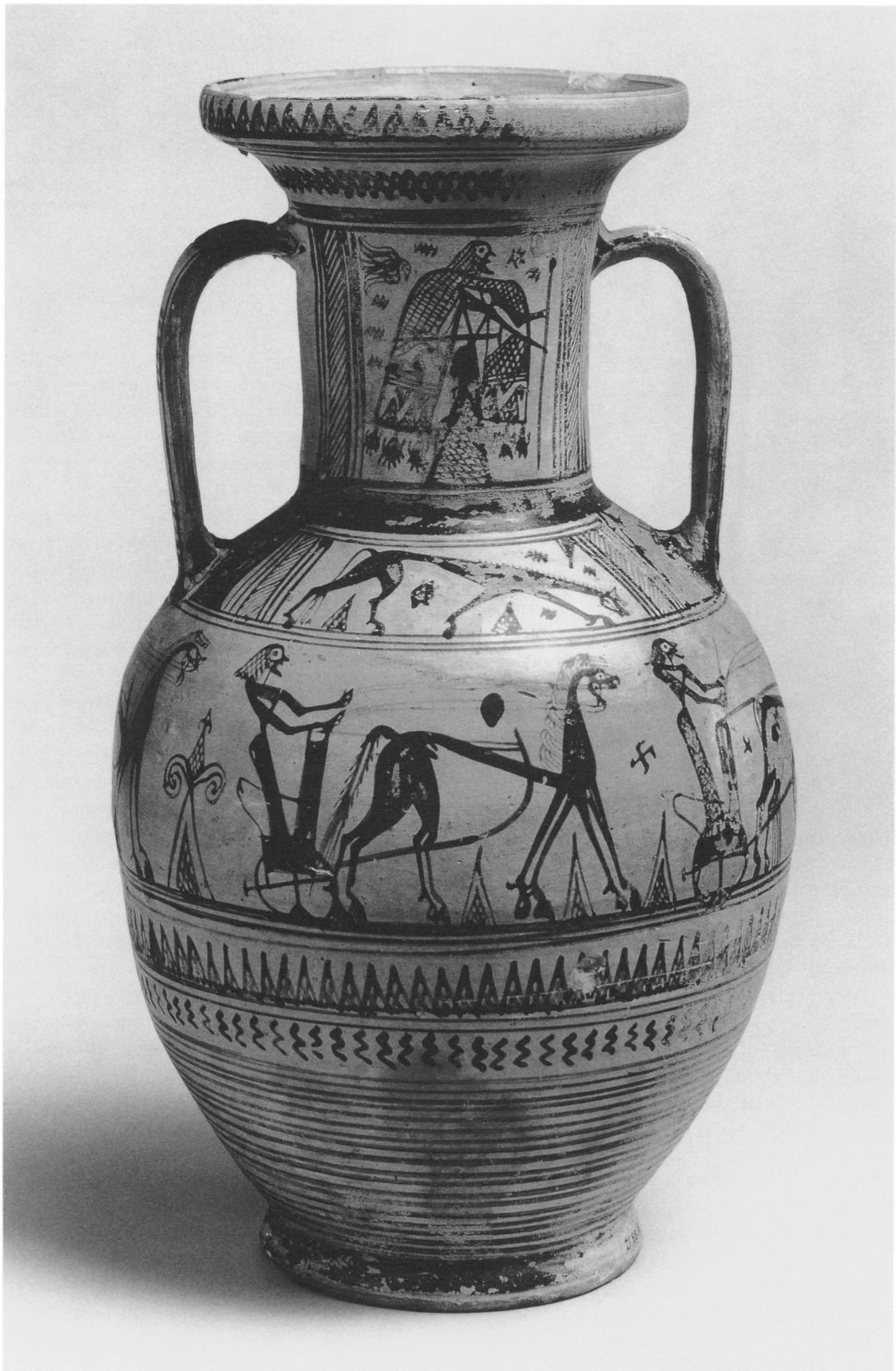


Figure 3. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Passas Painter, ca. 700 B.C. Terracotta, H. 29.4-29.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.18). See also Colorplate 1



Figure 4. Detail of the man carrying a large cloth on the neck of Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3

or beard. His torso is drawn in outline; his arms, in silhouette, are extended, holding the four reins; and the long skirt of his chiton is variously solid or cross-hatched. The charioteer below handle B/A does not wear a chiton but instead is nude (Figure 8), and the charioteer below handle A/B holds a goad as well as the reins (Figure 7). Two horses draw each chariot. The head of each horse has a large eye; its mane is long and luxuriant; neck, chest, and hindquarters are strong; the body is thin and narrow; big hoofs support matchstick legs; tails are flowing and full. Each chariot has a simple four-spoked wheel, solid box with thin rail and breastwork (the upright section in front of the charioteer), curved pole, and straight pole-stay (the horizontal line of glaze starting near the tip of the pole and extending to the top of the breastwork of the chariot). Behind the charioteer below handle B/A, a raptor flies to right (Figure 9). Behind each chariot on the front and back, but not behind those beneath the handles, there is a "Tree of Life" composed of a crosshatched triangle with double outline and two spirals growing out of the apex. A small crosshatched triangle with little "shoots" at the top rests on the spirals (Figure 6). Filling ornament is sparse: upright crosshatched triangles with double outline; swastika; hanging crosshatched triangle; double ax; cross.

Figure 5. Detail of the reclining goat on the cloth carried by the man on the neck of Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3 (drawing: the author)



THE PASSAS PAINTER'S VASES

In 1934, John M. Cook saw that MMA 21.88.18 was by the same painter as three fragments of a small neck-amphora in the Athens National Archaeological Museum that were found at the coastal site of Phaleron, a suburb of Athens about a quarter of a mile from the sea (Figures 10, 11).¹⁰ He added these to his N Group, named after the shape of a favorite filling ornament, an N. A pair of neck-amphorae by one hand, Oxford 1935.18 and London BM 1936.10-17.1 (Figure 37); a skyphos in Edinburgh, 1956.422, ex L. 363; and a kantharos in the Vlastos collection made up the rest of this group, which Cook noted form "a loose group of vases whose painters had comparatively little in common with the workshops which were turning out the finer wares at this time."¹¹ Jean M. Davison added an oinochoe, Agora P 23456, to the Oxford and London neck-amphorae; she let MMA 21.88.18 "serve as an illustration" for the rest of Cook's N Group, but she added a neck-amphora, Boston MFA 03.7, "as a later product of the same workshop." Davison called this the Oxford Workshop.¹²

In 1960, Roland Hampe changed the picture considerably when he published five Early Protoattic standed kraters purchased for the Archaeological Seminar of Mainz University in 1949. The vases were badly burned and broken into many fragments, but painstaking study and delicate restoration produced remarkable results, although today the ambitious figure work is best understood from the careful drawings made by Lisa Hobbing and Margot Lindig. Hampe recognized that the bowl of one standed krater, inv. 153, and both the bowl and stand of another, inv. 154 (Figures 12, 14-17), were by the same hand.¹³ To this pair he added MMA 21.88.18 (Figures 3-9), the three fragments from Phaleron (Figures 10, 11), and a neck-amphora in the Passas collection in Athens (Figures 18-29).¹⁴ Since the last vase is perhaps the most ambitious, Hampe named the artist the Passas Painter after its owner.¹⁵

In his monograph on the Mainz kraters, Hampe eliminated from Cook's N Group all but the London

and Oxford neck-amphorae and the Vlastos kantharos. To these three vases, he then added five more pieces: an amphora fragment found at Eleusis; Mainz inv. 155, fragments of a standed krater (Figures 30, 31); Mainz inv. 159, a fragment of a similar krater that does not seem to belong to one of the others; a fragment, perhaps from an amphora, in a British private collection; and London BM 1865.7-20.1, a “Phaleron” oinochoe (Figure 32). Hampe called the artist Painter N after one of the filling ornaments.¹⁶

I should like to suggest that two of the vases Hampe attributed to Painter N are by the Passas Painter: Mainz inv. 155 (Figures 30, 31),¹⁷ which is very incomplete, and London BM 1865.7-20.1 (Figure 32). The spirit of each, the choice of ornament, and the style of drawing have more in common with the Passas Painter than they do with Painter N, whose style of drawing is essentially rooted in what was quickly becoming the Geometric past. The “Phaleron”

oinochoe in London takes with it two more pieces that I believe are by the Passas Painter. One is a tankard in the University Museum in Manchester, England, that shows a frieze of hippalektrya (horse-cocks) above a frieze of dogs (Figure 33).¹⁸ The other is a bowl and its fenestrated stand, represented by fragments Agora P 10656 and P 10196.¹⁹ Both fragments depict cocks. The bowl (Figure 34) preserves the comb, neck, tail, and sickle feathers of one, the head and breast of the other. The stand (Figure 35) shows just the head of one cock with a large comb and wattle in outline, start of neck, and part of wing. Above it is a large hanging palmette.²⁰ Based on Hampe’s identification and discussion of Painter N, Brann thought Agora P 10656 and P 10196 was by this painter. The Manchester tankard has never been attributed.

It is worth elaborating on the Passas Painter. His choice of shapes and his manner of decorating them offer new and important changes, especially his selec-

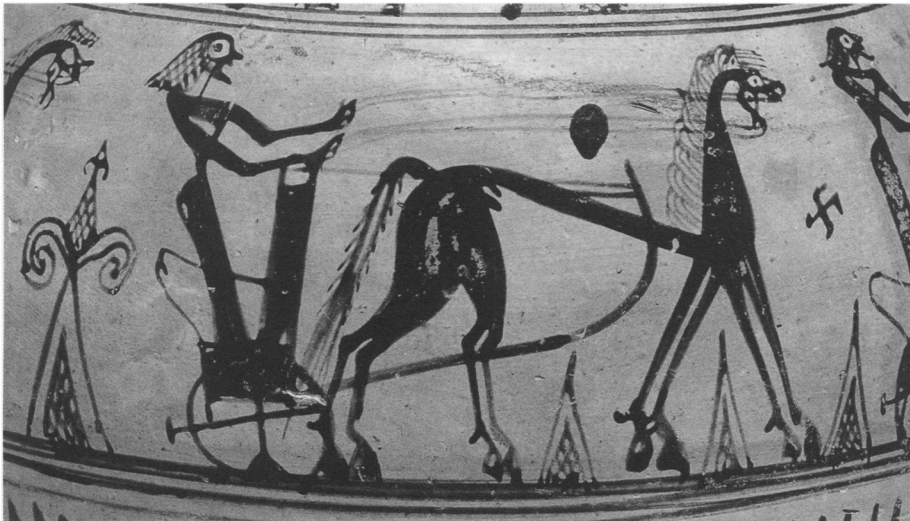


Figure 6. Detail of chariots and a “Tree of Life” on Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3



Figure 7. Detail of the chariot on Side A/B of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3



Figure 8. Detail of the chariot on Side B/A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3

tion of ornament and his use of accessory red and white. Pictorial themes are frequently unusual and innovative, suggesting he was not only imaginative but also very observant of the world around him. Thus, shape, ornament, and especially figures establish the Passas Painter as an important creative and energetic presence in Athenian ceramic production in the years around 700 B.C. and slightly beyond.

THE PASSAS PAINTER: SHAPES AND ORNAMENT

Fashioning vases is the task of the potter. The ability to adapt figural scenes to different shapes tests the skill of the painter. The nine vases by the Passas Painter, including the four added here, indicate the success with which he met the challenge of working with various shapes and interpreting different subjects.

The two well-preserved kraters in Mainz, inv. 153 and 154, are clearly showpieces (Figure 12).²¹ Very likely, they come from an *Opferrinne* (an offering channel near a grave) or were placed in the grave itself.²² The rim of the bowl is accented by a broad band of circles in added clay bordered above and below by a wavy rope of clay that represents a snake.²³ Some of the circles are small and flat; several are larger and button shaped. This is a most unusual decorative pattern. Two vertical rings attached to the rim form handles, each surmounted by a restored floral ornament.²⁴ The conical stand has well-turned moldings at the top that form a transition from the narrow flaring support to the broad swelling bowl. The whole effect of each ensemble looks like a clay translation of a bronze prototype.²⁵ Mainz inv. 155 (Figures 30, 31) is too fragmentary to reconstruct, but from what remains of the

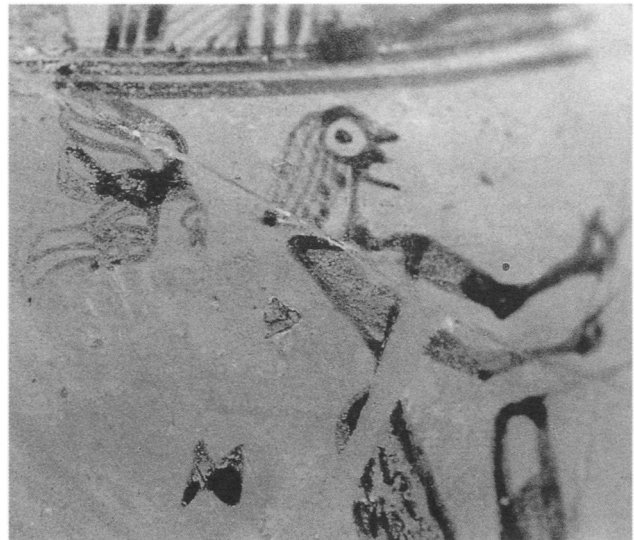


Figure 9. Detail of the charioteer and the bird behind him on Side B/A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3 (photo: the author)

ornamental and figural decoration, it must have been as impressive as Mainz inv. 153 and 154. Likewise, the Agora bowl and stand fragments, P 10656 and P 10196 (Figures 34, 35), are too incomplete to permit reconstruction.

Three other vases by the Passas Painter are neck-amphorae, but the features of each vary. The name vase has a tall flaring neck with a broad torus mouth decorated with a modeled snake and an ovoid body that is roughly the same height as the neck and tapers to a flaring foot. Perforated struts fill most of the space between each handle and the neck, reinforcing what would otherwise be a weak join (Figures 18, 19). MMA 21.88.18 is considerably shorter and squatter than the Passas amphora, although Cook's description



Figure 10. Fragment of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora from Phaleron attributed to the Passas Painter, which shows a procession of chariots and men carrying large cloths, ca. 700 B.C. L. 27 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, NM 15983 (photo: DAI Athens, NM 3822)

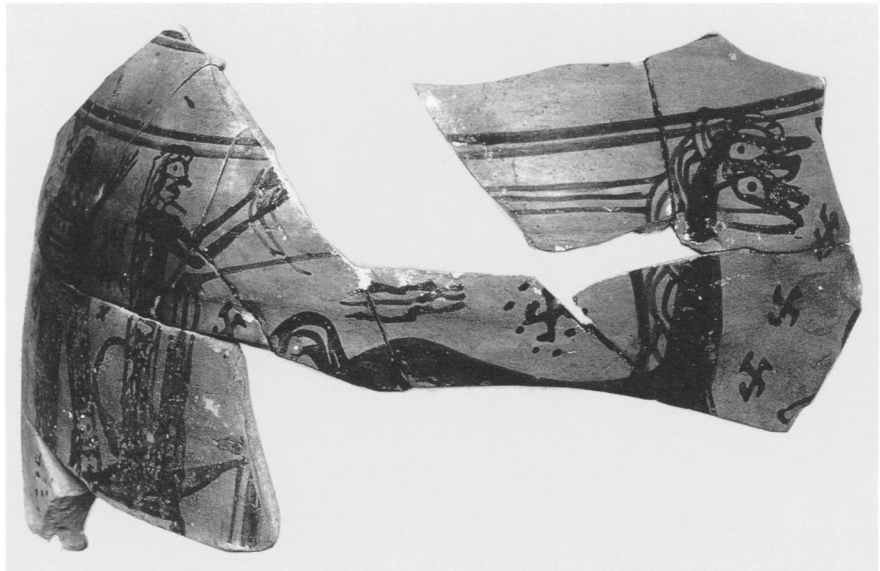


Figure 11. Fragment of the neck-amphora in Figure 10 showing part of a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, NM 3821)

of it as “a dumpy amphora in New York” seems unduly harsh.²⁶ The New York vase, the London oinochoe, and the Manchester tankard are the only well-preserved works by the Passas Painter that do not have plastic snakes (Figures 3, 32, 33). The fragments from Phaleron come from a neck-amphora similar in size to MMA 21.88.18, but its profile is difficult to calculate from what remains (Figures 10, 11). One fragment preserves part of a snake on the side of the mouth.²⁷

The “Phaleron” oinochoe in London, BM 1865.7-20.1, is typical for the shape: trefoil mouth, tall neck widening toward the shoulder, and an ovoid body tapering to a ring base (Figure 32). A handle rises from the shoulder and joins the rim of the mouth opposite the pouring spout. The Manchester tankard

is also representative: flaring mouth, tall cylindrical neck, and low convex body. A flat handle attached to the shoulder rises above the top of the mouth, then curves downward to join it (Figure 33). A strut midway between mouth and shoulder reinforces the two parts.

The Passas Painter’s choice of ornament offers criteria that help to define his artistic personality. In this period of Greek vase painting, ornament serves two basic purposes. First, it may frame figures set in panels or form decorative bands encircling parts of the vase, usually that below the figures on the body. Second, it may be used as fill within the figural compositions. The choice of framing and filling ornaments indicates that the Passas Painter was well acquainted with the Geometric tradition that had defined Attic pottery for



Figure 12. Early Protoattic standing krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 108 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 154 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

the previous two centuries and with the Protoattic style that was about to succeed it.

Some of the ornament used as frames and bands by the Passas Painter is well within the Geometric tradition, and MMA 21.88.18 exhibits the largest number of different Geometric patterns, suggesting perhaps

that it is the earliest of the nine vases.²⁸ A frieze of upright crosshatched triangles appears on the torus mouth as well as on the body directly below the figures (Figure 3). The pattern recurs on the shoulder of London BM 1865.7-20.1 and near the bottom of the bowl of Mainz inv. 153, where it has a double outline (Figures 32, 13). Diagonally hatched vertical bars frame the figure on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 and on the neck as well as the panels on each side of the body of the namepiece. A band of multiple vertical zigzags appears below the figures on MMA 21.88.18 and on London BM 1865.7-20.1; the Manchester tankard has just a simple zigzag on the body. A lozenge chain without dots occurs only on MMA 21.88.18. On the name vase, below the figures on the body, there is a wolf-tooth pattern, each row cross-hatched, the upper smaller than the lower, the latter with a double outline. All of these ornaments are purely Geometric.

The three kraters offer something completely new that takes us into the Early Protoattic phase of Greek pottery: a zone of encircled palmettes above and



Figure 13. Detail of the bowl of an Early Protoattic standing krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a hunting hound. H. ca. 18 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 153 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

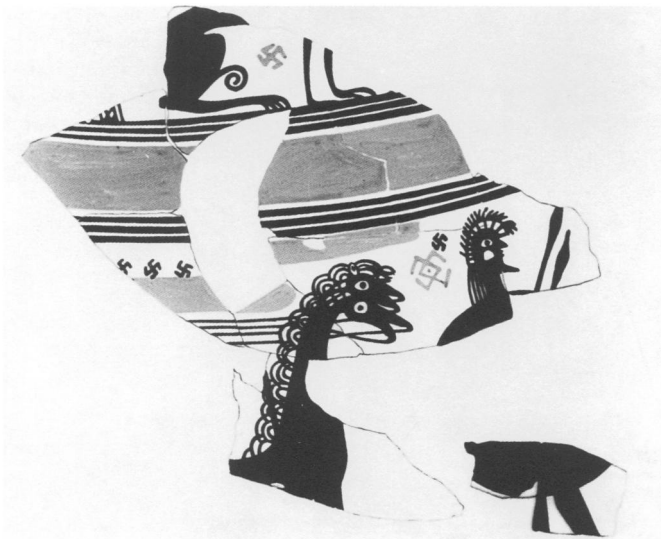


Figure 14. Detail of the stand of the standed krater in Figure 12 showing a frieze of seated sphinxes above a procession of warriors and a chariot (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

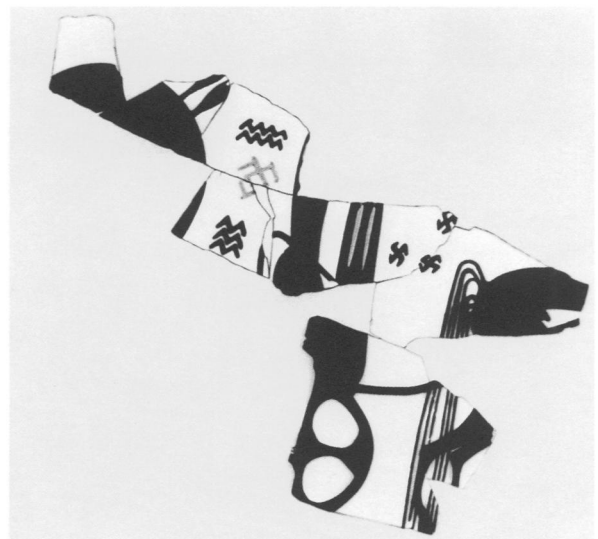


Figure 15. Detail of the stand of the standed krater in Figure 12 showing chariot horses and a warrior. H. ca. 17.3 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)



Figure 16. Detail of the bowl of the standed krater in Figure 12 showing hunting hounds and a cock. H. ca. 12.6 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

below the frieze of dogs on the bowl of Mainz inv. 153 (Figure 13) and just above the dogs on inv. 154 (Figure 16). On Mainz inv. 153, the palmette frieze was painted in added white on a dark ground, an early use of this technique.²⁹ On Mainz inv. 155, one fragment shows a more creative and ambitious palmettelike pattern. The palmettes alternate orange (red) and white, and a line of glaze outlines each one.³⁰ Another fragment preserves part of the encircling vines and the sprouting leaves of two palmettes, all in red with black outline.³¹ At the base of the neck of the London oinochoe, there is a cable pattern that does not quite

have each unit closed and looks like a band of elegant italicic esses with dots (Figure 32).³² It may be a precursor of the true cable pattern that has completely closed units and looks like a braid (see below, p. 24).

Some of the filling ornament is also purely Geometric. A favorite of the Passas Painter, as Hampe saw,³³ is the upright crosshatched triangle with or without a double outline; the painter likes to place it on the ground line between the legs of humans or animals. This ornament occurs on each of his vases that preserves a ground line; on Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 30), it is a hanging one (no trace of the ground line remains on these fragments). Another filler preferred by the Passas Painter is a rather thick swastika, which also appears on all of his vases except Mainz inv. 155. The multiple zigzag is a further Geometric pattern visible on each vase except MMA 21.88.18, Mainz inv. 155, and the London oinochoe; the ornament is, however, shared by painters of other workshops, particularly those of Athens 894, and by the Analatos Painter. It is not a criterion for attribution to the Passas Painter. The Manchester tankard has short, single zigzags here and there in the field, another pattern in common use.

Some ornaments in the work of the Passas Painter mark a break with the Geometric past. One of these is the hanging or upright spiral, visible on the London oinochoe in the panel on the neck as well as in the frieze on the body; between the legs of the dogs on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155; and above the cock on Agora P 10656 (Figures 30, 34). Like the zigzag, the hanging or upright spiral occurs in the work of



Figure 17. Detail of the bowl of the stood krater in Figure 12 showing hunting hounds below a zone of palmettes. H. ca. 19.7 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

contemporary artists such as the Analatos Painter (Figure 36).³⁴ Also new about this time (ca. 700 B.C.) is a cluster of solid lozenges. They appear below a hound on the London oinochoe (Figure 32) and on three fragments of the stand of Mainz inv. 155, where they are painted orange (red), adding to the colorful effect of this bowl and stand (Figure 31).³⁵ On Agora P 10196 (Figure 35) there is a hanging palmette, its petals alternating black and outline, the latter with added white, reminiscent of the colorful palmettes on the Mainz kraters. A pretty pattern introduced about this time is the cable or guilloche, which occurs on one of the Phaleron fragments and on the namepiece, where its vertical placement offers a link between the two vases (Figures 23, 26, 27).³⁶ It is not certain who is the first artist to use this ornament as a filler. In Athens, it may be the Analatos Painter.³⁷ An odd filling ornament used occasionally by the Passas Painter is the dotted lozenge with hooks. It occurs on the stands of Mainz inv. 154 and 155 and is painted orange (red) (Figures 14, 15, 31). I have not been able to find other examples of this ornament, and it may well qualify as a criterion for attribution to the Passas Painter.³⁸ The swastika surrounded by a circle of dots, another unusual ornament, occurs on the

namepiece and on one of the fragments from Phaleron (Figures 28, 11).³⁹ The dot rosette on the Manchester tankard does not seem to occur elsewhere in the work of the Passas Painter. It becomes a popular ornament in the Protoattic and Protocorinthian styles.

One further filling ornament must be considered: the N, which was Hampe's starting point for establishing Painter N. In the work of Painter N, the N is placed very randomly in reserved areas and always as a single unit (Figure 37).⁴⁰ It is also a very simple ornament, related to the zigzag, thus a motif that could easily be used by other painters.⁴¹ On the bowl of Mainz inv. 155 and on Agora P 10656, the Passas Painter has grouped the preserved Ns in pairs (Figures 30, 34); on the London oinochoe, two Ns appear one above the other between the hound and the hare (Figure 32). This is in distinct contrast to the manner in which Painter N places the ornament, and it provides a criterion for separating Mainz inv. 155 and the London oinochoe from the oeuvre of Painter N. Another criterion is the use of added color. To my knowledge, Painter N does not use accessory orange (red) and white on his preserved vases, whereas it is a colorful feature of Mainz inv. 153, 154, and 155 by the Passas Painter, as well as of the fragments from Phaleron.⁴²



Figure 18. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora, name vase of the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 50 cm. Passas Collection, Athens (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1173)



Figure 19. Side B of the amphora in Figure 18 (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1174)

THE PASSAS PAINTER: SUBJECTS

Figured compositions and the way they appear on a vase complement one another. Since the Mainz kraters do not have handles on their bodies, it is natural to let the decoration continue around without interruption. So too for the stand of Mainz inv. 154, but not for the stand of Mainz inv. 153 which is fenestrated in its lower two-thirds. The Analatos Painter, to whom the stand of Mainz inv. 153 is attributed,

Painted a frieze of warriors marching to left in the upper zone just below the moldings and introduced panels of various sizes between the fenestrations. In each of the two large panels, he placed a sphinx seated to right; the rest of the panels are ornamental.

Neck-amphorae demand a different subdivision of shape. Each of the three by the Passas Painter has a figured panel on the neck because the handles create a natural frame which extends to the shoulder where there are animals in a horizontal panel.⁴³ On the



Figure 20. Shoulder of Side A of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two reclining goats (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1185)



Figure 21. Shoulder of Side B of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a griffin-bird attacking a deer (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1184)

body, since there is no natural division, it is customary at this time to allow the figures to continue around the vase without interruption.⁴⁴ This is the case with MMA 21.88.18 and was probably true also of the Phaleron fragments, at least to judge from what remains. On the body of his name vase, the Passas Painter opted for a very different distribution of the decoration (Figures 18, 19, 24–29). He placed the figures in panels of unequal length. The one on Side

A contains two chariots and two warriors on foot with the lead chariot below handle A/B and extending onto Side B (Figures 24–27). On Side B, the warrior on foot appears next to the framing ornament approximately on the axis of the vase (Figure 19). Then come the chariot and the “Tree of Life” below handle B/A (Figure 29). This is a very odd subdivision of the surface for which I have no explanation. Perhaps the painter realized too late that there was not



Figure 22. Side A of the neck of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two warriors (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1182)



Figure 23. Side B of the neck of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two warriors (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1183)

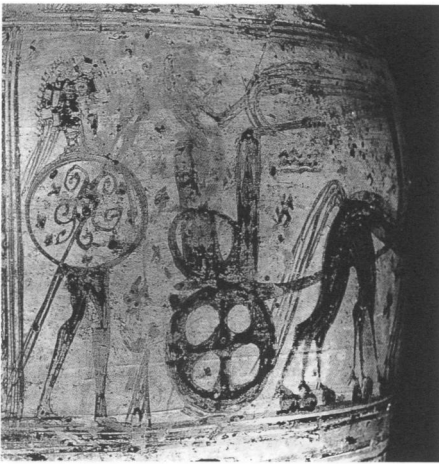


Figure 24. Side A of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a warrior on foot and a charioteer (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1179)

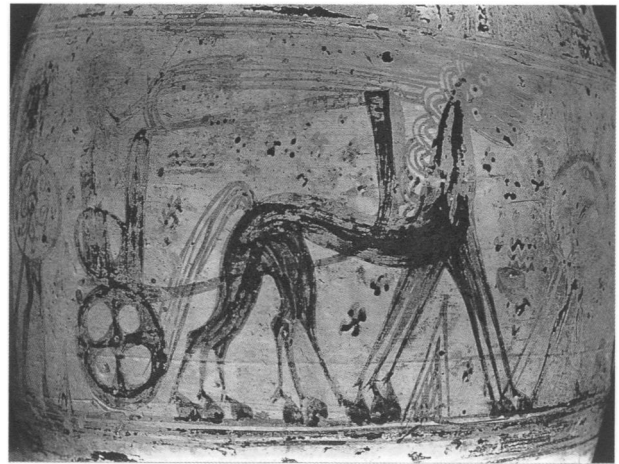


Figure 25. Side A of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot team (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1178)

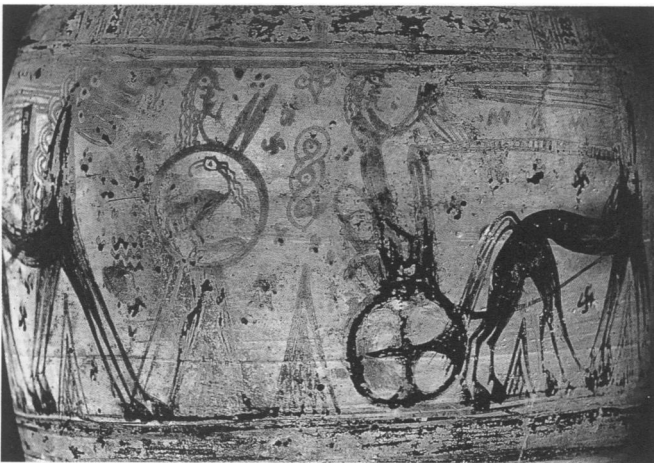


Figure 26. Side A/B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a warrior on foot and a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1176)



Figure 27. Side A/B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1175)

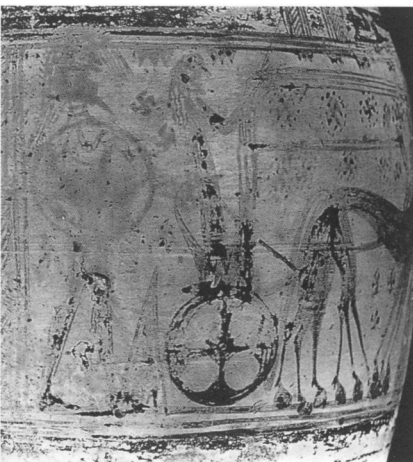


Figure 28. Side B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1181)

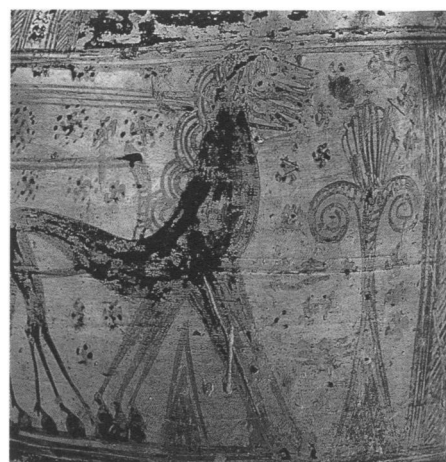


Figure 29. Side B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot and a "Tree of Life" (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1180)

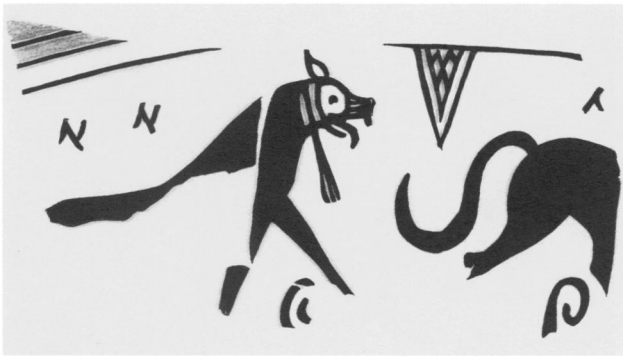


Figure 30. Fragment of the bowl of an Early Protoattic stood krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing hunting hounds. H. ca. 6.5 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 155 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

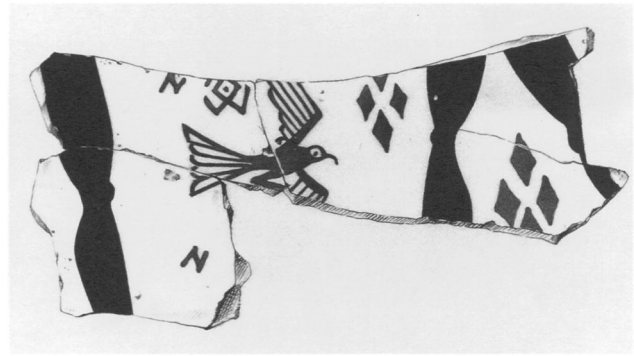


Figure 31. Fragment of the stand of the stood krater in Figure 30 showing the legs of two warriors with a bird between. H. ca. 6 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

enough space for a fourth chariot, so he separated the sides as best he could with a column of vertical ladder pattern hatched diagonally.⁴⁵ There might have been room for another warrior on foot, but it is difficult to tell for sure.

Oinochoai follow an allocation of surface similar to that of neck-amphorae except that there is no obverse and reverse. The figures on the neck are set in a panel that starts and ends at the handle. Those on the body simply continue around without interruption. The decoration on the tankard is comparable except that there are no figures on the body and those on the neck occupy two rows.

The Passas Painter's pictorial subjects may consist of well-known themes, such as the procession of chariots on MMA 21.88.18 and on the body of the name vase, where he also included warriors on foot. More often, however, he depicted subjects that are not only innovative, but also brand new. In no way is the Passas Painter tied to the past, willing simply to repeat Geometric formulas. Instead, he enthusiastically embraced the exciting new figural repertory of the Protoattic style. As we shall see, the Passas Painter's figures, whether animal, monster, or human, are energetic, distinctive, and individualized.⁴⁶

Horses by the Passas Painter have long, proudly arched necks, deep chests, narrow bodies (a lingering Geometric feature), and powerful hindquarters. Legs are slender and clean-boned; hooves are large and strong. Also, the forelegs are not bent at the knee as is usually the case in Geometric art, and the hind legs are better proportioned with the hock positioned about midway between the hip and the hoof. In Geometric depictions, the hock is placed too high (Figure 1). Heads are small and sometimes rather sketchy, as on MMA 21.88.18, but they are never heavy and large as they will be on Protoattic vases (Figure 36). Each

has a reserved eye that may occupy quite a bit of the surface of its head. New features are long hanging manes that are typical for Protoattic horses, instead of the short upright Geometric manes, and they have long, well-furnished tails with the individual strands of hair indicated, not the pipelike appendages of Geometric horses (Figure 1).⁴⁷ And the Passas Painter's horses hold their tails somewhat aloft, very like present-day Arabian horses.⁴⁸ Two, sometimes three, horses draw the chariots and a new feature is that in the case of a biga, the heads of the horses are not stacked one above the other for purposes of visual clarity as they are in Geometric and in the trigae of the namepiece. The horses of bigae by the Passas Painter truly seem to move side by side, as Rodney Young observed in his remarks about MMA 21.88.18.⁴⁹ The Passas Painter did not, however, separate the left-hand horse from the right-hand one, as his colleague the Analatos Painter did. On Louvre CA 2985, the Analatos Painter judiciously incised a line along the back and at the critical points of the extremities (Figure 36).⁵⁰ Still, horses by the Passas Painter step out very smartly, and one can almost hear the clatter of their hooves.

Chariots by the Passas Painter have only a single wheel that may stand for two just as it will later in Attic black-figure and Attic red-figure. Geometric artists normally show two wheels, as on MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 1), although exceptions exist, especially in the Workshop of Athens 894. The breastwork of the chariot, however, is much in the Geometric tradition. It is drawn as a tall frame with a rounded top; most of it is filled in with glaze with only the top free for the charioteer or passenger to hold on to (Figures 6–9, 24, 28). The chariot pole appears well below the bellies of the horses on MMA 21.88.18, but it is in the more normal position on the namepiece.

The hounds that appear in the frieze on each of the three Mainz kraters, on the London oinochoe, on the tankard in Manchester, and in the panel above the warriors on Side A of the name vase are splendid coursers, even though they are not depicted pursuing quarry (Figures 13, 16, 17, 22, 30, 32, 33). The hounds on the London oinochoe prompted me to reject Hampe's attribution of that piece to Painter N (which



Figure 32. Early Protoattic "Phaleron" oinochoe attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a frieze of cocks on the neck and hunting hounds on the body. H. 17.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1865.7-20.1 (photo: after Robert M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* [London, 1960], p. 65, fig. 9)



Figure 33. Early Protoattic tankard attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a frieze of hippalektria above zone of hunting hounds. H. 7.9 cm. Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 1984.105. (photo: Manchester Museum)

was probably based on the N used as a filler) and to place it in the oeuvre of the Passas Painter. Hounds were also one of the criteria for reattributing Mainz inv. 155. They look like members of the same litter as the ones on Mainz inv. 153 and 154 and on the tankard in Manchester. Each has a well-proportioned head with large eye and pricked ears.⁵¹ Strong jaws and sharp teeth are easily able to snap the neck of hapless prey if it is not already netted.⁵² Each hound has a thick neck, deep chest, long lean body, and powerful hindquarters capable of strong propulsion. Long tails provide balance, and large paws offer firm traction. Xenophon, writing in the first half of the fourth century B.C., describes the ideal hound for coursing hares, and the qualities he describes are remarkably like these very early representations.⁵³ He concludes some of his remarks: "Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth."⁵⁴ So do those by the Passas Painter.

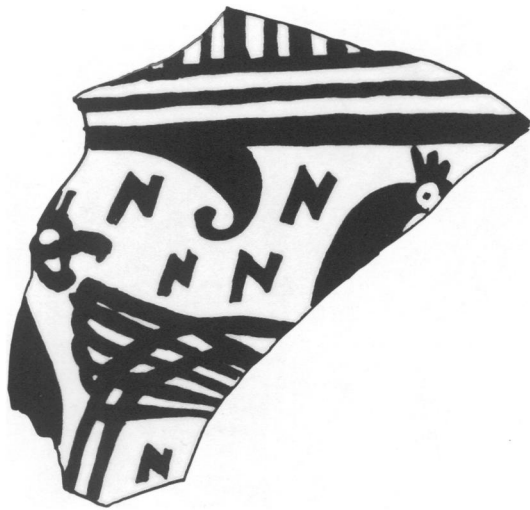


Figure 34. Fragment of the bowl of an Early Protoattic stand-
ed krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C.,
showing parts of two cocks. Preserved H. 6.5 cm. Athenian
Agora, Athens, P 10656 (drawing: the author, after a 1:1
photograph)

Each hound by the Passas Painter wears a collar that appears as a thin black strap (or several straps) painted on a reserved band around its neck placed rather high up just below the ears. A pendant or two longish bands similar in width to the collar hang from the throat (Figure 13). On Mainz inv. 154 (Figure 16) and on the name vase (Figure 22), this object looks like a bell; its counterpart appears on collars of sheep and goats grazing in the Greek countryside today.⁵⁵ If this interpretation is correct, the bell would signal the location of a hound to the hunter in case of rough terrain or if the prey had gone to cover in a thicket with the hound after it. More likely, the pendant served as an attachment to the leash. In antiquity, there were no buckles, so the collar had to be knotted around the animal's neck, loosely enough so it could breathe, tightly enough to stay in place. It would, therefore, make sense for collar and leash to be separate pieces of hound tackle. In order to avoid untying the collar each time the hound was set free, then retying the collar when it was to be controlled, it would be much more practical to have a short length of collar strap extend from the collar proper to which the leash was simply tied. Anyone who has tried to collar a squirming or fidgety dog will see the point.⁵⁶

What is striking about these hounds by the Passas Painter is how much they contrast with those by Painter N as well as with those by contemporary painters. Those are always drawn in silhouette, and often they are very chunky, scarcely capable of pursuing prey and running



Figure 35. Fragment of the stand of the Early Protoattic stand-
ed krater in Figure 34 showing a large palmette above
a cock. H. 14 cm. Athenian Agora, Athens, P 10196 (photo:
American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Agora
Excavations)

it down.⁵⁷ Frequently, the hind legs are tucked well under the body, even when coursing a hare, and the legs do not truly support the animal. This is a Late Geometric convention for a running dog. A good example is the frieze of dogs on the shoulder of Oxford 1935.18 by Painter N or the lumpy-looking animals on Cleveland 27.6 by a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894. On an amphora once on loan to Berlin, also by a painter from this workshop, legs are outstretched fore and aft.⁵⁸

Most intriguing is the hare on the London oinochoe, which is scampering up a diagonal line, surely intended to be terrain (Figure 32).⁵⁹ Xenophon says that "the swiftest [hares] are those that frequent

mountains; those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of the marshes are the slowest."⁶⁰ This may be one of the earliest examples, if not the earliest, of terrain in Attic art.⁶¹

Other animals reveal the Passas Painter's eye for detail. The reclining goats on the shoulder of Side A of the name vase have long shaggy beards and huge S-shaped horns that extend gracefully behind them and fill the space between the back of each animal and the top border of the panel, even overlapping it a little bit (Figure 20). In his important article on the beginning of Greek narrative, John Carter remarked that "these two animals [the deer and the goat] are frequently confused both by LG artists, who had no thought of working from nature, and by others."⁶² Not so the Passas Painter, who seems to have observed details of the animal very closely. Goats by the Passas Painter are in marked contrast to those by earlier Geometric painters, such as those from the Dipylon Workshop and the Hirschfeld Workshop (Figure 1).⁶³ Goats from the latter workshop recline to right and are drawn in silhouette except for a large reserved eye with dot. Their horns are simple arcs and they have no beards. They lack the realism of the Passas Painter's goats.⁶⁴

Cocks by the Passas Painter are regal birds. The one on Mainz inv. 154 is particularly splendid (Figure 16). The painter included its comb and wattle, and he distinguished between tail feathers and sickle feathers. Dotted circles ornament its neck. The cocks on London BM 1865.7-20.1 also exhibit these features (though not the circles on the neck, probably because of size), as well as the spur on the leg above the claws (this part of the Mainz cock is lost; Figure 32). The cocks on the Agora fragments belong in the same barnyard as the cocks on the London oinochoe (Figures 34, 32). Each has a large serrated comb, tail feathers in outline, and long sickle feathers in black glaze. On the Agora fragment, wattles are in outline. It is worth noting that domesticated land fowl were probably introduced into Greece around 700 B.C. from the Far East, probably from northern India and Burma via Persia.⁶⁵ A cock in full plumage and lustrous color must have looked very exotic to the Passas Painter, and he seems to have observed the bird quite closely. In fact, cocks by the Passas Painter are not only the most capably rendered of their time, but also among the earliest in Greek art.⁶⁶

The Passas Painter included other birds on his known vases. On Side B of the name vase, three vultures appear in a narrow frieze on the neck above the warriors (Figure 23). The right one is almost completely gone, but the Pipili drawing (see Acknowledgments) indicates that it faced to right with head turned back. Of the center one, its head with open

beak, the long flight feathers of its right wing, its tail, and both legs and feet with long talons remain. It is pecking at the ground. The left vulture is the best preserved of the three. Its wings are spread, its body is upright, and it appears to be landing or to have just alighted, the earliest such representation I have been able to find. It is a counterpart to the animated flying eagle positioned between the legs of two dueling warriors on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 31), especially in the articulation of its parts. Later, in Attic black-figure, an eagle signals victory for the warrior it accompanies, and perhaps the Passas Painter had a similar idea in mind. Birds by the Passas Painter have nothing in common with the droopy-looking bird by Painter N in the upper left corner of the neck of London BM 1936.10-17.1. It flies to right with its head and neck hanging downward (Figure 37). The Passas Painter depicted birds that are individualized, suggesting specific kinds rather than remembered images. His birds really fly.

Even mythic birds by the Passas Painter are remarkably individualized. The griffin-bird on the shoulder of Side B of the name vase is particularly vicious as it attacks an unsuspecting grazing deer with huge antlers (Figure 21).⁶⁷ The creature is clearly undaunted by the large size of its prey. It presents an animated picture of avian ferocity, especially when compared with the tame-looking lion putting a raised paw on the forehead of a fallen deer on London BM 1936.10-17.1 by Painter N (Figure 37). The latter looks like a tableau, frozen in time. The deer by the Passas Painter is also special with its impressive antlers and lively expression. I have not been able to find a good parallel in Attic pottery of this time. The best example I know occurs on the shoulder of a Late Geometric Cycladic amphora found at Delos.⁶⁸ Here, the deer's antlers are not as impressive as those by the Passas Painter, but the animal has a similarly elegant body, long legs, and strong hooves.⁶⁹

Entirely new in Greek vase painting seem to be the hippalektrya on the Manchester tankard (Figure 33). Their bird anatomy is a good match for the London cocks and probably also those on the Agora fragments, complete with handsome sickle feathers and sharp spurs. Their horse heads are in outline with a prominent eye, and they are shaped somewhat like those on the Passas amphora (Figures 25, 27, 29). These hippalektrya lack the horse forelegs of later representations.⁷⁰

The seated sphinxes painted by the artist in the upper frieze of the stand of Mainz inv. 154 are alert-looking guardians, whose wings have long elegant flight feathers, even though the creatures are not airborne. Each has a reserved eye, long hair, and tense

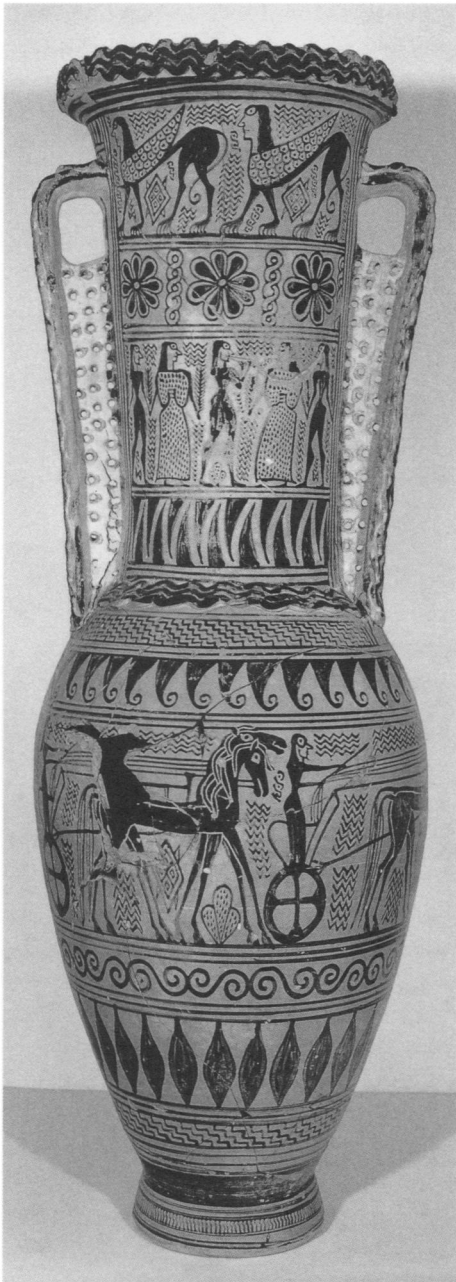


Figure 36. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Analatos Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 80 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 2985 (photo: Louvre)

body. A pretty floral sprouts from the top of each head.⁷¹ On one fragment of Mainz inv. 155, there is a similar wing of a figure, probably a sphinx, painted in white lines against the black glaze of an object that may be a bier cloth.⁷²

The Passas Painter's keen observation of human nature led him to individualize his figures and give them interesting things to do. Human figures by the Passas Painter suggest he was looking at real people. Each has long hair, either drawn in a crosshatched

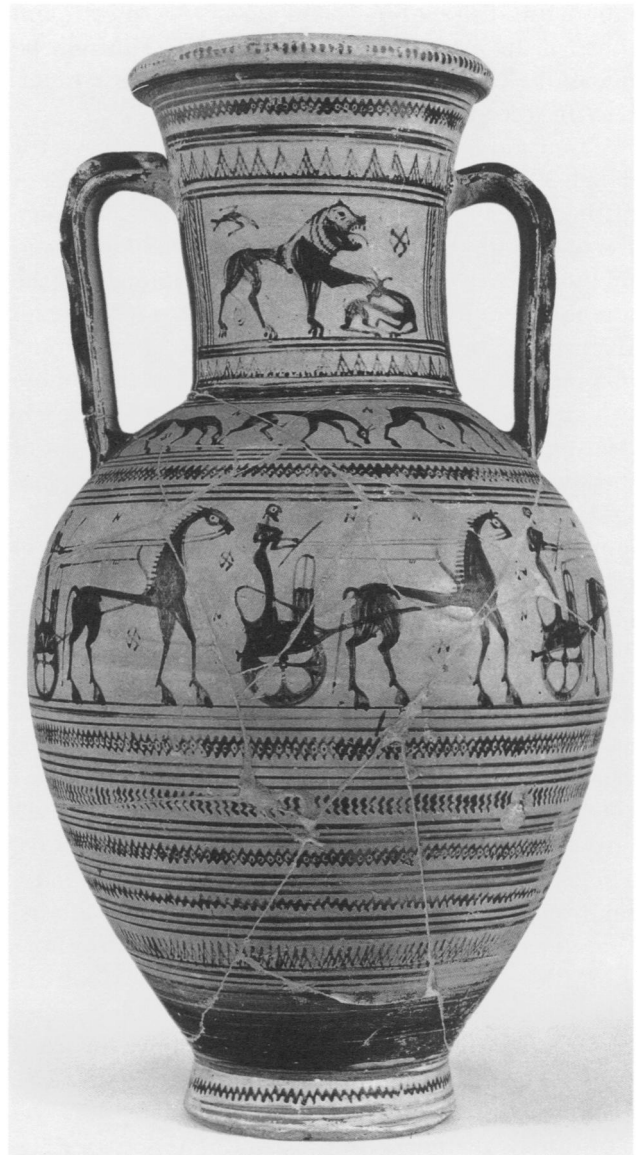


Figure 37. Side A of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to Painter N, late 8th century B.C. H. 61.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1936.10-17.1 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

pattern (Figure 4) or hanging in individual strands that are wavy or straight (Figure 26). The eye is reserved and sometimes part of the cheek as well (the step before an outline face?⁷³ Figure 9). On MMA 21.88.18, the torsos are also in outline, a detail the Passas Painter did not repeat on his other preserved figures.⁷⁴ An innovation seems to be that some of the charioteers driving to right and the warriors marching to right show their shoulders in almost a profile view. The right shoulder is more forward than it was earlier (Figures 6, 8), a distinct break from the frontal shoulders and torsos of Geometric figures (Figure 1). Sometimes their arms are still like matchsticks; at

other times they are rather well articulated anatomically: MMA 21.88.18 and the Phaleron fragments are the best examples. The fingers of their hands are separate and seem to have joints. The legs of the warriors on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155 appear quite well drawn (Figure 31).

Charioteers, except for one on MMA 21.88.18 (Figure 8), wear long chitons, which would become standard. They hold the reins in both hands and sometimes a goad as well, as Geometric charioteers often do. Warriors march singly and in pairs, or they may be engaged in duels as on two fragments of Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 31).⁷⁵ From the little that remains today, these look like fights to the finish. Of particular interest is their equipment. Helmets nearly always have large ornamental crests or protomes that would have supported the crests. They are best observed on the name vase (Figures 22–24), on Mainz inv. 154 (Figure 14), and on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155.⁷⁶ These are clearly the Corinthian type, which protected the face with cheekpieces and nose guard;⁷⁷ the standard Geometric type was characterized by the crest sprouting from the top of the head of the wearer (Figure 1). Occasionally, however, a warrior may be bare-headed (Figure 26). Even more individualized are the devices or emblems of the shields carried by



Figure 38. Fragment of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Mesogeia Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing mourners. H. 7.1 cm. Vlasto Collection, Athens (photo: DAI Athens, Var. 1051)

the warriors on the name vase. On the neck of Side A (Figure 22), a goat decorates one shield, a vulture the other, while on Side B (Figure 23), one shield bears a lion protome and the other a human head that looks much like that of the warrior who carries it. On the body, the warrior behind the chariot on Side A holds a shield decorated with a spiral wheel (Figure 24); the shield of the one in front of this chariot bears a griffin-bird (Figure 26); and the shield of the warrior on Side B has an emblem that looks like a goat or a deer (the surface is very flaked; Figure 28).⁷⁸ Shield devices, particularly figured ones, were quite new in the time of the Passas Painter, and he was obviously fascinated with them. We do not know the meaning or significance of such blazons, but Snodgrass makes the interesting point that “the object of such a blazon was presumably to overcome the anonymity conferred by the Corinthian helmet, probably introduced not long before.”⁷⁹ I suspect the Passas Painter may have been aware of this.

Cloth and garments also interested the Passas Painter. The cross-hatching between the legs of the man on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 and of the charioteer below handle A/B indicates that each wore a long chiton. Besides the long mantle carried by the man on MMA 21.88.18 and by at least two on the Phaleron fragments, to which I shall return, there is an enigmatic area on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155, which Hampe cautiously suggested might be a bier cloth or a sort of funeral blanket.⁸⁰ Hampe noted that the painter used accessory red and white on this object and also painted on it a figure that he interpreted as a sphinx. This is probably correct for, as mentioned above (p. 31), the drawing of the feathers of its wing (all that is legible) is similar to those of the seated sphinxes in the frieze of the stand of Mainz inv. 154. Most innovative is the man with the large cloth over his shoulder that appears on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 (Figure 4), a feature that has created considerable scholarly discussion. A similar cloth, but less well drawn, appears on two of the Phaleron fragments (Figure 10).⁸¹

Buschor ventured the opinion that the man with the mantle on MMA 21.88.18 might be a divinity and that the bird is perhaps more than a decorative filler (he thought it was an eagle).⁸² Cook called this figure a gentleman, not a soldier, in spite of the sword, and reminded us of the passage in Thucydides that for safety reasons and protection from Barbarians, “all the Hellenes used to carry arms because the places where they dwelt were unprotected, and intercourse with each other was unsafe; and in their everyday life they regularly went armed just as the barbarians did.”⁸³ Cook went on to say that this figure is a processional dignitary with a long staff, comparing him with the

princes on the Menelas stand once in Berlin, A 42,⁸⁴ and remarked that the presence of the tassels rules out a chiton. Walter Hahland thought the figure is an athletic victor carrying his prize, giving Charlene Hofkes-Brukker credit for first suggesting (orally) this athletic association and listing sources where garments are awarded as prizes.⁸⁵ He then suggested that the parade of chariots refers to a funerary cult and that victory by the mantle-bearer was achieved in a spear contest in the funeral games. This interpretation assumes, however, that the staff is a spear, even though it terminates in a finial, not in a sharp point. Hahland thought the cloth is a mantle or robe, a prize like a *χλαῖνα* (a cloak worn loosely over a chiton) awarded at the games in Pellene or the garments at the funeral games of Thoas on Lemnos.⁸⁶ This proposal deserves comment.

Pellene was a city in northern Achaia west of Corinth, not far from the Corinthian Gulf.⁸⁷ In antiquity, it was famous for the warm garments given to victors in games (in whose honor it is not certain). The garment is mentioned by Pindar: in *Olympian* 9.146: “at Pellana [a variation of the name], he [Epharmostus, for whom the ode was written] carried off as his prize a warm remedy against the chilly blasts”;⁸⁸ and in *Nemean* 10.82: “from Pellana with their shoulders clad with softest woofs. . . .”⁸⁹ By the time of the geographer Strabo, who wrote during the reign of Augustus in the late first century B.C., the custom of awarding these garments as prizes had ceased; still, Strabo knew of their place of origin when he calls them Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι (Pellenic cloaks).⁹⁰ The games for King Thoas on Lemnos are less well documented and the garment only alluded to. The best known is Pindar, in *Pythian* 4.253: “There [Lemnos] it was that, in athletic contests, they [the Argonauts] proved their prowess, with raiment for their prize. . . .”⁹¹ Herodotus, writing in the first half of the fifth century B.C., says that when the Egyptians honor the Greek hero Perseus, they do so in the manner of the Greek custom in “that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks [*χλαῖνας*] and skins as prizes.”⁹² In Homer the chlaina is worn only by men. These are three instances: *Iliad* 16.224: “Thetis . . . filled it [a chest] well with tunics and cloaks [*χλαῖνῶν*] to keep off the wind”; *Odyssey* 14.520: “There Odysseus lay down, and the swineherd [Eumaeus] threw over him a great thick cloak [*χλαῖναν*], which he kept at hand for a change of clothing whenever a terrible storm should arise”; *Odyssey* 14.529: “First Eumaeus slung his sharp sword over his strong shoulders, then put about him a cloak [*χλαῖναν*], very thick to keep off the wind. . . .”⁹³

As these references make clear, the chlaina was a

special garment sometimes awarded as a prize in games and contests, and it was a particularly warm one, which fierce wind, cold air, and inclement weather could not penetrate. Indeed, the garments depicted by the Passas Painter on MMA 21.88.18 and the fragments from Phaleron look bulky enough to be woven from thick, warm wool. An important feature of each is that it is not plain. The cloth on the Phaleron fragments is decorated with a frieze of dots near its borders, while the one the man on MMA 21.88.18 carries has not only two friezes of crosshatched triangles at the borders, but also, above the one in back, a reclining goat (Figure 5). This is one of the earliest examples, if not the earliest, of figured decoration on a garment, a feature that is much better known in later vase painting.⁹⁴

If the garment carried over the shoulder of the man on MMA 21.88.18 and on two of the Phaleron fragments is not a chlaina, it might be a bier cloth, a possibility raised by Hampe in his study of Mainz inv. 155 (above, p. 33). First of all, a bier cloth is not to be confused with the garment often worn by the corpse, particularly if it is female.⁹⁵ Such a garment covers the legs and body but leaves the arms free, a good example being the corpse on Athens NM 804, the premier amphora from the Dipylon Workshop.⁹⁶ In Attic Geometric art, the bier cloth usually appears above the corpse, and often it looks like a canopy decorated with a checked pattern (Figure 1). In reality, it was probably placed over the deceased, and occasionally it is shown in this manner.⁹⁷ A particularly pertinent example is a fragment of an amphora in the Vlasto collection in Athens (Figure 38).⁹⁸ On the right of the fragment, a heavy-looking bier cloth covers the legs of the corpse and hangs down from the foot of the bier. The cloth seems to terminate in short tassels reminiscent of the larger ones on MMA 21.88.18 with which it is about contemporary. Thus, there is the possibility that the large cloth carried by the man on MMA 21.88.18 and by at least two figures on the Phaleron fragments represents a bier cloth, especially since these vases were used in funerary contexts.⁹⁹ Still, a chlaina may not be ruled out, especially since the best comparative bier cloth is not as decorative as the cloths by the Passas Painter. I am inclined to opt for a chlaina.

THE PASSAS PAINTER AND HIS ARTISTIC CONTEXT

The last quarter of the eighth century B.C. and the opening years of the seventh were ones of great artistic ferment in all of Greek art. This is particularly true for figured pottery, especially in Athens. Some of the

Athenian vase painters created a completely new visual vocabulary that would lead ultimately to the spectacular accomplishments of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.¹⁰⁰

At the turn from the eighth to the seventh century, the most important painters belonged to the Sub-Dipylon Group, which was first recognized by Davison and greatly augmented by Coldstream; the Philadelphia Painter, named after his neck-amphora in the University Museum, MS 5464; and the painters of the Workshop of Athens 894.¹⁰¹ Vases by painters of the Sub-Dipylon Group may be dated in the 720s; those by the Philadelphia Painter and from the Workshop of Athens 894, in the last decades of the eighth century.¹⁰²

Of these three, the Workshop of Athens 894 is the most important and the most prolific of those whose painters worked completely in the Late Geometric II style, about 735–700 B.C.¹⁰³ Its eponymous vase is a tall neck-amphora in the Athens National Archaeological Museum,¹⁰⁴ and this is the shape preferred by these painters. The vase has a tall, slim, slightly concave neck and a somewhat squat ovoid body that tapers rather sharply to a plain usually glazed foot.¹⁰⁵ Good examples are the name vase, as well as the amphorae in Cleveland, in Baltimore, and in Buffalo, just to cite three major examples visible on this side of the Atlantic.¹⁰⁶ The workshop also produced a significant number of hydriai which, for the first time in the history of the shape, becomes popular as a funerary vessel decorated with human figures.¹⁰⁷ A major shape apparently introduced by the potters in the Workshop of Athens 894 is the large cauldron supported by a fenestrated stand, Athens NM 810 being perhaps the best-known example.¹⁰⁸ Plastic snakes often articulate rims, handles, and shoulders. The style of drawing by painters of the Workshop of Athens 894 is rough and ready. The figures are thickset and not very carefully executed. Both sexes now have long hair, in contrast to the short spiky hair used previously and only for women, and women's skirts are now cross-hatched, suggesting volume. Thick filling ornament often adds to an already dark, almost ominous effect.

The Workshop of Athens 894 leads directly to the Analatos Painter. He was probably a pupil of one of its painters, the Stathatos Painter, whose name vase shows a chariot procession in which a warrior tries to pull a charioteer from his vehicle, the earliest representation of this motif I have been able to find.¹⁰⁹ The earliest work of the Analatos Painter—an amphora in Oxford, a hydria in Melbourne, and a fragment in the Vlastos collection in Athens—is purely Geometric.¹¹⁰ Subsequently, the Analatos Painter worked in the new Protoattic style and was one of its principal exponents.

As Denoyelle saw,¹¹¹ the work of the Analatos Painter forms a transition from the very late Geometric style to the Early Protoattic. His amphora in the Louvre (Figure 36) illustrates the features of the new style very well. The Analatos Painter decorated a variety of shapes with a multitude of subjects from the animal, monster, and human worlds. These include sphinxes, lions, and deer, as well as lines of dancers and processions of chariots (Figure 36). His figures have more volume than those by painters of the Workshop of Athens 894, his chariot horses walk side by side instead of being “stacked,” and incision separates the right-hand horse from the left-hand one. Added color often provides a further embellishment of figure and ornament. Some of his filling ornament, such as zigzags, is a holdover from the Geometric past, but for the most part he preferred vegetal ornaments that look organic and lush.

The painters of the Workshop of Athens 894 and the Analatos Painter are directly descended from the classical Geometric tradition initiated by the Dipylon Master.¹¹² The Passas Painter is somewhat outside this tradition. Brann saw that he and Painter N were younger colleagues of the Vulture Painter but also that the Analatos Painter, whom she considered slightly senior, occasionally influenced them.¹¹³ Hampe was the first to establish both Painter N and the Passas Painter as individuals and in the case of the Passas Painter to recognize how innovative he could be.¹¹⁴ Hampe's focus, however, was not the Passas Painter, but the five standed kraters in Mainz.

The Passas Painter's vases do not seem to span a long period of time. MMA 21.88.18 probably dates around 700 B.C. or slightly earlier, and it takes with it the Phaleron fragments. Hampe placed the Mainz kraters in the early seventh century.¹¹⁵ The name vase probably dates from about the same time, as do the vases in London and Manchester. Brann did not assign Agora P 10656 and P 10196 a date, but placed this standed bowl with pieces she dated about 675 B.C., which seems a little late to me. The preserved work of the Passas Painter seems to fit within a period of about fifteen years. In every way, I think, he is as talented as the best of his contemporaries, in particular the Analatos Painter, whose work has always received high praise and the lion's share of scholarly attention. Yet, when one recognizes the personality and innovations of the Passas Painter, he loses his hitherto rather shadowy identity in the Athenian Kerameikos and becomes an artist of true merit.

In addition to the five vases by him recognized by Hampe, the four added here help to establish how perceptive and imaginative the Passas Painter is, not only with regard to the different shapes he so ably dec-

orates, but also in his choice of ornaments, both as fill and as frames, and his selection of subjects. His shapes range from the rather small tankard in Manchester and the “Phaleron” oinochoe in London to the monumental standed kraters in Mainz and the name vase in Athens, whose height is about half that of the kraters. Taken together, the nine vases present an artistic challenge that the Passas Painter met with flying colors.

The Passas Painter has a clearly recognizable style of figure drawing. Often it is a little on the rough side, but he is not unskilled or inept. Rather, it is as though he was sometimes in a bit of a hurry. The Passas Painter’s figures are individuals, and whether they inhabit the animal, human, or mythic world, they have life, energy and spirit. Large birds, especially cocks and raptors, seem to have impressed him greatly; his hounds are true coursers that any hunter would be proud to own. His horses walk out smartly and eagerly. Human figures carry large handsome cloths, drive chariots expertly, and engage in combat fiercely. Warriors hold round shields, and for the first time several of them bear figural instead of patterned emblems. Some of the warriors even wear the true Corinthian helmet with its protective cheekpieces and high or low crests.

The Passas Painter observed the world around him and drew on it creatively for his imagery instead of relying on old formulas that were beginning to look tired. Like the Analatos Painter, he began his career in the Late Geometric style, but he quickly discovered that his temperament was better suited to the less rigid, more flexible, and much more exciting Protoattic one. As Brann remarked: “perhaps it takes youth to paint Protoattic.”¹¹⁶ I suspect it does.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

J. D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter, comp. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena*. Oxford, 1989.

Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*

Gudrun Ahlberg. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 32. Göteborg, 1971.

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

AM

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung

Brann, *Agora VIII*

Eva T. H. Brann. *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 8. *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery: Mid-8th to Late 7th Century B.C.* Princeton, N.J., 1962.

BSA

Annual of the British School at Athens

Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*

J. Nicolas Coldstream. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*. London, 1968.

Cook, “Protoattic Pottery”

John M. Cook. “Protoattic Pottery.” *BSA* 35 (1934–35), pp. 165–219.

Cook, “Workshops . . . 700”

John M. Cook. “Athenian Workshops around 700.” *BSA* 42 (1947), pp. 139–55.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*

Jean M. Davison. *Attic Geometric Workshops*. Yale Classical Studies 16. New Haven, 1961.

Denoyelle, “Le peintre d’Analatos”

Martine Denoyelle. “Le peintre d’Analatos: Essai de synthèse et perspectives nouvelles.” *Antike Kunst* 39 (1996), pp. 71–87.

Hampe, *Grabfund*

Roland Hampe. *Ein frühattischer Grabfund*. Mainz, 1960.

JdI

Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*²

Karl Kübler. *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 6, pt. 2. *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1970.

Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Paralipomena

J. D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*

Theodora Rombos. *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-Book 68. Jonsered, 1988.

Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*

Anthony M. Snodgrass. *Arms and Armor of the Greeks*. Rev. ed. Baltimore, 1999.

Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*

Anthony Snodgrass. *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* Edinburgh, 1964.

Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II

Rodney S. Young. *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora. Hesperia*, suppl. 2. Athens, 1939.

in Athen," *JdI* 58 (1943), pp. 27–29, fig. 15; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 36, fig. 26; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 13; Gudrun Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 16 (Stockholm, 1971), pp. 61–63, fig. 56; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, no. 25; Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (note 1 above), p. 45 and pl. 41; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece and Rome* (New York, 1987), pp. 22–23, fig. 7; *CVA*, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 8–13 (1892–97).

For the Hirschfeld Workshop, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 41–44.

3. For a valuable discussion of the discovery of Protoattic pottery and the relevant scholarship, see Sarah P. Morris, *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period*, Yale Classical Monographs 6 (New Haven, 1984), pp. 2–18.
4. The figures on New York MMA 11.210.1 are not confined to narrow friezes but are spread out over the surface of the vase, and the composition of each theme enhances the part of the vase it decorates. On the neck, a fierce lion fells a frightened deer; on the shoulder, two fine horses graze contentedly; and on the body, Herakles dispatches Nessos with his sword for wantonly trying to ravage Deianeira, the hero's wife, while ferrying her across the river Euenos. Ornamental patterns serve mainly as frames. There is still some filling ornament, but it is not as dense as it was in the Geometric period and it is based mostly on floral motifs.

Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "A New Early Attic Vase," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 32 (1912), pp. 370–84, pls. 10–12; John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure: A Sketch* (London, 1928), p. 9 and n. 1, pl. 2.1–2; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 191 and n. 2, 192; Ernst Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1940), p. 36, fig. 44, pp. 40–41, 44–46; Karl Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 12, 16–17, 22, pls. 24, 49, 50; Robert M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960), pp. 66–67, 69, 72, pl. 16; Morris, *Black and White Style* (note 3 above), pp. 3, 15, 29, 41, 65–68, 76, 124, no. 1, pl. 15; John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), pp. 6–7, 93 n. 19, pl. 5; Gudrun Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 100 (Jonsered, 1992), pp. 107–8, no. 109, p. 361, fig. 189; *CVA*, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 42–44 (1926–28).

5. See, particularly, Cook, "Workshops . . . 700"; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*; Brann, *Agora VIII*, passim.
6. For the Analatos Painter, see, most recently, Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," passim, with bibliography. See also Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 30–35.
7. Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "Early Greek Vases," *MMAB* 18 (1923), pp. 176–77, fig. 1; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 184 and n. 2, pl. 50; Walter Hahland, "Zu den Anfängen der attischen Malerei," in *Corolla: Ludwig Curtius zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1937), pp. 124 n. 9, 127–28, pl. 41; Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, pp. 137, 198 and n. 4, 219 n. 3, 220, 221; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (note 4 above), p. 19, fig. 19, pp. 20, 28, 38, 58; Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," p. 151; Karl Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* (note 4 above), p. 8, pl. 4; Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 150–52; Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 41–42, fig. 25, p. 80 (the Passas Painter); Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 49, fig. 57; Clotilda Brokaw, "Concurrent Styles in Late Geometric and

NOTES

1. This is the basic bibliography for Greek Geometric art: Bernhard Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art*, trans. Peter Osborne and Cornelia Osborne (London, 1971); J. Nicolas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1979); Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), chaps. 2–3; Susan Langdon, ed., *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer*, exh. cat., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Columbia, Mo., 1993). For pottery, the most comprehensive study is Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*.
2. The human figures on New York MMA 14.130.14 display perfectly the essence of the Geometric style. Two long locks of hair and small breasts descending from one side of the torso identify the mourners as women. The deceased lacks these features and is clearly male. In the frieze below, a shield, two spears, and a sword at waist level mark the figures on foot as warriors. Their helmets are merely a thick curved line extending from the back of the head to indicate the long tail of the helmet crest. The three horses of each chariot team seem to share a single body.
Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "Two Colossal Athenian Geometric or 'Dipylon' Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *AJA* 19 (1915), pp. 385–94, pls. 17–20, 23.1; Gerda Nottbaum, "Der Meister des grossen Dipylon-Amphora

Early Protoattic Vase Painting," *AM* 78 (1963), suppl., pl. 32.2; Renate Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze* (Waldsassen-Bayern, 1964), p. 90, no. 196; Diane Carroll, *Patterned Textiles in Greek Art: A Study of Their Designs in Relationship to Real Textiles and to Local and Period Styles*, Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1965 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1965), p. 261, no. HL26; Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 95, pls. 15p, 29b; *CVA*, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 39–41 (1923–25).1–4.

Dimensions and condition: H. 29.4–29.7 cm; diam. of mouth 11.6–11.9 cm; diam. of body 16.8–17 cm; diam. of foot 9.5 cm; width of resting surface 0.4–0.7 cm. Broken and mended with missing pieces restored in plaster and painted, mainly on Side B. Nearly all of the glaze has abraded or flaked off on Side B, leaving only ghosts of the ornamental and figured decoration that are visible under magnification in a raking light. In addition, some of the glaze has abraded from the neck and shoulder on Side A and on much of handle A/B. Brownish black glaze, thin in places, especially for the hair of the charioteers, manes, bird, "Tree of Life" on Side A; also the lines below the chariot procession and ornament.

Lent to the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, December 10, 1969–March 14, 1970.

8. For all of the terminology used for Geometric ornament in this article, see the glossary drawn up by Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 395–97. An illustration of the ornaments pertinent to the Geometric material in the Metropolitan Museum will appear in the next fascicule of the *CVA*, MMA 5 (USA 37), *Illustrated Glossary of Linear Motifs*.
9. This is not the same as an outline face, which has a fully articulated nose and chin. See the sphinxes, dancers, and aulos-player on the neck of Louvre CA 2985 by the Anatos Painter (Figure 36). By contrast, the heads of the figures on MMA 21.88.18 are closer to those of Geometric painters, a good example being those on MMA 14.130.14 from the Hirschfeld Workshop (Figure 1).
10. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 184. See Konstantinos Kourouniotis, "Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1911, pp. 246–51, for the excavation, and pp. 249–50, figs. 11–13, for the fragments, esp. p. 250, figs. 12 and 13, for the neck fragment and a body fragment that are not illustrated in this article; or Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, figs. 26, 27. Also, Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², p. 607, no. 231. Hampe (*CVA*, Mainz 1 [Deutschland 15], p. 26) says that there is the use of white and orange on these fragments.

For ancient Phaleron, see C. W. J. Eliot in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. Richard Stillwell (Princeton, N.J., 1976), p. 698. For the graves, see Rodney S. Young, "Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery," *AJA* 46 (1942), pp. 23–57, with earlier bibliography, esp. S. Pelekides, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαλήρου," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 2 (1916), pp. 13–64.

11. Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," pp. 150–51; the quotation is on p. 151. The Edinburgh skyphos is now published in the following: Brigitte Borell, *Attisch geometrische Schalen: Eine spätgeometrische Keramikgattung und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), pls. 8, 9; and Elizabeth Moignard in *CVA*, Edinburgh 1 (Great Britain 16), pl. 3 (720).1–2—the figure numbers on the plate are given as 3 and 4. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 68, no. 28) attributes this skyphos to the Birdseed Workshop.
12. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 49–51; the quotations are on p. 50. For illustrations of the Oxford, London, Agora, New

York, and Boston vases, see figs. 54–58, respectively. Davison is silent about the fragments from Phaleron, the Edinburgh skyphos, and the Vlastos kantharos, though perhaps letting MMA 21.88.18 "serve as an illustration" implies acceptance.

13. Hampe, *Grabfund*, passim. The five kraters were first published by Hampe and Erika Simon in *CVA*, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pp. 18–31, pls. 8–26 (701–19). There, they were fully described.
14. For the Passas amphora, see most recently, Eleni Manakidou, *Παραστάσεις με ἄρματα* (8ος–5ος αι. Π. Χ.). *Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους* (Thessalonica, 1994), pl. 3. Also, Renate Tölle-Kastenbein, "Homerische Kriegerührung," *Antike Welt* 5, no. 3 (1974), pp. 21–30, figs. 1–8; in figs. 2–6, the illustrations labeled Side A should be Side B and vice versa. Also Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², p. 608, no. 232.
15. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 41–45, for a list of vases attributed to the painter and a brief discussion of his style.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–40, for the painter, and figs. 15a, 19–24, and pls. 22, 23, for illustrations. The "Phaleron" oinochoe takes its name from the examples found in graves at Phaleron (see note 10 above). For the most part, they are modest little vases with scant figured decoration. See the illustration of a group of them in Pelekides, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαλήρου" (as in note 10), p. 39, figs. 37–38, and the brief discussion of the shape by Young, "Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery" (as in note 10), pp. 49–50. The London oinochoe is unusual for having figures on both the neck and the body.
17. For all of the fragments of this krater, see *CVA*, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717); Hampe, *Grabfund*, pls. 22, 23. I am illustrating two of them.
18. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 183, fig. 7. Cook merely mentions the vase on p. 181 in connection with his discussion of dogs in Late Geometric and Early Protoattic.
19. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 81, no. 437. Since Brann published a photo of the bowl fragment and because its glaze is quite flaked, I am illustrating it in a drawing made from a 1:1 photograph (Figure 34). The stand fragment has never been published (Figure 35). The added white of the alternate leaves of the hanging palmette is visible today only under magnification in a strong light.
20. I am not sure what the bits of glaze in the lower left corner of the panel represent (it looks like the hind leg of a quadruped to right); I believe this fragment (which does not join break-to-break with the fragment with the palmette) is from another leg of the stand.
21. For a photograph of Mainz inv. 153 in its restored state, see *CVA*, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 23 (716).1.
22. For the likely use of these vases in antiquity, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 71–75. He assumes that the five kraters come from the same grave, which in the late 8th century B.C. could be either a cremation or an inhumation burial (see Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* [note 1 above], pp. 119–23). In Athens, the Kerameikos has provided the richest source of cremation burials (Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 6, pt. 1, *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1959], passim. For late 8th-century B.C. inhumation burials in Athens, see Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, passim). At this time, the deceased was cremated on a funeral pyre, which formed a layer of the grave itself. Near the grave, long, flat depressions, usually two side by side, were dug and lined with slabs of limestone or clay bricks. These were the channels (*Opferrinnen*) into which grave gifts were placed and burned. The channels were used just

once, then they and the grave were covered with a mound of earth. For a general description, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 71–75; more briefly, Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*¹, pp. 87–88; and Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), pp. 73–76. For a good example, see Cremation Grave 11 in the Kerameikos: Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*¹, pp. 22–24, for a description of the offerings; suppl., pl. 9, showing the proximity of the *Opferrinne* to the grave (it never joins the grave); and pl. 5, which should be consulted along with the explanation of it on p. 164, fig. 37. Some of the graves in the photograph are much later than Grave 11, which Kübler dates ca. 650 B.C. on the basis of the pottery found in it.

23. The earliest preserved vase decorated with plastic snakes seems to be Athens 769, a neck-amphora attributed by Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 32, no. 31) to the Dipylon Workshop and thus dating around the middle of the 8th century B.C. On this amphora, the snakes appear only on the handles. According to Coldstream (p. 57), plastic snakes attached to the mouth, handles, and shoulder appear for the first time on amphorae by the Philadelphia Painter, whose work is dated in the penultimate decade of the 8th century B.C. This is the canonical placement of snakes on amphorae. François Villard (“Une amphore géométrique attique au Musée du Louvre,” *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Eugène Piot* 49 [1957], p. 25) suggests that Louvre CA 3468 from the Workshop of Athens 894 is the earliest vase to bear plastic snakes in these areas, and he dates the Louvre amphora to ca. 725 B.C. (p. 39). Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60 n. 1) points out that Villard places this amphora (and thus the workshop) too early and that the style of drawing on the amphora, particularly the striding lions on the lower part of the body (Villard, “Une amphore géométrique attique,” p. 25, fig. 12), cannot be far from the transition to Protoattic, which takes place in the last decade of the 8th century B.C.

Plastic snakes are a funerary symbol. See Erich Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giessen, 1913). For a brief discussion of plastic snakes in the period under discussion in this article, see pp. 44–49; also pp. 62–72, for their symbolism in the afterlife.

24. A fragment from one of the handles on Mainz inv. 154 preserves traces of something that surmounted the ring (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 10, fig. 7). Hampe (p. 11) noted that at this time the choices would be a floral, a bird, or a mourning woman. On pp. 49–50, he gives examples of bowls with upright handles topped by florals that were found in the Kerameikos. Hampe restored the Mainz handle florals on the basis of those on the Kerameikos kraters, which are very simple (see, for example, Kerameikos inv. 147 from *Opferrinne* γ: Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pl. 45). Given the complexity of the Mainz krater and stand, something more ornate may have originally crowned the ring handle. Even Hampe himself remarked (*Grabfund*, p. 11): “Wer mit ihnen nicht einverstanden ist, kann sie herausnehmen (Abb. 8b).”
25. For the krater supported by a conical stand, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 48–57, with particular reference to the Mainz kraters and possible metal prototypes; more briefly, the remarks by Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 161–62. Hampe (*Grabfund*, p. 50) notes that such prototypes may have already existed in Athens and one need not assume influence from the Near East, although he does draw a parallel with a fragmentary bronze bowl found at Gordion that has two upright handles sur-

mounted by a floral (p. 45; for the bowl, see Gustav Körte and Alfred Körte, *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900, JdI, Ergänzungsheft 5* [Berlin, 1904], p. 72, fig. 51). It is probably slightly earlier than the Mainz kraters. Hampe points out that a krater supported by a tripod stand, not a conical one, is known in Protogeometric Attic pottery (*Grabfund*, p. 81, re Kerameikos inv. 554 and 555; see Wilhelm Kraiker and Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 1, *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1939], pls. 63, 64). These are really quite different because the legs are separate forms attached to the bowl. The bowl on a conical stand, as it pertains to the Mainz kraters, does not seem to begin in pottery before the late 8th century B.C., and the Mainz kraters, together with Athens NM 810 (see note 108 below) from the Workshop of Athens 894, appear to be among the earliest, if not the earliest. It may be, however, that the bowl supported by a conical stand develops from the monumental pedestaled krater that dies out (in large size) during the third quarter of the 8th century B.C. (for brief discussions of the shape, see Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 111–14; and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 17–18, 23, 26).

Hampe (*Grabfund*, pp. 48, 81) draws an interesting parallel between the plastic ornament below the rims of the Mainz kraters and a fragment (now lost) of a conical stand found in the Kerameikos (Friedrich Noack, “Die Mauern Athens: Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen,” *AM* 32 [1907], p. 563, fig. 37). One of these fragments, from the top of the stand, preserves a frieze of knobs surrounded by smaller beads, all in added clay. Although the plastic decoration on the rims of the Mainz kraters is more ornate than these, the idea is the same. Might this indicate the provenance of the Mainz kraters?

26. Cook, “Protoattic Pottery,” p. 184. Kübler (*Kerameikos V*¹ [note 7 above], pp. 150–52) was more generous. He compared MMA 21.88.18 with two Cycladic neck-amphorae from Delos: Charles Dugas and Constantinos Rhomaios, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, fasc. 15, *Les vases préhelléniques et géométriques*, École Française d’Athènes (Paris, 1934), pls. 20, 22.3, particularly the latter, an association Buschor had already made (*Griechische Vasen* [note 4 above], p. 58). Besides the similarity in shape, the horses on these two neck-amphorae have the same narrow bodies, hanging manes, high croups, and arched tails as those by the Passas Painter.
27. See note 10 above.
28. As suggested by Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 42: “Mit Pa 1 [MMA 21.88.18] fassen wir eine frühere spätgeometrische Stufe.”
29. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 18, sub pl. 8.1 and 2. For the early use of added white, see Renate Tölle, “Figürlich bemalte Fragmente der geometrischen Zeit vom Kerameikos,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1963, cols. 647–48 n. 13. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 57) noted the use of white dots on plastic snakes on vases by the Philadelphia Painter.
30. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 26 and pl. 24 (717).2; Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 22.2.
31. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 22.3. This fragment does not appear in the CVA. On p. 40 of *Grabfund*, Hampe says he assumes this fragment and the one illustrated on pl. 22.2 belong to the figured fragments of Mainz inv. 155.
32. This pattern appears in the work of the Analatos Painter. See Munich 6077 (Denoyelle, “Le peintre d’Analatos,” pl. 17; it occurs in the area between the tails of chariot horses and the charioteer); Agora P 20598, attributed by Brann (*Agora VIII*,

- p. 76, no. 399, pl. 23); and Mainz inv. 156, attributed by Hampe (*Grabfund*, pl. 24.7).
33. Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43.
34. For spirals in the work of the Analatos Painter, see these examples: Louvre CA 2985, the zone above the chariot procession (Figure 36); Munich 6077, the vertical panel next to each handle and the zone above the foot where one will later see rays (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 17); Berlin 5826, the area above the foot (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 18.1–2; attributed by Denoyelle); Agora P 13278, above the foot (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 18.3; attributed by Denoyelle); Agora P 13299, below the figures (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 75, no. 397, pl. 23; attributed by Brann); Mainz inv. 157, a vertical panel (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 25.3; attributed by Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, no. 7); Berlin A 31, zone above the foot (CVA, Berlin 1 [Deutschland 2], pl. 17 [63].1; attributed by Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, no. 14).
35. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717).5, 6, 8 (here, Figure 31); Hampe, *Grabfund*, pls. 22.4–5, 23.3. Elsewhere at this time, a cluster of lozenges may be seen on the following vases. The Analatos Painter: Athens NM 313, next to the right horizontal handle and below the vertical handle (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 15.2) and the fragment from the Olympeion attributed to the Analatos Painter by Eva Brann ("Seventh Century Sherds from the Olympeion Area," *Hesperia* 28 [1959], pl. 44.1). Also the fragment in a private collection in England, attributed by Hampe to Painter N (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 39, fig. 23). The pattern also occurs about the same time in Cycladic pottery, and it is difficult to decide if there is influence from one fabric to the other or if the appearance is spontaneous in each. See Dugas and Rhomaios, *Délos XV* (note 26 above), pls. 20–22, 24.4b.
36. For the Phaleron fragment, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, fig. 27.
37. For a brief discussion of the cable pattern, as well as an illustration of its variations, see Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 136–39. These are the examples I have been able to find in the extant work of the Analatos Painter: Athens NM 313, the namepiece (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 14.3); Louvre CA 2985 (Figure 36); Eleusis 1078 (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.1); Berlin 5826 (see note 34 above); Mainz inv. 153 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 13; Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.2); and Mainz inv. 156 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 25.11). Many of the vases attributed to the Analatos Painter are mere fragments today, so it is very possible that there were once more examples of the cable pattern in his work. I have not been able to find examples in pottery that seem to predate these.
38. The closest parallel I have been able to find occurs on an early 7th-century neck-amphora found in the Agora, P 24032 (Eva Brann, "Protoattic Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 30 [1961], pp. 321–22, no. E 1, pl. 65). The ornament is a double lozenge with central dot; four hooks extend from the outer lozenge. The pattern occurs below the belly of a grazing horse Brann compares with a horse by the Analatos Painter.
39. Elsewhere, I have been able to find this ornament only on the following. Four fragments of a pedestaled krater by the Hirschfeld Painter: Bonn 16; Halle, Robertinum 59; Amsterdam 2009; and Louvre A 533 (553?) (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 41, no. 3; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, figs. 55, a–e). Two Late Geometric tankards that are probably by the same hand: Athens, ex Lambros (Bernhard Schweitzer, "Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland, II," *AM* 43 [1918], pl. 5.4); and Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 363 (CVA, Copenhagen 2 [Danemark 2], pl. 70 [71].13).
40. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 29, fig. 15, pp. 37–39, figs. 19–22. An exception is the fragment in an English private collection. There, several Ns are stacked one above the other (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 39, fig. 23).
41. For example, on the shoulder of MMA 12.198.1, a "Phaleron" jug with lid (Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, MMA [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], p. 39, pl. 26a; CVA, MMA 5 [USA 37], pl. 45 [1929].5–8).
42. See note 10 above.
43. The Phaleron fragments do not preserve the shoulder of the vase, but one may perhaps assume that there was a figured panel in this area.
44. Important exceptions are some of the large Protoattic amphorae, such as MMA 11.210.1 (Figure 2) and the famous Polyphemos amphora at Eleusis (George Mylonas, 'Ο Προτοαττικὸς Ἀμφορεύς, Bibliothéke tes en Athenais Archaïologikés Hetaireias 39 [Athens, 1957], passim, pls. 1, 2), which are decorated with figures on one side only, the reverse having large ornamental patterns. The name vase of the Nettos Painter, the earliest black-figure artist to have left a substantial body of work, was glazed black on the reverse (Athens NM 1002: *ABV*, p. 4, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 2, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 1).
45. One might argue that this arrangement of the figures is not, strictly speaking, a panel since the figures are not surrounded by large areas of ornament or, as will be the case later, by glaze that will create a "window." Yet, on the Passas amphora, the vertical panels of ornament are clearly intended as separators.
- The picture panel surrounded by black glaze is an invention of Protoattic artists for the decoration of oinochoai and one-piece amphorae, vases that have a continuous-curve profile between mouth and foot. See the remarks by Brann in *Agora VIII*, pp. 3, 26.
46. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 44–45. He mentioned the lively horses, the beautiful cock on Mainz inv. 154, as well as the shield devices on the name vase and the ornament on drapery, but he did not elaborate.
47. On MMA 21.88.18, both types of tail appear. The grazing horse on the neck has the upright mane of Geometric horses.
48. This is not to suggest that there is any connection between the two.
49. Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, p. 219.
50. See Martine Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la céramique dans les collections du Louvre* (Paris, 1994), p. 22.
51. The eye of the hound on Mainz inv. 155 is a bit larger than those on Mainz inv. 153 and 154, its jaw is slightly undershot, and its tail is bushier, but these are not major differences. Compared with other hounds, these are very individualized (see, e.g., those below the frieze of chariots on Oxford 1935.18 by Painter N: Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 38, fig. 20).
52. For nets used in hare hunting, see J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), pp. 31, 37–42.
53. Xenophon, *On Hunting (Kynegetikos)* 4.1–8, in *Scripta minora*, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), pp. 381–87. See also the translation by Denison B. Hull of the part of Pollux's *Onomastikon* that has to do with hound gear and the standard for the ideal hound (*Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* [Chicago, 1964], pp. 153, 154–55).

54. Xenophon, *On Hunting* 4.2 (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 383). See also *Xenophon and Arrian on Hunting*, ed. with introduction, translation, and commentary by A. A. Phillips and M. M. Willcock (Warminster, 1999), pp. 45, 138.
55. For a similar example, though not by the Passas Painter, see Munich 1352, an oinochoe of about the same time as the Passas Painter's bowl (CVA, München 3 [Deutschland 9], pl. 134 [416].1-3). This was already noted by Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 66, 67, figs. 44, 45. The collar is simply a reserved band on the neck, not a black band within a reserved area. Add: Copenhagen inv. N 2761 (Ada Bruhn, "Greek Vases in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek," *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 2 [1938], p. 115, fig. 2).
56. See Hull, *Hounds and Hunting* (note 53 above), p. 9; Anderson, *Hunting* (note 52 above), p. 46. I wish to thank M. A. Littauer and J. K. Anderson for discussing with me this finer point of coursing hares with hounds in antiquity. Xenophon (*On Hunting* 6.1) also tells us that "collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else; for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible" (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 401); also *Xenophon and Arrian* (note 54 above), pp. 55, 146-47.
57. See the brief remarks by Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 181-82, and by Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 32, 67-69.
58. Oxford 1935.18 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 38, fig. 20). Cleveland 27.6 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 6; CVA, Cleveland 1 [USA 15], pl. 2 [682]). Once Berlin (Dieter Metzler, "Eine geometrische Amphora," *Antike Kunst* 15 [1972], pl. 1; for the attribution, see pp. 5-6).
59. Johannes Böhlau ("Frühattische Vasen," *JdI* 2 [1887], pp. 48-49) interpreted the hare as filler for the space below the handle because he did not think the hounds should be considered pursuing it. On the other hand, he agreed that the diagonal line represents hilly or mountainous terrain ("bergauf laufende Hase under dem Henkel"; p. 48).
60. Xenophon, *On Hunting* 5.17 (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 393).
61. One of the earliest indisputable representations of terrain on Greek pottery occurs in the panel of a fragmentary krater found in Argos (Argos C 240: Paul Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 208 [Paris, 1966], pl. 40; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 129-30, dated Late Geometric I, i.e., ca. third quarter of the 8th century B.C.). A horse walks on ground indicated by an area of dots, and below it in front of a water bird there are four long rows of zigzags that represent water (see Courbin, *La céramique géométrique*, p. 475, who says that the type of water [lagoon, marsh, or lake] depends on the type of bird). Another example, this time just a ground line, may occur in the panel below the spout of Copenhagen inv. 726 by a painter from the Hirschfeld Workshop (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 7). A row of dots appears to serve as the ground for a reclining deer but would be more plausible as terrain if it did not continue as a vertical row beside the left frame of the panel. Both of these are earlier than London BM 1865.7-20.1.
- Elsewhere, evidence of terrain in figured scenes occurs on Boeotian fibulae of the late 8th century B.C. Here are some examples: Louvre no no. (Roland Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* [Athens, 1936], p. 25, fig. 6): two women holding a branch and a wreath stand just above a zigzag line; Louvre no no. (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, p. 30, fig. 13): horse and goose stand above a zigzag line; London BM 3204 (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 1): two warriors stand on a wavy line; Thebes no no. (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 6 below): two horses walk on stony ground; Athens NM 3697 (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 9, lower left): Herakles and the Molione (?) stand on stippled ground. None of these is as elaborate as the terrain on the Argos fragment, and Argos may even have played a leading role in indicating terrain. A particularly good example occurs on the fragment of a mid-7th-century Argive bowl that shows the Blinding of Polyphemos, the giant reclining on a bed of rocks (for a good colored photograph, see Martin Robertson, *The Great Centuries of Greek Painting* [Geneva, 1959], p. 44). For a general discussion of nature and terrain in Greek art before the Persian Wars, see Jeffery M. Hurwit, "The Representation of Nature in Early Greek Art," in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Studies in the History of Art 32, Symposium Papers 16 (Washington, D.C., and Hanover, N.H., 1991), pp. 33-62.
62. John Carter, "The Beginning of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period," *BSA* 67 (1972), p. 33. To a certain degree, these goats by the Passas Painter seem to foreshadow the goats on 7th-century Rhodian vases. See Chrysoula Kardara, *Ροδιακή Ἀγγειογραφία*, Bibliothekes tes en Athenais Archaio-logikes Hetaireias 49 (Athens, 1963), pp. 140-43.
63. For the Dipylon Workshop, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 29-41, with bibliography (this is still the best discussion of the workshop). See the goats on Athens NM 804 (Paolo Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* [London, 1962], pl. 4; or Christian Zervos, *La civilisation hellénique*, vol. 1, XI^e-VIII^e s. [Geneva, 1969], fig. 62, for a good detail) or on Munich 6080 (Arias, *Greek Vase Painting*, pl. I), both from the Dipylon Workshop. These goats recline to right with head and neck turned back. They are drawn in silhouette with two curved lines for antlers. For the Hirschfeld Workshop, see note 2 above. For a quick review of the appearance of goats on Geometric vases, see Pierre Amandry, "Un motif 'scythe' en Iran et en Grèce," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965), pp. 156-58, figs. 2, 3.
64. The best parallel I have been able to find for these goats is the one in the panel of an unattributed stand bowl in Vienna, 947 (CVA, Wien 1 [Deutschland 5], pl. 3 [197].4). The horns on this goat enabled me to interpret as horns the S-shaped object above the body of each goat on the Passas amphora. For the beard, also unusual because it is so long, see *Kerameikos* no no. (Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pl. 106, no. 201). Just the head with a long beard and the front of the neck and chest remain. For goats, see Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 54-58.
65. To judge from the archaeological evidence, domesticated land fowl do not seem to be known in Greece before the late 8th or early 7th century B.C., thus just about the time the Passas Painter was active. Land fowl are not mentioned by Homer, although he knew of a Greek hero named Alektryon (Ἀλεκτρυών is the ancient Greek word for cock): "Leitus . . . , son of great-souled Alektryon" (*Iliad* [17.602], trans. A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1925], p. 275). In the late 5th century B.C. Aristophanes calls the alektryon the Persian bird (Περσικὸς ὄρνις; *The Birds* [483], trans. Benjamin B. Rogers, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1924], p. 175). See Alfred Newton, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 10, p. 760; John Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (Plymouth, 1977), pp. 88-89; also Victor Hehn,

Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa (Berlin, 1887), pp. 260–73, esp. pp. 260–67, for its arrival in Greece and ancient Greek literary sources.

For representations of cocks in early Greek art, see Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 66–67. He judges the one on the Mainz krater to be of special stature (p. 66: “Sonderstellung”). He also notes (pp. 32 n. 21, 67) the special combination of cock and dog in Attic art. Hampe (*Grabfund*, pp. 58–59) says that the cock was a sacrificial animal for heroes and may serve as a heroizing of the dead.

Cocks on early Protocorinthian vases are not as well articulated as they are in Attic. See Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 74, 76 n. 9, and his *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1933), pl. 6; also Knud Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens: Étude archaéologique* (Paris, 1923), pp. 52–53, pl. 5. See also the one on MMA 23.160.18 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 56, fig. 42).

66. Probably contemporary or slightly later are these from the Agora: P 12603 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 77, no. 412, pl. 24); P 7589 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 81, no. 438, pl. 26); and P 5408 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 82, no. 445, pls. 27, 44). The last has circles on its neck but not the central dot in each.
67. For the griffin-bird, see the brief remarks by Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 61–62. In Greek art, the griffin-bird on the Passas amphora seems to be the earliest example, at least in a narrative context. The others I have been able to find appear by themselves or in a frieze with other animals. Griffin-bird by itself, e.g., on the necks of two “Phaleron” oinochoai from Grave 19 at Phaleron (Young, “Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery” [note 10 above], p. 27, nos. 19.6 and 19.11, fig. 4). Griffin-bird in a frieze, e.g., on an Early Protocorinthian aryballos found at Delphi, which shows the griffin-bird in the company of a goat, a lion, and a bull (Friis Johansen, *Vases sicyoniens* [note 65 above], p. 132, pl. 36.4).
68. See Dugas and Rhomaios, *Délos XV* (note 26 above), pl. 55.
69. For the antlers, see those of the deer cavorting among the trees on a Cretan shield in Athens, NM 11762 (Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* [Stuttgart, 1931], pl. 36, no. 26), and those of the deer on another Cretan shield, though less well preserved, Athens NM 11762 α (Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pl. 42, no. 54). These antlers are not as full as they are on the Passas Painter’s deer, but one wonders if he saw something like this and gave it his own embellishment.
70. For hippalektrya, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 5 (1990), pp. 427–32, s.v. Hippalektryon (Dyfri Williams). As far as I have been able to determine, the hippalektrya by the Passas Painter are the earliest preserved painted examples. A predecessor may be the 9th-century B.C. askos from Knossos in the shape of a horse-bird, but this vase is supported by three legs without spurs or claws and there are no tail or sickle feathers. The hippalektrya by the Passas Painter seem to derive from the cock.
71. See CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 19 (712).1, 4, and pl. 20 (713).2. For sphinxes, see the bibliography cited by Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 84. For early representations, see Nikolaos M. Verdélis, “L’apparition du sphinx dans l’art grec aux VIII^e et VII^e siècles avant J.-C.,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 75 (1951), pp. 1–37; for a brief discussion of the spiral or floral ornament and a few examples of it, see pp. 6–7, 31. In Attic painting, the earliest example may be on a fragmentary Late

Geometric II skyphos or cup in Athens NM 784 (Verdelis, “L’apparition du sphinx,” p. 18, fig. 11, after AM 18 [1893], p. 113, fig. 10; Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 460–61, no. 202, pl. 46b, attributed by Rombos to the Workshop of Athens 894). The two winged figures on this cup have been interpreted as centaurs and as sphinxes (Verdelis, “L’apparition du sphinx,” p. 18 n. 1). Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 461) calls them sphinxes. Their long, upturned tails with tufts argue for sphinxes. The floral on the sphinx by the Passas Painter may be one of the earliest, at least in Attic painting.

72. Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 24, pl. 22.6. For the bier cloth, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 55–63.
73. See note 9 above.
74. It occurs, for example, on Kerameikos inv. 1371, an amphora from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Kübler, *Kerameikos V*¹ [note 7 above], pl. 39; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 59, no. 23; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 42). This occurrence was already noted by Kübler, *Kerameikos V*¹, p. 150.
75. For the fragment that I am not illustrating, see CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717).7. On this fragment there remain parts of two warriors back-to-back, one with a well-preserved Corinthian helmet; one assumes each had an opponent.
76. For this fragment, see note 75 above. See also the chart of helmet crests in Late Geometric compiled by Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung” (note 14 above), p. 27; nos. 11–13, 16, and 17 are by the Passas Painter and contrast sharply with the others in this chart. For an actual bronze helmet with a silver ram’s head protome for the crest support, see St. Louis no. (Thomas T. Hoopes, *Armor and Arms: An Elementary Handbook and Guide to the Collection in the City Art Museum in St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.* [St. Louis, 1954], pp. 2–3, frontis.). I wish to thank Beth Cohen for this reference. The helmet is dated in the mid-6th century B.C.
77. On Mainz inv. 155, there is plaster fill where the nose guard would be. For the Corinthian helmet, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 20–31; and Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, pp. 50–52.
78. Shield devices appear very often in vase painting from the mid-7th century B.C. on, and they are also known on the shields of Mycenaean warriors and in Homer. See George M. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks in Art and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1902; reprint, Chicago, 1979); also Léon Lacroix, “Les ‘blasons’ des villes grecques,” *Études d’archéologie classique* 1 (1955–56), pp. 91–115. For the earliest examples, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 62–65, and more briefly, Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, p. 55.

In Greek art, at least in Attica, shield devices do not seem to appear before LG IIb (i.e., ca. 720 B.C.), and those known to me occur on round shields.

The earliest examples of shield devices and the largest number of them are abstract patterns or symbols that derive from the ornaments on Geometric vases (see the chart of devices collected by Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung” [note 14 above], p. 29, fig. 10; she seems to omit the one on Side B of the Passas Painter’s name vase that is very flaked). The oldest preserved devices occur in the work of painters assigned by Coldstream to the LG IIb phase of the Sub-Dipylon Group and to the Workshop of Athens 894 or attributed by him to the Philadelphia Painter (see Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung,” p. 29, fig. 10, nos. 14 and 30, for the Sub-Dipylon Group; nos. 16–18, 20, 23–25, for the Workshop of

Athens 894; and nos. 11, 13, 15, 21, for the Philadelphia Painter). Add to these the lozenge star on the shield of a dead warrior in the prothesis scene on Kerameikos 5643, an amphora fragment attributed by Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 448–49, no. 172, pl. 9) to the Workshop of Athens 894; also the whirligig on the shield of a warrior on the neck of Agora P 24032, an early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed by Brann (*Agora VIII*, p. 78, no. 415, pl. 24) to a follower of the Analatos Painter. This shield device resembles the one on the shield carried by the warrior walking behind the chariot on Side A of the Passas Painter's namepiece (Figure 24).

Of greater interest here are the shields with figural devices. Besides the examples on the Passas Painter's namepiece, the name vase of a contemporary, the Benaki Painter (Athens Benaki 7675) contains five: horse; two birds; fish; and a Dipylon shield (Coldstream, *Greek Painted Pottery*, p. 81, no. 2; Tölle-Kastenbein, "Homerische Kriegerehrung," p. 29, fig. 10, nos. 31–35). Slightly earlier may be the grazing horse that appears on the shield of a warrior on Kerameikos 112 (Tölle, "Figürlich bemalte Fragmente" [note 29 above], col. 648, fig. 5). Add to this the shield device of a lion devouring its prey on a fragment of an amphora in the Kerameikos, no no. (Friedrich Hamdorf, in Wolfram Hoepfner, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 10, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten* [Berlin, 1976], p. 199, fig. 211b). The fragment is by a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Friedrich Hamdorf, in Hoepfner, *Kerameikos X*, p. 198) and may even be by the same hand as Kerameikos inv. 1371.

There were two types of round shield in the late 8th century B.C. The earlier of the two was not very large. An arm sling, also called a telamon, allowed it to hang down the back of the warrior when it was not in use, and a handgrip permitted him to hold it when fighting. This type of shield was superseded by the true hoplite shield, which is distinguished from the former by having a fixed armband and a handgrip on the inside. Since ornamental patterns on shields may be viewed from any angle, round shields with patterns are probably the earlier type, at least in the time period considered here, though the hoplite shield may not be excluded (Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 63). The small round shield was held with a good deal more flexibility than the true hoplite shield. The rigid armband that fit around the forearm of the warrior just below his elbow and the handgrip attached near the join of the rim kept the hoplite shield in a fixed position. Thus, a figured device, which could be viewed from only one position, would be more appropriate for this type of shield. For a discussion of both types of shield, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 61–67, esp. pp. 62–64, for the devices of each.

Whether to call a round shield a hoplite shield or not is contingent upon seeing the armband and grip on the inside, and these features do not seem to appear before the late first quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 65). Still, in view of the placement necessary for a figured device, the shields listed above with this type of device are probably hoplite shields. An oddity is that in each case the shield is held on the right arm of a warrior who moves from left to right. Normally, a shield is carried on the left arm so that the warrior's right arm is free to use his spear or sword. And the large hoplite shields used later in the tight phalanx formation had to be carried on the left arm for presentation of a united impenetrable line of defense. For the adoption of the true hoplite phalanx, which probably occurred some time in the 7th century B.C., see Snodgrass, *Early*

Greek Armour, p. 204, with bibliography, and Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, chap. 3, esp. pp. 53–55, for the hoplite shield. A particularly good example of such a phalanx occurs on the Proto-corinthian Chigi vase of about 630 B.C. For a good illustration, see Arias, *Greek Vase Painting* (note 63 above), pl. IV.

Snodgrass (*Arms and Armor*, p. 50) also reminds us that "we should not imagine that he [the hoplite] was created in a day. Even at this period [the 7th century B.C.] of sudden and interacting changes, it is unthinkable that all the technological, tactical and social developments, which were necessary before a hoplite phalanx could be put in the field, happened in the sweep of one hand. Our safest guide lies in the elements of the panoply, as they severally make their appearance on the Greek scene, in actual finds or in art."

79. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 63.

80. See note 72 above.

81. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, fig. 27, for a photograph of the second fragment.

82. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (note 4 above), p. 20.

83. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1.6.1), trans. Charles Forster Smith, Loeb Classical Library, rev. ed. (1928; reprint, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1969), vol. 1, p. 11; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 184–85.

84. CVA, Berlin 1 (Deutschland 2), pls. 31–33 (77–79). The stand was destroyed in World War II.

85. Hahland, "Zu den Anfängen der attischen Malerei" (note 7 above), pp. 127–28.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 127 n. 61.

87. For Pellene, see Ernst Meyer, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, n.s., vol. 19 (1938), cols. 354–67.

88. *The Odes of Pindar*, trans. Sir John Sandys, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1915), p. 105.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

90. *The Geography of Strabo* (8.7.5), trans. Horace L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1927), vol. 4, p. 221.

91. *Odes of Pindar*, Loeb ed. (note 88 above), p. 227.

92. Herodotus, *Historicus* (2.91), trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1921), p. 375.

93. *Iliad*, Loeb ed. (note 65 above), p. 181; *Odyssey*, trans. A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), p. 75, for both passages. For a brief discussion of the chlaina as part of Homeric dress, see Spyridon Marinatos, *Kleidung: Haar- und Barttracht*, *Archaeologia Homerica* 1, A–B (Göttingen, 1967), pp. A–9–A–10.

94. In Marinatos (*ibid.*, p. A–39, fig. 8a), this feature is misrepresented as upright hatched triangles.

Figured decoration on clothing appears quite frequently in Attic black-figure, especially in the work of Sophilos and Kleitias. For Sophilos, see, for example, the figures of Leto and Chariklo on Athens NM 15165, ex Akropolis 587 (*ABV*, p. 39.15; *Addenda*², p. 10), and many of the goddesses in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on London BM 1971.11-1.1 (*Paralipomena*, p. 19.16 bis; *Addenda*², p. 10; Dyfri Williams, "Sophilos in the British Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 1 [Malibu, Calif., 1983], pp. 9–34). For Kleitias, see especially some of the goddesses in the scene of the same wedding on Florence 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76.1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29.1; *Addenda*², p. 21; Mauro Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François, Bollettino d'arte, Serie speciale* 1 [1980], passim, esp. figs. 16, 30).

For decoration on garments in general, figured as well as

ornamental, see Paola Colafranceschi Cecchetti, *Decorazione dei costumi nei vasi attici a figure nere*, Studi Miscellanei 19 (Rome, 1971–72), passim.

- Prior to 600 B.C., figures rarely serve as decoration on garments. Here are three examples I have been able to find. Kerameikos inv. 80, a tankard from the late second quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pl. 15 [Opferrinne β]): a mourning woman; a rearing horse; and a seated sphinx. On Athens NM 17762, a Protoattic krater from the early second quarter of the 7th century B.C., a woman stands before a biga dressed in a garment decorated with a zone of dotted scales and a bird (probably a goose) in the panel above (CVA, Athènes 2 [Grèce 2], pl. 1 [59].3). A fragment of a terracotta relief in Naples that preserves the lower half of a woman whose skirt is decorated with three figured friezes: Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles; standing women holding hands; men walking to right (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* [note 61 above], pl. 35, upper left). The piece resembles the Girl from Auxerre and probably dates a little after the middle of the 7th century B.C. (for this statue, see Gisela M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* [London, 1968], fig. 79). Mention should probably be made of the upright loom, complete with patterned fabric and loom weights for keeping the tension even on the warp threads, painted on a mid-8th-century B.C. Cypriot dish in Bonn, inv. 3107 (John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* [London, 2001], p. 19, fig. 10).
95. For a full discussion of the bier cloth, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 55–63; for funeral garments, see also pp. 40–42.
 96. For the workshop, see note 63 above. For Athens NM 804, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 29, no. 1.
 97. See Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 58, 59, re Ahlberg's Type g.
 98. Athens Vlasto (ibid., p. 28, no. 44), attributed by Ahlberg to the Workshop of Athens 894 (not in Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*) and to the Mesogeia Painter by John M. Cook in his review of Brann, *Agora VIII (Gnomon 34* [1962], p. 822). The latter attribution is probably correct. For another instance of the cloth hanging over the end of the bier, see Athens NM 812 (Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 26, no. 18, contemporary with the Dipylon Workshop, ca. 750 B.C.). For a shroud that seems to envelop the corpse completely, see Melbourne D23/1982, an amphora attributed to the Analatos Painter (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.3, p. 73, with bibliography). An oddity of this corpse is that it is laid on the bier left to right instead of right to left. See Kenneth A. Sheedy, "A Prothesis Scene from the Analatos Painter," *AM* 105 (1990), pp. 117–51, esp. pp. 122–26.
 99. Certainly the Phaleron oinochoe fragments and probably the same for MMA 21.88.18.
 100. See Cook, "Workshops . . . 700"; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, passim; Brann, *Agora VIII*, passim; Brokaw, "Concurrent Styles" (note 7 above), pp. 63–73; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 55–90, for the Attic workshops that comprise the Late Geometric II style; more recently, Kenneth A. Sheedy, "The Late Geometric Hydria and the Advent of the Protoattic Style," *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 11–28.
 101. The Sub-Dipylon Group: Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 65–67; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 55–57. The Philadelphia Painter: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 57–58, with bibliography. The Workshop of Athens 894: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 58–64. Coldstream's is still the most comprehensive discussion of the workshop, with bibliography, especially his note in the text of p. 60, which gives the history of the recognition of the workshop. For briefer notices, see Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," pp. 146–49; and Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 41–45. See also Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 437–68, for a catalogue of vases and subjects.
 102. See the chart in Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 331, V–VII.
 103. The Late Geometric style covers the decades ca. 760–700 B.C. It is divided roughly into these chronological periods: LG Ia: 760–750 B.C.; LG Ib: 750–735 B.C.; LG IIa: 735–720 B.C.; and LG IIb: 720–700 B.C. See ibid., p. 330.
 104. Ibid., p. 58, no. 4.
 105. Some exceptions. The foot of Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 is decorated with vertical wavy lines (ibid., p. 59, no. 21; Langdon, *Pasture to Polis* [note 1 above], p. 61). The feet of two others, for example, have horizontal lines: Athens, Agora P 4990 (Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, fig. 36; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 11), and Hannover 1953.148 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 2; CVA, Hannover 1 [Deutschland 34], pl. 1 [1633]).
 106. Athens NM 894: see note 104 above; Arias, *Greek Vase Painting* (note 63 above), pl. 9. Cleveland 27.6: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 6; CVA, Cleveland 1 (USA 15), pl. 2 (682).3, (683).1. Baltimore 48.2231: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 7; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 37. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847: see note 105 above.
 107. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60. For the use of the hydria as a funerary vessel, see Sheedy, "A Prothesis Scene" (note 98 above), pp. 118–20.
 108. See Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60, no. 39, pp. 60–61, for the introduction of the shape, with bibliography in n. 1; also note 25 above for the shape.
 109. Ibid., p. 59, nos. 15–21, for the painter; no. 15 for the name vase, Stathatos 222. For a good photograph, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 40.
 110. For the Analatos Painter, see most recently, Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pp. 71–87, with bibliography (p. 71). Also, especially, John M. Cook, "A Painter and His Age," in *Mélanges de préhistoire, d'archéocivilisation et d'ethnologie offerts à André Varagnac* (Paris, 1971), pp. 167–76; I wish to thank Dr. Elizabeth Angelicoussis for providing me with a xerox of this article. For the earliest work of the Analatos Painter, see Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, nos. 1–3.
 111. See note 110 above.
 112. See Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 123, fig. C; and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 331, I, V, VI, VII. Coldstream's chart shows the relative chronology for Attic Geometric workshops within the Classical tradition and outside. Davison extends the chronological development to include Early Protoattic. At the time of her study, Painter N and the Passas Painter were not yet recognized.
 113. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 21.
 114. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 44–45.
 115. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 25, specifically referring to Mainz inv. 153 and 154. See also Evelyn Lord Smithson in her review of Hampe, *Grabfund*, in *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 319; so too, John M. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 81 (1961), p. 220.
 116. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 24.