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THE SOPADES PAINTER

by

H.R. Holt

Thesis Submitted in the Department of Classics,  
University of Durham.

April, 1975.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE SOTADES PAINTER.

- CHAPTER ONE :- A brief summary of Early Classical vase painting, the painters being divided into six groups. A short discussion follows as to how much the Sotades Painter is influenced by any or all of these and in what particular aspects.
- CHAPTER TWO :- White ground painting -- a short survey, which leads naturally on to a detailed treatment of the three white ground cups in London (D5, D6, D7); two of them (D5 and D6) signed.
- CHAPTER THREE :- The Astragalos. This unique and beautifully painted piece of miniature has a complete chapter devoted to it.
- CHAPTER FOUR :- Satyrs. So many of the painter's vases depict satyr play that a preliminary discussion is necessary of satyrs in both mythology and drama. The various vases (including the signed Goluchow Kantharos) devoted to this subject are then described individually.
- CHAPTER FIVE :- Rhyta - a shape used frequently by the painter. The vases themselves are usually mounted upon or form part of an animal head, but in the case of the London rhyton it is a sphinx. All the vases are then described.
- CHAPTER SIX :- Proveniences, Shapes and Sotadean characteristics. The many different places in which the painter's works have been discovered are mentioned and an attempt is made to find out if they relate in any way to the subject matter of the vases. There follows a discussion and description of the variety of shapes used by the artist as a base for his work. Finally an attempt is made to establish a chronological pattern for his work and this is followed by a catalogue of characteristic Sotadean renderings.
- APPENDIX 1 :- A description of a fragmentary camel rhyton in the Louvre, recently the subject of an article in the Revue Archeologique by Lilly Kahil.
- APPENDIX 2 :- Bibliography.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

The Sotades Painter, so-called after the potter who signed himself "Sotades" on eight vases - three actually painted by the Sotades Painter - worked in Athens in the thirty or so years after the Persian Wars. (A period referred to by Martin Robertson <sup>(1)</sup> in his chapter heading as "The Classical Revolution". Gisela Richter <sup>(2)</sup> describes the years 475-450 B.C. as "Early Free Style", as does Beazley. <sup>(3)</sup> He however includes only the Niobid Painter, the Villa Giulia Painter and the Achilles Painter in this category. He places Hermonax, the Penthesilea Painter and Sotades in the period of "Late Archaic Painters"). This post-Persian War period, the time of Cimon's administration when Athens at the head of the Delian Confederacy rose steadily in power and in influence, was clearly too a time of great upheaval both socially and culturally. (Martin Robertson <sup>(4)</sup> refers to the evacuation of Athens in 480 B.C. as "that violent interruption", which, he says, not only serves us for a convenient dating point, but must for the Athenians have helped to crystallise a change of spirit which was gradually taking place). The painters working during these years were breaking away gradually from the archaic traditions of the previous half century, not only in the widespread adoption of the white-ground technique but also in the movement towards a more naturalistic rendering of anatomical features and drapery. Buschor <sup>(5)</sup> proclaims the advent of a new era, which he describes as a time of progressive naturalism and at the same time a period of noble greatness of style and exalted types.

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(1). Greek Painting, p. 111 ff.

(2). Attic Red-Figured Vases, pp. 90-94.

(3). Vases in America, p. 142.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Greek Vase Painting, p. 133.

Clearly this move towards naturalism cannot be located precisely in any particular year after the Persian invasion, but, as was suggested above, the change was gradual. Ernst Pfuhl (1) seems to be in agreement with this for he recognises a transitional period from the pre-Persian War red-figure to the red-figure and white ground painting of the next quarter of the century. This transitional stage he feels is especially noticeable in facial details - the eye for example although open at the inner corner in profile still has the iris drawn as a full circle. In this connection he compares vase painting with the statues of the tyrant-slayers attributed to the year 478 B.C. (2)

Richter (3) describes the dawn of this post-Persian Wars age as heralding a new consciousness on the part of the artist of the visual appearance of things. Now the first attempts at three-quarter views become apparent and the first suggestions of a third dimension. Such a striving after naturalism is evident from the last quarter of the sixth century and the goal is reached by the second quarter of the fifth, approximately when the London white ground cup and red-figure rhyta were painted.

Euthymides' boast :  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\phi\rho\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  ("Euphronios never produced anything like this") on an amphora in Munich (2307) (4) where he renders three revellers in fairly correct three-quarter views illustrates not only artists' preoccupation with naturalism but also the rivalry that existed among them. It was not difficult

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(1). Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting, p. 56.

(2). For iconographic discussion of the Tyrannicides cf. B.B. Shefton's article in A.J.A. (1960) p. 173 ff.

(3). Perspective in Greek and Roman Art, p. 21.

(4). ARV, p. 26, No. 1.



for Euphronios, however, to cap such a boast, considering that he was already producing or had already produced works such as the Herakles and Antaios picture on a calyx-crater in the Louvre (G103) <sup>(1)</sup> - a masterly portrayal of male anatomy.

Not so successful at the turn of the century, however, was the rendering of the female body, in particular the two breasts. Usually the somewhat unnatural solution of only depicting one breast was adopted e.g. one of Korone's companions hurrying to her rescue on an amphora in Munich (2309) <sup>(2)</sup> by Euthymides or, possibly more naturalistically, the nearest breast was covered by drapery e.g. a meenad on a pointed amphora in Munich (2344) <sup>(3)</sup> by the Kleophrades Painter.

The first quarter of the fifth century sees the artists slowly but surely coming to grips with the difficulties of both male and female anatomy. The Berlin Painter's satyr on an amphora in Berlin (2160) <sup>(4)</sup> dated c.490 B.C. is in almost perfectly natural three-quarter view and the same artist's female companion of Europa on a bell-crater in Tarquinia (RC 7456), <sup>(5)</sup> although still having her nearest breast covered by drapery, displays the other more convincingly rendered.

Finally by the second quarter of the fifth century the painters were producing male and female three-quarter views with reasonable precision and apparent ease. The apple-picking girl on

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(1). ARV, p. 14, No. 2.

(2). ARV, p. 27, No. 4.

(3). ARV, p. 182, No. 6.

(4). ARV, p. 196, No. 1.

(5). ARV, p. 206, No. 126.

the London (D6) cup <sup>(1)</sup> by our painter is a perfect example of female naturalism and the satyr at the bottom of the London rhyton (E 788) <sup>(2)</sup> is equally natural.

Richter <sup>(3)</sup> draws the reader's attention to the artists' equal interest now in the three-dimensional representations of objects such as wings, shields and tripods. No longer is just one wing depicted but by the second quarter of the fifth century our painter can render both Nike's wings <sup>(4)</sup> with precision and conviction in contrast to Pegasus' single wing on a kylix in New York (14.146.2) <sup>(5)</sup> by Psiax, dated some 40-50 years before. Similarly the tripod on London D5 <sup>(6)</sup> and the amazon's shield on the Louvre (SB 4154) <sup>(7)</sup> fragment now have a third dimension. Richter further concentrates on the portrayal of the eye and shows its development in the period 530-450 B.C.

In order to appraise and indeed appreciate the style of the Sotades Painter one must view him in his Early Classical background and examine the various groups of his early c.5th predecessors and contemporaries. This will fall into six sections : Mannerists, Academics, the Niobid Painter and Associates, the Naturalistic group, the Brygos Painter and the Berlin Painter and his Followers.

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- (1). See below.  
 (2). See below.  
 (3). Ibid, p. 24.  
 (4). See below on London rhyton (E788).  
 (5). ARV, p. 9, No. 1.  
 (6). ARV, p. 763, No. 2.  
 (7). ARV, p. 765, No. 19.

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> puts the beginning of the Mannerist movement in the Ripe Archaic Period with the potter and painter Myson. His stock subjects include palaestra scenes, banquets and revelling with several mythological and historical portrayals e.g. an amphora (type A) in the Louvre <sup>(2)</sup> (G197) depicting on side (A) Croesus on the pyre and (B) Theseus carrying off the Amazon Queen Antiope. Long-limbed figures, graceful and delicately drawn are typical of the master; they are full of movement especially on side (B) of the amphora above, where all the characters are moving swiftly forward looking over their left shoulders very characteristic of Myson. Also typical is a column crater in New York (07.286.73) <sup>(3)</sup> on which Dionysos is to be seen with a cup and a large vine branch, walking forward and turning round as he goes; again long limbs, long beard and long hair are in evidence.

The Pan Painter carries on the style of Myson <sup>\*</sup> but introduces a new naturalism. Like Myson he enjoys portraying scenes of movement and dramatic incident, but his mannered archaism, disconcerting to some <sup>(4)</sup> is apparent especially in the rendering of drapery folds and in certain anatomical details too - the fully frontal chest for example of a satyr on a column crater in New York (16.72) <sup>(5)</sup> though three-quarter views are quite frequently represented by this time.

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(1). Vases in America, 48 ff.

(2). ARV, 238, No. 1.

(3). ARV, 240, No. 45.

(4). Shefton and Hirmer, History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 347.

(5). ARV, p. 551, No. 6.

\* Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, however, (J.H.S. 1975, 107 ff.) makes the Berlin Painter the master of the Pan Painter.

Richter <sup>(1)</sup> comments that the forms are old but the spirit is new and highly individual. Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> acknowledges his connection with C.5th Mannerists but states that his quality is incomparably finer. Elsewhere <sup>(3)</sup> he says:

"he is in love with grace, not any pretty or ingenuous kind but a thrice-accentuated, piquant, provocative elegance."

The bell-crater in Boston (10.185) <sup>(4)</sup> from which the painter derives his name depicts the death of Actaeon and Pan pursuing a goatherd, who is in full flight and looking over his left shoulder. Another running figure, this time Ganymede, appears on an oinochoe in New York (23.160.55). <sup>(5)</sup> As he runs away from Zeus he looks back over his right shoulder at his pursuer who is not shown. Here is a good example of the highly stylised drapery folds which do, however, accentuate the impression of rapid movement. His characteristic renderings are : a black dot for the iris, a thin nose with delicate nostril line, lips slightly pouting, firm chin, small round ear, thick short neck and stylised fringed beard and hair. Other Mannerists include the Pig Painter, <sup>(6)</sup> the Leningrad Painter, <sup>(7)</sup> the Agrigento Painter <sup>(8)</sup> and the Nausikaa Painter. <sup>(9)</sup>

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- (1). ARFV, p. 94.  
 (2). Der Panmaler, p. 17.  
 (3). V.A., p. 118.  
 (4). ARV, 550, No. 1.  
 (5). ARV, 558, No. 127.  
 (6). ARV, 562 ff.  
 (7). ARV, 567 ff.  
 (8). ARV, 574 ff.  
 (9). ARV, 1106 ff.

The Academics are typified by Douris, whose activity stretches from c.500 B.C. to the 460's B.C. His work is divided into Early, Middle and Late periods and Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> subdivides the Middle group into Early Middle and Middle. The majority of his extant works belong to the Middle period when his style had developed and matured and was stately, accomplished and academic. Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> states that Douris the man (compared with Douris the youth who is "a lively and graceful character") is scrupulously neat and highly accomplished, sleek, decent and dull. <sup>(3)</sup> Richter <sup>(4)</sup> on the other hand emphasises that his late works are by no means weak reproductions of earlier achievements but contain a new monumental quality. This "academic conservation of form", which Shefton notes <sup>(5)</sup> became more pronounced as time went on. His subjects include feasts, revels, school scenes and mythological episodes. A piece typical of his Middle period is the internal medallion of a cup in the Louvre (G 115) <sup>(6)</sup> where according to Pfuhl <sup>(7)</sup> the artist is probably reproducing a mural masterpiece of the time, namely Eos the goddess of the Dawn gathering up the bloodstained body of her son Memnon, slain by Achilles on the field of Troy. Despite the archaic unnaturalness in the position of Memnon's legs and the pronounced dots and zig zags of Eos' chiton which place it in the early middle part of his career, the piece is acclaimed as a masterpiece. A cup

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(1). ARV, 425.

(2). VA, 97.

(3). But he does exempt the 'Eos and Memnon' cup from this.

(4). Richter and Hall, Red Figured Athenian Vases.

(5). History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 340.

(6). ARV, 434, No. 74.

(7). Masterpieces, 52.

in Berlin (2285) <sup>(1)</sup> painted approximately when the Sotades period is beginning depicts a school scene of exceptional serenity and quietude, in which the seated and standing pupils are more than a little reminiscent of Sotadean counterparts. Characteristics of this his mature period are : finely rounded skull with wavy contour for the hair on forehead and temples, careful rendering of hands, clavide now with hook at the inner end, lip furrow marked by two distinct curves instead of one and more natural drapery zig zags.

The Villa Giulia Painter, so-called after his dancing women on a calyx-crater in the Villa Giulia Museum (909) <sup>(2)</sup> is the chief representative of the Academic Group influenced greatly by Douris. Beazley <sup>(3)</sup> puts the Chicago Painter, <sup>(4)</sup> the Methyse Painter <sup>(5)</sup> and a few imitators into this group and says that his best work has a quiet nobility of style; and elsewhere <sup>(6)</sup> he says "quiet, harmonious pictures, drawn with fine equable lines". A bell-crater in London (E492) <sup>(7)</sup> shows Hermes holding the infant Dionysos in his arms. Despite the baby's obvious displeasure at being held in this way, Hermes gives him a cool, dispassionate stare, thereby retaining the air of serenity. Richter <sup>(8)</sup> remarks on this constant repetition of quiet, serene figures and considers that they have little animation or imaginative interest, but elsewhere <sup>(9)</sup> remarks on the "lofty serenity akin to Periclean sculpture". Characteristics of his style are : the himation

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(1). ARV, 431, No. 48.

(2). ARV, 618, No. 1.

(3). ARV, 618.

(4). ARV, 628 ff.

(5). ARV, 632 ff.

(6). VA, 153.

(7). ARV, 619, No. 16.

(8). ARFV, 104.

(9). Richter and Hall, 172.

regularly drawn with one end thrown over the left arm and zig zag folds often in dilute glaze, long hair in men mostly indicated by a single tress falling down the back, and the eye generally drawn with one or two lines for the upper-lid - one strongly curving and usually touching the other at both ends - with one line for the lashes and a relatively small iris touching the upper lid only.

A follower of the Villa Giulia Painter was the Chicago Painter so called after a scene of women dancing on a stamnos in Chicago <sup>(1)</sup> (89.22). Their styles have much in common though the Chicago Painter's figures are livelier and less statuesque, as can be seen on a pair of hydriai in New York (06.1021.190 and 06.1021.192) <sup>(2)</sup> both depicting Peleus pursuing Thetis. Beazley <sup>(3)</sup> describes the Chicago Painter's style as "softened and more elegant" (i.e. than Villa Giulia Painter).

The Niobid Painter is the most obvious member of the group of painters who were clearly influenced by the great mural painters of the period : Polygnotos of Thasos and the Athenian Mikon whose works are not extant but are known to some extent from literary descriptions and allusions. <sup>(4)</sup> Their murals included the 'Iliupersis' or 'Sack of Troy' and the 'Battle of Marathon' in the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora and the battles between Greeks and Amazons and between Lapiths and Centaurs in the

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(1). ARV, 628, No. 4.

(2). ARV, 630, Nos. 33 and 32.

(3). V.A., 154.

(4). Notably Pausanias Hellados Periegesis book 1.

Theseion also in Athens. These elaborate compositions and bold attempts at foreshortening clearly had a profound effect on vase painting of the period. Richter <sup>(1)</sup> speaks in particular of the nobility of the types, the expression of emotion in the faces, the disposition of the figures on different levels and at various depths and the interest in foreshortening.

The Niobid Painter <sup>(2)</sup> therefore provides a good illustration of this effect - especially his calyx-crater in the Louvre (G 341) <sup>(3)</sup> from which he derives his name. On this, one of his chief works, he represents the death of the Niobids. The influence of mural painting is unmistakable. One realises, looking at such a vase, how far the surface of a vase falls short of that of a wall as a medium for artistic expression : the flat surface available to mural painters was far better suited to the subject of the Niobids' slaughter than the unaccommodating, curving surface of a vase. Here on this calyx-crater the red figures are placed on various levels, but as Richter <sup>(4)</sup> remarks it is not yet realised that the figures in the farther distance should be drawn smaller than those in the foreground - an observation that it took the Greek artist a considerable time to make. An exception to this is, however, a volute-crater in New York (07.286.84) <sup>(5)</sup> from Numana

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(1). R. and H. 87.

(2). cf. Barron's article in J.H.S. (1972).

(3). ARV, 601, No. 22.

(4). Perspective in Greek and Roman Art, p. 29.

(5). ARV, p. 613, No. 1.



painted by the Woolly Satyrs master, on which plants appear among fighting Greeks and are depicted smaller further up the vase.

Buřchor (1) considers the Louvre calyx-crater to be in the manner of the new period which he says no longer strives to represent action but the preparation of it and its after effect. In short, then, these crowded compositions, bold foreshortenings, suggestion of shadows in the drapery by the use of dilute glaze must have been inspired by the larger paintings of the times.

The Naturalistic Group is typified by the Penthesilea Painter - so named after one of his most striking works, the Achilles and Penthesilea cup in Munich (2688), (2) which shows on the outside an arming scene with some of the youths accompanied by horses, but inside is a masterly portrayal of the death of the Amazon queen, Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles. Behind Penthesilea is a Greek warrior with a menacing sword and gaze, and behind Achilles is a dying Amazon, draped convincingly around the line of the tondo. The Penthesilea Painter was one of the chief exponents of the new trend towards naturalism. The traditional stories really live under his brush, for he seems to inject into them an individual interest. Pfuhl (3) says of the Munich cup : "four warriors bring the whole battle almost eerily close to our eyes".

He has two quite distinct manners : one, his grand manner, as exemplified by the Munich cup and two, his ordinary, run-of-the-mill one depicting usually scenes from the palaestra or young men in

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(1). Greek Vase Painting, p. 140.

(2). ARV, p. 879, No. 1.

(3). Masterpieces, p. 58.

conversation or with horses e.g. a cup in Hamburg (1900.164) <sup>(1)</sup> from Nola which shows inside a boy seated with a lyre in company with a youth and round the exterior youths and horses. Shefton <sup>(2)</sup> describes these, his ordinary works as often approaching hack production.

More than a hundred vase paintings have been attributed to him. He heightens the red-figure technique by the application of dilute black glaze, by dull-red and light-grey surfaces with brown and white additions and by applications of gold. His style can easily be recognised : turned up nose with delicate nostril line, pouting lips, obliquely placed eyes, inclined heads, wavy curls, variously placed arc for the ankle, open hand emerging from mantle and outstretched arm holding staff, sceptre or spear.

Very close to the style of the Penthesilea Painter is the Pistozenos Painter - so close in fact that some scholars, notably Hartwig, <sup>(3)</sup> Furtwängler, <sup>(4)</sup> Buschor <sup>(5)</sup> and Diepolder <sup>(6)</sup> consider that the Pistozenos Painter's work is really an early stage of the Penthesilea Painter. Beazley, <sup>(7)</sup> however, followed later by Diepolder distinguishes between the two, describing Penthesilea's art as realistic with a certain scorn of perfect finish, whereas Pistozenos is mid-way between this and the very different art which flourished in the 70's : "a subdued refined art with a polished technique". Shefton <sup>(8)</sup> enlarges on Beazley's

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- (1). ARV, p. 880. No. 4.
  - (2). History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 350.
  - (3). Die griechischen Meisterschalen, p. 490 ff.
  - (4). Griechische Vasenmalerei I p. 284.
  - (5). Griechische Vasen, p. 182 ff.
  - (6). Der Pistozenos Maler.
  - (7). Greek Vases in Poland, p. 35.
  - (8). History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 348.

comments and describes Penthesilea's art as restless and sometimes sketchy in contrast to Pistoxenos' dainty and smoothly finished work. Both artists used the white-ground technique, but again there are differences : Penthesilea colours the solid areas on his compositions less intensely and does not, like Pistoxenos, use the golden brown dilute exclusively for outlines.

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> attributes thirty two pieces to him. His name is derived from a skyphos in Schwerin <sup>(2)</sup> signed by the potter Pistoxenos, portraying the young Herakles and his nurse Geropso on one side and on the other Linos instructing Herakles' brother Iphikles on the lyre. Several beautiful white ground pieces are assigned to his hand including the death of Orpheus on a fragmentary kylix in Athens (A. 459) <sup>(3)</sup> and a perfectly idyllic picture of Aphrodite riding on a goose in London (D2). <sup>(4)</sup> Martin Robertson <sup>(5)</sup> sees him as a personality of the new age : "a purely classical spirit". A fragment in New York (07.286.63), <sup>(6)</sup> again white ground, depicting the upper part of a woman wearing a chiton, a mantle and a sakkos characterises his rendering of the eye : black iris in the inner corner, strongly curving lids and fluffy hair. Pfuhl <sup>(7)</sup> emphasises that the artist is striving not only to portray natural

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- (1). ARV, p. 859.  
 (2). ARV, p. 862, No. 30.  
 (3). ARV, 860, No. 2.  
 (4). ARV, 862, No. 22.  
 (5). Greek Painting, 112.  
 (6). ARV, 861, No. 17.  
 (7). Masterpieces, 61.

beauty but also "expressive ugliness" for example his realistic representation of Heracles' old hag of a nurse Geropso.

The Brygos Painter who was earlier than the Sotades Painter comes next. His activity extends from about 500 B.C. to well beyond 480 B.C. He was primarily a cup painter and derives his name from the potter Brygos' signature found on five of the cups decorated by him. He was fond of violent movement - pursuit scenes, Dionysiac rites, revels and battles but despite this he did on occasions produce quiet, composed figures. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> attributes two hundred and twenty nine pieces to his hand. He was still painting within the archaic tradition but seemingly released from its constrictions. Pfuhl <sup>(2)</sup> admits that no one could call his pictures classical "but there is hardly anything archaic left in them either". A cup which illustrates his early violently active style is in the Louvre (G1152) <sup>(3)</sup> showing inside Phoenix being served with wine by Briseis and around the outside the famous Iliouperisis. Even if the artist had a contemporary mural in mind, he made no attempt to reproduce it on a monumental scale but preferred the relatively cramped exterior of a cup, on which the feeling of violent action is enhanced as the figures seem to be trying to burst out of the panel. Such exuberance is lacking in his later works which though weaker in style are more refined. The characteristics of his style are : a long skull, low forehead, finely shaped lips, strong round chin, long narrow eye, eyebrow strongly arched and high.

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(1). ARV, 368 ff.

(2). Masterpieces, 48.

(3). ARV, 369, No. 1.

The last group centres on the Berlin Painter and his followers. He was painting actively from c.500 B.C. to c.460 B.C. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> assigns two hundred and forty five red figure vases to him and states that his earlier works are the best and among these are many of the masterpieces of vase painting. His name is derived from an amphora in Berlin (2160) <sup>(2)</sup> depicting on one side a satyr and Hermes and on the other a single satyr. He has a predilection for portraying a single figure on a stark, black background e.g. the Berlin vase above, Ganymede on a bell crater in the Louvre (G175) <sup>(3)</sup> and Europa and the bull on a Tarquinia bell crater (RC 7456). <sup>(4)</sup> Throughout his work there is plainly visible a scheme for expressing in linear patterns the complicated anatomy of the human body. Richter <sup>(5)</sup> mentions the litheness and elasticity and the peculiar angular grace of his figures. Beazley <sup>(6)</sup> refers to his way of decorating a vase : a few large pictures, little pattern work, and much black as being characteristic of the latest archaic period.

One of the Berlin Painter's prominent pupils was Hermonax whose work covered the years c.470 B.C. to c.450 B.C. His signature has been found on ten vases. Beazley <sup>(7)</sup> attributed one hundred and sixty three

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- (1). ARV, 196 ff.
  - (2). ARV, 196, No. 1.
  - (3). ARV, 206, No. 124.
  - (4). ARV, 206, No. 126.
  - (5). R. and H. 38.
  - (6). The Berlin Painter, p. 1.
  - (7). ARV, 483 ff.

works to him. A lively example of his style is a lekythos in New York (41.162.19) <sup>(1)</sup> depicting a maenad in the Berlin Painter's solitary style with a satyr on the shoulder eating grapes. The slightly undulating lines of the maenad's chiton convey effectively the impression of motion. A stamnos in Munich (2413) <sup>(2)</sup> was widely regarded as typical of Hermonax's work, depicting the Birth of Erichthonios, but has since been detached from the list by Beazley, who refers to the artist as "The Painter of Munich 2413" - adding that it has a good deal in common with Hermonax. Earlier Beazley <sup>(3)</sup> stated that Hauser <sup>(4)</sup> had noticed the spiritual kinship between Sotades' vases and the Erichthonios stamnos. In all the works of Hermonax freshness and sense of movement is apparent. A distinctive element in his style is the drawing of the eye: the upper lid is convex instead of concave to the lower and the iris is a large black dot at the inner corner, which gives the face an alert expression.

Before describing the vases individually, it will be helpful to attempt to define the Sotades Painter's place in this Early Classical picture. Beazley <sup>(5)</sup> remarks that many of the painters of the immediately post-archaic period resemble him in one point or another and many of the

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(1). ARV, 490, No. 115.

(2). ARV, 495, No. 1.

(3). VA, 128.

(4). Furtwängler and Reichhold, "Die griechische Vasenmalerei" 3, pp. 91-94.

(5). Vases in Poland, p. 28.

smaller works of his time have something of his spirit. He continues "but his only true fellow, no replica of himself of course, but of the same breed is the Penthesilea Painter". Elsewhere <sup>(1)</sup> he describes the work of the Sotades and Penthesilea Painters as "a realistic art with a certain scorn of perfect finish".

Seltman <sup>(2)</sup> echoes Beazley's sentiments and mentions his kinship with Skythes as far as his "love of little comics and big-headed quaint Theseus persons" is concerned. Then a Brygan influence can be detected in that our painter seems to concentrate on fast-moving, violent scenes in his earlier works and later in life favours quieter, more peaceful subjects rather like those produced by the Pistoxenos Painter. In his earlier works, calm standing figures really only interest him in so far as they provide, as Peredolskaya <sup>(3)</sup> puts it, caesuras in the rhythmic flow of the picture.

Further, the Berlin Painter's habit of portraying a single figure against a black background is very often adopted by the Sotades Painter. This will be especially noticeable on the London rhyton (E788), <sup>(4)</sup> where an exquisitely drawn satyr appears and on the astragalos, where the black void that separates and surrounds the floating goddesses gives them an individuality that compels the observer to dwell momentarily on each figure.

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- (1). Ibid, p. 35.  
 (2). Attic Vase Painting, p. 72.  
 (3). Athenische Mitteilungen 53, p. 15.  
 (4). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WHITE GROUND CUPS.



Before describing the three vases in London, a few words must be said about the white ground technique, its development from the sixth century when it first began to appear and where precisely the Sotadean cups must be placed in such a survey. Shefton <sup>(1)</sup> mentions the Andokides Painter as being the first to use the technique at the beginning of the red-figure period on an amphora in the Louvre (F203). <sup>(2)</sup> After that it was used more frequently, the popular shapes being pyxides, alabastra, oinochoai and lekythoi. He places amongst the most important artists in the development of the technique the Pistoxenos - Sabouroff - and Sotades Painters.

Beazley in his lecture <sup>(3)</sup> on the Attic white-ground lekythoi discusses first the progression from black-figure to red-figure on a white slip and then describes the mature white ground style and how it developed. He recognises three stages in this development : (1) the red-figure technique of black wiry relief lines with dilute glaze for details, (2) the use of dilute glaze for major as well as minor lines and (3) the rejection of the lustrous glaze for outlines and details in favour of matt paint either red or black, or a mixture of both.

An example of this first stage is a cup in Munich (2645) <sup>(4)</sup> painted in the first quarter of the fifth century by the Brygos Painter. On the outside is a red-figure scene with Dionysos accompanied by satyrs and maenads and the white-ground interior

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(1). A History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 359.

(2). ARV, p. 4, No. 13.

(3). Attic White Lekythoi, pp. 3-4.

(4). ARV, p. 371, No. 15.

shows a maenad brandishing her thyrsus and carrying a leopard. Here we see the red-figure technique merely transferred to a white background, for most of the relief lines are in pure black glaze and details are in a golden brown or golden yellow, which is simply the black diluted.

The London cups must be placed in Beazley's second stage i.e. after 480 B.C. and before 450 B.C., where the wiry relief lines have vanished and dilute glaze is used for both outlines and all other detail. A fine example of this period is a cup in the British Museum (London D2) <sup>(1)</sup> by the Pistoixenos Painter inside which Aphrodite is to be seen floating astride a goose on a white slip. A covered cup in Boston (00.356) <sup>(2)</sup> dated to this period possibly from the brush of the Carlsruhe Painter is another work typical of this second stage. Here Apollo and a Muse appear inside a cup whose exterior is rendered in red-figure. Again golden yellow, golden brown and this time deep brown is employed. The two types of red to be seen on both the vases viz. the brownish and the purplish hues are most reminiscent of the colours used for the garments of Polyidos and Glaukos on London D5, which in turn remind one of a lekythos in Boston (13.201) <sup>(3)</sup> by the Achilles Painter. The outlines of the figures on this lekythos are rendered in dark brown to golden brown dilute glaze and the same two types of red are employed : purple for the lady's mantle and brown for the box

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(1). ARV, p. 862, No. 22.

(2). ARV, p. 741.

(3). ARV, p. 997, No. 156.

that her maid is holding. As will be mentioned below, there is a further connection between this lekythos and the London cup and that is one of subject matter i.e. both vases have a funerary theme, albeit of the "subtlest and faintest kind", as Robertson (1) says of the lekythos. There is certainly no direct allusion to the grave; the jewels assumed to be in the box could, however, be used to adorn their owner after death.

The Achilles Painter only really crosses from the second to the third stage in the development of this white ground technique in a few of his late vases. It is a painter like the Sabouroff Master who really belongs in this final stage, favouring matt outlines to the lustrous ones. Beazley (2) describes this painter's abundance of red-figure work as mediocre, and his white ground materials as his best. A typical piece from his hand is a lekythos from the Vlasto collection in Athens, (3) depicting a warrior and a woman at a tomb. A further possible connection can be found between a lekythos and the Polyidos and Glaukos cup, not, however, in technique, nor in subject matter, but in structure. The picture on the lekythos is made up of two elements : an arming scene of a traditional kind and a tomb where one understands the warrior being armed is going to lie. As will be demonstrated, the scene on the London cup is also believed by some to possess two elements.

Michael Vickers has recently (4) published a cup now in the Ashmolean Museum (1973.1), Oxford by the Villa Giulia Painter. It

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- (1). Greek Painting, p. 146.  
 (2). Attic White Lekythos, p. 16.  
 (3). ARV, p. 847, No. 200.  
 (4). J.H.S. (1974), pp. 177-179.

has a red-figure komos scene on the outside, and depicts a girl inside on a white ground. Just like the London D5 cup, a dilute brown line circumscribes the tondo and is set some distance from the edge. It is interesting that although the vase has been dated to the decade 460-450 B.C. i.e. Beazley's third stage, most of the detail is rendered in relief line. He also mentions a cup in Florence (75409) <sup>(1)</sup> by the Lyandros Painter dated c.460 B.C. on which black relief line is used extensively not only for outlines, but also for details such as chiton folds.

Beazley's three stages, then, were clearly not intended as any rigid rules because such overlapping is bound to occur. Shefton <sup>(2)</sup> was obviously aware of this when he wrote : "increasing (i.e. not exclusive use) use was made of the warmer golden-brown dilute at the expense of the wiry black relief line" (in the second quarter of the fifth century).

#### TWO VASES SIGNED BY THE SOTADES POTTER

(PLATE 1 (a) and (b))

(a) LONDON D6:- a very fragmentary cup of delicate make with merrythought handles. <sup>(3)</sup> Height 3", diameter  $5\frac{3}{8}$ ". The exterior is rendered in coral red. The main fragment of the interior, which itself consists of several smaller fragments pieced together, depicts a girl standing on tiptoe to pluck an apple from a tree. There is a restored area in the centre of the tondo and then to the left another fragment again composed of smaller pieces.

The girl is stretching out her right hand to the utmost to reach a particularly ripe-looking apple which just escapes her, for it is in fact the most inaccessible of the three

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(1). ARV, p. 835, No. 1.

(2). History of Greek Vase Painting, p. 359.

(3). Beazley, ARV, p. 763, No. 1.

hanging on the tree. Cook (1) describes the scene as one of the most surprising masterpieces of Classical Art. Seltman (2) seizes on this tree which occupies the central part of the tondo with enthusiasm, defying the viewer to find an equal even in the finest of Minoan art. The picture is however incomplete. There was another figure on the opposite side of the tree under the overhanging branches, the tips of which are still visible. Because of the low-hanging foliage it seems likely that this figure is either a child or a crouching/squatting/kneeling adult and a line is indeed visible possibly representing part of the back. Is this male or female figure merely observing her companion or is he/she playing a more positive role for example gathering up any apples which happen to be lying there?

Ernst Pfuhl (3) very aptly recalls Sappho's (4) simile which is here reproduced in full :

οἶον τὸ γλυκόμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρῳ ἐπ' ὕδασι  
 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδροπῆες  
 οὐ μὲν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐπίκεσθαι

(TRANSLATION [Denys Page] (5))

"As the sweet-apple reddens on the bough top,  
 on the top of topmost bough; the apple  
 gatherers forgot it - no, they did not quite  
 forget, but they could not reach so far".

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- (1). Greek Painted Pottery, p. 178.
  - (2). Attic Vase Painting, p. 71.
  - (3). Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting, p. 64.
  - (4). Sappho Fragment 105.
  - (5). Sappho and Alcaeus p. 121

This does seem very apt, especially since the girl is clearly not content with the apples well within her grasp, but prefers to reach out for a riper fruit further up the tree. This could, then, be simply an apple gathering scene (as Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez <sup>(1)</sup> believe) and so not a picture from mythology as Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> and several other authorities assert - to be precise a scene from the garden of the Hesperides depicting two of these daughters of Hesperus, the appointed guardians of the golden apples. Surely, one could argue, a guardian's duty is, as the name states to guard and not to pick the apples? There is, however, a parallel for the Hesperides picking the apples on a hydria by the Meidias Painter <sup>(3)</sup> in the British Museum <sup>(E114)</sup>. In the lower zone of the frieze Chrysothemis is reaching for an apple while on the other side of the tree Lipara is to be seen actually holding one in her left hand. It is certainly now tempting to follow Beazley and accept a mythological interpretation.

Several authorities before Beazley have held this view i.e. that the scene depicts Hesperides. W. Fröhner <sup>(4)</sup> according to Georges Daux <sup>(5)</sup> was the first to favour this interpretation. Frank Brommer, <sup>(6)</sup> however, credits Buschor with the initial theory. Daux supports this, quoting iconographical evidence. <sup>(7)</sup> The now almost invisible figure to the left of the tree has the inscription ΜΕΥΙΛΙ which many authorities

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- (1). Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquite, Vol. X, pp. 722-729.
  - (2). ARV, p. 763.
  - (3). ARV, p. 1313, No. 5.
  - (4). Catalogue de la Collection Van Brantgehem, No. 164, pl. 39.
  - (5). Revue Archeologique, 1945, p. 147.
  - (6). Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts 57, p. 112 (1942).
  - (7). See below for further discussion on inscriptions.

have transcribed MELISI. Daux, however, notes that the line which ends the inscription is slightly oblique and Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> says "it is conceivable that the final letter is a mutilated alpha", thus giving us MELISA. This is as far as Beazley goes, but Daux goes a stage further and quotes a lekythos in Naples (2873) signed by Asteas which "indisputably represents the Hesperides". <sup>(2)</sup> One of them is named Νηλιεα. Daux mentions other misspellings on the vase and suggests emending Νηλιεα into Μηλιεα (i.e. = Μελιεα). He further adds that it must be more than just a coincidence that the same name is used in the interval of a century (Sotades c. 5th and Asteas c. 4th).

The girl possesses a fresh, youthful quality. Her pose is delicate, as she stretches out her right hand towards the apple and with her left plucks up the overfold of her thin diaphanous chiton. She is so natural, like a model caught momentarily off her guard by a skilful photographer. Her long slender nose, half open mouth and well-rounded chin - all so characteristic of the Sotades Painter - are reminiscent of the maenad on the fragment in Boston (03.841). <sup>(3)</sup> Her eye, fixed upon her goal is very naturalistic, as is her ear which is partly obscured by the hair tied up with a band at the back. Her arms appear soft and feminine and the fingers, especially on the right hand are long and tapering. Her breasts are clearly visible through the transparent drapery, which is rendered exquisitely.

Her chiton which is pinned at each shoulder is still billowing forward round her legs through the action of standing on tiptoe to reach the apple and the folds ripple away from the finger and thumb which pluck up the garment below her waist.

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(1). Gnomon 13, p. 292.

(2). A.D. Trendall, Paestan Pottery pp. 21-22, plate IV.

(3). Beazley, ARV, 763, No. 4.

The varied use of colours is especially noticeable. Inside the cup they range from rich gold to cream. Dilute glaze is used for outlines and details such as hair, the hem of the girl's chiton and the trunk and branches of the tree. (The apples are in relief). The tondo, indicated by a linear circle in dilute glaze, occupies slightly more than half the area of the interior. Also on the inside there is a narrow black band on the rim on a reserved background. The cup has merrythought handles with the conical knobs at the end flattened. Areas of red remain on the base and stem.

Apart from the potter's signature which is not complete ( $\Lambda\Delta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\eta$ ), (cf. Martin Robertson's J.H.S. 1972 p. 182) observations in reply to Cook's article the previous year (J.H.S. 1971 p. 137 ff.) on the meaning of  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$  on Greek vases. He refers to this cup "of marvellously fine make" and believes that it was made by Sotades and was not just a product of the workshop of which Sotades was a painter), but is indisputably Sotades, one inscription remains which Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> finds puzzling. This is clearly the name of the apple picking girl. Only three letters remain. Philippart <sup>(2)</sup> in his article "Les coupes attiques à fond blanc" writes them as  $\Lambda\Delta\circ$ . But the triangle which represents the second letter surely cannot be a delta, for it is smaller than the other letters and is written in such a way as to correspond more to the upper part of an archaic rho whose stem has disappeared. The first letter, if intact, cannot be anything other than an Attic gamma, thus producing  $-\gamma\rho\circ$ . If the letters are not complete, however, the possible readings must then include  $\alpha\rho\circ$ ,  $\delta\rho\circ$ ,  $\omega\rho\theta$ . Beazley <sup>(3)</sup> summarises:

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(1). Gnomon 13, p. 292.

(2). Brussels : L'Antiquite Classique, 1936.

(3). Ibid.



"I take the right-hand legend to be  
... γρσ (= ... γρω ), the tail-end  
of a feminine proper name."

(PLATE 2 (a), (b) and (c))

(b) LONDON D5:- Height:- 3", diameter:-  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". Again a fragmentary cup "of delicate make with merrythought handles" is Beazley's (1) description. One of the handles has traces of matt black and the other is cracked in the middle. The underside of the bowl is also matt black but there are two reserved patches between the base of the handles. The top of the foot is, again, matt black except for a reserved band about  $\frac{1}{5}$ " in from the edge. In the interior, in which two figures are portrayed, there are four restored patches and there are visible cracks over the whole surface. One of the figures is kneeling and aiming a spear, the other crouching and gazing intently at the ground. There is some dispute (2) about the spelling of the figures' names but no one is in any doubt that here we see Polyidos (3) and Glaukos. The story as told by Apollodorus (4) goes as follows : Glaukos, the son of Minos is dead after falling into a jar of honey. The seer Polyidos was shut by Minos in the boy's tomb to bring him back to life. While at a loss how to act he saw a snake approaching the boy and promptly killed it. A second snake, however, appeared bringing a herb with which it revived its dead companion. With the help of the same herb Polyidos brought Glaukos to life.

It seems that several of these events are represented simultaneously in our picture. Inside the tholos, whose walls are indicated with various courses of masonry, Polyidos is poised to kill the snake, while Glaukos, his eyes open, apparently revived already, watches - or so

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(1). ARV, 763, No. 2.

(2). See below for discussion about inscriptions.

(3). I follow Beazley's spelling, ARV, ibid.

(4). III.2.III.

it seems at first glance. Then on another level, that is below the pebbled floor of the tomb, the snake slithers up to its dead mate. The approaching snake is represented in the bold loop pattern regularly used according to Robertson (1) to show the creature in motion, while the other is in a twisted knot, clearly indicating death. Robertson (2) supports the theory that several elements of the story are here being portrayed simultaneously and quotes the great mural painter Polygnotus' "Iliupersis" (3) as a precedent for both ambiguities of space and time.

Such ambiguities can be accepted in such a monumental painting, but in our diminutive picture, to say the least, it requires great imaginative powers on the part of the beholder to put the different parts of the story into perspective. So is this then just one scene from the story? If so, Polyidos is here seen ready to strike the second snake, if need be, as it approaches the other. Glaukos, still dead, is in the crouching posture in which corpses were buried in primitive times, (4) but, as indicated above, has his eyes open.

Perrot and Chipiez (5) remark that when archaeologists have opened some graves dating from the heroic period corpses were seen squatting in this way. I do prefer this attractively simple explanation and I feel that what Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (6) refers to as a "synoptical" treatment of the story though convincing is not

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(1). Greek Painting, 134.

(2). Ibid.

(3). See Pausanias Hellados Periegesis, §. 15. 1ff

(4). cf. Kurtz and Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, p. 110.

(5). Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, p. 724.

(6). J.H.S. (1974) p. 136, (discussing a three-sided relief in Boston).

the answer. She describes this as a "fully synoptical scene" and says that Greek art and especially archaic Greek art does not always show a 'snapshot' view of the story represented, but can interweave elements belonging to different moments of the story.

A puzzling feature of the picture is the tripod which rests on top of the exterior of the tholos. This can, I feel, be explained by further reading of the Apollodorus <sup>(1)</sup> story. Minos and his wife Pasiphae search for the lost Glaukos, but being unsuccessful, consult the oracle at Delphi, where they are informed that whoever could give the best simile for a recent portentous birth in Crete would find what was lost. Minos duly made enquiries and learned that a heifer-calf had been born among his herds which changed its colours three times a day - from white to red and from red to black. None of his soothsayers could supply an answer until Polyidos said: "This calf resembles nothing so much as a ripening black- (or mul-) berry". Robert Graves <sup>(2)</sup> notes that white, red and black, the colours of Minos' heifer, were also those of Io, the Moon-cow, those of Augeias' sacred bulls and, on a Caeretan hydria, <sup>(3)</sup> those of the Minos bull which carried off Europe. More significantly he goes on to say that clay or plaster tripods sacred to the Cretan goddess (i.e. the Snake or Household goddess) found at Nirou Khani near Amnisos in E. Crete and a similar tripod found at Mycenae were painted in white, red and black. Thus the tripod would seem to be a type of cult symbol, similar to the "labrys" or double-axe which R.W. Hutchison <sup>(4)</sup> associates with the Household Goddess. Further,

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(1). Op. cit.

(2). Greek Myths, p. 306.

(3). Rome, Villa Giulia 50643 cf. Bollettino d'Arte, 2nd Series,

(4). Prehistoric Crete pp 224-225 <sup>III (1924) pp. 506 ff., figures 9, 10.</sup>

the tripod in our picture bears a striking resemblance to a double-axe. A simpler and possibly more convincing explanation of the tripod would be that it served as a grave marker. modern?

The facial features are again carefully and delicately drawn. Polyidos' nose, like that of Hesperus' daughter, is long and forms a sweeping curve with the forehead, over which the hair falls in a confusion of black curls. His eyebrow is slightly arched above the eye with the pupil in the inner corner. His lips are set and his chin soft and round. The right side of his body from shoulder to waist is missing; only the left arm and hand are visible in any detail. We have a good example here of the Sotades Painter's characteristic rendering of the hand: a pointing or limp hand (Polyidos' left hand is pointing) is usually portrayed with the thumb and only two fingers visible, while a hand grasping or clenching something (as Polyidos' right hand) exhibits all four fingers. Glaukos' expression is consistent with that of a corpse - lifeless and totally without animation. The familiar features of round chin, slightly arched eyebrow and pupil in the inner corner are in evidence. The nose deviates from the norm in that a bridge is indicated, thus interrupting the characteristically sweeping curve of forehead and nose.

As often in the case of the white-ground sepulchral lekythoi, the dark funeral robes, which shroud Glaukos, lend a distinctly solemn, awesome quality to the painting. The heavy folds over his back however with their pronounced zig zags at the ends are slightly unnatural, as are the folds of drapery which cover the lower part of Polyidos. A.S. Murray <sup>(1)</sup> takes the lekythos comparison

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(1). White Athenian Vases in the British Museum. Introduction, p. 10.

further and says that the subject of the vase with the large tumulus in the centre may not be in itself sufficient to indicate that this cup was specially painted for a tomb, because tumuli do appear occasionally on vases which were not, so far as we know, so destined. Yet to him the prominence of the tumulus and the appropriateness of the legend go far to prove that the original intention of the painter had been to provide a vase for a tomb. This to me is going too far, however, for it seems extremely unlikely that potters and painters had tombs in mind for their drinking vessels.

Again there is a varied use of colours. The slip has a creamy hue. Golden brown dilute is used for the details of hair on both figures, the snakes, the spear and the outline of the tholos. Black is interspersed with gold in the hair of Glaukos and the scales of the snakes. The drapery is coloured dark red or brown with darker relief lines added to indicate folds. The pebbles are also in relief. The tripod above is outlined in dark gold.

At the top of the tholos directly below the tripod the cup is signed ΑΔΕΣ which all authorities take to be a mutilated form of ἸΟΤΑΔΕΣ. Rather unusually though no ἐποίησεν or ἐποίη is present. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> says that the only difficulty with D5 is the third inscription which is not Ιαυκοι as Philippart <sup>(2)</sup> gives, but (Γ) λ α υ κ ο <sup>(3)</sup> with the top of the sigma preserved. Elsewhere <sup>(3)</sup>

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(1). Gnomon 13, p. 292.

(2). Les coupes attiques a foud blanc, 1936, Brussels.

(3). A.J.A., 1935, p. 483.

with reference to the name of Glaukos' companion he says that according to Pearson <sup>(1)</sup> the form Polyeidos read here by Murray, Cecil Smith, Höfer and Hoppin is 'entirely late'. He also asserts that in Sophocles the name is written Πολυίδης and in Homer Πολυῖδης. He concludes: "But what the cup shows, as far as I can make out, is Πολυίδης. I follow Beazley in recognising this reading.

STEMLESS CUP  
(PLATE 3 (a) and (b))

LONDON D7:- stemless cup of the same delicate make as the signed cups D5 and D6 mentioned above. Height 1", diameter 5½". Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> describes as modern the merrythought handles which are black with a reserved strip down the middle. The exterior is reserved with a matt black rim and a matt black band about ⅓" wide round the foot, at the centre of which are two concentric circles surrounding another circle. Beazley says of the interior:

"unexplained subject; interpreted as the Death of Opheltes, but the man from dress and face, can hardly be a hero".

Inside there is a black band about ⅓" wide approximately ⅛" in from the edge and then a red band about ⅛" wide. The line defining the tondo is about one inch from the rim and is rendered in matt brown. Again the interior is fragmentary, one fragment lying outside the tondo, and another just inside and containing a falling figure and a third, carrying the main picture. All the rest is restored.

The tondo <sup>(3)</sup> is dominated by the figure of a bearded man in a fur hat and cloak, brandishing a stone in his right hand and carrying a stick or club in his left. He is about to attack with the stone a menacing snake with bulging eye and smoke-breathing jaws, as it rears up to strike from behind some tall, waving reeds, whose tips point forward and thus accentuate the forward thrust of the head. The slight,

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- (1). Fragments of Sophocles II, p. 58.
  - (2). ARV, p. 763, No. 3.
  - (3). That is, the part still intact.

semi-naked body of the man seems no match for its deadly onslaught. In front of the man and apparently falling or cowering away from the snake are the draped legs <sup>(1)</sup> of a female and what seems to be, as Robertson <sup>(2)</sup> and Murray <sup>(3)</sup> assert, the toe of the central figure's right foot.

Now the question of subject arises. Is it, as Murray <sup>(4)</sup> states, a scene after the death of Opheltes (or Archemoros, as he is also known)? The story goes that the Seven Heroes on their march to Thebes came to Nemea, a land at the time suffering from drought. Hypsipyle, the nurse of the King's son <sup>(5)</sup> Opheltes, led the heroes to a spring; but while she was absent, her charge was killed by a serpent. Opheltes was buried by the heroes, who founded the Nemean Games in his honour. His name was afterwards changed to Archemoros. Murray says <sup>(6)</sup> the figure of Archemorus is altogether wanting and further records that it has been proposed to call the hunter Hippomedon, one of the heroic Seven against Thebes.

Beazley <sup>(7)</sup> doubts that this figure is a hero; and his cape, cap and rural staff must surely substantiate this. After all, where is the armour one would expect a member of the Seven to be wearing? And the stone he waves in his right hand would certainly require no "supreme effort" to lift, nor would it serve as too conspicuous "a boundary mark of a field", as Statius <sup>(8)</sup> describes.

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(1). The rest is missing.

(2). Greek Painting, 129.

(3). White Athenian Vases in the British Museum, p. 28.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Lycurgus, King of Nemea.

(6). Ibid.

(7). ARV, 763, No. 3.

(8). Thebaid V, 559.

All these points would seem to preclude any positive identification of the figure as a hero and certainly not as Hippomedon. So probably this is not after all a representation of the scene after Opheltes' death, unless we agree with Pfuhl (1) who is convinced that this is such a scene, but who goes too far, I feel, in his enthusiasm to recognise Hippomedon, saying:

"This naturalistic study, in this place a boorish huntsman in a skin and fur cap instead of one of the seven knights who rode against Thebes, is most characteristic of the early Classical style ..."

In any case, if the stumbling female figure is indeed Hypsipyle, why is she so eager to leave her charge in the lurch as she rushes away? This is certainly not consistent with her feelings as portrayed by Statius, (2) who describes her as "effera luctu" as she rushes back from the fountain, only to find the dismembered body of Opheltes scattered about.

In addition to the Opheltes theory, there are two further possibilities. First, the scene could be that of Jason confronting the dragon which guarded the golden fleece; this is doubtful for the following reasons: Jason, according to Ovid, (3) "sprinkles the dragon with a herb whose juices bring oblivion", which is hardly the pose of the creature in our picture. Also in a cup by Douris in the Vatican (4) Jason is pictured being regurgitated by

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(1). Masterpieces, p. 65.

(2). Ibid, 591.

(3). Metamorphoses VII.

(4). ARV, 437, No. 116.



the dragon. This is, as Seltman says <sup>(1)</sup> "an utterly reptilian reptile", which is plainly man-eating, unlike the reptile here, which is really nothing more than a large serpent with fire-breathing and possibly man-crushing capacities. There is on the other hand an Italiote volute crater in Munich (3268) by the Sisyphos Painter <sup>(2)</sup> which depicts just such a reptile as ours, confronting Jason. The overriding consideration is, however, that our hero does not have the appearance of a Greek, while the Sisyphos Painter's Jason has.

The second possibility and to me the most likely is that the central figure is Kadmos, the son of Agenor, who was in turn Libya's son by Poseidon. He left his homeland of Egypt to settle in the land of Ganaan and there married Telephassa who bore him five sons, one of whom was Kadmos. The moustache and beard are after all definitely not Greek and could well be Egyptian or Syrian. The scene here depicted is surely that at the spring near Thebes, where Kadmos kills the dragon that guards the spring after it had murdered most of his companions. Kadmos had been sent by his father to search for his sister Europe who had been abducted by Zeus, after he had assumed the form of a snow-white bull. All the brothers had been entrusted with this task and Kadmos' travels take him to Rhodes, Thera and then ultimately Thrace, where his wife Telephassa dies. He then proceeds to the Delphic oracle to see if divine inspiration can lead him to Europe. The cryptic reply was that he should follow a cow and found a city wherever she should sink in weariness. As he left the oracle he caught sight of a heifer and followed it to the present site of Thebes. He sent his men immediately to fetch lustral water to pour a libation in honour of Athene. It is while they are drawing water at the spring that the dragon kills them. Kadmos, puzzled by the delay, is soon on the scene and sees the bodies of his men scattered about and the menacing jaws of his foe.

(1). Attic Vase Painting 63.

(2). A.D. Trendall, Frühitaliotische Vasen, pp. 22, 39 No. 15.

Ovid (1) actually says "his shield was a lionskin" and the central figure here certainly has some type of animal skin draped over his arm. The poet even goes on to say that "he lifted a great stone in his right hand" - just the pose of the figure here. To support this identification there is a calyx-crater in New York (07.286.66) (2) attributed by Beazley to the Spreckels Painter and by Richter (3) to an associate of Polygnotos, depicting a similar scene: Kadmos, in one hand the hydria with which he was about to fetch water from the fountains of Ares, aims a stone with his right hand at the dragon he has encountered there. The dragon is strikingly similar to the dragon in our picture, complete with bulging eye and gaping mouth; and the reeds behind which it rears up are also very familiar. \* A puzzling feature in the Sotades Painter's cup, however, is the half-complete female character in the lower part of the picture. Ovid mentions no female in his account. Could this then be the priestess or some girl entrusted with the care of the fountain? Or could it now be Harmonia, Kadmos's future wife, who appears seated on the rock next to the dragon in the Spreckels Painter's picture? Richter (4) says of the latter:

"There are a number of versions in Greek literature of the story of Kadmos and the dragon. In none of them does Harmonia, his future wife, appear guarded by a dragon. In our scene there is no suggestion that Harmonia is a prisoner. Her presence is therefore best explained as due to her being an integral part of the story of Kadmos."

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- (1). Metamorphoses III.
  - (2). ARV, 617, No. 7.
  - (3). Richter and Hall, Red Figured Athenian Vases, pl. 126.
  - (4). Richter and Hall, R.F.A.V., p. 160.

\* cf. also a bell crater in Naples (3226) by Asteas (Trendall Paestan Pottery pp 23-24 plate V) depicting Kadmos, who is holding a stone in his right and wearing a hat very similar to that worn by the central figure on our cup

*but how just detail on p35*

There are strong grounds then for supposing that it is Kadmos whom we see here rescuing Harmonia from the dragon who has already disposed of his men.

Subject matter apart, some discussion must now follow about the painter's treatment of this masterly piece of miniature (the complete tondo is after all barely four inches in diameter). Kadmos' dress may be rude, but the composition, technique and details of the figure drawing are certainly not so. The sharply-defined nose, the curling eyebrow, the wispy beard and moustache and the half-open mouth all contribute to this highly original face, which could well have been drawn from life. The head is in profile, the body frontal and the legs in three-quarter view. Most of the anatomical detail is visible : the musculature of the chest, right arm, stomach, legs, the collar-bone, umbelicus, genitals and patella of left leg. He wears a sort of rustic headdress and an animal skin draped cloak-like over his left shoulder and chest and tied over his right. His facial expression is half wonder and half fear, as he appears to take a step back, poised to attack the dragon, which in turn rears up to strike. Its body curls back in a magnificent figure-eight fold, which tapers gradually, giving way finally to a terrifying head and gaping mouth, out of which belches a cloud of white smoke. The bulging round eye, set high in the head, conveys an even more fearsome appearance. In the lower half of the tondo, the two legs of a draped female are visible. She wears a chiton, but as in the orchard scene <sup>(1)</sup> both legs are clearly to be seen through the diaphanous material. Only one foot - that of her foreshortened

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(1). i.e. the girl picking apples on London D6.

31  
right leg - remains, apparently clinging with the toes to the line of the tondo; the detail of toes and nails is really remarkable.

The technique of drapery representation is especially worthy of note in the chiton of the female. The folds flow very naturalistically, round the knee of her right leg especially, which bends as she careers forwards. Far more detail is apparent here than in the case of the stretching apple-picker - not obtrusive detail though, for the translucent effect of the drapery is achieved here with equal success. This charming, natural and smooth representation of drapery really marks the zenith of 5th century vase painting in this particular field.

The figures are drawn in a golden honey colour with darker glaze for outlines and details, especially on the dragon's scales and Kadmos' cloak and stick. The slip is a creamy-yellow, on to which the tondo circle is painted, larger than that of D6<sup>(1)</sup> also in a dark brown glaze. The smoke vomitted by the dragon is represented by white pigment in relief.

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(1). ARV, 763, No. 1.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ASTRAGALOS.

## ASTRAGALOS

(LONDON E804)

(PLATES 4(a) and (b), 5(a) and (b))

The astragalos or knucklebone has six sides, only four of which are decorated. Side one (plate 4(a)) has the Greek name  $\chi\acute{\iota}\nu$ , side two (plate 4(b)) is called  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ , Side three (plate 5(a)) is  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$  and side four  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa$  (plate 5(b)). Side five, one of the two undecorated pointed ends was known as  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\iota\alpha$  and side six had no name.

J. Six <sup>(1)</sup> believes the piece to have been used in a game rather like dice, some of the sides carrying different scores or having different values. When one considers, however, that the astragalos is six inches long, not only would it have been an unwieldy dice to throw but also its resistance to anything more than gentle usage would have been very low. Stackelberg, <sup>(2)</sup> referring to the opening on side one suggests that it could have been used as a lamp. The complete absence of any oil or smoke discoloration on either the exterior or interior must surely dismiss this theory. It is Lane, <sup>(3)</sup> who, for me, is nearer the mark when he suggests the astragalos probably contained real knucklebones for the game described by Six above. Its use as a container for the dice would naturally expose it to far less danger of cracking or breaking and would thus explain why the piece has remained intact upto the present day.

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- (1). J.H.S. XIII, p. 135 ff. "Auræ".  
 (2). Die Gräber der Hellenen, p. 18 ff.  
 (3). Greek Pottery, p. 48.

INTERPRETATION OF THE WHOLE

Beazley (1) says:- "uncertain subject! women dancing and a man; the Clouds (Curtius)?" Stackelberg (2) believes the females to be the Seasons, (side one), the Hyades, (side two), and the Pleiades, (sides three and four). Seltman (3) is convinced that here we see "the dance of the little clouds". Several authorities, as will be seen below, put forward a partial interpretation. I shall attempt to show that on side one we see Hephaistos and on side two Aphrodite, each attended by a chorus of young girls probably engaged in a dance such as the Partheneion, which Lillian B. Lawler (4) describes as a graceful dance by a chorus of maidens in honour of a deity or a hero. She goes on to say that it was believed that the Graces, the Muses, the Nymphs, the Horae or Seasons and other supernatural beings engaged in similar dances. She quotes as an example the calyx crater in the Villa Giulia (907) (5) by the Villa Giulia Painter which is roughly contemporary with our painter's work. On it several girls wearing clothes similar to those on the astragalos are holding hands and dancing. The females on sides three and four could then either be Aurae as Six (6) suggests or simply nymphs.

Side 1

(PLATE 4 (a))

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- (1). ARV, p. 765.  
 (2). Ibid.  
 (3). Attic Vase Painting, p. 71.  
 (4). The Dance in Ancient Greece, pp. 102-104.  
 (5). ARV, p. 618 No. 1.  
 (6). Ibid.

## Interpretation

The old bearded man who appears almost satyr like, wearing a piece of material slung over the lower part of his body like a loin cloth while his upper parts are uncovered is referred to by Stackelberg (1) as simply an old man. As he stands, knees bent apparently and his arms outstretched, he seems to be welcoming three approaching females who have joined hands and are dancing towards him. Stackelberg positively identifies the girls as the "Horae" or Seasons: Eirene, Eunomia and Dike who watch over the cloud gates of Olympos and open or close them. If these females are the Seasons, however, the presence of the old man is, to say the least, puzzling.

Six, (2) on the other hand, does not presume to be able to identify the scene or the figures mythologically, but describes the old man as a troglodyte (the hole in the astragalos being the entrance to his cave) and the girls as "dancing along in the scheme of the Charites or Graces". He cites a passage from Pausanias (3) to establish a connection between the astragalos and the Charites since an astragalos is to be seen in the hand of one of them at Olympia, but he does emphasise that this does not in any way explain the scene.

Lane (4) believes the old man to be Hephaistos, whose forge is imagined as inside the gaping hole of the astragalos which is his cavern under Aetna. He is gathering the clouds shown as maidens. He says it is a burlesque on Homer's "Zeus the cloud-gatherer" ( $\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha$  Zeus). Hephaistos this could well be, for the bent right leg of the 'old man' could be explained as the deformity sustained by his enforced descent from Olympos.

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(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). VI.44.VI.

(4). Ibid.



Seltman (1) thinks that there is some notion of the comic chorus in the scene and refers to Lane's Hephaistos as "an ugly little comic choregos". Webster (2) says that it must illustrate some special dance in which dancing women are met by an uncouth man possibly Hephaistos. If Seltman is correct in his interpretation the 'old man' by his gestures may well be explaining something to the three girls, possibly in his role as *Σιδαικῶδες* or dancing master teaching three beginners the rudiments of a dance. This dance could be the *ἄσπας* which was, however, usually performed by girls and boys holding hands and forming a circle.

As indicated above, a more likely dance is the Partheneion which is probably being performed in honour of Hephaistos who is depicted as actually witnessing the festivities.

Description

Hephaistos, as I prefer to call him, is most reminiscent of the Goluchow Kantharos (3) Satyrs and only really needs the bald pate and shaggy beard to complete the comparison. His profile eye is full and round with the pupil centrally placed. His eyebrow is a bold semi-circle, the nose short, squat and retroussé with the nostril visible. His trimmed beard rather reminds one of that belonging to the central character on the London cup (4) though his was confined to the upper lip and chin. His arms are outstretched, the left pointing upwards and the right towards the first female.

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- (1). Attic Vase Painting, pp. 71-72.
  - (2). Potter and Patron in Classical Athens, p. 122.
  - (3). ARV, p. 764 No. 7 cf. PLATE 5(c).
  - (4). D7 ARV, p. 763 No. 3 cf. PLATE 3(a).

The three females are wearing chitons and short himatia or mantles pinned to their shoulders. The leading one is either wearing a black headdress or has hair which is lighter at the front and sides. The second female, looking behind her in deprecatory fashion, as if making a malicious observation says Six <sup>(1)</sup> is dressed similarly except for lighter headdress and hair. The third, only visible in part, wears no headdress over her curly hair. She clasps the hand of her companion and appears to be taking a very deliberate step forward.

Sides 2, 3 and 4

PLATES 4(b), 5(a) and 5(b)

Interpretation

In striking contrast to these three females who indisputably have their feet on the ground and are clearly human, come the ten floating female figures on the other sides. Six <sup>(2)</sup> in his article on the sculptures of the Xanthian Heroon identifies the chorus of winged females surrounding the tomb as Aurae or Breezes. As he remarks, in the burning climate of Xanthus nothing could be more acceptable and more readily understood than the cooling properties of the Aurae. At the same time he mentions our astragalos and is convinced that the ten females in groups of three, three and four, floating through the air, several sailing by the aid of their garments are the Aurae. He further states that the sprig in the hand of one of them is a fit attribute of those who caress the flowers, as Catullus <sup>(3)</sup> says:-

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(1). Ibid, p. 136.

(2). Ibid, p. 134.

(3). Carmina LXII 39-41.

"flos ..... quem mulcent Aurae"

He pours scorn on the interpretation of Stackelberg who believes that here we see the Hyades, clearly undeterred by the apparent loss of three from the number of seven frequently mentioned in antiquity. Stackelberg defends his interpretation by stating that they are often represented as being six and sometimes only five viz. Arsinoe, Ambrosia, Bromia, Kisseis and Koronis. The ivy branch in the hand of one of the females, he adds, could be a reference to the name Kisseis, that is if it has not a general Bacchic connotation. He explains that they are the rain constellations beneficial to nature's growth and thus the nurses and attendants of Dionysos and that they were changed into stars while they were weeping for their dead brother Hyas.

Stackelberg goes on to say that the two groups of three floating females on sides three and four are the Pleiades. Again there is discussion as to their number. Strictly speaking, he says, there should be seven in the constellation but here there are only six. He gives their names as:- Maia, Kalypso, Alcyone, Merope, Elektra and Celaeno, adding that the names of Taygete and Sterope sometimes appear, since Merope does not show herself in the troupe because she is ashamed of her marriage with Sisyphos, a mere mortal.

Six's identification of these ten females as Aurae is certainly tempting. I feel, however, that the female set on a higher plane on side 2 (plate 4(51)) and attended by three others is Aphrodite. She is clearly a goddess, just as they are clearly ethereal. How fitting it would have been to portray Hephaistos on one side and his wife Aphrodite on the other, for surely it is significant that both figures appear in the same place on these two important long sides. This could, then, be

Aphrodite and the Charites or Gratiae her frequent attendants. Homer (1) describes how they attend Aphrodite and Horace (2) says:-

"iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes ..."

Pindar (3) says:-

οὐδε γὰρ θεοὶ δύνοντο χαρίτων ἄτερ  
καίρα νέεσθαι χάρις.

Furthermore in the game similar to dice but played with astragalos the best throw with four astragalos on the palm of the hand after counting the value of the upturned sides was known as Aphrodite.

The remaining six females on the other two sides could then be Aurae or are they simply nymphs? We have already decided that Hephaistos is standing in front of the mouth of a cave and nymphs were worshipped in caves. This fact and Lillian Lawler's description of nymphs taking part in the Partheneion leads me to believe that here we see two groups of nymphs dancing in honour of Aphrodite and Hephaistos.

Description

Side 2

(PLATE 4 (b))

Aphrodite the female figure positioned slightly higher than her three attendants bows her head as the first girl deferentially holds what appears to be a vine over her head. As she hovers ballerina-like on tip toes, her body is frontal, her head profile and her legs in three quarter view. Her arms outstretched from her sides like wings remind one of the maenad on the Goluchow Kantharos (Plate 5(c)), though the detail and technique seem far advanced.

(1). Iliad VIII 364.  
(2). Carmina I.4.  
(3). Olympian Ode XIV.

Her three attendants glide towards her, their right arms set at different angles, describing an arc which is extended into the vine held by the first girl. All the heads are profile though with frontal eyes. Full use has been made of drapery to denote floating movement with the chiton folds billowing out especially round the legs. The designs of the chitons are subdued and vary from each other only in minor details.

Side 3

(PLATE 5 (a))

Three young female figures are to be seen floating on roughly the same plane. The girl on the left is facing away from the central figure and is holding in her right hand what seems to be a branch or a sprig. She wears a headdress which allows her hair to protrude upwards at the back. She is dressed in a chiton which lays bare her forearms, one hand holding the sprig, the other plucking at her garments.

The central figure also wears a headdress, this time covering the whole head. The outstretched wings provide the artist with an excellent opportunity for a frontal portrayal which is skilfully and naturalistically executed. Just like the girl on the left, she appears to be floating toes downward.

In marked contrast to her two companions, the third female though wearing a headdress is muffled up in a himation. Beneath her chiton the feet appear, again toes pointing downward. In all three cases the folds of the chiton emphasise movements.

Side 4

(PLATE 5 (b))

Another trio of females floating in the void appear with drapery swirling round their legs. Here attention is focused on the centre by the two outside figures watching the central female who is set on a slightly lower plane.

The girl to her left wears a headdress with a ring of curls visible from ear to forehead. She holds both hands out in front of her, one or possibly both plucking at the corner of her chiton. The central figure is of smaller stature. She wears a fillet on her head and, like the first figure, the hair over her forehead is very stylised. Like her counterpart on side three she is floating with the aid of "wings" with which she seems to be gesticulating to the girl in front.

The third female is drifting away to her left while at the same time fixing her gaze on the central figure. She too wears a fillet round her head and displays the same stylised fringe which hangs over her forehead. The familiar two fingers and a thumb can be seen on the outstretched hands, just as on the left female.

Sides 5 and 6 are not decorated but are left in the black of the glaze. On these and the other sides, however, traces of red are discernible due to excessive oxidising conditions in the firing.

In all the scenes depicted, the drapery is used to good effect to portray movement and is particularly successful on sides three and four where these ethereal females glide through the air, garments streaming behind them. The figures have an almost three dimensional appearance, which is enhanced by the artist's technique of dispensing with any ground line and allowing the figures to float in the void. All these features contribute to the charm of the piece, which seems all the greater when one considers the care and precision that clearly went into the production of this knucklebone shape which at the time was extremely rare. (1)

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(1). There is an earlier astragalos in the Villa Giulia (866) by the Syriskos<sup>painter</sup> (ARV, p. 260, No. 8), which the potter Syriskos signed and hence gave his name to the painter (cf. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period, pl. 204).

CHAPTER FOUR

SATYRS.

Obviously a favourite with our painter is the portrayal of the characters that Rose <sup>(1)</sup> refers to as:

"quasi-human in shape, but more or less grotesque in build and features, always male, always sexually excited and with some part of them definitely bestial"

i.e. satyrs. As he says in earlier Attic art they have horses tails, and sometimes goat-like attributes viz. little horns, prick ears and often goats' legs. They are usually depicted as lustful with maenads very often their quarry, fond of dancing and revelry and cowardly. Rose <sup>(2)</sup> distinguishes between these and the Seilenoi, which generally speaking are older satyrs and heavily drunk at that, compared with the younger satyrs who are usually just merry with wine.

When these satyrs or seilens appear on Attic vases, however, it is very difficult to determine whether a mythological scene is being depicted or, as very often is the case, we have a scene from a satyr play. Such plays are closely related to tragedy : they usually followed three tragic plays at a dramatic festival. Webster <sup>(3)</sup> states that it was early in the sixth century at Corinth that we have evidence of dancers impersonating beings akin to satyrs and from 540 B.C. in Athens we find evidence for dithyramb danced and sung in satyr costume. Brommer <sup>(4)</sup> describes the beginning of the fifth century as the heyday of satyr drama and says they were called "Silenoi" in Athens at the beginning of the sixth century, whereas in "the place of their origin", the Peloponnese, they were known as "Satyroi".

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(1). Greek Mythology, p. 156.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 15.

(4). Satyrspiele, p. 7.



One of the best pictorial representations of a satyr play can be found on a volute-crater in Naples (3240) <sup>(1)</sup> painted towards the end of the fifth century by the Pronomos Painter, so-called because the famous flute-player of that name is the central figure. He appears seated in the lower tier of the picture accompanied by the poet Demetrios sitting on a stool to the left and the lyre player Charinos who is standing. In the upper tier is the chorus of a satyr play, which comprises eleven men wearing special furry drawers and an actor impersonating Papposilenos, the senior satyr, on the right.

Brommer <sup>(2)</sup> considers the most complete representation of a satyr play to be on a hydria in Boston (0.3.788). <sup>(3)</sup> As on the Boston fragments <sup>(4)</sup> painted by our painter, the satyrs wear material drawers and horse's tails. Here, however, they are obviously wearing masks, for there is a clear division between mask and pate. It is only on this vase that the stage performance of the satyr dance is depicted. On the right the flute player can be seen, dressed in a long richly-decorated garment, as was Pronomos on the Naples volute crater. Five stage satyrs approach him, leaping up and down and carrying what appear to be pieces of furniture - possibly, as on the Pronomos crater, to make a couch on which they intend to have a drinking-session with Herakles.

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(1). ARV, p. 1336, No. 1.

(2). Satyrspiele, p. 12.

(3). ARV, p. 571, No. 75.

(4). See below PLATE 6

Brommer (1) lists as the characteristics of satyr-drama:- the flute player, the stage satyr's dress, their stock movements in the ritual satyr dance (examples of which will be referred to below), their leaping and springing up and down ("Sprünge"), their reluctant attitude when asked to accomplish a task and finally their clownish antics when no one is supervising them. It seems to be a favourite theme in satyr drama for the satyrs to be under the domination of severe taskmasters (fremde Herren) and be compelled to perform menial tasks. Euripides' "Cyclops" is a good example, where the satyrs are forced to carry out the will of their master, the one-eyed giant, the Cyclops.

As will be made clear in the case of the Boston fragments, the difference between stage and mythical satyrs is not always quite obvious on vase paintings. A seemingly clear mythical representation of satyrs in the presence of deities may well be a scene from a satyr play no longer extant, whose subject is quite unknown to us. Brommer (2) illustrates this possibility by referring to a crater in London (1947.7) <sup>by the Cyclops Painter</sup> (3) on which appear Polyphemos, Odysseus, his companions and satyrs. He makes the point that the subject would indeed have been difficult to interpret, had we not available Euripides' "Cyclops", of which this is clearly a scene. He quotes as a further example a red-figure cup in Athens (4295) on which Hermes, two-headed Argos, a satyr and a flute-player appear - a scene, he says, from Sophocles' "Inachos".

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(1). Satyrspiele, p. 15.

(2). Ibid, p. 18.

(3). cf. A. D. Trendall South Italian Vase Painting plate 2

Brommer, (1) in making some general points about satyr-drama, refers to the satyrs' carefree dances, their wit, their lies and the invariable happy ending ("Freudige Tänze, derbe Witze, ängstliche Lüge und Feigheit und schliesslich doch glückliches Ende gehören hier und wohl immer zum Satyrspiel").

I shall begin the catalogue of the Sotadean satyr vases with the signed Kantharos once part of the collection of Prince Czartoryski which was originally housed in the Castle Goluchow Poland but is now in Warsaw.

(A) GOLUCHOW, CZARTORYSKI 76 (PLATE 5<sup>c</sup> a, b, c, d, e)

This is a Kantharos classified by Beazley (2) as "type D, Sotadean". Elsewhere (3) he compares the shape in its beautiful simplicity to the late Chalcidian eye-cup and says that it is one of those which though often represented in ancient monuments are not extant in many examples. There are, he says, only half a dozen such Kantharoi, all Attic and all red-figured dated to the years 480-420 B.C. (4) (See Plate 5 (a) for the shape). He mentions (5) a Kantharos of practically the Sotadean shape held by a satyr on certain early classical coins of Sicilian Naxos. (6) Cahn (7) illustrates a tetradrachm and three drachmae, all of which show a naked seated satyr contemplating a

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(1). Satyrspiele, p. 21.

(2). ARV, p. 764, No. 7.

(3). Greek Vases in Poland, p. 28.

(4). See Beazley, V. Pol., p. 28, Note 3.

(5). V. Pol., p. 80.

(6). cf. Hill, Select Greek Coins, pl. 38, 1.

(7). Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos, Plate III, R45, 46, 47 & 48.

Kantharos which he holds up to his shoulder. All these coins fall into his "Klassische Periode" and form his third group (461-430 B.C.).

On both the obverse and reverse of the vase there are two pairs of satyr and maenad. On the obverse on which the inscription ΣΟΤΑΔΕΣ ΕΜΟΙΕ appears in the centre between the two maenads (Plate 5 (b) and (c)), two satyrs each attack a different maenad without any of the ferocity or passion so often evident in Archaic art. Both maenads, completely unperturbed, repel their attack with a cool stare and indeed the maenad (Plate 5 (b)) seems ready to bring her thyrsus into action. The satyr (Plate 5 (c)) adopts the very common posture of right hand making for the maenad's shoulder while the left hand moves towards her skirt.

On the reverse (Plate 5 (d) and (e)) the maenads stage a counter attack and the satyrs are in retreat, the one (Plate 5 (d)) flinching at the threat of a snakebite, the other (Plate 5 (e)) apparently repulsed by just a look. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> comments that this is the spirit of Sotadean comedy : "the ferocious lechers of archaic art have turned into small, shabby philanderers". It is uncertain whether this is a representation of a mythical satyr-maenad confrontation or whether the painter has a particular stage production in mind. Seltman <sup>(2)</sup> describes the satyrs as "mere comedians, compared with the formidable fellows of the archaic tradition".

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(1). V. Pol., p. 28.

(2). Attic Vase Painting, p. 72.

The drawing of the figures is delicate, especially the heads. The maenads have long straight noses, once more continuing the downward sweep from the forehead, which is partially obscured by curls streaming from beneath the headdress. The eye is fully frontal, the ear barely visible under the hair and the chin soft and round. The satyrs' faces by contrast are very round with their bald pates accentuating this feature. The nose is small and retroussé, the beard and hair shaggy, the ears long and pointed and the eye again frontal beneath an arched eyebrow, which conveys an air of mild astonishment. While the maenads have slim rather delicate necks, those of the satyrs are bull-like, supporting the head which is circular almost and squat.

On the obverse (Plate 5 (b) and (c)) are two finely drawn satyrs in profile. They have sturdy shoulders and pectorals, but rather slender arms and legs. The fingers are long and tapering and, characteristically Sotadean, there are only two fingers and a thumb visible. The musculature of the stomach is well defined and details of the rib-cage are indicated. The tail on both figures is long and flowing. The left-hand satyr's (Plate 5 (b)) pose is far more natural than that of his fellow attacker (Plate 5 (c)), whose body is slightly contorted as frontal and profile views are confused. The satyrs on the reverse have similar characteristics, except their bodies are completely frontal and their heads profile.

The maenads all have profile heads and frontal bodies, with the exception of the unnatural, if not impossible, posture of the right-hand figure (Plate 5 (c)) on the obverse, who turns to confront the advancing satyr while at the same time is able to continue her

forward movement with her feet. Despite the contortion, however, the pose is a very common one. Only one pair of hands out of a possible four are portrayed - two being obscured by drapery and the third (Plate 5 (d)) having her whole arm, wrist and hand concealed by the 'winged' drapery, which again is a common maenad movement. (1) The left hand is clutching the thyrsus and so, as often in the Sotadean figures, has four fingers and a thumb visible, the right is extended towards the oncoming satyr and again typically only two fingers and a thumb are represented.

The portrayal of drapery is effective, being used not only to emphasise movement in the figures with the long, sweeping diagonal folds of both the chiton and peplos, but also to indicate details of those parts of the body covered by clothing - notably the arms of two of the maenads and the knee of another. The zig-zag folds of peplos hem fall quite naturally.

The outlines of the satyrs' bodies on both obverse and reverse are painted in black relief. This includes the arms and legs of all four satyrs, the back and rump of those on the obverse and the bodies of those on the reverse. No relief line is indicated for knees or feet except for the left hand satyr on the reverse, whose left foot and knee only are represented. No part of the maenads' bodies are drawn in relief, (2) only selected items of their various accoutrements, namely the thyrsus, saccos, snake and saccos respectively.

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- (1). cf. the floating maidens on the astragalos in Chapter 3.  
 (2). Except for the right and left forearm of the left hand maenad on the obverse.

## (B) KYLIX (fragmentary) BOSTON 03.841 (PLATE 6 (a) and (b))

Two pieces only survive, one from side 'A' and one from side 'B'. The subject is uncertain. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> says of side 'A' "goddess seated and satyr dancing". The head and shoulders only of the female are visible and she is on a much lower plane than the advancing satyr and this is clearly the reason for the assertion that she is seated. Brommer <sup>(2)</sup> agrees that she is a goddess but suggests that she is not sitting but rising out of the earth. To support this he mentions a volute-crater which Webster <sup>(3)</sup> dates to the year 450 B.C., (Ferrara T579), <sup>(4)</sup> on the neck of which the upper part of a female appears, rising out of the ground. Behind her a bearded man stands, holding a torch. Around them five dancing satyrs are to be seen with hammers in their hands and a sixth satyr disappears to the left. In front of the latter stands a flute player who makes it clear that this is a dramatic representation and not a mythological scene.

So what do these figures represent? Hammer-swinging satyrs appear on six extant vases and we know of a Sophoclean satyr play called "Pandora or Hammerers". In addition to the volute-crater above Trendall and Webster <sup>(5)</sup> mention three other vases : a volute-crater in Oxford (G275) <sup>(6)</sup> painted about 450 B.C., a bell-crater in Stockholm (National Museum 6) <sup>(7)</sup> dated in the period 450-440 B.C.

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(1). ARV, p. 763, No. 4.

(2). Satyrspiele, p. 17.

(3). Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 33.

(4). ARV, p. 612, No. 1.

(5). Illustrations of Greek Drama, pp. 33-37.

(6). ARV, p. 1562, No. 4.

(7). ARV, p. 1053, No. 40.

and an early Lucanian bell-crater, dated about 440 B.C., by the Pisticci Painter (Matera 9975). On the Oxford crater the inscriptions Zeus, Hermes, Epimetheus and Pandora make the subject matter certain. Pandora rises from the ground with her himation over the back of her head and an elaborate crown on her head (a different design from that on the volute-crater above). Epimetheus has released her from the ground with his hammer and so if this is connected with Sophocles' play, he must have been in some sense the leader of the hammering satyrs.

The Stockholm crater is particularly interesting for our purposes because not only is the female only half out of the ground but also she wears no crown. Webster <sup>(1)</sup> mentions the barrenness of the land and the extremely wintry look of the tree and wonders whether this could be the earth-goddess Persephone coming up from Hades to spend her three (or six) months on earth after eating the seeds of a pomegranate in the lower world. As Rose <sup>(2)</sup> says, this constituted a bond which there was no breaking and a compromise had to be agreed to i.e. that she should spend part of the time with Hades in the underworld and part with her mother Demeter on earth.

On the Matera crater only one satyr appears, hammer in hand clearly having produced with it the goddess from the ground. She stands almost completely emerged from the earth, hands outstretched as if to entreat the satyr to cease his hammering. She too wears quite an elaborate crown. Webster <sup>(3)</sup> lays great emphasis on the crown in identifying the figure as Pandora.

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(1). Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 33.

(2). A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p. 92.

(3). Ibid, p. 33.



Webster <sup>(1)</sup> refers to earlier hammering satyrs on a stamnos by the Eucharides Painter in the Louvre (C 10754) <sup>(2)</sup> and again mentions the possibility of the female being Persephone. Perhaps, he says there was an Aeschylean satyr-play on this theme and refers to a black-figure lekythos by the Athena Painter in the Cabinet des Médailles, (298) <sup>(3)</sup> on which the earth goddess' head only appears with two hammering satyrs.

With reference to the Pandora story Webster <sup>(4)</sup> mentions two interpretations : first, the hammerers were craftsmen who made the robot Pandora and second, they hammered on the ground to release the earth-goddess. The second of these interpretations is clearly the right one in the case of the vases mentioned.

Brommer <sup>(5)</sup> decides that figure on our fragment could well be Pandora and mentions a calyx-crater in London (E467) <sup>(6)</sup> on which a similar woman rises out of the earth. She wears a crown and is actually named as Pandora.

It is certainly tempting, then, to identify the female with Pandora rising from the ground, for it is difficult to explain why a goddess should be seated or kneeling in a confrontation with an ithyphallic satyr. It is, however, a scene from a satyr-drama, because as Beazley <sup>(7)</sup> states, the advancing satyr does wear the

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- (1). Potter and Patron in Classical Athens, p. 89.
  - (2). ARV, p. 228, No. 32.
  - (3). Beazley, Attic Black Figure Vases, p. 522, No. 87.
  - (4). Illustrations, p. 33.
  - (5). Satyrspiele, p. 17.
  - (6). ARV, p. 601, No. 23.
  - (7). ARV, p. 763.

drawers of satyr-drama. If it is a representation of a seated goddess, it may well be a scene from a play which is not extant.

The female wears an ornate headdress and a chiton and is holding a long sceptre or spear in her right hand. The approaching satyr can only be so identified by the outstretched right arm and part of the trunk which is wearing the drawers. He appears to have stopped dead in his tracks not an unreasonable reaction if an earth-goddess has suddenly appeared out of the ground in front of him.

Side 'B' has a satyr again wearing drawers, brandishing what looks like a long stick in both hands. Since it is only partially visible, however, could it be a long-handled hammer that he is swinging in readiness to beat the ground to release the earth-goddess? Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> describes the implement as a thyrsus. Brommer <sup>(2)</sup> refers to a restored cup-interior in Berlin (2294) on which a satyr appears, armed with a spear, breastplate and lionskin - a sight clearly intended to be comic. I suppose, then, it could be a spear. I do, however, favour an identification with a hammer, though certainty is impossible.

The female on side 'A' could well be Pandora, but the absence of a crown and the similarity of the scene to that on the Stockholm crater, which Webster says may depict Persephone rising from the ground leads me to believe, albeit uncertainly, that the figure is the earth-goddess Persephone.

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(1). Ibid, p. 76.

(2). Satyrspiele, p. 17.


FIGURES:- carefully drawn. The female on side 'A' has a natural face : the eye is virtually in profile with the pupil turned in to the inner corner; the nose is long and forms a sweeping curve with the forehead, of which it is almost a continuation; the mouth with prominent lips is half open, apparently displaying part of her upper row of teeth; the chin is soft and round as it curves out from the slender neck. Her forearm which is visible from under her chiton, tapers into a very narrow wrist which seems mildly incongruous when one looks further to the strong, rather masculine hand which grips the thyrsus/spear. Worth noticing is the characteristically Sotadean four finger clenched hand of the 'goddess', and the one finger and thumb outstretched hand of the satyr. Just visible is the musculature of the satyr's abdomen.

On the 'B' side is a finely drawn satyr brandishing a spear (?), this time with the four fingers of both hands clearly indicated as he grips the shaft. If, as seems likely, a scene from a satyr-drama is being depicted here, the 'satyr' will be an actor wearing the "Bühnenrequisiten" (1) which Brommer (2) mentions viz. drawers (3) and satyr mask, (4) consisting of bald pate, shaggy black hair and pointed ears. Indeed, if one looks closely, a pronounced line is immediately evident above the eye and nose, indicating the place where mask and forehead meet. Brommer (5) *sub 'götter'* refers to a krater in Sydney (47.05) on which three actors appear

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- (1). Stage accoutrements.
  - (2). Satyrspiele, p. 12.
  - (3). Necessary to hold the erect phallos and tail in place.
  - (4). See Webster, Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play (2nd. Ed. 1967), pp. 11-12.
  - (5). Satyrspiele, p. 16.

in satyr costume : two holding the masks in their hands and one with it in position on his head. All three wear material drawers and are thus clearly recognisable as actors. Brommer does, however, make an interesting point : if the actor wearing the mask was only portrayed from the waist upwards (i.e. without the drawers), he would be undistinguishable from a satyr in a mythical scene.

The 'satyr's' two strong hands clasp the shaft and the biceps and forearm muscles bulge with the effort. The eye which is almost frontal appears to be pushed back towards the ear and the resulting facial expression is somewhat wild and frenzied. The broad back with the spine and muscles clearly marked tapers down to a slim waist. Finally the long flowing tail blossoms out from the small of the back.

Only the part of the chiton which covers the female's shoulder is present. The folds for the most part are vertical with the occasional diagonal to give a more naturalistic aspect. The wider-spaced folds complement the narrow ones well. As mentioned above, the only clothing on the satyrs are the material drawers. Pickard-Cambridge <sup>(1)</sup> comments on the satyr accoutrements and illustrates fragments of a bell-crater in Bonn (1216) <sup>(2)</sup> to make his point. The circular motif with an interior cross  on the 'B' side 'satyr's' drawers is not unusual : a similar design appears on both sides of a satyr's drawers on the Bonn bell-crater fragments mentioned above.

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(1). Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, fig. 13, pp. 153-154.

(2). ARV, p. 1180, No. 3.

(c) KYLIX. NAPLES (2628)

(PLATE 7 (a) and (b))

The interior is ornamental. A.D. Ure (1) says that the interior of the cup has an incised pattern done with ruler and compasses. She continues:

"sometimes accompanied by stamped motifs ... stars with a larger number of rays more closely set and the introduction of little arcs round the inner side of an inner group of concentric circles, produces the effect of a double rosette."

Similar decoration is to be seen inside a cup in Leningrad (2262), (2) which Peredolskaya (3) has attributed to our painter's hand. R.M. Cook (4) gives a brief history of this type of ware. He says that simple incision or impressed stamping was commonly used in Etruria in the seventh and sixth centuries and also in Greece, especially on a group of Rhodian amphorae at this time. He claims that such

*with  
Peredolskaya*

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- (1). J.H.S. 56, p. 206, Red figure cups with incised and stamped decoration.
  - (2). ARV, p. 768, No. 38.
  - (3). Athenische Mitteilungen 53, p. 11.
  - (4). Greek Painted Pottery, p. 213.

predecessors have no relevance to the new system of impressed decoration which developed in Classical Athens and lasted for over a thousand years. This new system first appears just before the middle of the fifth century as a modest embellishment of the black interiors of some Attic stemless cups, a few having red-figure decoration outside. "The Sotades Painter", he says, "as might be expected was among the pioneers". The units of ornament, which were incised or impressed before the surface was painted, were small and simple. In the earliest examples a familiar arrangement is a rosette of tongues surcharged with a star and enclosed in concentric circles.

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> says of the exterior subject "A, satyr and goat; B, satyr and bull". On the 'A' side a satyr, clearly mythical because of the absence of any of the stage-trappings mentioned above, is crouching on all fours and is confronting a goat which appears to be ready to ward off the attack. On the 'B' side another similar satyr, again on all fours, is this time facing a bull which has lowered its head for action. Rose <sup>(2)</sup> in a most interesting article on Dionysos explains that he is often represented as accompanied by satyrs and that he appears in both human and bestial form, "his most common avatars being THE BULL AND THE GOAT (my capitals)". So this begs the question "Have we here two representations of Dionysos in bestial form in the company of satyrs?" This would certainly be in keeping with our painter's fondness for scenes from mythology. I believe that this is a convincing possibility.

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 5.

(2). A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p. 154.

The satyr on the 'A' side has his head tilted back and the now familiar features can be plainly seen : the round, profile eye with the wide arched eyebrow, the retroussé nose, the open lips and the bald pate with hair trailing behind and the bushy beard. Again in evidence is the elongated ear which could be seen on the Goluchow Kantharos satyrs and will be seen at the bottom of the London (E788) rhyton. <sup>(1)</sup> The body, however, is less carefully drawn : the hands which he places in front of him are barely indicated and the upper - and forearm are scarcely separated. The musculature of the shoulder is cursorily drawn and the torso is devoid of any detail. More care has gone into the profile legs but the toes are not visible. The goat has a somewhat stylised appearance with its long straight body and beard hanging in symmetrical strands. The legs and face, however, are rendered very naturalistically. The left hoof is shown as cloven.

The satyr on the 'B' side has similar facial characteristics but they are not so clearly defined. His pose is almost gorilla-like with the palms of both hands planted firmly on the ground and his heels raised for the spring. Again the body is completely profile. The upper - and fore-arms are indicated - as are the calf muscles and those of the shoulder. The bull too has a long straight body, but the natural bovine bulge at the neck is apparent. The horns, eye, nose and mouth are all portrayed. The legs are effectively rendered, the hooves being shown and also the bend in the hind pair.

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 8. See below.

As on the Leningrad cup mentioned above, there is a plastic ring round the base of the cup. Above the base and below the painting there are three pairs of alternating black and reserved bands and there is a reserved band below the rim. Between both pairs of figures there is a winding floral decoration consisting of scrolls and darts.

(D) SKYPHOS. ASTARITA 101

Beazley (1) describes the shape as "type B glaux". This fragmentary skyphos is in the private collection of Mario Astarita, now housed on Capri and cannot be photographed.

Beazley (2) describes the subject:

"A, satyr. B, youth. On A, running to right, looking round, his left arm extended in a pelt. B, in himation, bending to right."

Later Beazley (3) amends the description of the figure on B to "Komast".

(E) RHYTON.

PARIS, Petit Palais 349 from Capua (PLATE 7 (c) 1, 2, 3)

Beazley (4) describes the subject on the rhyton: "satyrs and maenads; below, on each side, satyr". The negro and crocodile are complete. The crocodile, whose curving tail forms the handle of the vase, has seized a negro in his front paws and also his arm in his

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- (1). ARV, p. 764, No. 6.
  - (2). Ibid.
  - (3). Paralipomena, p. 415.
  - (4). ARV, p. 764, No. 10.



mouth. The negro has fallen onto his right knee and at the same time has thrown his head back a little with his mouth open, clearly shouting for assistance. The terror and suffering is apparent on his face. His right hand droops, showing his failing strength.

Six figures appear on the vase itself : four satyrs and two maenads, probably from mythology and not from any dramatic representation. Two satyrs and two maenads are in the upper row and two satyrs in the lower. The rows are separated by a band in which squares in meander style alternate with squares containing a light cross overlaid with a black cross.

From left to right the figures in the upper row appear thus : first a naked satyr near the negro's face. He is bald, his legs are apart, his right hand is stretched forward and the left is on his hip. He is looking to the right; his hair is in separate strands, as is the curly beard. The round profile eye is indicated by a circle with the pupil near the partly open corner. Next to him is a maenad walking to the right and turning her head. She holds a thyrsus in her right hand and wears a chiton with sleeves and a cloak with a black border, thrown over her shoulders, which conceals her left hand, held out towards the satyr on the left. Her eye is profile and her hair, which is cut straight, falls from beneath her headdress. Next comes another bald satyr, again naked, this time kneeling and supporting himself on his right hand. He turns his head and lifts his face, in front of which he holds his left hand with fingers spread out. Again the beard and hair are in separate strands. The pupil is to be seen in the open corner of the

eye. His left knee is in three-quarter view. The maenad next to him is in the same attitude as her companion. Her headdress, however, does not have the-groups-of-three-black-dots decoration. Above the fold of her chiton a belt can be seen. Her cloak does not have a black border. Her hair is not cut. Her right foot disappears underneath the moulded head of the negro.

In the lower row, a bald bearded satyr is visible near the negro's face, hair in separate strands, eye profile, watchful and climbing a slope which is in fact the outline of the crocodile's back. He is on all fours. In a similar pose is the satyr on the other side, who is climbing slowly and carefully up the slope. His eye is profile and strands of hair and beard separate. All the satyrs have tails and elongated ears.

The negro is black over the whole of his body; his hair is dark red with a purplish blue tint going off towards brown and gives the appearance of a wig. It is receding at the temples and the tiny curls are rendered in outline, as are eyebrows, eyelids (apart from inner corner of each eye) and the lips. The inside part of the lips has a brighter tint because it touches the white border of the teeth. Streaks of the same red mark the outline of the white teeth. The inside of both eyes is white, the iris being reserved, giving a brown circle and a black dot for the pupil. The fingers and toes of the left hand and foot are indicated by incisions in the black glaze, while the toes of the right foot are not indicated and the fingers of the right hand are spread out. There is a deep furrow on his brow. The musculature of his body, especially the pectorals is admirably rendered in relief.

The crocodile's body is reserved. It has protruding-eyes. Along its tail can be seen three rows of dots in relief. A thin layer of green is especially noticeable on the head and tail, suggesting that the apparently reserved area was once painted green. The outline of the eyes is in black with a little mark for the pupil. There is red of a light, bright tint inside the mouth and on the eyes (best preserved on the left eye). There is white for the teeth; their outline being marked by a black zig-zag line.

The surface of the vase is a pinky-yellow colour. Black glaze covers the interior of the vase and the parts of the exterior not occupied by figures or decoration. The base too is black, though the bottom is reserved. The black has taken on a greenish tint in places. The outlines of the figures is indicated for the most part by a brownish line in relief, except for the face of the first maenad and chin of the second.

(F) HOUND HEAD RHYTON (ANCONA 3258) from NUMANA

(PLATE 8)

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> describes the scene on the bowl supported by the hound head as "satyrs and maenad (A, satyr; B, seated maenad; C, satyr)." Unfortunately I was unable to obtain photographs from the museum in Ancona, and so the only picture I have is one reproduced from Hoffmann <sup>(2)</sup> which shows only part of one

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 12.

(2).

satyr and the seated maenad, but provides an excellent picture of the hound head. Hoffmann <sup>(1)</sup> describes the head as more generalised and less lifelike than its Brygan predecessors. The bowl, he says, is set at a right-angle to the plastic part. The eyes are large and staring and painted black, as are the wisps of hair above and below the eyes. The ears curl up and appear to secure the vase in position.

In our picture to the left of a spiralling motif decorated with black dots and surmounted by a band of dots just below the lip, a satyr approaches in the same attitude as the right-hand satyr on the Goluchow Kantharos, i.e. knees bent and arms and hands outstretched in readiness to molest a maenad. The maenad in our picture to the right of the spiralling motif is seated on a rock similar to that on which the satyr sits on the Baltimore rhyton and she holds a thyrsus in her right hand. The dotted motif could I suppose be an ornamental tree cf. the ornamental rock previously referred to on the Paestan bell-crater in Naples (2846). <sup>(2)</sup> The other satyr is unfortunately out of our picture.

The satyr appears to be bald and bearded, but no further observations can be made except that on his right hand all four fingers are visible and on his left only two. The facial details of the maenad are equally obscure. She is dressed in a chiton and a cloak. The upper part of her chiton is divided into symmetrical diagonal folds, whereas the lower part, separated from the upper by a belt has only seven folds, issuing from one part of her rock seat.

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(1). Ibid, p. 24.

(2). Trendall and Webster, Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 32.

Her cloak which is divided into two parts each with three folds, hangs from her right shoulder. She is wearing a headdress. Her right foot is just visible beneath the chiton hem.

Above the figures there appears to be a narrow reserved band just below the lip. In addition to the ornamentation already mentioned which serves to separate the figures, to the left of the right ear there is the beginning of what could be a scroll pattern.

(G) RAM'S HEAD RHYTON (LENINGRAD 4519) from the Botkin Collection

(PLATE 9 (a) and (b))

Beazley was following Anna Peredolskaya in attributing this vase to the Sotades Painter. She <sup>(1)</sup> describes the piece as 23 cms. high and having an upper diameter of 15.5 cms. The ram's mouth and ears, she says, are black, the wool red, the horns yellow, the eyeball white and the iris red and black. The eyelids are red and red lines extend from the inner corners of the eyes above and below. On the handle which is painted black some scratches are visible, possibly modern :  $\text{CTP VNU} \begin{matrix} \downarrow \\ \text{L} \end{matrix}$

On one side of the area above the ram's head is a maenad who is running, arms outstretched and head turned back looking at the satyr in hot pursuit behind, who also has arms outstretched. On the other side is a satyr offering a drink, which he clearly has just poured from an amphora in his right hand, to a goddess who stands implacable before him and holds a spear in her left hand (Peredolskaya <sup>(2)</sup> says a sceptre). As will be seen on the London *v. ch...*

(1). Athenische Mitteilungen, No. 53, p. 9.

(2). Ibid.

rhyton (E788), this combination of a goddess with a staff and a satyr is repeated. She is standing next to a slender column mounted on a base. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> simply says "satyr and maenad; goddess and satyr". The presence of the column is puzzling. The artist, as has been shown, is not in the habit of introducing 'fillers' into his work. Does the column, then, positively identify the female as a goddess, standing solemnly in her precinct? Peredolskaya merely mentions the column and refers to the figure as a woman ("Frau").

The by-now familiar snub nose, frontal almost round eye with pupil in the inner corner, thick protruding lips and half open mouth are again in evidence on the pursuing satyr. The eyebrows again have a high curve and the hair and beard hang in strands very much akin to those of the hunter on the fragmentary rhyton in London (E789), <sup>(2)</sup> except that here his speed of movement is emphasised by his hair and beard swirling behind. Both hands are outstretched and rather unusually for the painter four fingers and thumb of the right are clearly visible, for the norm is one finger and the thumb with the exception of the satyr at the foot of the London (E788) rhyton <sup>(3)</sup> who is shown with hand outstretched, all fingers and thumb plainly to be seen in this frontal view of the hand - here the back of the hand is indicated. The chest is frontal, details of pectoral and abdominal musculature being carefully rendered. The left leg is in profile and the right is in three-quarter view. The thigh, calf, heel and instep are meticulously drawn.

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). ARV, p. 764, No. 9.

(3). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

The fleeing maenad is reminiscent of those on the Goluchow Kantharos (Czartoryski 76). (1) Her headdress reveals curls which fall onto her forehead and partly obscure her ear. The eye is oval and profile, the inner corner just open and the pupil is turned into it; the forehead and nose are again a continuous line. The lips are clearly portrayed, the lower hanging slightly and the chin is soft and round. Both her outstretched hands have only one finger and the thumb visible. The drapery, although effectively shrouding her whole body, does not inhibit the impression of swift movement and in fact the knee of the left and calf of the right leg can be seen in contour beneath. Her ankles and feet protrude at the bottom and they too are carefully drawn. Neither figure touches the ground.

Below on Peredolskaya's (2) photograph or on the other side of the rhyton, the impassive female, probably a goddess for the reason stated above and also from her apparel and demeanour, bears a striking resemblance to the goddess on the upper part of the London rhyton (E788). (3) Her pose is almost identical as is her clothing which comprises headdress and peplos with a cloak on top. She too is probably holding a spear and is certainly gazing fixedly forward. In both cases the headdress is set back off her forehead, revealing a shock of curly hair, the eye is profile and the forehead and nose a continuous sweep. Both peploi completely envelop the bodies and betray no evidence of a body beneath.

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 7.

(2). Athenische Mitteilungen 53, plate IV.

(3). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

She is here being offered a drink in a horn by a satyr who has the usual snub nose, centrally-placed pupil in a profile eye, bald pate and half open mouth, surrounded by a moustache and beard, not in strands as his hair is at the back. A completely profile body has very nearly been achieved, very similar to the right-hand satyr on the "A" side of the Goluchow Kantharos. In both cases the only unnatural factor is the rendering of the chest which seems too prominent for this profile view. There is, however, slightly more detail of musculature on the Goluchow satyr, especially on the legs and abdomen. It is interesting that he is carrying an amphora identical in shape with the one from which a satyr is drinking on the Baltimore rhyton (Walters Art Gallery 48.2050). (1) The column, being slender and resting on a base, would seem to be Ionic.

The upper frieze of figures is surmounted by a flaring lip which is painted in a tooth pattern interspersed alternately with reserved portions. The figures are red and a thick black glaze surrounds them. The ram's horns and forehead are composed of lines of black dots in relief, creating a mosaic effect. The interior of the vase is in black glaze. The outlines of the figures on the vase are without relief-lines, but the torso, knee and ankle muscles are represented in dilute glaze.

There is a contrast between the completely shrouding effect of the goddess' drapery with the vertical symmetrical folds of her chiton falling onto her feet and the vital rhythmic appearance of the chiton folds of the running maenad; the folds above are in tightly arranged parallel lines while below they are few and asymmetrical. The impression of swift movement is emphasised by the strong, diagonal effect.

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(1). ARV, p. 765, No. 15.



## (H) RAM'S HEAD RHYTON (fragmentary) BONN 2049 (PLATE 10 (a))

Beazley's <sup>(1)</sup> summary comment on the subject matter is "satyr and maenad". The figure drawing on this extremely fragmentary piece appears to be crude. The upper part of a frontal maenad is to be seen in the centre with her topless head turned to her right, looking at an approaching satyr, of whom only one hand and a knee is visible. The maenad grips a spear in her right hand and a thyrsus in her left and wears a cloak, pinned or tied on her right shoulder. The drawing is so lacking in care that none of the maenad's fingers can be distinguished. The satyr's outstretched hand has the characteristically Sotadean thumb and two fingers visible.

Beazley is following Adolf Greifenhagen in attributing this fragment to the work of the Sotades Painter. It may well be that it is the work of our painter, but, as far as I can see, the satyr's hand is the only Sotadean characteristic. The dots in relief below the figure frieze would seem to point to an identification with a ram's head rhyton such as Leningrad 4519 just described, but even a cursory look at Hoffman's <sup>(2)</sup> book would convince one that such rhyta were decorated by other painters too.

I have already discussed the Sotadean predilection for solitary figures depicted on a black background and how he achieves this solitary effect even when there are several figures e.g. the rhyton in Leningrad just mentioned. In order to achieve such an effect an absolutely plain, undecorated background is clearly an

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(1). ARV, p. 765, No. 14.

(2). Attic Red-Figure Rhyta, passim.

essential, and this is what we see throughout all the works described. Here, however, we see a decidedly un-Sotadean palmette and scroll decoration taking up as much space as the satyr and maenad, which, to say the least, is a little odd.

(I) BALTIMORE (WALTERS ART GALLERY) 48.2050 RHYTON

(PLATES 10 (b) and 11)

The figure supporting the part of the vase with figure decoration is an unusual combination of on one side a ram's head and on the other a donkey.

Beazley (1) simply states the subject as "satyrs". On one side a satyr to the right is drinking from an amphora which Dorothy Kent Hill (2) says is a jar that normal human beings habitually used to store their wine in large quantities. Stackelberg (3) quite rightly, I feel, describes the satyr as looking into the mouth of the amphora and showing his obvious annoyance at the absence of any more wine. Although Beazley has followed Buschor (4) in attributing

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(1). ARV, p. 765.  
 (2). Archaeology, 1952, (Autumn), p. 181.  
 (3). Die Gräber der Hellenen, p. 23.  
 (4). Das Krokodil des Sotades.

the piece to Sotades, I feel that certain aspects of the satyr's face are not in keeping with the painter's satyr genre. First of all, only once before has he painted a satyr with anything other than a bald pate, that is on the bottom of the London rhyton (E788) <sup>(1)</sup> where the satyr is also represented with a shock of hair at the front. Secondly, nowhere else has he painted an eye so small, nor has he ever before completed the circle under the eye to exaggerate a dissipated appearance. Thirdly the ear is portrayed as pointed, whereas the Sotadean norm is a blunt, 'chicken-leg' type. Divergences from the painter's norm these certainly are, but this is probably as far as one can go, for these points can in no way positively place this vase in any other painter's workshop.

The hair is neatly shaped at the back in contrast to the usual strands which in fact appear in his beard. The nose is retroussé almost to the point of giving the impression of a clown's false nose. Just a thumb and a finger are to be seen clutching the amphora. The body is long and tapers towards the waist. The legs, the left bent and the right pointing forward are well-defined; the instep is particularly prominent on the right foot.

As he takes the amphora to his lips he faces another satyr squatting on a rock - a posture very similar to that of Glaucos on the London Cup (D5). <sup>(2)</sup> Whether the painter had any particular play in mind is not clear : certainly no extant play has this theme. Possibly this was one of the stages in the satyr's clowning. There

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

(2). ARV, p. 763, No. 2.

for play  
no  
man

is a cup in London (E108) <sup>(1)</sup> attributed by Beazley to the Jena Painter on which a satyr is squatting in a similar position on a similar piece of rock, but he is fishing. There is another piece of rock on a Paestan bell-crater in Naples (2846) painted by Python in the third quarter of the fourth century <sup>(2)</sup> on which a sphinx is perched looking down calmly at a papposilenos. Webster <sup>(3)</sup> believes it is based on some comic version of the Oedipus legend. This satyr, however, is not so well preserved and the detail is consequently rather blurred. His head is bald with shaggy hair at the back and on his chin, his eye profile with the pupil turned into the inner corner and his nose retroussé. His mouth is open slightly and the lips clearly defined. The rest of the body defies positive description because of the poor state of preservation.

On the other side another satyr stands with back bent and hands resting on his knees and is gazing intently in the direction of a tree beneath which the other satyr is sitting, as he raises the amphora to his mouth. Stackelberg <sup>(4)</sup> is sure that it is the thwarted satyr that this person is looking at and that he can hardly contain his delight at his fellow's disappointment. The painting is very clear and the tall slim body seems slightly at variance with the usual rather squat and stocky satyr of the Sotades Painter. His head is bald with just a wisp of hair at the back and a healthy growth on his chin, in both cases hanging in strands. His eye is

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(1). ARV, p. 1513, No. 43.

(2). cf. A. D. Trendall Paestan Pottery pl. 21(a)

(3). [Ibid.] Illustrations of Greek Drama p. 32

(4). Die Gräber der Hellenen, p. 22.

profile and his brow barely visible. The nose is again rather more retroussé than before and the lips prominent and open. An interesting feature of the painter's technique that was present to a far lesser extent on the seated youth of the London rhyton (E788) <sup>(1)</sup> is the drawing of a relief line down the centre of a single limb to portray both. This is quite effective on the legs, but appears to bisect the arm, thus producing an odd, rather unnatural effect. Few lines of musculature are present - only one to portray the profile chest and one on the back. The rump is exaggerated and is made to appear still more incongruous by the tail which shoots vertically up and then curls down.

The presence of the tree is somewhat mystifying, unless the painter has departed from his normal procedure of not inserting 'fillers' in his work. It is bare and lifeless with only two offshoots from the trunk, thus creating, as it were, an outsize divining rod. Certainly one gets the impression of a barren and desolate landscape, but what precisely the satyrs are engaged upon is, to say the least, unclear. Stackelberg <sup>(2)</sup> describes the scene as representations of satyr and silen horseplay.

The ram's head is in the colour of the clay and the donkey's in thick black glaze, except for the area of nose and mouth which is reserved. The ram's horn, ear and eye are clearly indicated, as is the donkey's eye and a sort of bridle has been painted round the mouth and head. The background of the figure area is in black glaze and a narrow reserved line separates it from the heads, whereas a

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

(2). Die Gräber der Hellenen, p. 21.

narrow black line on a reserved background separates the figures from the lip which is decorated in a tooth pattern. The interior of the cup is black.

The shape has already been described as a ram's head on one side and on the other a donkey's and this gives way to a cup with flaring lip. One of the handles appears at the back of the head of both animals and extends almost half way up the figure area of the vase, the other handle at the side, between the tree and the bending satyr is unfortunately missing. Stackelberg <sup>(1)</sup> describes the ram as sacred to Zeus Ammon and the other side as a Silenos-donkey. At the bottom end, he says such vessels are usually provided with a small opening, through which the wine is poured out in a thin stream over the tongue of the drinker (c.f. in Spain today where visitors are encouraged to try their skill with a similar drinking vessel, usually glass to the frequent amusement of all present). To create a Bacchic atmosphere for this Bacchic drink, he says, the vessel has taken the form of the above-mentioned animals.

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(1). Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

RHYTA (COMPLETE AND FRAGMENTARY),  
OTHER THAN THOSE DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER FOUR.

(a) LONDON E788

(PLATES 12 (a) and (b), 13 (a) and (b))

The vase was found in a tomb at Capua in 1872. Beazley (1) describes the scene depicted on the vase which rests on the back of a sphinx as follows:- "Kekrops and Nike, with two women (daughters of Kekrops?) running up". The bulletin (2) issued in the actual year of the discovery referred to the subject as "Triton, Nike and other figures". It is not difficult to dismiss the identification with Triton since the figure referred to here as Triton does not end in the tail of a fish. It is a serpent's tail and so must suggest an identification with some legendary person possessing such a body combination viz. a human body ending in the coils and tail of a serpent. Surely this must be Kekrops, the legendary King of Athens; as Euripides puts it : Κέκροπα σπείρικισιν εἰλίσσοντα

(4)

Brommer discusses the Kekrops legend in his catalogue of the Attic kings. Pausanias (5) he says describes a group of statues in Delphi sculpted by Phidias c.490 B.C. which are unfortunately not extant. Although Kekrops is included in the group, we have consequently no idea as to his appearance. There are not many representations of Kekrops in vase painting either and these are confined to Attica and the period 480-400 B.C. The Sotadean picture of Kekrops is contemporaneous with a calyx-crater in Berlin (2537) from the hand of the Codrus Painter (6) mentioned by Murray. (7) Here the

(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

(2). Bulletino Archeologico Italiano, 1872, p. 42.

(3). Ion, 1163.

(4). Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, p. 152 ff.

(5). X.10.1.

(6). ARV, p. 1268, No. 2.

(7). J.H.S. VIII (1887).



birth of Erichthonios is depicted; Athena receives the infant Erichthonios from Gaia who rises from the earth holding him up. The proceedings are witnessed by a similar hybrid figure to the one on the Sotadean rhyton, who is named as Kekrops, together with Herse and Hephaestus. On the other side appear Aglauros, Erechtheus, Pandrosos, Aigeus and Pallas, also named. Kekrops is dressed in a short mantle and has serpent coils for legs. He holds a staff on which he supports himself, is bearded and wears a wreath on his head.

From this Brommer feels that the figure on the London rhyton can be positively identified as Kekrops, as can the figure similar in appearance on a calyx-crater in Palermo from Chiusi, classified by Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> as "Near the Talos Painter". Brommer adds to these three representations of Kekrops a fourth on a calyx-crater painted by the Kekrops Master in Landgraf Philipp of Hesse's collection in the Schloss Fasanerie in Adolphseck (Nr 77). <sup>(2)</sup> He too has the lower parts of a serpent, holds a sceptre (cf. the London and Palermo figures), wears similar clothing to the Berlin figure and has scaly serpent coils. He is, however, white-haired and wears a white head band. He mentions a fifth representation: an Attic-red figure lekythos <sup>(3)</sup> on which Kekrops appears with serpent coils, a sceptre in his left hand, a libation bowl in his right and wearing a wreath on his head. They all belong, he asserts, to the latter half of the 5th century, the Sotadean rhyton being the earliest and the Adolphseck crater the latest.

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(1). ARV, p. 1339, No. 3.

(2). ARV, p. 1346, No. 1.

(3). No ARV ref.

Brommer <sup>(1)</sup> mentions a similar Kekrops on a Melian relief and a Cyzican <sup>(2)</sup> coin. The only sculptural representation of him comes from the West pediment of the Parthenon, where he appears in completely human form, but with a snake entwined between his legs. He also appears in human form on a pointed amphora in Munich (2345) <sup>(3)</sup> by the Oreithyia Painter which is dated to the first half of the 5th century, as is another pointed amphora by the same painter in Berlin (2165). He calculates that there must be some three dozen representations of this Boreas and Oreithyia episode and emphasises the frequent confusion between Kekrops and Erichthonios. Kekrops, he says, can only be identified for certain if he is named or if he appears with another king viz. Erichthonios. All this then would seem to suggest that the Kekrops of the first half of the century was depicted as completely human and that it was the Kekrops of the second half who possessed the serpentine attributes. He concludes, however, that either there was no fixed picture of Kekrops in the 5th century or that the half-serpent figure was the earliest ancestor and the completely human Kekrops was the later figure pictured together with Erichthonios in the Boreas and Oreithyia episode.

The scene here depicted is surely a stage further on from the incident on the Berlin crater : gone are Athena and Gaia, and their places have been taken by two or possibly all three daughters of Kekrops. We see Nike offering a libation to Kekrops who holds a

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(1). Ibid, p. 154.

(2). contemporary with the Sotades Painter of Kraay Greek Coinage

(3) ARV p 496 no 2

libation bowl in his right hand and a sceptre or spear in his left. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> describes the rest of the scene "goddess and seated youth". Could this youth, sitting on a rock huddled in his mantle be Erichthonios, now fully grown, being guarded by one of Kekrops' daughters or possibly Athena, who according to legend again took charge of the child after the secret of the chest had been discovered? For such treatment of several events in a story simultaneously is not uncommon, <sup>(2)</sup> although in this case the lapse of time is considerable.

The story is as follows <sup>(3)</sup> : Hephaestus wanted to marry Athena, who wishing to remain a virgin, hid from him. Finally he caught up with her and struggled with her, she defending herself with her spear. In the struggle Hephaestus' seed fell on the earth, which was thus fertilised. In due time Erichthonios was born and Ge handed him over to Athena to be cared for. She put him in a covered chest, and gave it into the care of the three daughters of Kekrops, Aglauros, Herse and Pandrosos, telling them not to open it. But two of them could not restrain their curiosity and so were driven mad and leaped from the Acropolis. Athena then herself took charge again of the child, who henceforth lived in her temple. What the daughters saw is disputed : some authorities claim the child was guarded by one or two serpents, others that he was snake-footed like Kekrops.

Murray <sup>(4)</sup> takes the seated youth to be Erichthonios, obviously happy about such a lengthy time lapse. He says that it is

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). cf. London D5, Polyidos and Glaucos.

(3). Apollodorus III, 188 ff.

(4). J.H.S. VIII (1887).

understood that in the meantime Athena had confided the boy to the care of the three daughters of Kekrops with injunctions as to secrecy. He assumes the figure behind Nike is Pandrosos who had yielded to curiosity and opened the basket in which the boy lay and so is here depicted running frantically away. As she runs, she looks back at another female who appears to be tripping obediently after her. If we take the first female to be Pandrosos, then surely this must be Aglauros or Herse, who is following her sister apparently bewildered by the whole thing :

"and thus while Nike is, so to speak, congratulating Kekrops on the secrecy of the birth of Erichthonios, his daughter has exploded the arrangement and the presence of the boy is in the way of becoming an open fact."

He decides that the standing female in front of the boy is one of Kekrops' daughters and that the sceptre she holds is probably that which is to pass to him in time. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> does, however, recognise the appearance of a goddess in this female and I, while accepting Murray's interpretation so far, deviate from him here and consider this to be Athena, who has again assumed tutelary authority over the boy.

Below, between the legs of the sphinx appears a single figure on each side. Beazley describes them <sup>(2)</sup> "a satyr as hunter and a goddess". Murray <sup>(3)</sup> considers that there may be no explanation of them beyond that of mere decorative effect. But our painter is not in the habit of putting in 'fillers' and so I rather

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

favour an identification, albeit tentative, with Athene and Marsyas. Athene is described <sup>(1)</sup> as having invented the flute, but later disliked her own invention because it distorted her face unbecomingly when she played and that therefore she threw the instrument away. Marsyas, the satyr picked it up, which prompted Athena's annoyance and his downfall. For undeterred by the thrashing that Athena gave him for not leaving it alone, he became so proficient in playing as to venture to challenge Apollo himself to a contest. The god agreed, on condition that the victor might do as he chose to the defeated, and having won by his divine skill, he flayed Marsyas alive. And so possibly here we see Athena armed with staff or spear and Marsyas preparing to defend himself with his club, which he does not have on other representations. <sup>(2)</sup>

Of the figures in the upper zone, Kekrops is represented as long-haired and bearded - his hair being gathered under a fillet on top of his head - and his serpent-like lower quarters form a half figure-eight fold. His hybrid composition, however, presents difficulties in describing his posture : by human standards he is kneeling, but a whole serpent in this position would be rearing. Under the hair which falls on to his forehead, his eye is profile and the nose quite long and pointed. As he holds out the libation-bowl in his right hand, the details of his ribs and musculature of the back are indicated. He holds a sceptre or spear in his left. The magnificent serpent fold tapers from the point of contact with the ground, round the half figure eight and terminates in a slender point.

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(1). Apollodorus I.24.

(2). cf. Webster, Potter and Patron in Classical Athens, p. 94 ff. for a discussion on this legend.

The goddess who appears to dwarf this kneeling (?) figure of Kekrops, surveys his gesture with an air of detachment. Her headdress conceals most of the hair, but a few curls are visible on her forehead and over her ears; the eye is profile. Her nose, as frequently with the painter, is a continuation of the forehead and the chin is soft and round. Her right hand on which a finger and thumb are portrayed holding the cup, hangs by her side and the left appears to be completely obscured beneath her himation. From her left shoulder, two wings appear, the feathers of which are boldly indicated; at the top of each feather there is a thick black dot beneath a cluster of smaller dots. The rest of her body is covered by her garments, except for her feet which can be seen below the hem of the chiton.

The first daughter of Kekrops is portrayed with hands outstretched, the right which almost touches Nike, displays the thumb and four fingers, while the left has fingers not so clearly distinguished. An attempt has been made to render forearm muscles but the result is a somewhat beefy, almost masculine effect. To emphasise the quick movement, her profile head which is facing behind, has a long mass of hair streaming in the opposite direction. The eye set in a profile face has its pupil turned into the inner corner and the nose is characteristically long and slender and is apparently a continuation of the forehead. The jaw line is heavy and continues back into the neck, creating a neck seemingly too slender for the otherwise heavy body frame. Her chest is fully frontal. The second daughter who trips after her sister is very reminiscent of the third female on the London astragalos who approaches

Hephaestos. Her hat allows just a few curls to fall on her forehead and over her ear. Her oval-shaped profile eye has the pupil in the inner corner, the forehead sweeps down into the nose which is rather pointed, the lips are closed and the jaw pronounced. The rest of the body except the feet are obscured by the chiton and cloak, but the shape of both hands can be seen beneath the clothing.

The only part of the seated youth (who, I agree, is Erichthonios) rendered in any detail is the head; the rest, except for the stalk-like legs which appear beneath his garment, cannot be seen. His hair falls in curls over his ear and forehead, which again sweeps down to form his rather pointed nose. His eye, almost in profile with a very large pupil, is big and round and is surmounted by a bold eyebrow. The ear is clearly indicated and is very natural, the regions of lobe and interior being well-defined. The lips are open slightly and the chin characteristically soft and round. Any difficulty in the portrayal of a profile chest has been obviated by the shrouding effect of the drapery.

Murray <sup>(1)</sup> considers that the partly-pushed back head covering on Erichthonios is significant :

"while Kekrops is yet unaware of the divulging of the secret, Erichthonios, on his part, appears to be still oppressed with mystery, if we may judge so much from his mien and from his being closely wrapped up; the covering of his head is still conspicuous, though it has been pushed back as if to show the beginning of his awakening to reality." (2)

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(1). J.H.S. VIII.

(2). cf. Glaucos' similar head covering on London D5.

The goddess who faces him motionless, erect and impassive wears a headdress under which her black curls are visible on her forehead. Again the sweeping curve of forehead into the nose is in evidence and the eye is profile. She holds her staff/sceptre in her right hand. As with the seated youth, the only other body details are the lower legs and feet where her himation ends. Some effort has, however, been made to indicate the ankle and the toes.

The standing female below, whom Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> describes as a goddess and who, I think, could possibly be Athena, does not evoke much interest in the observer, for her stance and attitude are decidedly wooden. Her right hand which appears to clasp the spear/staff/sceptre tightly, is very close to that of the maenad on the fragmentary kylix from Boston (03.841). <sup>(2)</sup> Here again the fingers are clearly indicated and the thumb is shown pointing downwards with nail clearly defined. Equally close to the Boston maenad are the details of her face : notably the long nose-forehead sweep, the profile eye, the open lips and the round chin. 'Athena' wears a taenia round her head. Again, because of the full length drapery, the feet are the only other anatomical details visible.

In complete contrast to the expressionless portrayal of this female is the beautifully executed, precisely-drawn satyr on the other side, whom I, again with reservation, identify with Marsyas. Quite clearly the artist was at great pains to depict everything in the finest detail. The posture is, however, awkward : the head is

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). ARV, p. 763. (PLATE 6)



profile and facing backwards over his shoulder, the chest and arms frontal, the left leg profile and the right in three-quarter view - none of which detracts from the overall beauty. The satyr is reminiscent of those on the Goluchow Kantharos, <sup>(1)</sup> but is much more carefully drawn. Similar characteristics are : the elongated ear, the round eye with centrally placed pupil and high-arched brow, the snub nose and the straggly hair and beard. The musculature of chest and arms is very natural and the fingers on both hands are clearly visible; the familiar clenched hand round the club is also in evidence. The leg muscles are well-defined and the details of the feet, including heel, ankle and instep are all portrayed.

The portrayal of drapery is used to good effect especially on the running figure of Pandrosos, whose movement is apparent from the billowing folds of her chiton. On the other three females the garments appear to hang limply and provide no clue to the existence of a body beneath. On the seated youth, however, his himation is pulled over his knees and their outline is quite clear. Zig-zags are to be seen at the bottom of Nike's chiton and that of 'Athena', whereas vertical pleats appear on the goddess below.

The interior and exterior of the vase, including the handle, the background of the lower pictures and the base are all rendered in black glaze except for a band of decoration which runs round the whole vase at the upper handle level. The decoration comprises two narrow parallel reserved bands enclosing alternate squares of meander and petal arrangements. The figures in the upper scene use the upper band as their base. The lines, especially of the

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

meander pattern are not precisely drawn and vary in thickness. There is a similar decoration which is completely meander on the fragmentary rhyton in the Louvre (SB4154). The body of the sphinx which supports the rhyton is painted a soft, almost creamy white, which combines well with the black, red and vermillion of the rest of the rhyton. The wing feathers are faintly rendered by modelling and their contours are emphasised by lines of a yellowish colour. She wears a necklace formed of three Gorgon's heads of terra-cotta gilt suspended on a red line. The hair over her forehead is gilt and the rest is enclosed in a vermillion cap, on which is painted a pattern of fine zig-zag lines in white.

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> remarks that this rhyton is among the finest of Attic plastic vases, for which the Capuans had a special fondness. Many have been found at Capua. Other vases found in this "Brygos Tomb" were London E140, <sup>(2)</sup> the Triptolemos skyphos signed by the potter Hieron and painted by Makron, and London E65 the Brygos cup. <sup>(3)</sup>

(b) RHYTON (fragmentary) LONDON E789 (PLATE 14 (a) and (b))

The piece comes from Paphos, Gardner <sup>(4)</sup> decided that the vase was supported by a negro boy being seized by a crocodile from an extant fragment of an arm resembling that of the negro on the Paris vase (Petit Palais 349). <sup>(5)</sup>

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(1). A.J.A. (1945), p. 157, The Brygos Tomb at Capua.

(2). ARV, p. 459, No. 3.

(3). ARV, p. 370, No. 13.

(4). J.H.S. IX, pp. 220-221, Excavations in Cyprus 1887-1888.

(5). See above. (PLATE 7 (c) 1, 2, 3)

Beazley (1) simply states the subject as "Pandora", following E.A. Gardner (2) who describes the figures in the upper half of the sherds, whose lower parts only are visible, as follows:-

"In the upper row is the lower part of a male figure standing between two female figures, of whom that on the right faces the spectator in a stiff attitude. Behind the latter is a female figure leaning on a spear, behind whom again is a fragment of drapery belonging to a fifth figure. It seems probable that the male figure is Hephaestus and the stiff figure behind him Pandora, at whose birth Athena, leaning on her spear and other goddesses are present."

The legs of a male with the lower part of his garment just covering his knees and the draped legs of three or possibly four females may seem slim reason for the assertion that this is a representation of Pandora's birth, which Hesiod (3) describes. She was Zeus' answer to the theft of fire from Olympus by Prometheus. He sent Hephaestus to make out of clay a beautiful woman, who should possess all means of flattery and deception. Hermes took her to Prometheus' brother Epimetheus, who despite all warnings took her as his wife. For her dowry she had a jar which contained every conceivable evil and after the marriage she opened it and let them all loose on the world.

The birth of Pandora this may well be, but there seems scanty evidence to support such an identification. Of the four vases, possibly depicting Pandora's birth mentioned above, (4) only one (Matera 9975) actually shows Pandora complete i.e. entirely on

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Works and Days, 54-105, Theogony, 578 ff.

(4). In the discussion about the Kylix in Boston (03.841).

the ground, as opposed to half way out. Further, it is interesting that on the Oxford volute-crater <sup>(1)</sup> the figure referred to as Epimetheus wears a piece of clothing identical with that of the male on our fragment viz. a short garment coming almost to the knee and decorated with a thick black band near the lower hem. Gardner says that the female figure behind Hephaestos is stiff - so too seems Hephaestos himself and the other females. Granted that the bulging calf muscles are consistent with the strenuous occupation of a smith, there is no indication that the figure is lame, as he is depicted in mythology. Could it be then that the absence of any trace of lameness and the similarity of clothing of the figures on the two vases points to a tentative identification with Epimetheus, gazing at his future wife in the presence of two or possibly three goddesses.

Below the band of decoration are two figures, a bearded man with a club in one hand, over which is draped a lion-skin; his other hand is missing, but the arm is poised as if to strike with some missile possibly a stone. Round his head he wears a taenia. In front of him a boar prances away from him in the opposite direction. Gardner suggests that we see Meleager and the Calydonian boar "unless, indeed, the obvious identification of Herakles and the Erymanthian boar be accepted".

Surely the lion skin and the club and the hunter's attitude as he appears to drive the boar forward, all point to a fairly positive identification with Herakles performing his third labour, namely driving the Erymanthian boar into a field of snow to tire it out and so eventually ensnare it. In Ovid's <sup>(2)</sup> account of the

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(1). See above.

(2). Metamorphoses VIII.

killing of the Calydonian boar by Meleager, after Artemis had sent it because Oeneus, king of Calydon had omitted to sacrifice to her, several heroes are represented as being present at the kill, among whom was the great huntress Atalante, who is said to have struck the first blow.

As far as figure drawing is concerned, in the upper group only details of legs and feet are visible. The burly figure in the centre has thick, muscular legs with correspondingly big, well-defined toes. Details of calf muscles, ankles and instep are all visible. At first one is tempted to identify this figure as a god - probably Hephaestus - by the monumental quality of these legs and feet, but when one studies the feet of the females, they too are equally large and certainly not in keeping with the dainty image of a goddess or indeed any female. Such an objection, however, could be dismissed by drawing a contrast between the larger-than-life Olympians above and the semi-immortal figure of Herakles below.

Herakles or the hunter is delicately drawn. The nose and forehead are represented as one sweeping line, the eye is profile but with the pupil centrally placed, the ear covers part of the taenia round his head and the mouth is half open. The strands of hair falling below the taenia onto the nape of his neck and those of the beard falling onto his chest are rather stylised. The head is profile and the chest is frontal with pectoral and abdominal muscles clearly visible. The left arm is covered by the lion-skin and the half of the right arm remaining bulges at the biceps. The left leg is profile and the right frontal with patellae, calves, ankles, toes and right instep carefully drawn. The boar is a little

more naturalistically drawn than the goat and bull on the Naples Cup <sup>(1)</sup> though again far more care seems to have gone into legs and head. There is a pronounced bend in the hind legs and the hooves are clearly visible. The hair on the neck and rump is stylised, as was the hair on the goat's beard on the Naples Cup.

The band of decoration which separates the upper group of figures from the lower is almost identical to that on the other London rhyton (E788) viz. alternate squares of meander and star patterns, again not very carefully drawn, the reserved stars varying in size and shape. The meander decoration is very similar to that on the fragmentary Louvre rhyton (SB 4143) <sup>(2)</sup> except in that case, the meander continued from one square to the next.

The technique is red figure with the fine detail on the hunter and boar added in dilute glaze. There is added red for the taenia of Herakles. Great care has gone into such things as facial details and the boar's bristles. Herakles' hair-line is reserved; elsewhere a thick black line is drawn round the outline of all the figures.

The drapery is very carefully and naturally rendered, especially the chiton of the female to the left of the central figure. The figure-eight fold pattern of the male's garment in the upper zone is verging on the stylised, however, as is the intricate lion-skin knot of Herakles.

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). ARV, p. 765.

## (c) A RHYTON IN DRESDEN (364)

Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> describes the subject as: "Warrior and youth, woman and seated woman" and says that the piece is much restored. The vase is unpublished except for a hazy illustration in Busck's "Das Krokodil des Sotades" <sup>(2)</sup> which shows the two women, one seated. Barely distinguishable are the Sotadean traits of a head-dress on both females allowing curls to fall on the forehead and partially obscure the ear, the forehead-nose sweep and the rounded, quite prominent chin. Both women are wearing chitons and the seated one is being offered what appears to be a handkerchief.

Just visible are the gaping jaws of the crocodile.

## (d) FRAGMENT OF A RHYTON (LENINGRAD 34a) from Kerch

(PLATE 15 (a))

(Beazley <sup>(3)</sup> says "type of rhyton unknown").

The subject Beazley <sup>(4)</sup> states as follows:

"(Woman - Nereid? - running : the inscription may pertain to an adjoining figure rather than to her)."

In addition to the mention of Thetis here, she is also

portrayed on a pyxis <sup>(5)</sup>

from Athens painted by the Calliope Painter. The subject is Thetis

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(1). ARV, p. 764, No. 11.

(2). p. 23 (an extract from Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst)  
1919.

(3). ARV, p. 765, No. 16.

(4). Ibid.

(5). ARV, p. 1707 (Addenda III).

and her sister Nereids. <sup>Beazley</sup> does record other vases depicting arming scenes, which he tentatively labels "Achilles and Thetis?" e.g. two Nolan amphorae (one fragmentary) painted by the Achilles Painter (Naples [ex Spinelli] (1) and London E329). (2) Although Beazley mentions the possibility that the inscription could belong to an adjoining figure, I feel that we must first of all assume that the figure in the picture is Thetis and investigate accordingly.

Beazley, presumably because of the flowing hair of the figure considers that she is running. If so, the obvious interpretation surely is Thetis being pursued by Peleus her mortal suitor. Rose (3) using principally Pindar and Ovid sets the scene. He explains how both Zeus and Poseidon loved Thetis, the daughter of Nereus and so a disaster to the Olympians seemed imminent, since the Nereid was fated to give birth to a son who would be mightier than his father. But the secret finally came out and Thetis was married to Peleus who being a mortal could not beget an immortal son. But the mortal had first to catch her, which, as she was a sea-goddess was not easy. He had first to win his bride by wrestling. She tried to shake him off by turning into all manner of forms : fire, a lion, a serpent and so forth but all to no purpose, for Peleus succeeded and the marriage was duly celebrated. Is this then Thetis being pursued initially by Peleus? If the figure is running and she is indeed Thetis, this would seem to be the most likely interpretation. The absence of any other evidence, notably the lack of other figures makes certainty impossible.

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(1). ARV, p. 988, No. 21.

(2). ARV, p. 989, No. 33.

(3). Handbook of Greek Mythology, p. 26.



An interpretation that appeals to me, bearing in mind the original choice of subject matter already remarked upon by Perrot and Chipiez, is that here we see not a female but a young man, namely Achilles. Thetis knew that her son might either live a long and inglorious life, or go to Troy, cover himself with glory and die young. Therefore when the army was mustering she took him to the island of Skyros, where she dressed him as a girl and left him at the court of King Lykomedes. Later Odysseus and Diomedes went to Skyros and tricked Achilles into revealing his true identity. (2) So, do we see here Achilles wearing a long hair wig addressing his mother Thetis?

I propose to make several points which will by no means prove the case, but will, I hope, go some way towards that end. First, the hair. The curls over the forehead and ear fall quite naturally as they would over a young man's face, whereas the strands at the back are extremely stylised and could quite easily be false. These strands plus the hair above the taenia look as if they have been placed on the crown of the head to form a false piece. Furthermore if the back portion is covered, the head and face could certainly be mistaken for a youth's. Secondly, the chin is firm and prominent and quite out of place on a young woman and decidedly un-nymphlike. Thirdly, the shrouding folds of the cloak/chiton at the front give no hint that the figure is a woman. Beazley gives no instance of this part of the Trojan myth in Attic red-figure vase painting, and one wonders if this could be another example of the painter's originality (cf. the Polyeidios and Glaukos story).

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(1). Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, p. 723.

(2). cf. Hesiod frag. 96, 49 ff. Ovid Metamorphoses XIII 162 ff.

Peredolskaya, <sup>(1)</sup> however, believes that the inscription does belong to the figure and that she is indeed Thetis; and furthermore she draws one's attention to the striking resemblance, as she puts it between this female and those maenads on the Goluchow Kantharos <sup>(2)</sup> - a resemblance which does not strike me so, except for the eye which is almost completely frontal in both cases, and this really only serves to place the piece early in the career of the painter. The hair-style is completely different and the only parallel in the painter's work is that of the daughter of Kekrops on the London rhyton (E788). <sup>(3)</sup> She is seen to be running and her hair in strands streaming behind her does emphasise this.

The hair of the figure has already been described, as has the eye which is almost completely frontal. Quite a thick eyebrow is to be seen above. The ear can just be glimpsed through the hair. The nose-forehead line is very Sotadean, for as usual there is no indication of any bridge. The upper lip is quite natural, whereas the lower is thick and protrusive. The chin is heavy and prominent and the neck thick. No other anatomical details are visible. The cloak/chiton has a 'V' neck and three increasingly larger 'V's in the form of folds appear below. Part of the garment hangs extremely naturally at the back and the border consisting of a black line edged with a narrow red one is to be seen. Above the head of the figure there is part of a red line which probably circumscribed the vase just below the lip.

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(1). Athenische Mitteilungen 53, p. 11.

(2). ARV, p. 764, No. 7.

(3). ARV, p. 764, No. 8.

Peredolskaya (1) describes the fragment as an unusually fine piece from a vase of the best workmanship and says that it must be older than the ram's head rhyton from the Botkin collection now in Leningrad (4579). (2) The outline of the figure is presented in relief with the exception of the hair which has a reserved contour.

(e) Two fragments at REGGIO (from Locri) type of rhyton unknown.

Beazley records no details of any publication of photographs and efforts to secure any from the museum in question have proved fruitless.

Beazley (3) says of the two fragments:-

"17. Reggio, fr. from Locri (Satyr running to right, right arm extended behind; missing, the head and the greater part of the breast, with the left arm)"

"18. Reggio fr. from Locri. Satyr pursuing maenad (both running to left; one leg of the maenad remains, in chiton with kolpos; of the satyr, the middle, with the tail and the greater part of the legs; below, vertical V-pattern.)"

(f) RHYTON FRAGMENTS (Louvre SB 4143 and SB 4154) found at Susa

(PLATES 15 (b) i and ii, 16 (a),(b),(c))

The two fragments above are attributed by Beazley (4) to the Sotades Painter while two further fragments (Louvre SB 4145 and SB no number) (5) are ascribed to his manner. Bothmer (6) asks

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- (1). Athenische Mitteilungen 53, p. 12.
  - (2). ARV, p. 764, No. 13.
  - (3). ARV, p. 765, Nos. 17 and 18.
  - (4). ARV, p. 765, No. 19.
  - (5). ARV, p. 768, Nos. 31 and 30.
  - (6). Amazons in Greek Art, p. 194.

whether three of them (not SB no number) are all parts of the same whole and puts forward the possibility that two further fragments (Louvre SB 4138 and SB 4151) <sup>(1)</sup> described by Beazley as works of the Sotades Potter could also be connected. These possibilities will be discussed after some treatment of the subject matter of Louvre SB 4143 and SB 4154.

Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> refers to the scene as an Amazon<sup>9</sup>machy. The larger fragment (SB 4154) (PLATE 15 (b)i) depicts an Amazon dismounting from her horse to confront an adversary who is apparently looking the other way and is only partially visible who is named  $\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\text{AMIS}$ . Bothmer <sup>(3)</sup> interprets the inscription GYGAMIS; but surely the name could equally be construed LYLAMIS, gammas and lambdas being commonly confused. A third reading is possible if the first letter could be regarded as a mutilated alpha: thus giving the name AULAMIS <sup>(4)</sup> or indeed AUGAMIS. Bothmer does not understand the name; Gygamis, he says, reminds him of Lygdamis or Semiramis and may also be compared with Toxamis on the François vase. He concludes that since the vase was found at Susa, the painter may have known its destination and so put an oriental-sounding name.

*Second cup* The warrior whom the Amazon confronts is apparently facing left and is brandishing a scimitar above his head which appears to be helmeted. The pose is very similar to a soldier slashing at

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(1). ARV, p. 773.

(2). Ibid, p. 765.

(3). Ibid, p. 194.

(4). Rostovtzeff in his Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, p. 86, interprets the inscription thus.

an Amazon on a cup attributed by Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> to the Amyone Painter (Bryn Mawr, p. 218). The scimiter is similar but smaller. On our fragment only the top of the helmet and the arm and hand grasping the weapon are visible. A line on the wrist is confusing : it could either be an exaggerated line dividing palm and wrist or, as Bothmer believes, it could be the edge of a sleeved garment. The absence of decoration on such a 'sleeve' is however unusual and it does rather resemble, I feel, a natural bare arm. Half of his shield is visible too. Bothmer <sup>(2)</sup> compares this warrior's attitude to a Greek soldier on a kantharos in Vienna (3715) (M346) <sup>(3)</sup> who also defends himself with a machaera or sabre against an Amazon.

The Amazon who appears to be dismounting from her finely drawn horse, which could almost be from the brush of the horse-master himself, the Penthesilea Painter, holds a spear in her left hand and a pelta or shield of unusual shape; with her right hand she steadies her horse which half rears as the backward thrust of the sabre narrowly misses his nostrils. She is wearing a sleeved undergarment, a chiton and a spotted skin on top. The design on her shield comprising rows of zig-zag lines, rather like those on Scythian costumes has a parallel on a volute-crater in New York (07.286.84) <sup>(4)</sup> which Beazley attributes to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs on which a female appears holding a shield decorated with vertical lines of 'V's instead of horizontal as they appear on our fragment.

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(1). ARV, p. 830, No. 2.

(2). Ibid.

(3). ARV

(4). ARV, p. 613, No. 1.

## (PLATE 16 (a))

The other smaller fragment (SB 4143) shows according to Bothmer (1) part of a head shown in three-quarter view wearing an oriental cap. The figure is named ΟΙΑΜΕ which Bothmer interprets as ΟΙΓΜΕ. Behind her (the feminine Greek ending of the name is my only reason for awarding the figure feminine gender) appears the tail, probably of a horse, although a satyr is a possibility, as is a centaur. The upper right hand corner of the fragment is puzzling: the reserved line below the rim ends abruptly and an area vaguely triangular appears in the corner. Is this part of the decoration or does it belong to another figure? Bothner does not mention it. His concern is the inscription which, he says, does not resemble any other name.

The head and body of both horse and Amazon are extremely well-drawn with great care and precision. The head of the Amazon is very close to nature : the nose again is a continuation of the forehead, but comes down to a point and is slightly retroussé. The nostril is indicated by a thin line, the lips are full and open, the jaw quite heavy and round! The eye is carefully rendered and naturally positioned in the natural profile face. The ear is virtually obscured by the curls that adorn the forehead - only the lobe is visible in the lower part. The curls fall carelessly onto the nape of the neck and the remainder of the hair is taken up and gathered into a bun at the back. The reserved contour of the hair enables the head to stand out. In contrast to the profile head the

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(1). Ibid.

chest is three-quarter, almost frontal in fact. The horse recalls the best of the Penthesilea Painter and the perfection of Classical sculpture. A cup in Hamburg (1900.164) <sup>(1)</sup> is a typical example of the Penthesilea Painter's work; it shows Attic youths with horses which are similar to the one on our fragment as far as features and facial composition are concerned, but which seem inferior in vitality and naturalism. The horse's head in the British Museum from the West pediment of the Parthenon is strikingly similar to the horse here. The eye in the head of the Amazon's horse alone seems to capture the feeling of fear and apprehension as he rears backwards, nostrils dilated and mouth open. As one would expect with the backward toss of the head, the mane is slightly ruffled on top, though further down a somewhat stylised effect is created. Intricate detail is apparent for the teeth revealed by the half open mouth and the flesh hanging limp beneath the jaw. The only physical details visible on the Amazon's assailant are the now familiar four fingers wrapped round the sabre - a typical Sotadean trait which I have referred to before.

(PLATE 15 (b) ii)

Another fragment which Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> refers to as "Louvre SB (no number)" could well belong with the fragments just mentioned.

Beazley describes the subject as follows:

"fr. from Susa (on the left of a picture right hand and foot of an Oriental warrior - Amazon? - moving to right; on the right of a picture - the same? - shank and foot of a similar warrior moving to left) [Bothmer]."

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(1). ARV, p. 880, No. 4.

(2). ARV, p. 768, No. 30.

The figures are separated by an imperfect area in the centre, clearly where a handle used to be. Beazley's query "the same?" is justified; it is, I feel, reasonable to assume that the figures continue round the upper zone of the rhyton (?), possibly linking up with the Amazon on fragment (4154).

Both figures are dressed in Scythian costume. The figure on the right of the fragment has more of his body remaining: the right foot and leg, the bottom of a short chiton-like garment and the right hand grasping what is probably a spear - again with four fingers visible. The other figure has only the left foot and shank. Above his shank appears what looks like the end of a horse's tail, which could suggest that the figure has dismounted from a horse.

The foot of the right hand figure seems to have its toes buried in the meander at the bottom. It seems odd that this figure is on a slightly higher level than the other. I think it conceivable, however, that the meander has been offset on each side of the handle and that the left-hand figure's foot is also buried in the now non-existent meander. My authority for such an assertion is a rhyton in Baltimore (48.2050), <sup>(1)</sup> also painted by our master on which, in this case the ground level has been slightly offset.

(PLATE 16 (b))

Another fragment (Louvre SB 4145) is attributed by Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> to the manner of the Sotades Painter. He says:

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(1). ARV, p. 765, No. 15.

(2). ARV, p. 768, No. 31.



"fr. from Susa. (Forearm and hand, with sword, of a fallen warrior) Bothmer Bothmer asks whether this may not be from the same vase as the last (SB no number); whether both may not belong to Louvre SB 4143 and SB 4154; (1) and whether all these may not belong to Louvre SB 4138 and SB 4151." (2)

It may well belong to Louvre SB (no number) and form the lower half of a two-row figure decoration divided by a frieze cf. the rhyton fragment in the British Museum (London E789), (3) also by the Sotades Painter.

Beazley says "of a fallen warrior". Why "fallen", I am not sure. If this does form part of a lower figure zone, surely the figure grasping the sabre could be upright and preparing to strike an adversary. Furthermore the typically Sotadean clasped hand with four fingers visible could almost be reason enough to attribute this piece firmly to the Sotades Painter.

There are numerous examples of the meander motif interspersed with the occasional square of cross-and-dots e.g. lekythoi Athens 12782 (4) and Chania (5) and Nolan amphora London E295 (6) attributed by Beazley respectively to the Klügmann Painter, the Chania Painter and the Charmides Painter. In the case of the present fragment the meander is relieved by a crossed-sabres-and-dots motif. The fact therefore that on Louvre (SB no number) there are two consecutive meander squares and on Louvre (SB 4154) there is a meander and crossed-sabres motif side by side clearly does not preclude a connection between the two fragments.

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- (1). ARV, p. 765, No. 19.
  - (2). ARV, p. 773.
  - (3). ARV, p. 764, No. 9.
  - (4). ARV, p. 1199, No. 15.
  - (5). ARV, p. 1369, No. 1.
  - (6). ARV, p. 654, No. 3.

## (PLATE 16 (c))

The remaining two fragments (Louvre SB 4138 and SB 4151) <sup>(1)</sup> Beazley thinks are products of the Sotades Potter's Workshop. He does not attribute the vase painting even to the manner of the Sotades Painter. The only conceivable connection between these pieces and the fragments just discussed is via the Sotades Potter's workshop. Even Bothmer <sup>(2)</sup> who mooted the idea of a connection in all these fragments states that the style of the painting reminds him of the Penthesilea Painter.

The fragments seem to form part of both sides of the figure decoration which must have appeared between the legs of horse which in turn probably supported a rider and a rhyton or just a rhyton (parts of the base, hoof and legs are extant). In one corner of the original picture next to the hoof of the horse an Amazon was painted on a white ground : now only her torso with legs and right arm is visible. She has fallen on her left knee and beside her is a battle-axe. She wears yellow shoes, an undergarment with sleeves and trousers sewn together from different materials (chevrons on one, black and white dots on the other), and a tunic decorated with groups of three dots. Only the end of a spear or the handle of an axe remains of the picture on the other side.

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(1). ARV, p. 773.

(2). Amazons in Greek Art, p. 195.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION.

To close this survey, I shall discuss proveniences, the shapes the painter used, his characteristic renderings and attempt to place the vases in chronological order.

The Sotades Painter's works have been found in various parts of the Ancient World from Kerch in the Crimea to several places in southern Italy. It hardly need be stated that if the vases were painted to be sold, then the pictures on them clearly had to appeal to the buyer. Therefore it will be interesting to see if the subject matter of the various pieces can be related in any way to the tastes and interests of the inhabitants of the particular region in which they have been found. The first thing that strikes one from the point of view of subject matter is the popularity of the satyr theme. Furthermore, out of the seven vases depicting satyrs which have a positively attested provenience, six were found in Italy. Now this is surely more than coincidence. Webster <sup>(1)</sup> mentions the popularity of Greek tragedy and comedy in Southern Italy in the fourth century. Five of the above mentioned vases were discovered in this area : Capua (TWO), Numana and Locri (TWS) and the other (the Boston fragments) is described by Beazley <sup>(2)</sup> as being "from Italy". So it can be asserted with certainty that our painter had particular customers in mind in this area of Magna Graecia.

The vases depicting scenes from Greek mythology with three exceptions were found in Greece with Athens producing the white ground cups, now in London. The most surprising exception is the

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(1). Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 3.

(2). ARV, p. 763.

sphinx rhyton, also in London, which was found in a tomb at Capua. This vase which portrays Kekrops the legendary king of Attica, would have naturally been associated with an Athenian buyer. Beazley (1) explains, however, that the Capuans had a special fondness for plastic vases of this type and many have been found there. The 'Achilles and Thetis' fragment was found at Kerch in the Crimea. The third exception is the fragmentary rhyton from Susa which, like the camel rhyton, (2) was obviously designed for an Eastern customer. The camel rhyton is particularly noteworthy because the Persians are actually shown as the victors over the Greeks, which illustrates the willingness of the artist to abandon patriotic finer feeling in order to produce a sale.

From what has been said, can we with any certainty pin-point our painter's place of origin? - that is of course if we do not accept the most likely interpretation that he was an Athenian working in Athens. Do the following points, however, indicate an oriental or East Greek connection? Two of the vases were found in the Eastern Mediterranean area viz. Paphos in Cyprus and Susa. His subjects include Kadmos, who was of Egyptian origin, Hephaistos (possibly twice), who Rose (3) says "has been pretty conclusively shown to be an oriental" and Polyidos and Glaukos from Crete. Slim grounds I should say but nevertheless a possibility.

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(1). AJA (1945) p. 157.

(2). See Appendix 1 for discussion on the fragmentary camel rhyton in the

(3). Handbook of Greek Mythology, p. 165.

Louvre (CA3825)

A few words should now be devoted to the varied and interesting shapes that the Sotades Painter uses as a medium for his work. I shall take them in order as they appear in Beazley. (1) He describes the cups London D6 and D5 (2) "of delicate make with merrythought handles". Richter and Milne (3) refer to the shape as a kylix, which, they say, was especially popular at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century. They go on to say that the strongly spreading bowl, sometimes more than 15" in diameter, represents a distinct achievement in pottery and the difficulty of decorating such a surface invited the best efforts of contemporary vase painters. Both cups are masterpieces of miniature : both are 3" high and D6 is  $5\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, D6  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". They fall into Richter and Milne's "TYPE III" classification, the lip, bowl and stem forming a continuous curve.

London D7 (4) is described by Beazley as "of same delicate make as nos. 1-2". The only apparent difference from the other two is the absence of a stem. Consequently its height is only 1" and its diameter similar to the others,  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". Two further cups come into the category of stemless. These, Boston 03.841 and Naples 2628, Beazley describes as "shallow, solid, lipped". The Boston piece is fragmentary, but the Naples cup is complete.

At the foot several ribs appear, concentric with the base, very similar in style to a phiale in Boston (98.886) (5) which was made by the Sotades Potter. This cup also has

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(1). ARV, pp. 763-765.

(2). ARV, p. 763, Nos. 1 and 2.

(3). Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases, p. 25.

(4). ARV, p. 763, No. 3.

(5). ARV, p. 772 8 (delta).

incised decoration inside. Beazley <sup>(1)</sup> places another phiale (London D8), also made by the Sotades Potter and also having incised decoration inside, in the same group.

The sixth vase in Beazley's list is an unpublished skyphos in a private collection in Italy. He <sup>(2)</sup> describes it as "type B, glaux". Next is a kantharos (Goluchow, Czartoryski 76), which Beazley classifies as "type D, Sotadean". Elsewhere <sup>(3)</sup> he describes the shape as comparable in its beautiful simplicity to the late Chalcidian eye-cup and states that there are only half a dozen such Kantharoi, all Attic and all red figured dated to the years 480-420 B.C. The shape is best illustrated by a photograph and on it you see how it curves up from the small circular base and how the handles in turn curl up and round and terminate on the rim.

Vases eight to nineteen are all rhyta, supported by a variety of animal heads, crocodiles devouring a negro boy and a unique sphinx in the British Museum (London E788). This is number eight in the list. The sphinx is seated and supports the rhyton on her back, her wings reaching up as far as the painted area of the vase. Numbers nine, ten and eleven all have rhyta supported by a crocodile eating a negro boy; London (E789) is fragmentary, Paris (Petit Palais 349) and Dresden (364) are complete. A crocodile whose curved tail forms the handle of the vase has seized a negro in his front paws and has his arm in his mouth. The negro has fallen on his right knee.

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(1). ARV, p. 772.

(2). ARV, p. 764.

(3). Greek Vases in Poland, p. 28.

Numbers twelve to fifteen consist of rhyta tapering into different sorts of animal heads. Number twelve (Ancona 3258) is a hound's head, number thirteen (Leningrad 4519) a ram's head, as is number fourteen (Bonn 2049) though fragmentary and number fifteen (Baltimore 48.2050) is a ram's head dimidiating a donkey's head. Numbers sixteen to nineteen are fragments, the type of rhyton being unknown.

Richter and Milne <sup>(1)</sup> describe a rhyton as a drinking horn in the form of an animal's head and curved like a horn. Dorotheos, a writer in the time of the early Roman Empire compares <sup>(2)</sup> rhyta to horns and derives the name from the Greek word ῥυσις meaning "stream" and says that people drank the liquid through a hole at the bottom. Richter and Milne <sup>(3)</sup> conclude that the terms 'rhyton' and 'rheon' were limited to those vessels which had a hole in the bottom, referring to the use of the Greek word ῥεῖν in inventories to describe leaky vessels.

The last piece, number twenty in Beazley's list is probably the finest and the most unusual shape : an astragalos or knucklebone. Frederick Wright <sup>(4)</sup> says that they were used especially by Greek women in various simple games such as children now play with stones, and were also employed as dice. The four long faces of the knucklebones were of different shapes, one flat, one irregular, one concave and one convex. Stackelberg <sup>(5)</sup> comments on the rareness or rather the complete originality of the shape.

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(1). Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases, p. 28.

(2). Athenaios XI 497.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 133.

(5). Die Gräber der Hellenen, p. 19.



Sotades does not sign as potter and painter - only with  
 ἔπιμαθεν or ἔποιε 'Sotades made the pot'. His signature appears  
 eight times; three of these are to be seen on vases decorated by one  
 artist, the Sotades Painter : London D6, London D5 and Goluchow  
 Czartoryski 76. On London D5, however, just the end of the name appears  
 thus - ADES. Throughout, the vases attributed to the painter display  
 in both shapes and decoration an ingenuity and love of experimentation  
 which make one all but certain that potter and painter were one and the  
 same person. His varied use of shapes which are often out of the ordinary  
 is matched by the variety of subjects, many of which have been rarely  
 attempted by other artists. This uniformity of style and representation  
 and this harmony between shape and painting help to persuade one that he  
 signed his vases thus only for brevity. Karouzou (1) in her description  
 of the Amasis Painter's work quotes Exekias as a parallel for such brevity  
 of inscription. A final thought : if the Sotades Painter and Potter are  
 one and the same, it may explain the predilection for Hephaistos and  
 Pandora. Sotades was certainly a master potter and furthermore an  
 outstanding master of plastic vases. As such he would naturally favour  
 Hephaistos, the immortal plastic specialist, who fashioned Pandora out of  
 clay.

(1) The Amasis Painter

The characteristics of the Sotades Painter which have frequently been noticed and commented upon throughout are as follows. The satyr's boldly arched eyebrow, his round staring eye with centrally placed pupil, his snub nose, his straggly beard and hair and his 'lamb-chop' ear; also the female's long sweeping nose-forehead line, her soft round chin and curly hair partially obscuring the ear, and the oval-shaped eye, often open at the inner corner. Also a very common trait of our painter is the clasped hand, showing off all the fingers and thumb, then the outstretched hand which usually displays one or two fingers only and the thumb. Both of these characteristic renderings of the hand were seen clearly on the Goluchow Kantharos, where a maenad clasps a thyrsus and a satyr stretches out his hand.

Finally, I shall attempt to put forward some suggestions as to the order in which these vases were painted. I do not see much evidence of the very early period of the artist's life. Possibly the London rhyton (E789) could come into this category, for here he is still employing the dilute glaze for the portrayal of musculature and relief line for contours. It is the painter's mature period that we see most of in this catalogue. The shallow cups in Boston and Naples, the Goluchow Kantharos, the London sphinx vase, the animal-head rhyta and the astragalos, I believe, all belong here. We see in these vases the painter's meticulously accurate style and his insistence on every figure being depicted perfectly. Now the dilute glaze disappears. The drawing is simple and refined. The Brygan influence is still present in the often violently moving figures.

In contrast to the strong outward thrust of these earlier quickly moving pictures is the carefully continued inner rhythm of the white-ground cups which represent the latest stage of the painter. Despite the absence of any sudden action or movement, one's attention is drawn to the centre of the tondo by the tree on the 'Hesperides' picture, Polyidos' spear in the Polyidos and Glaukos scene and by the dragon's head and waving reeds in the Kadmos episode. One is reminded of the Munich Cup (2688) <sup>(1)</sup> painted by the Penthesilea Painter where the stares of the three main figures draw one to the centre of the action and also the Taranto <sup>(2)</sup> Cup by the Pistoxenos Painter where the gazes of the satyr and maenad meet in the middle. The naturalism which is so typical of these painters is very noticeable in these later works of the Sotades Painter.

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(1). ARV, p. 879, No. 1.

(2). ARV, p. 860, No. 3.

APPENDIX 1

## LOUVRE CAMEL RHYTON (CA 3825) FRAGMENTARY (PLATE 17 (a) and (b))

Beazley (1) says:

"probably from Egypt, frr. They include part of a base with group, a camel's hooves (?) and beside them a human leg on the ground. Probably belonging, a camel's head, plastic; perhaps belonging a Persian's head plastic, and part of a R.F. frieze representing a fight of (Persians?) and Greeks; below a ~~fain~~ attacked by felines. Other fragments that may belong are part of a base with a donkey's leg, plastic; a negro's head, plastic; and part of a Persian's (?) arm plastic. The R.F. part recalls Sotadean."

Lilly Kahil (2) has written at length on all aspects of the pieces.

The piece is signed by the Sotades potter on the base which supported the camel and its Persian attendant (3) (ΣΟΤΑΔΕΣ ΕΡΟΙΕ ). There are several fragments which make up a part of the vase painted in R.F., decorated, as it is, with the moulded head of a Persian, which Kahil is convinced belonged to the foot on the base mentioned above. The vase must be described not only because the Sotades potter signed it but also because of the Sotadean characteristics to which both Beazley and Kahil refer.

The vase is divided into two sections, upper and lower and a floral decoration comprising palmettes and lotus flowers between reserved lines marks the division. The upper zone shows a struggle between Greeks and Persians, (4) of which only one piece remains.

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(1). Paralipomena, p. 416.

(2). Revue Archéologique 1972 pp. 271-284.

(3). See Kahil's reconstruction, ibid, p. 273, fig. 7.

(4). I follow Kahil's interpretation.

Looking from left to right one can see what could be drapery, possibly being clutched by a hand, then a Persian warrior in oriental costume who despite the fact that the upper part of head is missing, still sports a straggling beard, separated into strands in a strikingly similar way to the satyrs on the Goluchow Kantharos. (1) Part of his right leg and both feet are also missing. The head is in right profile, body fully frontal. He is brandishing a large sabre-type sword, similar to the one on the Louvre fragment, (2) in his right hand and he is holding out his left to ward off an adversary. His costume is complex : on his head he probably wears a hat with cheek pieces and on his body a jerkin whose sleeves and legs were decorated with a double row of dots. Over this he wears a short chiton, of which only the lower part is visible because the rest is covered by his breast plate. Across his body obliquely he seems to have a cross-belt or shoulder-strap to support the quiver, visible on the left side and at the back between his legs.

To his right a figure is squatting almost face frontal and completely naked. He is embracing the left leg of the Persian's adversary and is pressing his head against it in supplicatory fashion. Despite the absence of black skin, his physical type is clearly negroid (possibly Egyptian, for the Pan Painter on the pelike in Athens (9683) depicting Herakles and Busiris (3) depicted Egyptians as negroes), with frizzy hair wide nose and fleshy lips with a thick-set face and body. Worth mentioning is the bold foreshortening, particularly of the bent left leg and foot, of which three toes are visible.

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(1). ARV, p. 764.

(2). SB 4154 cf. ARV, p. 765.

(3). ARV, p. 554, No. 82.

The person against whom the negro is leaning is a warrior, the whole of whose upper body is missing. His two legs remain, of which the negro embraces the left and right is seen from the back and is foreshortened as he appears to turn to the left. He seems to have been dressed in a short chiton, of which the lower left part with an embroidered hem remains. Evidently he was a Greek warrior who is holding his shield on his left arm to protect himself from the Persian Warrior's attack.

The fourth person is again an oriental turning to the right, whose picture is very incompletely preserved. Visible, however, is the profile bearded face with strands of hair escaping from beneath his hat with side pieces, also the jerkin of which one long sleeve is embroidered with the same zig-zag motif as on the leg, the short chiton above, and the breast plate. With his left arm he is knocking his adversary over backwards. This adversary is seen from the back in a particularly daring posture : as he falls backwards to the right, he steadies himself on his legs which are apart, at the same time striving to push back the Persian's attack with his shield which he holds on his left arm. His face is missing but would have been profile.

Further to the right the last preserved figure is to be seen, again an oriental, whose lower parts only remain. He is shown from the back <sup>(1)</sup> and appears to be lunging to the right where his adversary would certainly have been. Alternatively he could be fully frontal and the semi-circle on each foot could be not part of his heel, but the raised big toe. Kahil feels, however, that this is the back of the shoe.

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(1). Kahil's interpretation.

Only one fragment remains of the lower zone, depicting two feline animals, probably lions attacking a fawn. The lion on the left is biting it in the region of the lower back and the lion on the right has it by the throat. The manes of the lions and the skin of the deer are carefully rendered by dots and streaks of brilliant glaze, as well as fine lines of dilute. The deer is reminiscent of the goat on the Naples (2628) <sup>(1)</sup> kylix with its long, slender body and realistically rendered back legs.

Kahil makes an interesting point in her discussion about the vase's subject. It is, she says, the Persian soldiers who are chasing the Greek hoplites from left to right and in none of the scenes is the Greek represented as victor while the Persian has the upper hand at least twice. Nor is this the only example of a Sotadean vase (i.e. the potter Sotades) depicting the Persians as the victors. The famous "Amazon" rhyton in Boston (21.2286), <sup>(2)</sup> which was also found in Africa, in this case at Meroe, shows on the neck a battle-scene where the Persians on horse and on foot are the conquerors. Kahil would like to see a historical allusion in this extraordinary vindication of the Persians, found not in the east but in Egypt. She thinks that there could be a reference to the disastrous campaign fought in Egypt by the Greeks against the Persians in the decade 460-450 B.C., in which Pericles allied himself to certain Egyptian insurgents led by the son of Psammeticus, an action which led to the Athenians being chased out of Memphis in 456 B.C. and Megabazus, the Persian returning to Susa in triumph with Psammeticus' son, Inaros and the Athenian generals.

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(1). ARV, p. 763.  
 (2). ARV, p. 772

*Amidon 21*

It is in this light that she refers to the inventiveness of the Sotades potter and his adaptability, in that here he caters for the tastes of what surely must have been a Persian customer. For here he depicts the Persians' favourite fighting and transport animal, the camel led by a majestic Persian accompanied by a black slave. The representation on the rhyton itself shows the superiority of the Persians over the Greeks - a victory that, she says, one can equate with that which the Persian armies had in Egypt and in particular with the victorious resistance of the Persians at Memphis, where the object itself perhaps commissioned specially was found.



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PLATE I

a



b



a



b



c



PLATE 3

a



b



a



b



PLATE 5

a



b



c.



b



c



a



d



e



PLATE 6

a



b



PLATE 7

a



b

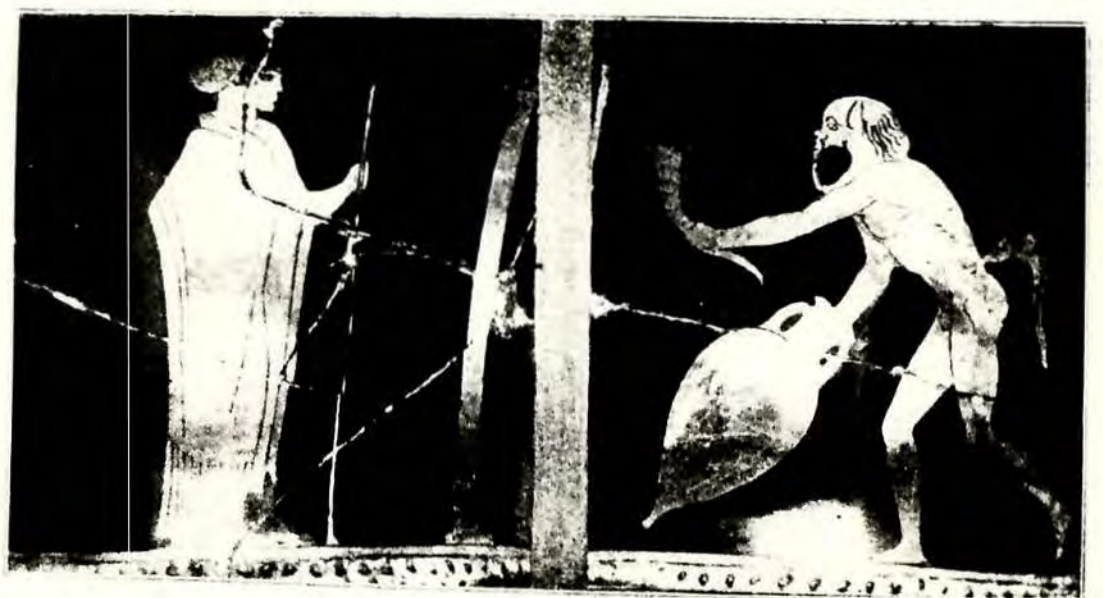




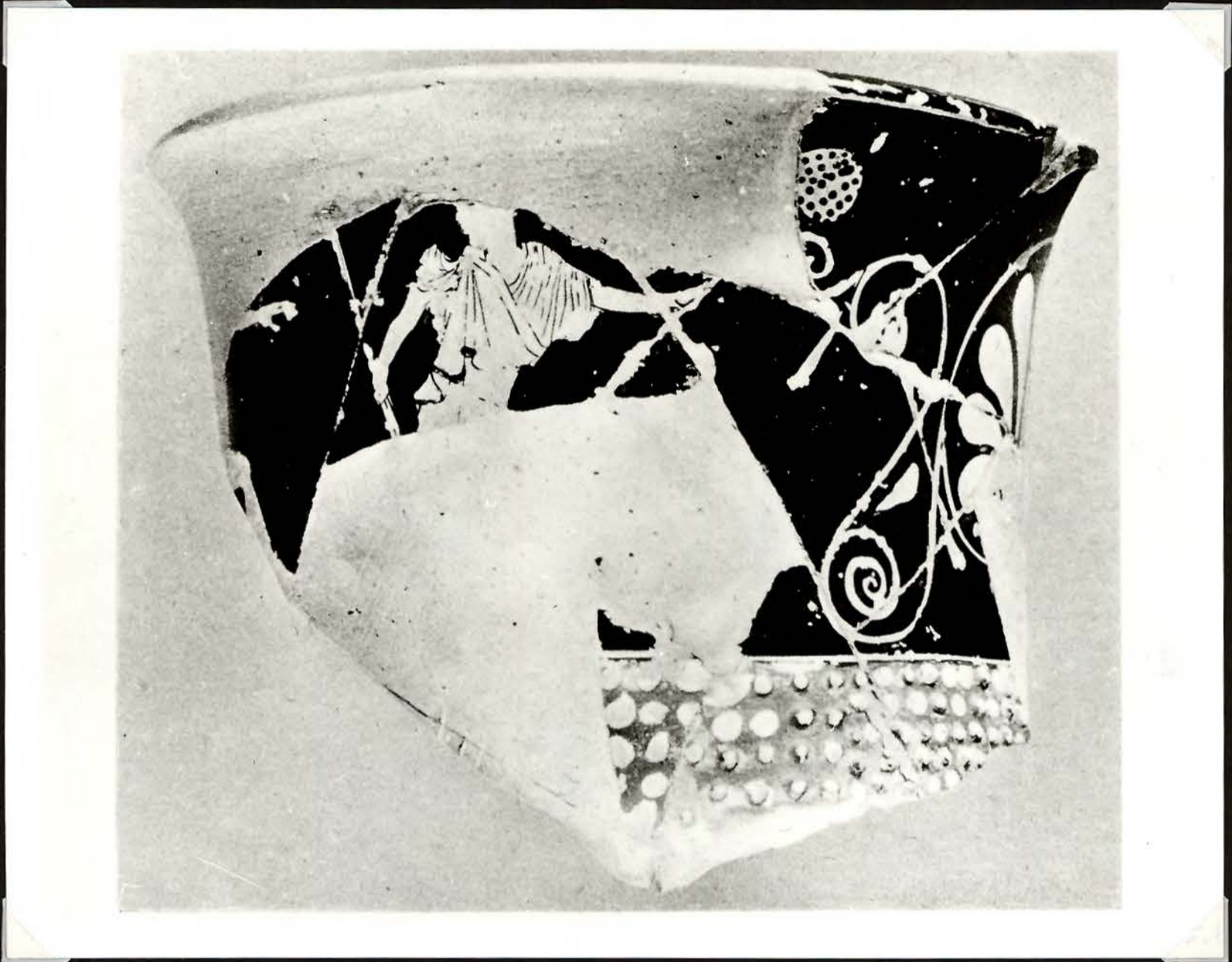
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b



a



b



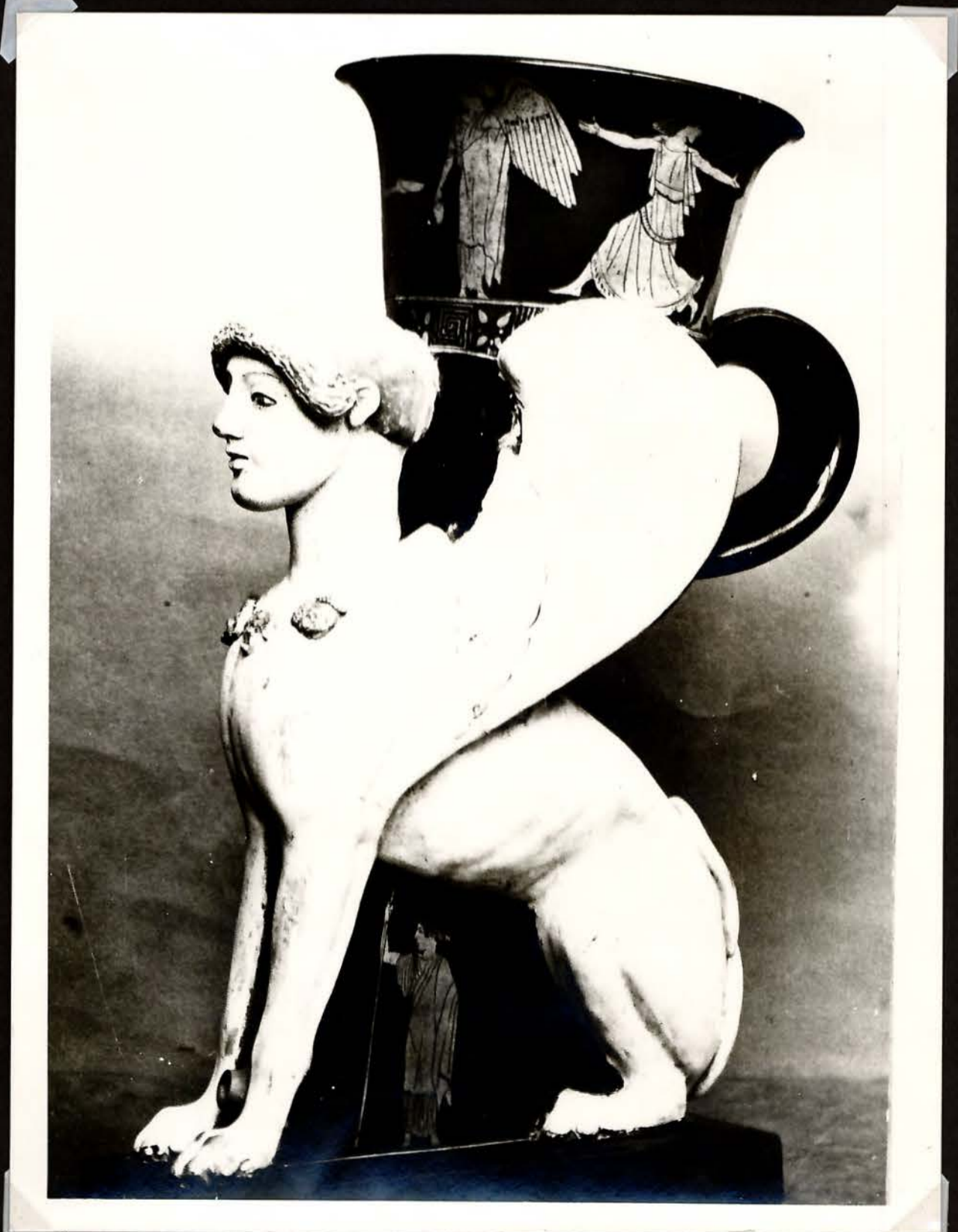
PLATE II



a



b



a



b



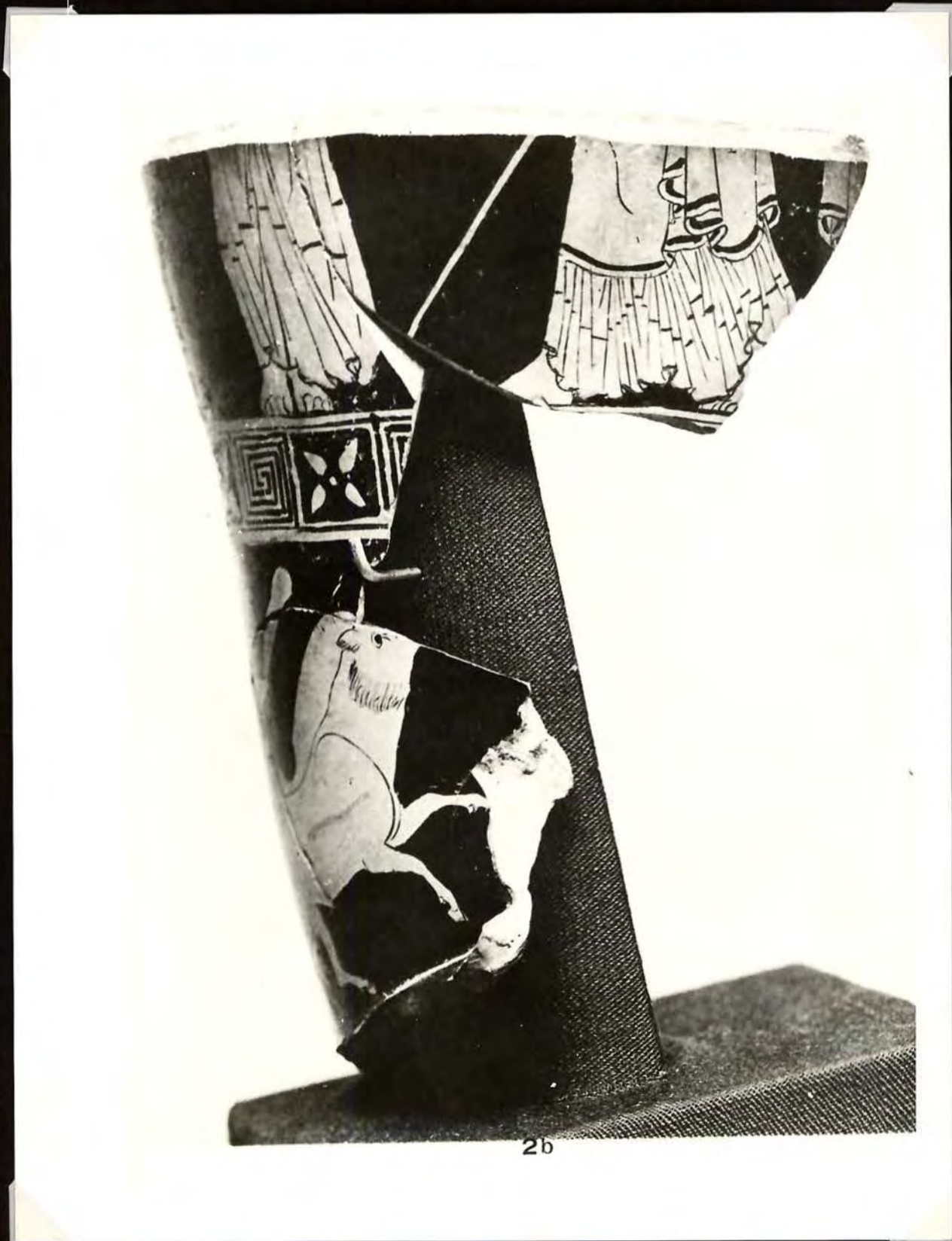


PLATE 14

a



b



2b

a



b

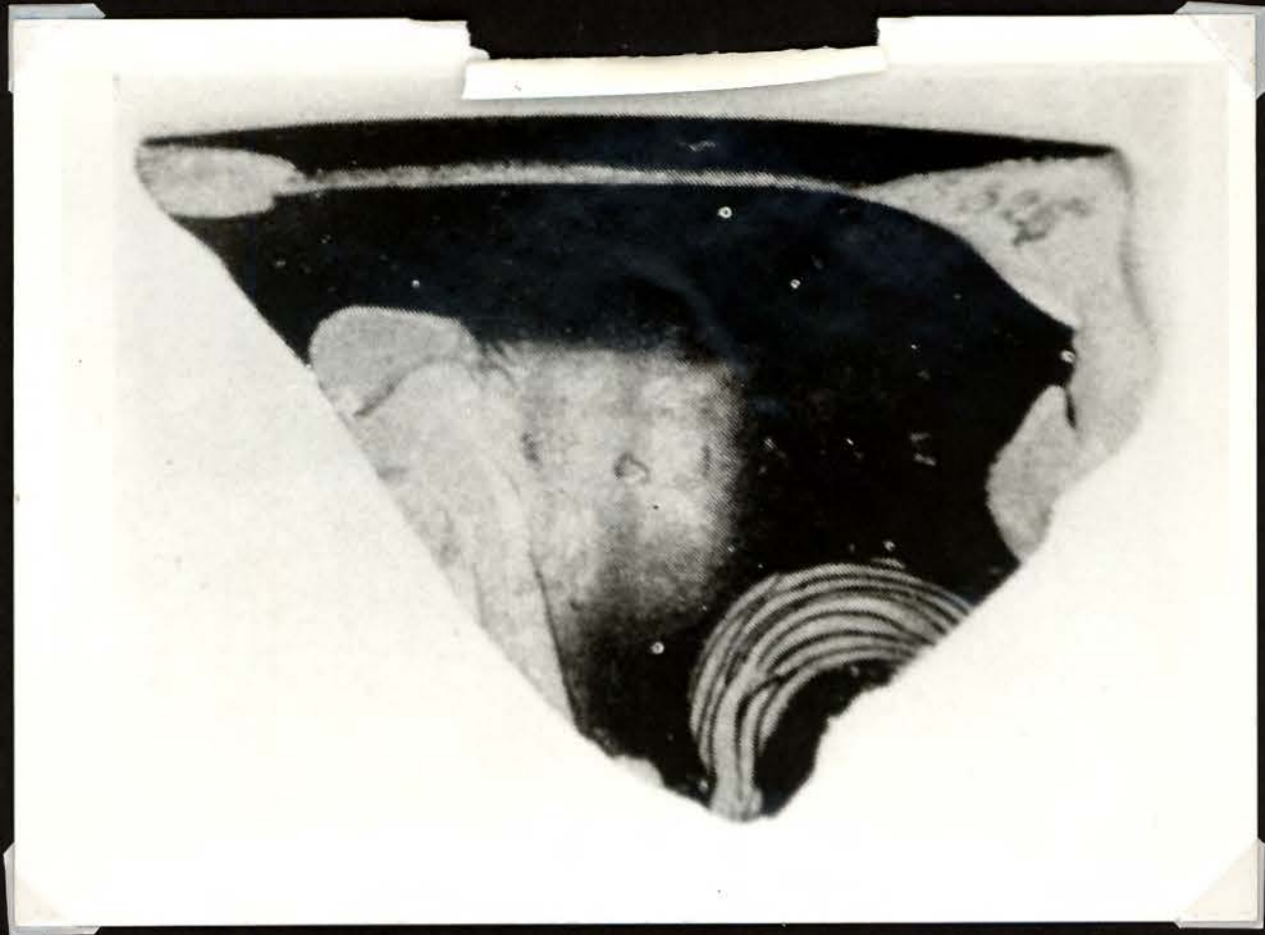
i



ii



a



c



a



b

