

A red-figure calyx-krater from Troizen

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ABSTRACT

A fragmentary red-figure calyx-krater was found in a rescue excavation in the area of the eastern cemetery of Troizen. Hephaistos returning to Olympos on muleback, accompanied by Dionysos and members of his thiasos, is depicted on the surviving part of the body. The configuration of the scene and the drawing style point to the workshop of the Pronomos Painter, active in the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. The vase was most probably fashioned shortly after the beginning of the 4th century B.C., as is indicated by specific features in its shape. The scene is among the few late depictions of Hephaistos' Return in Attic vase painting, as the great majority of other known examples date to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The representation follows the norms of the established iconography of the subject, while exhibiting some innovative features: the figures are set at various levels, an arrangement creating the illusion of depth and perhaps reflecting influences from monumental painting; Hephaistos and Dionysos are portrayed as nude beardless youths, whereas, in earlier or contemporary representations of this subject matter, they are normally draped and bearded; a Nike flying above Dionysos and leading the procession a triumphant character appears for the first time in this scene.

INTRODUCTION

A fragmentary red-figure calyx-krater, decorated with a representation of Hephaistos' return to Olympos, came to light in a rescue excavation conducted in the area of the eastern cemetery of Troizen in 2006–2007. The cemeteries of the city extended a great distance E and NW of it, as is demonstrated by clusters of tombs excavated at 14 locations (Fig. 1, I–XIV) from 1982 onwards (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, 127–58; Giannopoulou 2009, 526–33; 2013a, 111–17; 2014, 138–229; 2018, 143; 2019). The eastern cemetery appears to have extended c. 800 m E of the city (up to the Koumoundourou stream), while the western cemetery spread at least 600 m NW of it, at the area off the Kremastos stream (probably the ancient Chrysorroas), which flows down the ravine bridged by the so-called Diavologephyro (Devil's Bridge) and borders the city to the W (Fig. 1). The soft, alluvial soil deposited in the vicinity of the streams running through the plain of Troizen favored the systematic use of those areas as burial grounds until Late Antiquity. The use of the eastern cemetery began in the Proto-geometric period, whereas the western does not appear to have been exploited before the Late Archaic period, given that the earliest vestiges of funerary activity at this area are two inscribed gravestones and a marble stele with an incised representation of a hoplite runner, all three dating to the second half of the 6th century B.C. (Giannopoulou 2010–2011, 2013b). The burial grounds of the Geometric and Archaic periods were situated close to the city, whereas those of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods extended a great distance outside the fortification wall, probably because the increase in population necessitated their gradual expansion.

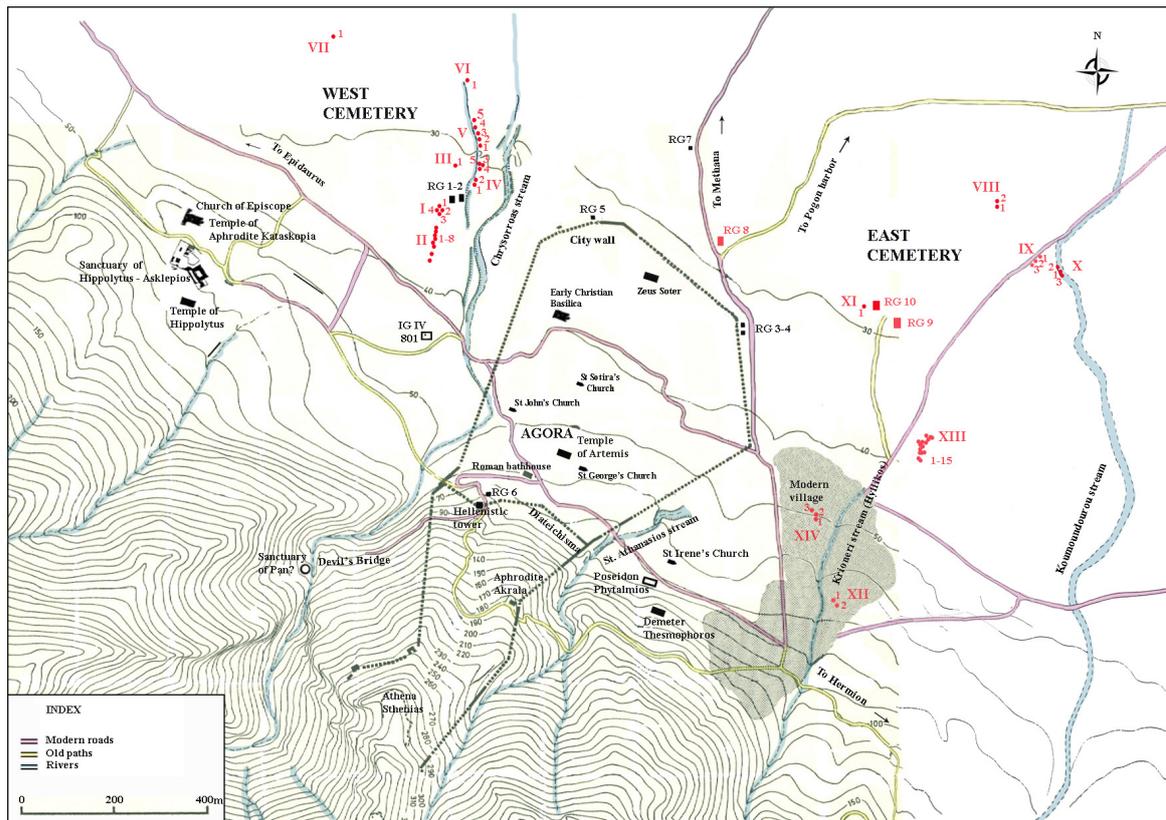


Fig. 1. Map of ancient Troizen with the locations (I–XIV) of excavated tomb clusters (based on Welter 1941, pl. 2, modified and updated by M. Giannopoulou).

The 2006–2007 excavation at location XIII of the eastern cemetery (Fig. 1) brought to light the remains of a 4th century B.C. funerary peribolos built of marble blocks, and 15 graves of various types (Fig. 2), ranging in date from the Protogeometric to the Roman period (Giannopoulou 2006, 232–34; 2013a, 113–15; 2014, 171–72, 191–218; 2019, 650–51). The front wall of the funerary peribolos was incorporated into a long rubble wall, perhaps forming part of the southern side of an ancient road running E–W. The types of graves uncovered south of the peribolos and the rubble wall comprised three cists, three pit and two tile graves, four pot burials, one interment in a clay larnax, and another in a pithos; moreover, the remains of a cremation, dating to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., were found in a shallow pit dug out into the ground. The fragments of the red-figure calyx-krater were retrieved close beside this pit (Figs. 2, 3, 4). The krater, found in a shattered condition and only partially restored from multiple joining pieces, came most probably from a dismantled Classical burial, which was either destroyed due to subsequent funerary activity, or whose contents had been discarded to make way for reuse of the tomb.

Red-figure pottery is thus far a rare occurrence in the cemeteries of Troizen, as the only examples recovered in funerary deposits are the calyx-krater in discussion and three other, small-size vessels of lesser importance: one kylix from the cist grave of an adult and two squat lekythoi from infant burials, all three dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C. (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, figs. 27a, 30; Giannopoulou 2009, 529, fig. 22; 2014, 147, 152, 167, nos. 10, 29, 80, pls. 74–75, 88β–γ, 111β–γ). The pottery retrieved in tombs of the Classical period included mostly Attic black-glazed vases, along with few local ceramic products of poor quality. Rich burials, excavated in both the eastern and western cemeteries, were mainly furnished with groups of bronze vessels, pottery usually constituting a minor component of the grave gifts. The wide availability of vases and other items of bronze at Troizen during the Classical period suggests that a local workshop for casting small-scale bronzes may have been active at that time. This hypothesis is otherwise supported by certain morphological peculiarities, probably of indigenous inspiration, which were observed in some of the bronze vessels found in funerary contexts (Giannopoulou 2014, 231–42; 2019, 652–55, figs. 7–13).

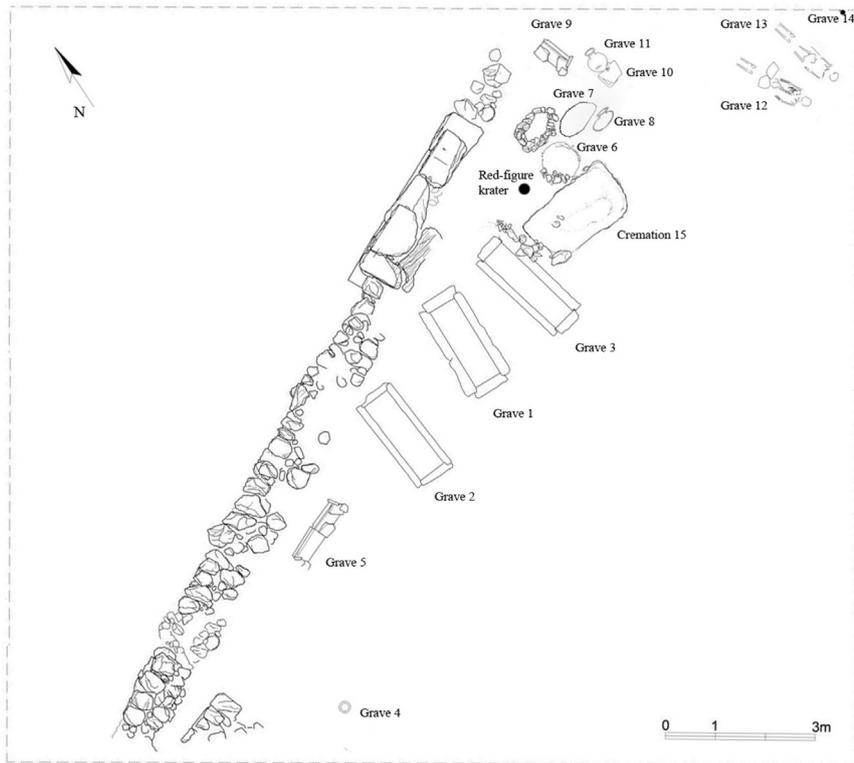


Fig. 2. Ground-plan of the excavation at location XIII. The find-spot of the red-figure calyx-krater is marked with a dot.



Fig. 3. The graves excavated at location XIII (from the E).



Fig. 4. The fragments of the red-figure calyx-krater *in situ*.



Figs 5–6. The restored part of the calyx-krater from the eastern cemetery of Troizen.

The calyx-krater from the eastern cemetery (Figs. 5, 6, 7), although badly preserved, is a significant addition to the so far meagre evidence for red-figure pottery at Troizen. Similar finds from the ancient city or the extramural sanctuary of Hippolytos are lacking, as no extensive excavation was conducted at Troizen after the old investigations by Legrand (1897, 1905) and Welter (1941, 12–42), who unearthed some of city's monuments and theorized about the topography of the presumed agora area, but they did not include the pottery finds from the explored buildings in the published reports. Welter identified some of the excavated buildings with monuments recorded by Pausanias, but his assumptions were precarious, as they were not supported by adequate archaeological evidence. The topography of the agora and the sanctuary of Hippolytos were revisited in recent publications (Giannopoulou 2014, 327–63, with pls. 211, 216; 2018, 120–42; 2022, 5–7), where alternative interpretations or different construction dates were proposed for certain monuments.



Fig. 7. Part of the krater's lower body and cul.

DESCRIPTION

Poros Museum no. 1946. Fragmentary red-figure calyx-krater. Max. preserved height: 0.215 m; max. preserved width across the body: 0.255 m; max. preserved width across the rim: 0.36 m; length of handle fragment: 0.11 m.

A portion of the body and rim restored from multiple fragments; non-joining part of the vessel's cul and lower wall, restored from three fragments; wall fragment with application mark of a handle; one handle fragment; several small pieces of the same vase. Finely levigated orange clay; surface worn and discolored in places; distinct traces of preliminary sketch, incised with a sharp implement; some traces of relief contour. The black glaze is applied thinly in parts of the background. Added white is used for several elements of the figure decoration (Nike's skin, ribbons, jewelry, flame of torch, features of the landscape), and also for laurel berries on the rim.

The restored part of the vase indicates that it had a tall and relatively narrow cylindrical body, with an almost vertical profile and a high, distinctly flaring rim (Figs. 5, 6). At the junction of the cylindrical wall and the swelling surface of the cul there was a deep groove (Fig. 7), a shallow groove separated the rim from the body,



Fig. 8. Fragment from the krater's cul, and surviving handle fragment.



Fig. 9. The restored part of the figure decoration: Hephaistos returns to Olympos on muleback, Dionysos, accompanied by his thiasos, leads the procession, and a Nike flies above him.



Fig. 10. Hephaistos riding a mule.



Fig. 11. Dionysos leading the procession.

and the protruding, thickened lip was marked off by a deep groove beneath its outer edge. The handles were ovoid in cross-section and extended upwards forming a gentle curve (Fig. 8).

The cul was decorated with a zone of diagonally addorsed palmettes, connected to each other by spiralling tendrils; the groove between the cul and the cylindrical body was reserved; on the wall above the groove, the hoof and the lower part of a satyr's leg is visible (Fig. 7). The restored part of the scene on the body depicts Hephaistos returning to Olympos on muleback, accompanied by Dionysos and members of his thiasos, while a Nike flies above them (Fig. 9).

Hephaistos, who rides to the right, is pictured naked, with a himation draped over the shoulders and a laurel wreath on the head (Fig. 10). The head is rendered in profile to the right, with short, curly hair; the face is not preserved. The upper body is displayed in three-quarter view; the left arm extends downwards, following the contour of the body, whereas the right is upraised and bent towards the head. The species of his mount (mule) is denoted by the horse-like tail, a feature differentiating a mule from a donkey in the imagery of these two equids (Fineberg 2009, 292 n. 28; Moore 2010, 46–7 n. 51).

Dionysos is depicted ahead of Hephaistos, proceeding to the right and leading the procession (Figs. 9, 11). He is portrayed as a nude, beardless youth, with a himation draped over the elbows and a *mitra* (fillet) around



Fig. 12. Satyr following the riding Hephaistos.



Fig. 13. Detail of the figures of Hephaistos and the satyr behind him.



Fig. 14. Satyr advancing to the right, following Dionysos.

the head. The legs are shown wide apart, the body in three-quarter view and the head in profile to the right, with short (or tied up) curly hair. The profile of the face exhibits a small chin, a long, straight, sharply defined nose with dot-nostril, and neatly drawn, protruding lips, the upper of which is separated from the lower by a short, straight line. With the right hand he holds a thyrsos, to the shaft of which a ribbon is tied, rendered in (faded) added white; the ribbon ends in a cluster of three dots at either tip. In the left hand he carries a partly preserved object, probably a drinking horn or a kantharos, held out in front of him.

A bearded satyr striding to the right follows the riding Hephaistos (Figs. 9, 12, 13). The left leg is overlapped by the mule's hindquarters, but the visible parts show that it was raised and bent, a stance indicating dynamic forward movement. His torso is displayed in three-quarter view, whilst the head in profile to the right, with broad curved forehead, snub nose and fleshy lips. In the drawing of the eye (shown in profile) the upper lid is rendered with a double line, the lower line heavier, the upper curving gently to meet the other at the ends. The eyebrow is drawn with a long, arched line, decreasing in thickness and curving down at the inner end. The ear is drawn with a double line forming a strong curve at the bottom and an acute angle at the top. The hair is rendered with long, unruly ringlets, running horizontally at the top of the head and vertically below. Thick wavy lines running down the cheeks and chin indicate the beard. The left arm is upraised and wrapped in a leopard skin thrown over the left shoulder, whilst the right, only the upper part of which survives, was apparently bent forward to hold a thyrsos that crosses diagonally the satyr's body.

Below Hephaistos and his mount appears another satyr advancing to the right, with the left leg raised and bent at a right angle, and the body bending forward (Figs. 9, 14). The lower part and the hoof of the right leg are visible on a fragment from the krater's lower wall (Fig. 7). The head is badly preserved, as the only distin-



Fig. 15. Nike flying above Dionysos, and two female figures (probably maenads) to the right of him.



Fig. 16. The flying Nike, holding a drum and a ribbon.

guishable features are the broad curved forehead, short hair with scraggly curls and a laurel wreath. The left arm is bent forward at a right angle, with the palm facing upwards, whereas the right is stretched out, with the palm facing downwards and holding an object, most probably a *krotalon*; a leopard skin is thrown over the left shoulder.

The space above Dionysos is filled up with a Nike figure, flying to the right and turning the head back to look at Hephaistos (Figs. 15, 16). Her torso is rendered in three-quarter view, with the wings outstretched on either side; added white all over the body and limbs indicates nudity. The hair is gathered in a *krovvylos*; no facial features are preserved. In the left hand she carries a drum and with the right she holds a doubled ribbon hanging down and ending in a cluster of three dots at either tip; the ribbon was rendered in added white (mostly faded).



Fig. 17. The two female figures to the right of Dionysos.

To the right of Dionysos there is a female figure, only the upper part of whom survives (Figs. 15, 17). The chest is shown frontally, inclined to the right, whereas the head is turned to the left. The profile of the face exhibits a long, straight, sharply defined nose, similar to that of Dionysos. The ear is drawn with a double line, indicating the earlobe; dilute black glaze is used to render its ovoid concavity; no other facial features are preserved. The hair is coiffed in a *krovvylos* and is adorned with three upright laurel leaves above the forehead. She wears an elaborate chiton, embellished in the upper part with a volute motif and a frieze of horses, only the rightmost of which survives. Two thick lines in added white near the wrist indicate a pair of bracelets; an earring is denoted by a pair of small dots on the lower earlobe. The right hand is stretched out to Dionysos, the (missing) left apparently held a torch depicted beside her; the flame of the torch was rendered with thick wavy lines in added white. She is most probably a maenad, perhaps portrayed sitting on some feature of the landscape.

Further to the right, at a higher level, part of another female figure is preserved (Figs. 15, 17). She is seated to the right, but the upper body is displayed frontally and the head is turned to the left. The right arm is bent to the chest, the left does not survive. She wears a long chiton belted at the waist and she is crowned with laurel leaves. This figure may also be a maenad sitting on some feature of the landscape; a double stem plant, denoted by two curving lines ending in groups of dots, is depicted with added white in the space below her body.

A loose fragment from the krater's body preserves the lower part of a standing figure turned to right, wearing a long, finely pleated chiton and a himation of heavier material (Fig. 18). As this figure was drawn on a significantly larger scale than those of the scene representing the return of Hephaistos, it would have belonged to a



Fig. 18. Loose fragment preserving the lower part of a standing draped figure.



Fig. 19. Laurel wreath on the krater's rim.

different scene, possibly depicted on the other side of the vessel. The application mark of a handle at the lower edge of the fragment indicates that this figure was positioned at the far right of the scene.

The rim is decorated with a laurel wreath extending around to the right; the berries of the laurel are rendered in added white (Fig. 19). The shallow groove between the rim zone and the figure decoration retains traces of red paint; the groove beneath the outer edge of the lip is reserved; on the inside of the vase there are two reserved bands below the lip.

DATE AND PAINTER OF THE VASE

The shape of the calyx-krater from Troizen displays a later version of the type, which appeared at the end of the 5th century B.C. and continued to be produced during the 4th century B.C. (Hinkel 1967, 42, 48–50; Tiverios 1989, 69–77). The defining characteristics of this late shape are a tall, relatively narrow cylindrical body with an almost vertical profile, and a high, flaring rim. Although the vessel is partially preserved, its total height appears to have exceeded the maximum diameter, a typical feature of 4th century B.C. calyx-kraters. The rim is not differentiated from the body through moulding (as was the norm for earlier calyx-kraters), but it is clearly defined by the painted decoration. A further chronological criterion is the fact that the rim almost ‘hangs’ outwards, a feature occurring in calyx-kraters from the beginning of the 4th century B.C. (Tiverios 1989, 75). However, the handles would not have been straight with an angled top (as was usual for calyx-kraters of the early 4th century B.C.), given that the surviving fragment exhibits a gentle upward curve (Fig. 8).

Although the vessel is badly preserved, some characteristic details of the figure decoration are still visible, and they seem to point to the workshop of the Pronomos Painter, the artist named by Beazley (*ARV*², 1336.1) after the aulos-player Pronomos, depicted among other figures in the theatrical scene on side A of his most important work, the volute-krater H3240 (8167) in the Naples National Archaeological Museum. His activity is placed some time before and after 400 B.C., its chronological limits remaining vague. The works ascribed to the Pronomos Painter himself are relatively few, but a greater number were recognized as being ‘near’, ‘akin to’ or ‘related to’ him. A catalogue of red-figure pottery attributed to this painter and his circle is provided in the Appendix at the end of the present article. The vases compared with the calyx-krater from Troizen will be referenced with the number (in bold) they are assigned within this catalogue.

The workshop of the Pronomos Painter produced calyx-kraters; however, few of those survive complete and are offered for comparison with the Troizen krater in respect of their shape. In relation to the well-preserved examples, the shape of the vase resembles that of a calyx-krater in Ferrara (16). The two vessels are comparable in terms of their slender proportions and tall cylindrical body with an almost vertical profile. In both examples,

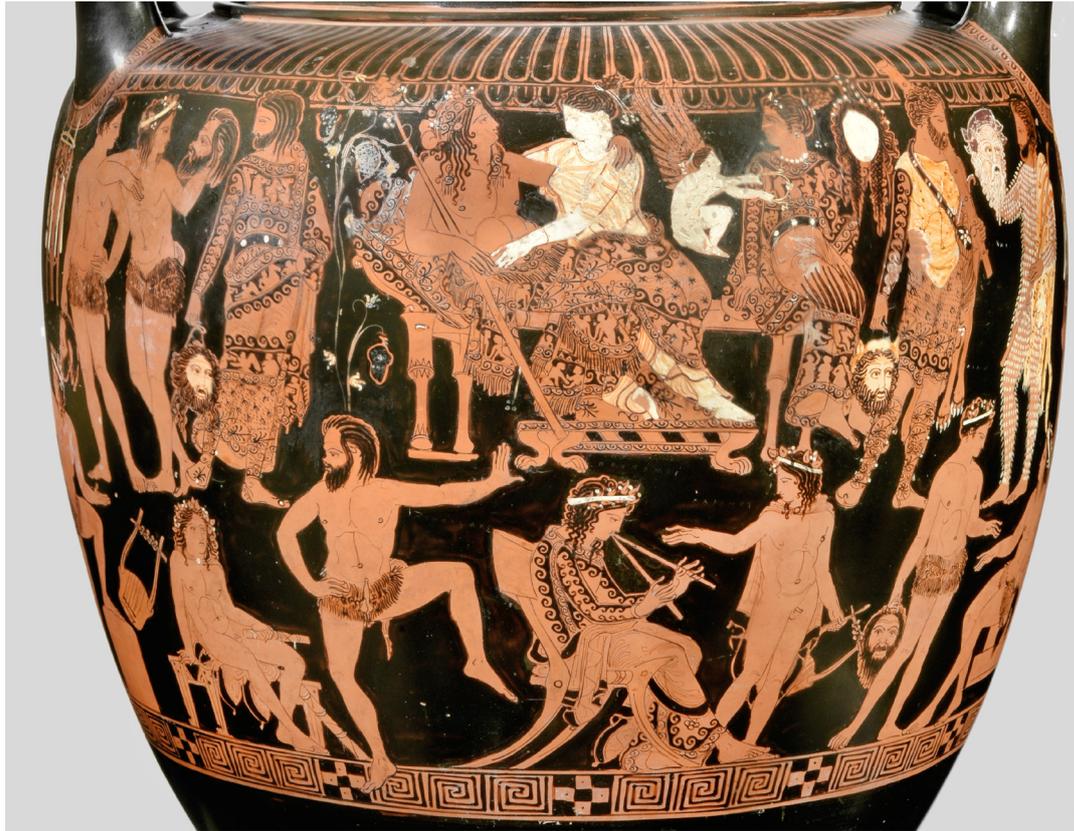


Fig. 20. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Volute-krater, side A.

the cul is separated from the cylindrical wall by a deep groove, the flaring rim is bordered below by a shallow groove, and the lip is marked off on the outside by a deep groove. However, they differ from each other in the shape of the handles, as in the Troizen krater they appear to have formed a gentle upward curve, whereas in the Ferrara krater and other contemporary examples they are straight, more elongated and angled at the top. Regarding the handles, the Troizen vase seems to be closer to two other calyx-kraters, one in Genoa (19) and another in Madrid (26).

As it appears, the Troizen and Ferrara calyx-kraters are late examples of vases of this type ascribed to the Pronomos Painter and his circle, since they have slender proportions, exhibiting a tall and relatively narrow body with a high, flaring rim. Conversely, the Madrid and Genoa kraters may be considered earlier examples, since they have comparatively less slender proportions and a shorter rim, plastically differentiated from the body. The proposed chronological classification is further supported by the varying quality of the secondary decoration: in the Madrid and Genoa kraters it is more elaborate and very carefully drawn, whereas in the Troizen and Ferrara kraters it is simplified and rather hastily executed.

The arrangement of the figures in the scene on the Troizen krater recalls the configuration of other scenes by the Pronomos Painter and his associates: many figures placed at different levels, an arrangement creating the illusion of depth, move or gesture vividly while performing various activities; ultimately, they form a close-knit, unified, harmonious whole, composed of opposing forces that are nonetheless interactive and balanced (cf. Drougou 2000, 169–70). This painter's style may also be recognized in the way of rendering facial features, hair, anatomical features, clothing and additional items. Five red-figure vases are particularly offered for comparison with the krater from Troizen in terms of the manner of painting:

- a) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81673 (prev. H3240). Volute-krater, name-vase (28) (Figs. 20, 21).
- b) Berlin F2642 (lost). Bell-krater (7).



Fig. 21. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Volute-krater, side B.



Fig. 22. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80/514. Hydria representing the strife between Athena and Poseidon. ©Ministry of Culture / Archaeological Resources Fund / Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella.



Fig. 23. The head of the satyr behind Hephaistos on the krater from Troizen (detail).



Fig. 24. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side B: detail of a satyr.

c) Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 697.116. Bell-krater fragment (11).

d) Turin, Museo di Antichità 2058 (prev. 4122). Bell-krater (48).

e) Pella, Archaeological Museum 80/514. Hydria (31) (Fig. 22).

Unfortunately, many elements of the scene painted on the Troizen krater, most regrettably the figures' facial features and anatomical details, have been lost, as the vessel was found in a shattered condition and its surface had suffered much damage. Nevertheless, certain preserved details of the figure decoration, and in addition, the floral decoration, allow for comparison with similar features of the aforementioned vessels and other works connected with the same painter.



Fig. 25. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side B: detail of a satyr.

Facial features and hair

The satyr behind Hephaistos is the only figure whose facial features are completely preserved. The head is neatly drawn (Fig. 23), as was usual for the Pronomos Painter. The broad curved forehead, small protruding nose and fleshy lips resemble those of the satyrs depicted on side B of the name-vase in Naples (Figs. 24, 25) and on the Turin krater (28, 48). The eye and eyebrow are rendered in a manner considered to be typical for this painter: the upper lid is drawn with a double line, the upper of which curves gently down to meet the lower line at the ends; the eyebrow is drawn with a long, arched line, curving down at the inner end (cf. Burn 2010, 17–8; Mannack 2010, 11). The ear, drawn with a double line forming a strong curve at the bottom and an acute angle at the top, may be paralleled to that of a satyr on one of the krater fragments from Corinth (13), proposed to exhibit the manner of the Pronomos Painter. The satyr behind Dionysos (Fig. 14) is similarly depicted with broad curved forehead, but all other facial features are worn off.

The rendering of faces with small chin and long, sharply defined nose with dot-nostril, as seen in the facial profiles of Dionysos and the female figure in front of him (Figs. 26, 27), is also considered a characteristic of this painter's style (McPhee 1978, 552; Burn 2010, 17–8; Mannack 2010, 11). The neatly drawn protruding lips of Dionysos, the upper of which is separated from the lower by a short straight line at its bottom, resemble the



Fig. 26. The head of Dionysos on the krater from Troizen (detail).



Fig. 27. Detail of the female figure in front of Dionysos on the krater from Troizen.



Fig. 28. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side A: detail of Dionysos.



Fig. 29. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side B: detail of Dionysos and Ariadne.



Fig. 30. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side B: detail of the left maenad.



Fig. 31. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side B: detail of the right maenad.

lips of Dionysos on sides A and B of the name-vase (28), as well as those of Kallias on side A and the maenads on side B of the same vase (Figs. 28–31).

The tousled curly hair of Hephaistos (Fig. 32) and the satyr behind him (Fig. 23) displays similarities with the hair of a satyr and two maenads on side B of the name-vase (Figs. 24, 30, 31), and with that of the trumpeter on the Pella hydria (31) (Fig. 33). This way of depicting the hair was proposed as a further characteristic of the Pronomos Painter's manner (Drougou 2000, 169).



Fig. 32. The head of Hephaistos on the krater from Troizen (detail).



Fig. 33. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80/514. Detail of the trumpeter.



Fig. 34. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80/514. Detail of Poseidon.



Fig. 35. The second female figure to the right of Dionysos on the krater from Troizen.



Fig. 36. Detail of Dionysos' right hand, holding a thyrsos.



Fig. 37. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side A: actor playing Papposilenos.



Fig. 38. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side A: Pronomos and Charinos.



Fig. 39. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side A: Dion and Philinos.

Posture and anatomical features

The positioning of Hephaistos, with the right arm upraised and bent towards the head (Figs. 10, 32), recalls the posture of Poseidon in the scene on the Pella hydria (31) (Figs. 22, 34), where the raised arm of the god and the hand holding the trident are rendered in a similar manner. As concerns anatomical details, long, thin fingers curving upwards at the tips, like those of Hephaistos (Fig. 32), Dionysos and the second female figure to the right of him (Figs. 35, 36), are also seen in some figures on side A of the Naples krater (28), especially in Dionysos, Pronomos, Charinos, Dion, Philinos and the actor playing Papposilenos (Figs. 28, 37, 38, 39), and also in a satyr on side B of the same vase (Fig. 24). The fingers of the left hand of the satyr behind Dionysos (Fig. 40) are bent at a right angle, identically to those of the trumpeter and the Nike figure on the Pella hydria (Fig. 41).



Fig. 40. Detail of the satyr behind Dionysos on the krater from Troizen.



Fig. 41. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80/514. Detail of the Nike figure.

Furthermore, on the Troizen vase Dionysos ‘holds’ the thyrsos with an open hand, his fingers extending across the shaft (Fig. 36), which is exactly how the actor playing Papposilenos holds a staff on the name-vase (Fig. 37). The same way of holding an object is shown in the scene on side A of the bell-krater from Samothrace (37), and on one of the surviving fragments (Shefton 1982, pl. 46a) of a red-figure krater from Perachora (4), ascribed near the Pronomos Painter.

Details of clothing and additional items

The manner of the Pronomos Painter is mostly recognisable in the frieze of horses and the volute motif in the upper part of the chiton of the female figure (probably maenad) to the right of Dionysos (Fig. 27). The use of a team of horses as an ornamental motif in the decoration of clothing is considered to be a main characteristic of his workshop (Mannack 2010, 11), given that it appears on side A of the name-vase (28), specifically in the himation of Ariadne and the chitons of the two figures flanking the divine couple (Fig. 42), and on a number of other

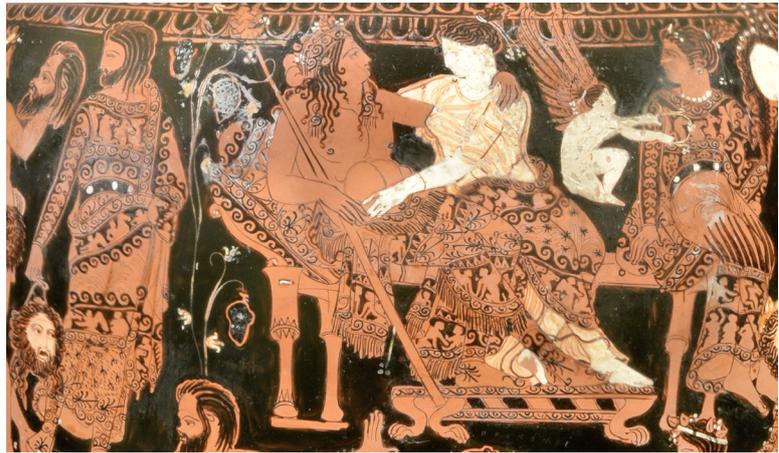


Fig. 42. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H3240 (81673). Side A: Dionysos, Ariadne, and the two figures flanking the divine couple.

vessels ascribed to his circle, including a bell-krater in Ferrara (17), a calyx-krater fragment in Giessen (21), a calyx-krater in Madrid (26), a bell-krater in St. Petersburg (43) and a calyx-krater in Würzburg (50).

The volute motif was similarly used to embellish garments on side A of the name-vase (28), and on some further vessels connected with this painter, for example, the two kraters from Samothrace (37–38) and a partially preserved volute-krater in Würzburg (52). This motif appears in the decoration of attire in works of the Meleager Painter as well; however, in those it is usually combined with friezes of hippocamps (cf. Kathariou 2002, pls. 9, 26). A pair of bracelets rendered with two bands of added white near the wrist, similar to that worn by the maenad to the right of Dionysos (Fig. 17), recurs in the Nike figure depicted on a volute-krater in Würzburg (52), and also in the figure of Helen on a squat lekythos in Berlin (8), assigned by Beazley to the Pronomos Painter.

The way in which the leopard skin is wrapped around the left arm of the satyr behind Hephaistos (Figs. 13, 23) reappears in other satyrs carrying animal hides on the following vases: the volute-krater in Würzburg (52), the calyx-krater in Madrid (26), a pelike in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (3) and a pelike in the Archaeological Museum of Serres (40). The rendering of laurel wreaths with few oval leaves pointed at the tip, arranged untidily in the hair, as seen in Hephaistos and the satyr behind Dionysos (Figs. 32, 40), recurs in wreathed figures depicted on the kraters in Naples (28) (Figs. 30, 31, 39), Bonn (11) (Fig. 43) and Turin (48), and on some other vases attributed to the same workshop. The laurel leaves crowning the head of the two female figures (probably maenads) to the right of Dionysos (Figs. 27, 35) have a similar shape, but they are placed vertically in the hair above the forehead, thus recalling the groups of three upright leaves adorning the headbands of the maenads on the Berlin krater (7).



Fig. 43. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 697.116 (photo: Jutta Schubert). Krater fragment with a maenad representation.

Floral decoration

The decoration of the upper cul with a zone of diagonally addorsed palmettes, as this is displayed on the Troizen krater (Fig. 7), is also seen on some other calyx-kraters ascribed to the circle of the Pronomos Painter, such as the kraters in St. Petersburg (42) and Madrid (26); however, the palmettes on these vases differ from those on the Troizen krater as regards their design. The spiralling tendrils of the palmettes on the latter bear a closer similarity to those of the floral motifs on the reverse of the Pella hydria (31) and on the bell-krater from Samothrace (37).

The decoration of the rim with a laurel wreath, a common feature of calyx-kraters dating to the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. (Tiverios 1989, 75–6), appears quite frequently on vessels of this type attributed to the Pronomos Painter and his production associates. The laurel wreath on the rim of the Troizen krater (Fig. 19) does not display the elegance and meticulous drawing of the best examples. Possibly, the secondary decoration of the vase was executed by some junior artist holding a lower position in the workshop's hierarchy, as was also proposed for other similar cases (cf. Williams 2016, 56–8).

The comparisons made above seem to provide sufficient evidence for the connection of the calyx-krater from Troizen with the workshop of the Pronomos Painter, although some features of the figure decoration are shared by other painters active in the same period. There are close similarities in style with the name-vase in Naples and a number of other vessels assumed to have originated in this workshop, such as the Pella hydria and the kraters in Berlin, Bonn and Turin. However, it is admittedly difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the oeuvre of the Pronomos Painter himself and that of other artists who may have worked under his guidance or influence (Burn 2010, 17). Perhaps different hands within the same workshop collaborated in the painting of intricate multi-figured representations, following a set of common principles and the instructions of a more experienced artist (Drougou 2000, 172, 175). In such cases, the general design of a scene and the painting of its most difficult parts may have been executed by a senior artist, who was the head of the workshop, while other elements of the decoration were assigned to junior craftsmen. The workshop of the Penthesilea Painter (active c. 475–450 B.C.) is a well-known case of multiple hands collaborating in the decoration of the same vase (Robertson 1992, 161–62; Osborne 2004, 79–81, 87–8); a similar work model is not sufficiently documented in the Attic pottery production of the 4th century B.C., which however has not been studied to same extent as that of the 6th and 5th centuries.

The Troizen calyx-krater is presumably later in date than the Naples krater and the Pella hydria, as the drawing style, although close to that of the aforementioned vessels, is comparatively simplified and rather standardized. Besides, the black glaze of the background is applied thinly in places, a flaw suggesting that the Pronomos Painter's workshop was in decline when this vase was produced. Most probably it was fashioned shortly after the beginning of the 4th century B.C., in the late years of the workshop's activity, as is also indicated by the krater's shape.

THE PRONOMOS PAINTER AND HIS CIRCLE

As mentioned above, the activity of the Pronomos Painter is placed in the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C.; however, its exact chronological limits are uncertain (Shefton 1982, 156 n. 22; Drougou 2000, 174–75; Burn 2010, 20–3). A number of scholars have pointed out that his oeuvre displays influences from both the Meidias Painter, a leading exponent of the 'ornate' style, and the Dinos Painter, who followed the tradition of the 'plain' style established by the Group of Polygnotos (Arias 1962, 377; Robertson 1992, 255–56; Tiverios 1996, 40, 333; Burn 2010, 18–21). He shares several characteristics of the ornate style, employed by artists who painted mainly large-size vases with flamboyant, multi-figured scenes, placing a great deal of emphasis on details and making

ample use of ornamental motifs, especially in the decoration of attire (Nikolaidou-Patera 2011, 308–9). However, his tendency for symmetrical scenes and his drawing style –particularly the rendering of faces– indicate that he was a pupil of the Dinos Painter (McPhee 1987, 277; Robertson 1992, 255–56; Burn 2010, 18–21). As Burn (2010, 20) pointed out, his case shows that the distinction between the plain group and the ornate is not simple and clear-cut, and in all probability does not correspond to a straightforward division of workshops.

Distinguishing one artist from another is often difficult due to the mobility of vase painters. By contrast to potters, who were tied to their workshop because of the investment in infrastructure, vase-painters, whose toolkit contained only small-size implements, might choose to collaborate with different potters and workshops, thereby receiving various influences (Webster 1972, 41; Osborne 2004, 79, 88–93; Sapirstein 2013, 499–500). The style of the Pronomos Painter exhibits a great affinity with the works of the Talos, Suessula and Meleager Painters, who were approximately contemporaneous with him and shared the same tradition in vase painting (McPhee 1973, 246; 1987, 277; Robertson 1992, 256–59; Drougou 2000, 173–75; Kathariou 2002, 78–9; Burn 2010, 19–20). Moreover, there seems to have been some relationship between him and the Painter of Louvre G 433, as they collaborated in the decoration of the Berlin krater F2642 (7), the former painting side A of the vase, and the latter side B.

Beazley (*ARV*², 1336.1–4) assigned only four vessels to the Pronomos Painter himself: the name-vase in Naples (28), the Berlin krater F2642 (7), the krater fragment in Bonn (11) and the squat lekythos in Berlin (8); thirteen other vases in his lists were considered as being ‘near the Pronomos Painter’ (*ARV*², 1336–8). Beazley’s methodology in recognising distinct vase-painters was criticized by certain scholars (Beard 1991; Whitley 1997; Turner 2000); by contrast, other scholars defended his legacy and the value of making attributions in the study of Greek vase-painting (Williams 1996, 241–52; Oakley 1998; 2004, 69–71; 2009, 605–7; Boardman 2001, 128–38). The accuracy of the Beazley system was questioned again in recent scholarship, arguing that he overestimated the number of individual artists, thus creating a non-realistic image of the Athenian vase-painting industry of the Late Archaic and Classical periods (Sapirstein 2013, 493–94, 503–8; 2014, 184–85; 2020; Stissi 2016; Hasaki and Cline 2020, 59–60). However, close stylistic affinities cannot be ignored, and they are still used as evidence for ascribing decorated pottery to a distinct artist or his circle.

McPhee (1978) recognized four more vessels as works of the Pronomos Painter: the Turin krater 4122 (48), the Vienna krater 551c (49), a partially preserved krater from Cyprus (24), and two fragments of a krater from Al Mina (29). Some further vases were connected with his workshop by Hölscher (*CVA*: Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum 2 [Germany 46], 55–60, pls. 39:3–5, 40–41) and Shefton (1982); Hölscher separated them into two groups, taking into consideration the degree of their kinship with the name-vase in Naples. Additionally, a number of other vessels were attributed to this painter and his circle in various publications (e.g., Talcott and Philippaki 1956, 55–6, no. 247, pl. 23; Vickers 1971, 117–18, pl. 14*q*, *r*; Brommer 1972, 451–55, figs. 1–3; McPhee 1976, 391–92, no. 30, pl. 90; Green 1982, 237–38, fig. 1; Dinsmoor 1992, 501–13, pls. 117–120). Certain works ascribed to his circle in a general sense were re-examined and assigned to specific painters among his associates, for example: the krater from Basky (43) was assigned by McPhee (1987, 278) to the Athens Painter 12255; a bell-krater from Olynthos (36) was attributed, also by McPhee (1997, 253–55, figs. 11–12), to the Painter of Montesarchio Tomb 121; Kathariou (2002, 213–14, pl. 9) recognized the Painter of the New York Centaureomachy on side A of a column-krater in private collection (20), and the Meleager Painter on side B of the same vase.

More recent additions to the works proposed to be connected with the Pronomos Painter are the red-figure hydria from the necropolis of Pella (31), and a pelike decorated with a Gigantomachy scene, found at Tragilos in Central Macedonia (40). Mannack (2010, 12–3) records a total of 37 vessels ascribed to this artist and his wider circle. In the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (*BAPD* <https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery>), a total of 45 examples are listed as works of the Pronomos Painter and his associates, without including the following vases: a partially preserved pelike from Portixol in Ampurias (1), a bell-krater fragment from the Pnyx in Athens (5), a bell-krater in Ferrara (17), a bell-krater in Samothrace (37), a bell-krater in St. Petersburg (43), and

a volute-krater in Würzburg (52). To sum up, 52 vessels published to date –including the calyx-krater from Troizen– have been connected in one way or another with this painter and his associates: 37 kraters (16 calyx, 13 bell, five volute, one column and two krater fragments with no indication of the specific type), four pelikai, two hydriai, two squat lekythoi, two plates, one pyxis, one chous, one Panathenaic amphora and two potsherds.

One of the main characteristics of the Pronomos Painter's workshop is that it mostly produced large-size vessels, such as kraters, pelikai, hydriai etc. (Drougou 2000, 177; Mannack 2010, 12). The majority of the vases ascribed to this artist and his circle are kraters decorated with scenes from the Dionysiac cycle, such as the kraters in Naples (name-vase), Berlin and Turin, among many more. Even in cases where the main representation is not directly connected with Dionysos, figures belonging to his retinue often accompany the focal figures (e.g., 27, 31, 45), or a Dionysiac scene is depicted on the reverse the vase (e.g., 4, 20, 37, 43, 45). In several works of this painter and his associates, the scenes on one side are not distinctly separated from those on the other (e.g., 19, 26, 27, 28, 40, 42), thus appearing to be interrelated (Green 1982, 239). After the mid-5th century B.C., subjects from the Dionysiac cycle were in general a frequent occurrence on red-figure pottery, especially on exported products (Isler-Kerényi 2015, 14–5). A further characteristic of his workshop is the fondness for subjects drawn from theatrical plays staged in Athens. At least six vessels (1, 17, 28, 38, 44, 51) attributed to this painter and his circle depict scenes related to theatrical performances, a theme also linked with Dionysos (Froning 1971, 5–15; Green 1982, 237–44; Drougou 2000, 178; Burn 2010, 16; Csapo 2010, 96–124; Avramidou 2012, 142). Inspiration originating in theatrical plays –or, perhaps, in monumental paintings deriving from those– was also proposed for some vases with mythological scenes (Green 1982, 243–44; Drougou 2000, 178, 191, 206–10; 2004, 18; Csapo 2010, 121).

In the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War there was a notable change in the geographic distribution of exported Attic pottery (Robertson 1992, 267–68; Kathariou 2002, 81). The workshop of the Pronomos Painter appears to have enjoyed intense export activity, given that pottery assumed to have come from it was found in various parts of the Mediterranean world (Drougou 2000, 179–80; Burn 2010, 24–5; Mannack 2010, 12–3). The north-eastern Peloponnese was among the regions where its products were distributed, as is demonstrated by pottery finds from Corinth (13) and Perachora (4), to which the calyx-krater from Troizen may now be added. We cannot know whether this krater was a customer's special order or if it was purchased as a finished product; in either case, the involvement of a merchant acting as a middleman between the workshop and the customer is very probable (cf. Osborne 2004, 87; Tiverios 2019, 190–91).

THE KRATER'S SCENE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HEPHAISTOS' RETURN

According to mythical tradition (Homer, *Iliad* 18.395–405; Pausanias 1.20.3; Libanius, *Progymnasmata*, in Gibson 2008, 14 and 15; Hedreen 1992, 13–4; 2004, 38–9; Fineberg 2009, 282–86), Hephaistos was born lame and for this reason, he was ejected from the heavens by his mother, Hera, in appal; after a long fall, the child ended up in the sea, but was rescued and raised by Thetis and Evrynome. When Hephaistos grew up, he became a great craftsman and set up a forge, where he manufactured luxury metallic items for his saviors. Wishing to gain revenge against his mother, he fashioned a magic golden throne with invisible fetters, and sent it to her as a gift; as soon as Hera sat upon the throne, she was trapped on it and was unable to stand up. In her despair, she asked the other gods to bring Hephaistos back, promising that whoever succeeded would take Aphrodite to wife. Dionysos invited him to a symposium, and after he made him drunk, he managed to take him back to Olympos. Finally, Hephaistos was convinced to release Hera from her bonds, and it was him who became Aphrodite's husband.

Hephaistos returning to Olympos is easy to recognise in the partially preserved scene of the Troizen krater. This scene is one of the few late depictions of the specific subject matter in Attic vase painting, as the great



Fig. 44. Munich, State Collection of Antiquities and Glyptothek S68. Pelike by the Lugano painter. Side A: Return of Hephaistos (photo: Renate Kühling).



Fig. 45. Munich, State Collection of Antiquities and Glyptothek 2361. Pelike by the Kleophon painter. Side A: Return of Hephaistos.

majority of other known examples date to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The earliest surviving representation appears on an amphoriskos of the Middle Corinthian period, where Hephaistos is portrayed as a beardless youth with twisted feet, riding side-saddle on a mule and raising a drinking horn to his mouth, accompanied by Dionysos and members of his thiasos (Brommer 1937, 198–99, no. I.1; Seeberg 1965, 103, no. 3, pl. XXIV; *LIMC* 4: 639, no. 129, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). The same subject, with some variations, occurs on some more Corinthian vases of the 6th century B.C., as well as, occasionally, on Laconian, Rhodian, Chalcidian and Etruscan pottery of the same period (Brommer 1937, 198–202; Seeberg 1965). In Attic vase painting, the earliest known example is the Return of Hephaistos frieze by Kleitias on the François Vase (c. 570 B.C.), where one of the most detailed representations unfolds: Dionysos, accompanied by his retinue, leads the procession, Hephaistos follows riding a mule, and the Olympian gods, nearly all present, await his arrival (Brommer 1978, 11–2, fig. 1; Carpenter 1986, 19–20, pl. 4a; Hedreen 1992, 14–5, pl. 1).

The Return of Hephaistos was already established in the repertoire of black-figure vase painting, but it became particularly popular in Attic red-figure production of the 5th century B.C., most probably due to the general prevalence of mythological scenes from the Dionysiac cycle at that time. In black-figure pottery, Hephaistos is mostly depicted drunk or in the process of intoxication, riding a mule or a donkey (often ithyphallic), and accompanied by Dionysos and members of his thiasos (Brommer 1937, 202–6; Moore 2010). In early red-figure vase painting two iconographic versions mainly appear: 1) Hephaistos returns to Olympus on muleback, with the company a Dionysiac procession; a few representations in this group include Hermes and Hera entrapped in the throne (e.g., *LIMC* 4: 638, 641, 643, nos. 117–118, 147–149, 159, 161, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]); 2) the drunken Hephaistos walks to Olympus, accompanied by Dionysos and his entourage (e.g., *ARV*², 639.60; *LIMC* 4: 644–5, nos. 169–171, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). The first version originates in scenes from the black-figure tradition, whereas the second is supposed to have been devised by vase painters of the Early Classical period (Halm-Tisserant 1986; Carpenter 1997, 47). However, Hephaistos was already illustrated returning to Olympus on foot in few representations of Late Archaic date, probably influenced by some satyr play (Brommer 1978, 14; Robertson 1992, 73; Matheson 1995, 189). Those two basic iconographic versions were reproduced throughout the 5th century B.C. (see, e.g., *LIMC* 4: 641, 643–5, nos. 150, 162–167, 172c–d, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]), with minor variations (Figs. 44, 45, 46a–b).

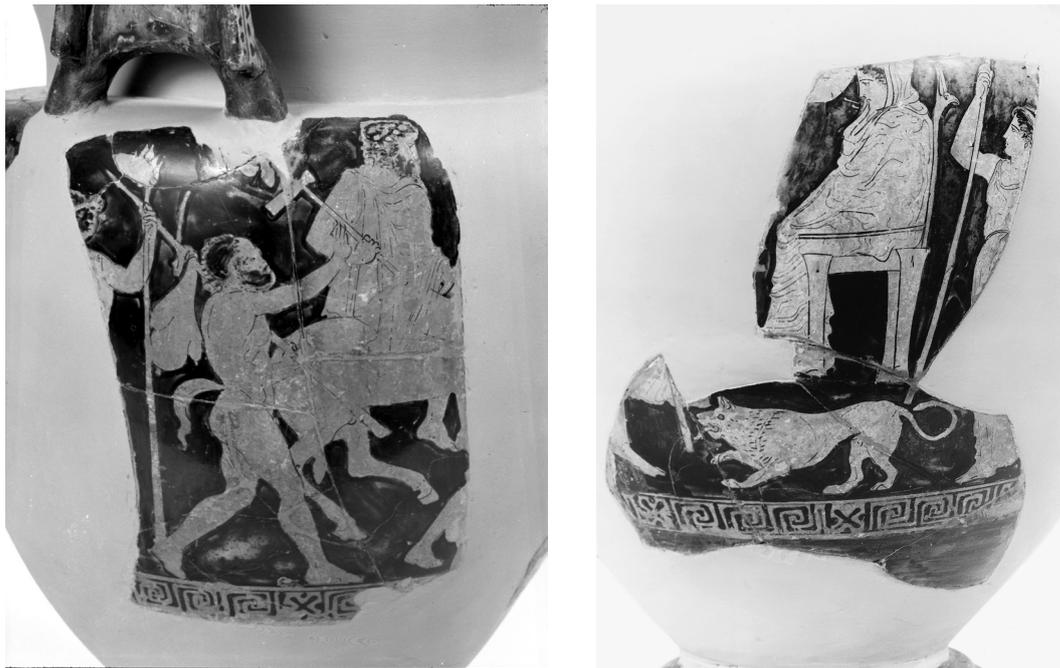


Fig. 46a-b. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 283. Volute krater by the Dinos Painter. Side A: Return of Hephaistos (Courtesy of: Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico).

In general, during the 6th century B.C. and the first half of the 5th, representations of this mythic episode are humorous and usually display a comic aspect of Hephaistos, whereas after the middle of the 5th century B.C. this tendency subsides (Carpenter 1986, 26–7; 1997, 48). The apparent shift was claimed to be connected with the formalisation of Hephaistos' cult in Athens (Natale 2008, 121–22), a view ignoring the general change in the iconography of Attic red-figure pottery at that time. Around 440–430 B.C. developed a particular preference for representing Hephaistos' Return in vase painting, especially among the Polygnotan Group. At about the same time, the iconography of this subject was innovated by the fusion of the two episodes –the journey of the drunken Hephaistos to Olympus and the assembly of gods awaiting his arrival– into one scene, in which the whole progression of the myth is shown: Dionysos, holding a kantharos and accompanied by his retinue, leads the drunken Hephaistos to Olympus, where the throne-bound Hera and other gods welcome him back (Thompson 1937, 47–9, figs. 27–28; Froning 1971, 69; Halm-Tisserant 1986).

During the 4th century B.C., representations of Hephaistos' Return appear very rarely on red-figure pottery produced in Attica and Southern Italy. A scene on a calyx-krater ascribed near the Lugano Painter dates to the early 4th century B.C., but follows the iconographic tradition of the 5th (*LIMC* 4: 644, no. 164c, s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermany and Jacquemin]). Apart from this vase and the calyx-krater from Troizen, the rest of the known examples date much later, to the second quarter and the second half of the 4th century B.C., and they diverge from the previously established iconographic patterns: Hephaistos' journey to Olympus seems to have been abandoned by vase-painters, while other episodes of the myth came to be preferred, such as the symposium of Dionysos and Hephaistos, and the release of Hera from the throne (Froning 1971, 70; *LIMC* 4: 637, 639, figs. 111, 125 6, s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermany and Jacquemin]).

The red-figure calyx-krater from Troizen is among the few examples of pottery decorated with Hephaistos' Return in the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. Three vessels in this small group are closer in date to the Troizen krater:

a) A partially preserved volute-krater dating c. 420–410 B.C., attributed to the Dinos Painter (*CVA*: Bologna Museo Civico 4 [Italy 27], 11–2, pls. 68–69; *LIMC* 4: 638, no. 120, s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermany and Jacquemin]; *BAPD* 215253). Hephaistos, portrayed bearded, riding a mule and accompanied by at least one satyr and a maenad, heads towards Hera, who is shown held fast on the throne (Fig. 46a–b).

b) A pelike dating to the end of the 5th century B.C., attributed to the Lugano Painter (*LIMC* 4: 643–4, no. 163d, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). Hephaistos, pictured draped and bearded, rides to Olympos on muleback, preceded by Dionysos, also shown draped and bearded, holding a kantharos and a thyrsos, and by a satyr bearing an animal hide and playing the aulos (Fig. 44).

c) A calyx-krater dating to the early 4th century B.C., ascribed near the Lugano Painter (*LIMC* 4: 644, no. 164c, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). Hephaistos, draped and beardless, rides to Olympos on muleback; he is preceded by Dionysos, portrayed draped and bearded, holding a kantharos and thyrsos, and by three maenads and a satyr playing the aulos.

As mentioned above, in the scene on the Troizen krater, Hephaistos, riding a mule, is led triumphantly to Olympos by Dionysos and members of his thiasos; both Hephaistos and Dionysos are depicted as nude, beardless youths; the procession includes two satyrs bearing leopard skins, the one holding a thyrsos and the other a *krotalon*, two female figures, possibly maenads, and a Nike who flies above Dionysos, holding a drum and a ribbon. The partially preserved female figure in front of Dionysos (Fig. 17), presumably portrayed seated, may be recognized as a maenad holding a torch with the (missing) left hand. A maenad holding torches was perhaps introduced into the iconography of Hephaistos’ Return by the Altamura Painter around 460–450 B.C. (Mannack 2001, 75). Seated maenads appear in some other late depictions of Hephaistos’ Return, e.g., in the representation by Polion, dating c. 420 B.C. (*ARV*², 1171.1). The seated female figure further to the right (Figs. 17, 35) may also be a maenad, or perhaps some Olympian deity, supposing that Hephaistos’ reception by Hera was depicted on the unpreserved part of the scene. In any case, this figure may not be viewed as Hera, since she is not sitting on a throne; besides, she is seated to the right, with the upper body turned frontally, while Hephaistos and Dionysos are shown to the left of her. Her posture is very different from that of the entrapped Hera in other representations, where she is portrayed in profile or in three-quarter view, sitting rigid on the throne and facing the arriving procession (Fig. 46b) (cf. Halm-Tisserant 1986, fig. 8). Hera, if included in this scene, would have been positioned further to the right, on the now lost part of the vessel.

The scene on the Troizen krater –whether depicting only the journey of Hephaistos to Olympos or including Hephaistos’ reception by Hera and other Olympian deities– follows the established iconography of the subject, while also exhibiting certain innovative features:

a) The figures are set at various levels, thus creating the illusion of depth, and they display dynamic movement or vivid gestures indicating their interrelation. The configuration of the scene is characteristic for the Pronomos Painter and, in general, for the ornate style. In other, earlier representations of this subject, and in the (approximately) contemporary depictions by or near the Lugano Painter (*LIMC* 4: 643–4, nos. 163d, 164c, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]), the figures are normally shown in minimal movement, proceeding one after another along a ground line. A first attempt to introduce the impression of depth and some interaction among figures in the iconography of Hephaistos’ Return appears on a volute-krater by Polion, dating c. 420 B.C. (*ARV*², 1171.1), where the scene unfolds in two rows, one above the other. A second, faint attempt to create a sense of depth in illustrating this subject matter may be recognized in the representation on side A of the partly preserved volute-krater by the Dinos Painter, dating c. 420–410 B.C. (*CVA*: Bologna Museo Civico 4 [Italy 27], 11–2, pls. 68–69). In this scene, the figures are set at slightly varying levels, but their poses are still static, despite the developments in vase painting at that time. By contrast, on side B of the same vase, which depicts Dionysos and Ariadne accompanied by a Dionysiac thiasos, both the depth of the scene and the activity of the figures are rendered more effectively. The apparent differences between the two scenes indicate that in Hephaistos’ Return the artist chose deliberately to follow, for the most part, the norms of the subject’s established iconography. The representation on the calyx-krater from Troizen is actually the first example of a considerable divergence from those norms.

b) In the scene on the Troizen vase, a Nike flies above Dionysos, accompanying the procession. This figure is not present in earlier or contemporary depictions of the same subject, but it reappears in representations of Hephaistos’ Return on two South Italian red-figure vessels dating much later: a Lucanian volute-krater in



Fig. 47. Foggia, Museo Civico 132723. Apulian amphora, decorated with a representation of Hephaistos' Return (photo by the Soprintendenza ABAP for the BAT and FG provinces).

Leningrad, dating 360–350 B.C., and an Apulian amphora (Fig. 47), dating 330–320 B.C. (*LIMC* 4: 639, nos. 125–126, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). A Nike figure appears in some other scenes from the Dionysiac cycle in vase-painting of the early 4th century B.C.; in those cases, the presence of a Nike was assigned to a fusion of elements deriving from various myths, a phenomenon that was not uncommon in that period (Kathariou 2002, 34).

c) On the Troizen vase, Hephaistos and Dionysos are portrayed as nude, beardless youths, although in representations of Hephaistos' Return dating from the 6th to the early 4th centuries B.C. the two gods are normally shown draped and bearded. Exceptions to this norm are some vessels, dating mainly after the mid-5th century B.C., where Hephaistos is pictured beardless, for example: a calyx-krater and a volute-krater attributed to the Group of Polygnotos; a calyx-krater and a skyphos by the Curti Painter; a volute krater and a skyphos by the Kleophon Painter; a calyx-krater akin to the Lugano Painter (*LIMC* 4: 638, 644, nos. 119, 122, 164a–c, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]; Matheson 1995, 190, pl. 123; Carpenter 1997, 47–8, pl. 15b; Mannack 2001, 76). Dionysos is generally portrayed as a nude, beardless youth in Attic vase painting from the late 5th century B.C. onwards (Heinemann 2016, 71–102); however, in scenes depicting Hephaistos' journey to Olympus, he is still shown draped and bearded (*LIMC* 4: 643–4, nos. 163d, 164c, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]; Isler-Kerényi 2015, 208). Apparently, there was a degree of conservatism in the iconography of the specific subject matter, which is also evident in the static composition of the scenes dating to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The aforementioned elements differentiate the krater's scene from earlier or contemporary representations of the same subject, thus providing important information about the iconographic development of Hephaistos' Return. The novelties attested in the figure decoration of the Troizen krater may be viewed as the result of an innovative approach to this subject matter by the artist who designed the scene. The composition of the scene, focusing on a seated figure (Hephaistos) surrounded by a group of other figures set at various levels within the space, seems to reflect influences from monumental painting. The type of the vase, the calyx-krater, was the most appropriate shape to decorate with scenes originating in monumental painting, as its body offered a broad, gently curved surface (Tiverios 1989, 68–9). The Pronomos Painter is considered to have often drawn inspiration from monumental paintings, probably deriving from theatrical performances and placed on display on the Athenian Acropolis (Green 1982, 243–44; Drougou 2000, 178, 191, 206–10; 2004, 18; Csapo 2010, 121). In

general, the vase painters of the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. were quite familiar with the broader artistic production of their time, and they appear to have been influenced, in some cases, by other forms of art, such as monumental paintings and sculptures, or theatrical performances, especially of satyr plays (see, e.g., Metzger 1951, 379–405; Robertson 1992, 258; Tiverios 1996, 40–1; 2021; Kathariou 2002, 85).

At the end of the 5th century B.C. Athens was in decline, having been defeated in the Peloponnesian War, but following the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C., the city endeavored to recover and regain its old glory. During that time, red-figure vase painters used to decorate pottery with scenes inspired by monumental paintings and sculptures adorning buildings on the Acropolis, in an effort to remind people of the achievements of the Athenian democracy (Nikolaidou-Patera 2011, 306–7). A monumental painting depicting the return of Hephaistos to Olympos is recorded by Pausanias (1.20.3), along with some others, in the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus on the southern slope of the Acropolis (*LIMC* 4: 638, no. 123, s.v. “Hephaistos” [Hermanry and Jacquemin]). This lost work of art is inferred to have been inspired by the popular satyr play *Hephaistos* of Achaios, presented in the second half of the 5th century B.C. (Brommer 1959, 29–30; Krumeich et al. 1999, 59). Pausanias apparently saw those paintings in the later temple of Dionysos, erected in the second half of the 4th century B.C., according to the findings of archaeological excavation (Kalligas 1963, 14–5); however, the gold and ivory statue of Dionysos, also mentioned by Pausanias, was a work of Alkamenes, who was active in the second half of the 5th century B.C. On this ground, Robertson (1972, 47) argued that the paintings –most probably panel-pictures fastened on the wall– were created at the same time as the god’s cult statue, and he supposed that they were originally installed in an earlier building, from which they were moved, together with the statue, to the 4th century temple when the precinct was reconstructed. The same hypothesis was advanced by some other scholars (Halm-Tisserant 1986, 18–20; Schöne 1987, 42–3), who pointed out that in the second half of the 4th century B.C. the subject of Hephaistos’ journey to Olympos lacked the popularity it had enjoyed during the second half of the 5th century B.C.

Certain Dionysiac motifs appearing repeatedly in artworks from the late 5th century B.C. onwards, among which the scene on a plate ascribed near the Pronomos Painter (12), were also proposed to have derived from paintings mentioned by Pausanias in Dionysos’ sanctuary on the Acropolis (Robertson 1992, 243, 256). A similar connection between the scene on the Troizen krater and the representation of Hephaistos’ Return displayed in that sanctuary would not be unlikely, as the configuration of the scene echoes influences from monumental painting, and the Pronomos Painter seems to have drawn inspiration from those panel-pictures in at least one more case.

Taking into consideration the political atmosphere current in Athens at the end the 5th century B.C. and the beginning of the 4th, and the influence it exercised on Attic artistic production of that time, we are allowed to suppose that the representation of Hephaistos’ Return on the Troizen krater had an additional, symbolic significance: the return of the lame god to Olympos perhaps alluded to the city of Athens, which, after the losses it had suffered, was trying to return to its former dominant position and reclaim the glory and prosperity of the past, while also looking forward to regaining the favor of the Olympian gods. This hypothesis finds support in the presence of a flying Nike in the scene, a figure that appears for the first time in the iconography of Hephaistos’ Return and gives the whole procession a triumphant character. Probable political symbolism was also proposed for the scene on the Pella Hydria (31), representing the strife between Athena and Poseidon for the hegemony of Attica (Drougou 2000, 178, 180, 211–12; Tiverios 2005; Neils 2013).

THE FUNERARY USE OF THE CALYX-KRATER FROM TROIZEN

As mentioned above, the red-figure calyx-krater from Troizen was found in the eastern cemetery, at a location where various types of graves, ranging in date from the Protogeometric to the Roman period, were brought to light. The surviving fragments were retrieved close beside the remains of a cremation dating to the third quarter

of the 4th century B.C. The finds from the cremation included parts of two bronze vessels (a stemless kylix and a dipper) and a few pieces from an iron sword (Giannopoulou 2006, 234; 2013a, 114; 2014, 215–18). Several other burials excavated at the same location also contained bronze vessels and utensils for wine use, along with further metallic items, such as bronze mirrors, bronze or iron strigils, and iron arrowheads (Giannopoulou 2006, 232–33, figs. 46–48; 2013a, 114–15, figs. 12–14; 2019, figs. 10–11, 23–25). As it appears, some upper-class Troizenians were interred there, furnished with rich grave gifts exhibiting their wealth, and probably promoting an image of the deceased as symposiast, warrior or, perhaps, athlete. However, objects deposited in tombs are not always connected with the deceased's real life, as in some cases they are more likely to allude to a desired afterlife (Thimme 1967, 208, 212; Pekridou 1986, 62–6; Gröschel 1989, 127–44; Gräpler 1997, 169–70).

Apart from the red-figure calyx-krater, a large number of other objects having Dionysiac connotations were found in Classical and Hellenistic tombs at Troizen, such as: sets of bronze sympotic vessels (phialae, krateriskoi, kylikes, kantharos, skyphos, mug, ladles, strainer), ceramic vases for wine consumption (kantharoi, kylikes, oinochoai, lagynoi etc.), terracotta figurines of female dancers, bronze bells (Giannopoulou 2009, 528–32, figs. 15–24; 2013a, 111–16, figs. 9, 12–14; 2019, 652–55, 658–59, 663, figs. 7–13, 19, 21; 2020, 79–81, 89, figs. 14–15; in press). Calyx-kraters were regularly used in symposia, as their shape was devised to serve the practical needs of mixing and ladling out wine, and it was probably for this reason that vases of this type were mostly decorated with scenes from the Dionysiac cycle (Tiverios 1989, 63–4). The furnishing of the deceased with grave gifts of Dionysiac character, a phenomenon observed not only at Troizen but also in some cemeteries elsewhere, seems to reflect common beliefs about an ideal life after death, probably stemming from the cult of Dionysos (Giannopoulou 2014, 319–20; 2019, 663; 2020, 89; in press). The connection of Dionysos with death and afterlife is well-documented by Heraclitus, who equates him with Hades (Diels and Kranz 1960, 154–55, Fragment 15). His worship at Troizen is recorded by Pausanias (2.31.2, 2.31.5), and moreover, a festival named Dionysia is mentioned in the fragmentary text of a Troizenian honorific decree dated to 287 B.C. (*IG IV 750*, lines 38, 44; *RE VII A1*, 1939, 650, s.v. “Troizen” [E. Meyer]). The establishment of his cult was presumably linked with the prominent role that viticulture played in the economy of the city, which produced three different types of wine, according to Athenaeus (31c). The importance of wine production at Troizen is also demonstrated by the presence of a grape or a twig of vine next to the trident on the reverse of certain silver coins issued by the city in the 5th–4th centuries B.C. (Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 182, 184, no. 140; Gardner 1887, 166, nos. 8–9, pl. XXX:21–21).

The Classical pottery from the cemeteries of Troizen indicates that in this period imports from Attica prevailed over those from neighboring regions in the north-eastern Peloponnese (Giannopoulou 2013a, 116). Trading contacts between Athens and Troizen were favored by the fact that the latter enjoyed a great ease of communication with Attica by sea, having the advantage of an excellent harbor, Pogon, located on the coast NE of the city (at the area of modern Vidi). This prime natural harbor played an important role in maritime trade as well as in naval operations in many periods of antiquity (Herodotus 8.42.1; Strabo 8.6.14; Soudas s.v. “Πώγων”; *RE VII A1* (1939), 635–36, s.v. “Troizen” [E. Meyer]; Baladié 1980, 244–45).

The calyx-krater presented above stands out from all other Attic imports found at Troizen, as it is the only example of red-figure pottery coming from an important Athenian workshop. The rarity of high-quality Classical pottery in burial deposits of this period may be due to the apparent tendency among wealthy families to offer their deceased elaborate vessels of bronze, normally used in symposia. However, our knowledge about pottery circulation at Troizen is still incomplete, as both the city and its cemeteries remain mostly unexplored, and consequently, the available evidence is insufficient to draw definite conclusions on this crucial matter.

APPENDIX

RED-FIGURE POTTERY ATTRIBUTED TO THE PRONOMOS PAINTER AND HIS CIRCLE

Ampurias

1. Ampurias, Museo Monografico 1494. Previous Collection: Barcellona, *Museo Archeologico* 33. Pelike fragments. Side A: *Centauromachy*. Side B: Theatrical scene. From Portixol.

CVA: Barcelona Musée Archéologique 1 (Spain 3), 35–8, pls. 29:8, 31:2, 32–34; Froning 1971, 10; Csapo 2010, 115–18, fig. 7:16; *BAPD* 9332.

Athens

2. Athens, National Museum 1257. Pelike. Side A: Dionysos and maenads. Side B: Draped youths. From Athens. *ARV*², 1337; *BAPD* 217515.

3. Athens, National Museum 1333. Pelike. Side A: Gigantomachy. Side B: Youths. From Tanagra.

*ARV*², 1337.8; Karousou 1971, 124–38, figs. 17–23; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; *BAPD* 217512.

4. Athens, National Museum. Bell-krater fragments. Side A: Atalante. Side B: Dionysos and Ariadne. From Perachora.

Dunbabin 1962, 354–57, no. 3852, pls. 148–150; *ARV*², 1337.7; *Paralipomena*, 481; Shefton 1982, 156, pls. 46, 47a; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; Robertson 1992, 260 fig. 263; *BAPD* 217511.

5. Athens, Agora Museum P 162. Bell-krater fragment. Satyr and maenad. From Pnyx.

Talcott and Philippaki 1956, 55–6, no. 247, pl. 23.

Basel

6. Basel, H. Cahn collection HC5. Calyx-krater fragment preserving a representation of Satyr and maenad.

BAPD 9038178.

Berlin

7. Berlin F2642 (lost). Bell-krater. Side A: Dionysos with his thiasos. Side B: Draped youths. Side B is attributed to the Painter of Louvre G 433. From Sant' Agata de' Goti.

*ARV*², 1336.2, 1342.5; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; CVA: Berlin Antikensammlung 11 (Germany 86), 81, Appendix 22:1; *BAPD* 217501.

8. Berlin, Antikensammlung 4906. Squat lekythos with a representation of Paris and Helen. From Greece.

*ARV*², 1336.4; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; CVA: Berlin Antikensammlung 16 (Germany 99), 81–83, Appendix 13:1, 19:1–2, pl. 34:1–6; *BAPD* 217503.

9. Berlin, Antikensammlung 31573. Vase fragment preserving a draped man representation.

CVA: Berlin Antiquarium 1 (Germany 2), 78, pl. 51:4; *BAPD* 32523.

Bonn

10. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 2659. Squat lekythos with a representation of Eros and Aphrodite.

LIMC 2: no. 858, pl. 452, “Aphrodite” (A. Delivorrias); *BAPD* 874.

11. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 697.116. Bell-krater fragment preserving a maenad representation. From Naucratis.

CVA: Bonn Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1 (Germany 1), pl. 19:4; *ARV*², 1336.3; *BAPD* 217502.

Boston

12. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.187. Plate fragment with a representation of a woman riding on lion. From Greece.

*ARV*², 1337.10; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; Robertson 1992, 256; *BAPD* 217514.

Corinth

13. Corinth, Archaeological Museum C34.152. Calyx-krater fragments. Sides A and B: Satyrs and maenads. From Corinth.

McPhee 1976, 391–92, no. 30, pl. 90; *BAPD* 882.

Dublin

14. Dublin, University College, V5012. Bell-krater fragment preserving a youth representation. From Naucratis. Vickers 1971, 117–18, pl. 14*q*; *BAPD* 1317.

15. Dublin, University College 159 (prev. V5014). Previous Collection: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G138.24. Bell-krater fragment preserving a representation of an ithyphallic statue of Herm and two figures. From Naucratis.

Vickers 1971, 117–18, pl. 14*r*; *BAPD* 1316/ *BAPD* 9035370.

Ferrara

16. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T1BVP. Calyx-krater. Side A: Herakles, maenad, Eros and satyrs. Side B: Satyr and maenad. From Spina.

*ARV*², 1337.3; *BAPD* 217507.

17. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T161CVP. Bell-krater. Side A: Theatrical scene. Side B: Draped youths. From Spina.

Csapo 2010, 118–19, fig. 7:17; *BAPD* 41965.

Frankfurt

18. Frankfurt, Goethe-Universität, Antikensammlung 56918A. Krater fragment preserving a representation of Dionysos and maenads. From Milet.

Heinemann 2016, 251, fig. 157; *BAPD* 3998.

Genoa

19. Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure 1911.163. Calyx-krater. Side A: Bellerophon and Chimaera. Side B: Youths with spears. From Genoa.

*ARV*², 1337.6; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; *BAPD* 217510.

Germany

20. Germany, private collection. Column-krater. Side A: Amazonomachy. Side B: Dionysos and Ariadne. Kathariou 2002, 389, pl. 9a–b; *BAPD* 19738.

Giessen

21. Giessen, Antikensammlung der Justus-Liebich Universität S1. Calyx-krater fragment preserving a battle representation.

CVA: Giessen Antikensammlung der Justus-Liebich Universität 1 (Germany 70), 60, pl. 46:6; *BAPD* 29797.

Helgoland

22. Helgoland, Kropatscheck 90. Bell-krater. Side A: Nike and draped youth. Side B: Draped youths.

LIMC 3: no. 122, pl. 570, “Eos” (C. Weiss); *BAPD* 6407.

Kavala

23. Kavala, Archaeological Museum. Chous with a representation of maenads.

Real 1973, pl. 15b; *BAPD* 1808.

Kition

24. Cyprus, Kition. Bell-krater fragments Side A: Symposium. Side B: Draped youths. From Kition.

Karageorghis 1968, 310, fig. 90; McPhee 1978, 553; *BAPD* 12956.

Kouklia

25. Cyprus, Kouklia, Archaeological Museum 1977KL9N. Vase fragment preserving a warrior representation.

BAPD 9037983.

Madrid

26. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional L210 (prev.11011). Calyx-krater. Side A: Dionysos and his thiasos. Side B: Satyrs and maenads. From Calvi (?).

CVA: Madrid Museo Arqueológico Nacional 2 (Spain 2), 6–7, pl. 10:2; *ARV*², 1336.1; Isler-Kerényi 2015, 208, fig. 109; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; *BAPD* 217505.

Naples

27. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81521 (prev. H2883, M1332). Calyx-krater fragments. Sides A and B: Gigantomachy. From Ruvo.

*ARV*², 1338; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; Burn 2010, 21, fig. 3:4; *BAPD* 217517.

28. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81673 (prev. H3240). Volute-krater, name-vase. Side A: Reclining Dionysos with his companion Ariadne, surrounded by costumed actors, members of the chorus, musicians, writer and possibly *choregos* of a satyr play. Side B: Dionysos and Ariadne accompanied by satyrs and maenads. From Ruvo.

Arias 1962, 377–80, pls. 218–220; *ARV*², 1336.1; *Paralipomena*, 480; Simon 1976, 153–54, nos. 228–229; *Beazley Addenda*², 182–83; Taplin and Wyles 2010; *BAPD* 217500.

Oxford

29. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1954.254. Bell-krater fragments preserving a representation of Dionysos and his thiasos. From Al Mina, Syria.

ARV² 1156.14; McPhee 1978, 553; *BAPD* 215314.

30. Oxford, private collection Langdon-Davies. Plate fragment with a representation of a youth.

BAPD 9038072.

Pella

31. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80.514. Hydria with a representation of the strife between Athena and Poseidon for the hegemony of Attica. From Pella.

Drougou 2000, 2004; Neils 2013; *BAPD* 17333.

Perm

32. Perm, State National Research University, Museum of History 25. Krater fragment preserving a warrior representation.

Petrakova and Bukina 2019, 382–83, no. 127, pl. 68; *BAPD* 9047660.

33. Perm, State National Research University, Museum of History 66.2. Panathenaic amphora fragments preserving a representation of a chariot race.

Petrakova and Bukina 2019, 390–92, no. 136, pls. 71, 103; *BAPD* 9047669.

Poros

34. Poros, Archaeological Museum 1946. Calyx-krater fragments preserving a representation of Hephaistos' Return to Olympos. From Troizen.

Giannopoulou 2013a, 114, fig. 10; Present publication.

Reggio Emilia

35. Reggio Emilia, Musei Civici. Calyx-krater fragment preserving a representation of satyrs and maenads.

BAPD 43795.

Salonica

36. Salonica, Archaeological Museum 272. Calyx-krater fragments. Side A: Birth of Erichthonios. Side B: Wedding. From Olynthus.

Robinson 1933, no. 130, pl. 77; Brommer 1972, 451–55, figs. 1–3; McPhee 1997, 253–55, figs. 11–12; Avramidou 2012, 136–37, figs. 1–2; *BAPD* 3905.

Samothrace

37. Samothrace, Archaeological Museum. Bell-krater fragments. Side A: Apotheosis of Herakles, Side B: Dionysiac scene. From Samothrace.

Dinsmoor 1992, 501–6, figs. 1–2, pls. 117–118.

38. Samothrace, Archaeological Museum 71.1011. Volute-krater fragments. Sides A and B: Theatrical scene. From Samothrace.

Green 1982, 238–44, figs. 2–4; Dinsmoor 1992, 506–13, figs. 3–4, pls. 119–120; Csapo 2010, 114–15, fig. 7:15; *BAPD* 2346.

San Simeon

39. San Simeon (CA), Hearst Historical State Monument 7228. Hydria with a representation of Hermes, women, eros and youth.

*ARV*², 1337.9; *BAPD* 217513.

Serrai

40. Serrai, Archaeological Museum Δ 1272. Pelike. Sides A and B: Gigantomachy. From Tragilos, Thrace.

Nikolaidou-Patera 2011; *BAPD* 9026149.

St. Petersburg

41. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ST1798. Calyx-krater fragments preserving a representation of Helios in chariot, Selene and Dionysiac thiasos.

*ARV*², 1337.2; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; *BAPD* 217506.

42. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum GR.263 (prev. B2680). Calyx-krater. Sides A and B: Heracles and the bull, surrounded by Olympian gods.

*ARV*², 1337.5; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; Petrakova and Bukina 2019, 23, 43–4, fig.18; *BAPD* 217509.

43. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum BAK8 (prev. B7207). Bell-krater fragments. Side A: Apotheosis of Herakles. Side B: Dionysos, Ariadne and Dionysiac thiasos. From Basky, Russia.

Shefton 1982; *BAPD* 7207.

Switzerland

44. Switzerland, private collection. Volute-krater fragment preserving a theatrical scene.

Green 1982, 237–38, fig. 1; *BAPD* 5451.

Taranto

45. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52399. Calyx-krater fragments. Side A: Heracles sacrificing to Chryse. Side B: Satyrs and maenad. From Taranto.

*ARV*², 1337.4; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; *BAPD* 217508.

Tübingen

46. Tübingen, Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität S101641 (prev. E171). Calyx-krater fragment preserving a representation of two youths.

CVA: Tübingen Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität 4 (Germany 52), 53–43, pl. 22:3; *BAPD* 11612.

47. Tübingen, Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität S101731 (prev. E158). Pyxis' lid with a representation of a man's head.

CVA: Tübingen Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität 4 (Germany 52), 97, pl. 44:4; *BAPD* 11648.

Turin

48. Turin, Museo di Antichità 2058 (prev. 4122). Bell-krater. Side A: Dionysos, satyrs and maenads. Side B: Draped youths.

ARV² 1191; CVA: Turin Museo di Antichità 2 (Italy 40), 6–7, pl. 10:1–3; McPhee 1978, 553; BAPD 215768.

Vienna

49. Vienna, Universität 551C. Calyx-krater. Side A: Man, woman, eros and satyr. Side B: Draped youths. From Thebes, Boeotia.

ARV² 1156.18; CVA: Vienna Universität und Professor Franz v. Matsch 1 (Germany 5), 39, pl. 25:4–6; McPhee 1978, 553; BAPD 215318.

Würzburg

50. Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum H4706 (prev. H4728, H4695). Calyx-krater fragments preserving a representation of the Trojan War. From Taranto.

CVA: Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum 2 (Germany 46), 55–6, pl. 39:3–5; BAPD 6369.

51. Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum H4781. Volute-krater fragments preserving a theatrical scene. From Taranto.

CVA: Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum 2 (Germany 46), 59–61, pl. 41:1–5; ARV² 1338, 1690; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*², 366; Csapo 2010, 110–13, fig. 7:14; BAPD 217516.

52. Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum H4729. Volute-krater fragments preserving a representation of Gigantomachy. From Taranto. Probably the other side of no. 51.

ARV² 1346, 1690; CVA: Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum 2 (Germany 46), 56–9, pl. 40; BAPD 217584.

FIGURES ©

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