



Citharoedus

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CITHAROEDUS

[PLATES II.—V.]

THE vase reproduced on Pl. II. and in Figs. 1 and 2 was sold by Messrs. Sotheby in the summer of 1919, and is now in the collection of Mr. William Randolph Hearst of New York. It is unbroken and well preserved. The height is sixteen inches and a half, say forty-two centimetres. Photographs of both sides were published in the sale catalogue;¹ but the drawings from which Pl. II. has been made have not been published before.

The shape of the vase is not a common one. It is a kind of amphora; and I use the word amphora, unqualified, to cover all those types in which the neck passes into the body with a gradual curve; instead of being set sharply off, as it is in the neck-amphorae, in the amphora of Panathenaic shape, and in the amphora with pointed foot.

Three types of amphora were used by the makers of red-figured vases. Type A,² which has flanged handles and a foot in two degrees, is used by black-figure painters as early as the middle of the sixth century, is a favourite with the painters of the archaic red-figured period, and disappears about 460. Type B,³ which has cylindrical handles and a foot in the form of an inverted echinus, is older than type A; for it is used by Attic painters at the very beginning of the sixth century.⁴ It survives type A, but not for long: the latest specimens date from the period of the vase-painter Polygnotos.⁵ The amphorae of type C, the type to which our vase belongs, are smaller than most of the other amphorae, ranging from about 37 to 43 centimetres in height. The body is of the same shape as in the other types, but narrower: the principal characteristic is the mouth, which instead of being concave with a strong flare, as in types A and B, is convex with the lower diameter only slightly shorter than the upper. The foot is sometimes shaped like an inverted echinus as in type B; and sometimes, just as in certain neck-amphorae, torus-shaped, with a cushion between foot and base. Our vase has the echinus foot.

Type C first appears in the so-called affected class, a class of Attic black-

¹ *Sale Catalogue, Sotheby, May 22-23, 1919, No. 270 and Pl. 11.* Miss Richter kindly confirmed my belief that the vase had passed into the Hearst collection. Height of the figures, 21·5 centimetres.

² Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, Pl. 12, 1; Furtwängler-Reichhold, i. p. 266; Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, pp. 60 and 61.

³ Lau, Pl. 11, 2; Caskey, pp. 58 and 59.

⁴ Amphorae in Athens, Pottier, *B.C.H.*

1898, p. 283; in London, A 1531, *ibid.* p. 285; in Munich, Hackl, *Jahrbuch*, xxii. pp. 83-85.

⁵ Athens 1166 (CC. 1220); Louvre G 534. The amphora signed by Polygnotos (Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. pp. 376-7), an early work of the painter, is a unique variant of type B; the foot is echinus-shaped, but the handles are ridged.

figured vases which belongs to about the second quarter of the sixth century.⁶ Then the type disappears for a while : at any rate I do not know of any black-figured examples apart from the affected ones. The red-figured examples number seventeen : the earliest of them bears the signature of the potter Euxitheos, and was painted by Oltos : hardly earlier than about 520 B.C. The other sixteen range between this date and about 480. Our amphora is one of the latest : a vase in Würzburg may be a little but cannot be much later. After 480 the shape vanishes.⁷

One or two red-figured amphorae of type C have a pair of figures on each side and frame the pictures with bands of pattern. But most of them follow a principle which is characteristic of the riper archaic period of red-figured vase-painting. The painter places a single figure on either side of the vase, and covers the rest of the surface with black ; cutting the patterns down to a plinth-like band under each figure—in our class of amphorae a simple reserved line ; and sometimes even dispensing with this band, so that the whole decoration of the vase consists of a single figure on the front, and another on the back, standing out from the black background. This sober and noble form of decoration loses its popularity at the end of the archaic period : the free style wanted more figures and more pattern ; the archaic vases seemed sombre and bleak.

The subject of our amphora is clear in the main, though some of the details offer difficulty. On the front of the vase, a youth with a cithara is singing : on the back stands a bearded man dressed in a himation, holding a wand in his left hand and making a gesture with his right. The youth is a virtuoso ; for

⁶ Karo, *J.H.S.* xix. 148, b. He compares the Chalcidian amphora Munich 592 (Jahn 1108), which is now published in Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, Pl. 21 ; there the mouth is rifled.

⁷ The red-figured examples are the following :

(a) The pictures framed :

- (1) Orvieto, Faina 33. By the Tyszkiewicz painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 152, No. 24).
- (2) Louvre G 63. A, silen and maenad ; B, two silens.
- (3) Formerly in the Higgins collection. Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 276, 1-2. *Burlington Cat.* 1903, K 99, No. 83.
- (4) Würzburg, 309. By the Syleus painter (*V.A.* p. 67, No. 12).

(b) The pictures not framed :

- (1) B.M. E. 258. *V.A.* p. 9, Fig. 4 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 449. By Oltos (*V.A.* p. 9, No. 3). Hoppin says the vase is much repainted ; it was so, but is so no longer, and was not when I made the drawings which he reproduces.

(2) Petrograd 602 (St. 1639). *Comptendu*, 1868, pp. 58 and 5.

(3) Naples 3174. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 9.

(4) Petrograd (St. 1637). *Comptendu*, 1866, Pl. 5, 1-3.

(5) Petrograd 603 (St. 1593). By the painter of Boston 98, 882 (Flying Angel painter) (*V.A.* p. 57, No. 1).

(6) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 332. Masner, Pl. 6, No. 332, and p. 7. By the same (*ibid.* No. 3).

(7) Paris, Petit Palais 328. By the same (*ibid.* No. 2).

(8) Milan, Musco Teatrale 416. *Cat. Vend. Coll. Sarti 5 maggio 1906*, Pl. 19 ; *Cat. Coll. Dr. B. et M. C.*, Pl. 20, No. 169 ; *Cat. Coll. Jules Sambon*, Pl. 1, No. 9. By the same.

(9) Louvre G 212. A, man with spear ; B, man. Repainted. By the same ?

(10) Boston 98, 882. *V.A.* p. 58 : the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 80. By the same (*ibid.* No. 4).

(11) Petrograd 604 (St. 1601). A, *V.A.* p. 59. By the same (*ibid.* No. 5).

(12) Louvre G 220. A, komast ; B, komast.

(13) The Hearst vase.

his instrument is the heavy elaborate cithara, made of wood, with metal and ivory fittings. It is Apollo's instrument, and is to be distinguished from the lighter, simpler lyre invented by the infant Hermes. But the youth is not Apollo; for no immortal plays or sings with such passion; and a short-haired Apollo would hardly be possible at the period to which the vase belongs. Again: in these large vases with isolated figures the figure on the reverse is

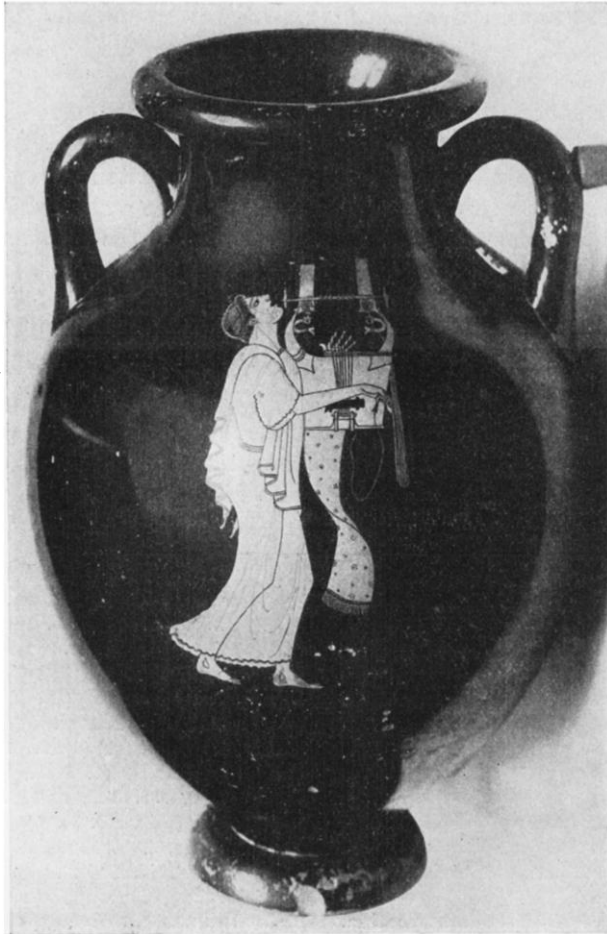


FIG. 1.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION: A.

usually related in subject to the figure in the obverse: there are many exceptions to this rule, and our vase might be one of them; but from the gesture of the man's hand he seems to be beating time to music, and so connected with the musician. Now the man is a mortal, for no god carries a forked wand: therefore the youth cannot be Apollo; and Apollo is the only god he could have been: therefore he is a mortal.

The long forked wand is commonly carried by athletic trainers and umpires in athletic contests. It is seldom found in pictures of cithara-playing; but it

is found. On a small neck-amphora, with twisted handles, in the Vatican, the picture on the obverse consists of two figures : a bearded citharode standing on a platform, and a man in a himation with the forked wand in his right hand.⁸ The man on the obverse of our vase, then, is a judge or an instructor : considering the movement of his hand, an instructor rather than a judge, and the subject of the vase a rehearsal, perhaps, rather than a performance.



FIG. 2.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION : B.

In his right hand the musician holds the plectrum, which is decorated with a tassel, and fastened to the cithara by a cord. His left hand, which is out of action, is seen to be passed through a retaining band, no doubt a leather strap punched with a row of holes.⁹ The parts of the cithara are all clearly indicated :

⁸ By the painter of the Louvre Centauro-machy; to be added to the list of his works in *V.A.* pp. 158-159.

⁹ The back of this band is well seen on the bronze corslet *Bronzen von Olympia*,

Pl. 59, and on a fragmentary cantharos, by the Pan painter, in Athens (Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, xiv. p. 104; *J.H.S.* xxxii. p. 363, No. 41).

the wooden sounding-box; the arms, partly of wood and partly of ivory or horn; the strengthening pieces on the inner side of the arms; the cross-bar, terminating in a metal disc, for turning it, at either end; the seven strings, fixed into the tail-piece, stretched over the bridge, and wound round the cross-bar; the cover or apron, of fringed and embroidered cloth, attached to the sounding-board and swinging with the motion of the singer. The bundle of cords hanging from the outer side of the cithara is present in most representations of citharae, but what the function of the cords is I am not sure: ¹⁰ conceivably they are spare strings.

The costume of the citharode consists of two pieces: a long Ionic chiton of ordinary cut, loosely belted, and a cloak made of a rectangular piece of cloth covering the middle of the body, flung over both shoulders, and kept in position, not by brooches or pins, but by its own weight. The drawing of the mantle is strongly but not fantastically stylised. A similar mantle, unless I am mistaken, is worn by a cithara-player on a contemporary vase in Munich.¹¹ The hang of the garment resembles that of Apollo's cloak in a Würzburg vase which we shall discuss later.¹²

A few words will suffice for the technique of the painting: most of the points will be clear from the reproductions. Only parts of the contours are lined in with relief lines: on the obverse, the face and neck, the fingers of the right hand with the plectrum, the inner outline of the left thumb, the feet, and portions of the cithara; on the reverse, the forehead and nose, the neck, part of the right shoulder, the right hand, the right side of the body where it is bare, the feet, the lower edge of the himation, and the part of the himation on the lower half of the right-hand side of the picture. The folds of the chiton on the obverse, and the minor folds of the himation, in the region of the elbow, on the reverse, are in brown; in brown also the minor internal markings of both bodies, including the man's nipples; the hair and eyelashes of the musician; and the loose ends of the instructor's hair and beard. The space between the two lines immediately above the fringe of the apron is filled in with brown. Ankles and nostrils are rendered by relief lines. Red is used for the wreaths and the plectrum cord.

Among the many vases on which citharodes are represented, that which resembles ours most closely is one which was formerly in Rollin's possession and which is published by Lenormant and De Witte.¹³ In the text which accompanies the plate, the authors call it an amphora of Panathenaic shape: and this it may well have been; for although number 68 on their plate of forms, to which they refer the reader, is not an accurate rendering of any known type of vase, yet a vase in Naples, which they also publish, is likewise stated to be of shape 68, and the Naples vase is in truth an amphora of Panathenaic shape.¹⁴

The decoration of the Rollin vase (Fig. 3) consists of two figures, one on

¹⁰ Th. Reinach, in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Lyra* 1446, thinks that the cords were for fastening the apron to the cithara.

¹¹ Neck-amphora with twisted handles, 2319 (Jahn 8).

¹² F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1. See p. 80.

¹³ *Él Cér.* ii. Pl. 16; text 2, p. 38; previously in the Canino collection.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ii. Pl. 75. Style of the Meidias painter.

either side of the vase; the French reproduction combining them into a single picture. On the obverse, a bearded citharode with his head back, and his mouth open singing, dressed in a long Ionian chiton and a short himation of normal Ionian type; on the reverse, a bearded man clad in a himation, leaning forward a little and supporting himself on his stick, his right arm stretched out with two fingers bent and the others extended: the gesture is the same as in our amphora, but the hand is seen from the front and not from the side. The drawings in the *Élite*, although lacking in sensitiveness, are evidently not untrustworthy. There is one part, however, which is open to suspicion, and



FIG. 3.—ONCE IN ROLLIN'S POSSESSION. (From *Él Cér.* ii. pl. 16.)

that is the himation of the man on the reverse, where it curls up round the lower side of the left forearm. This wear, quite unfamiliar to me, I take to be unantique. I suggest that this portion of the Rollin vase was modern.

Lenormant's draughtsman, as can be seen in the original plate, though scarcely in our reduction, has distinguished the brown lines of his original from the black, which is more than many copyists do. It is clear that brown was used for most of the inner markings in the bodies, for the vertical lines in the upper part of the chiton and for the intermediate folds in the lower part, for the folds of the sleeve, and for the dots on the apron of the cithara. Three of the ankles are black, the fourth is given as brown.

Let us compare the figure on the reverse of the Rollin vase with the

corresponding figure on our amphora. There is no reason why the two figures should be replicas, and they are not: the attitude is not the same, and there are certain variations in drawing. We shall examine the differences before proceeding to the resemblances. The Rollin man has a little arc on his right arm, between the two heads of the biceps, and the digitations of the serratus magnus are indicated: these lines are absent in our amphora. Again, in our amphora the transverse folds of the himation run alternately from our left and our right, the left-hand lines being short, the others long: whereas in the Rollin vase this system is observable, indeed, below the knee, but above the knee it gives place to a system of long continuous lines running from the outer edge of the garment, on our left, to the long vertical folds on our right. There can be no doubt which is the more satisfactory rendering: the Rollin system is unbearably monotonous. Now we noticed above that there was good reason to suppose that the Rollin himation was not wholly genuine: if the himation was restored, as we thought, about the forearm and below it, then the folds in the region between navel and knee may also have been restored or repainted; and I suspect that this is so, because of their ugliness.

Let us now turn to the resemblances: I lay no stress, of course, on the rendering of the nipple as a circle of dots with the centre marked; for this is an extremely common rendering of the nipple; but I would draw attention to the bounding lines of the breasts, with the curvilinear triangle at the pit of the stomach; to the omission of the off clavicle; to the line of the hither clavicle, recurving at the pit of the neck without touching the median line of the breast; to the curved line which runs down from about half-way along the line of the clavicle, separating shoulder and breast; to the smaller arc in the middle of the deltoid; to the indication of the trapezius between neck and shoulder; to the pair of curved lines on the upper right arm; to the projection of the wrist when the position of the hand requires it; to the two brown lines on the neck, indicating the sterno-mastoid; to the marking on the body between the lower boundary of the breast and the himation; to the form of the black lines indicating the ankle; to the pair of brown lines running from each ankle up the leg; to the forward contour of left leg and knee showing through the himation; in the himation, to the peaked folds on the left upper arm, the loose fold in the region of the navel, and the triangle where the inside of the garment shows at the shoulder.

We will now consider a third vase, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in the Vatican (Pl. III.).¹⁵ In this vase also, the man on the reverse is very like the corresponding figure on our amphora. First the differences: in our amphora there is a line more in the ear, an additional line at the anterior end of the collar-bone, a series of arcs to model the ends of the toes; the outline of the himation in the region of the shoulder and upper arm is more complex; the himation has a line border; the forehead-nose line and the horizontal line of the mouth are lined in with relief, whereas in the Vatican vase no relief lines are

¹⁵ Helbig 488; *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, strengthened the brown inner markings
1; photos. Alinari 35773-4, from which in front of the original; nearly all of them
our reproductions are made; I have is visible in the photograph.

used for the contour of the face. All these differences fall under one heading : the amphora is a somewhat more elaborate work than the Vatican vase, and the artist has put a little more detail into his figure. Now look at the resemblances : the form of the breast is the same ; the triangle at the pit of the stomach is the same, the brown lines on the breast are the same, and the brown



FIG. 4.—NAPLES RC. 163 : B. (From *Mon. Linc.* 22, pl. 82.)

lines on forearm, upper arm, and neck ; wrists and trapezius are indicated in both ; the feet are the same, apart from the absence of the toe arcs in the less studied of the two figures : the ankle and the brown lines on the leg are the same ; the system of folds is the same ; and in both vases we find brown intermediate folds in the region of the elbow. The hands are hardly comparable, since they are not in the same position : for parallels to the Vatican hands we may turn to the Rollin man, who has his left hand drawn in the same manner,

the same pair of brown lines on the left forearm, and the same black line at the spring of the fingers in the right hand.

Leaving, for the moment, the obverse of the Vatican vase, let us turn to another vase of exactly the same type, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Naples, and inspect the youth on the reverse (Fig. 4).¹⁶ I have taken the liberty of adding the dotted nipple, which is present in the original and has been overlooked by the Italian draughtsman: I would also remark that the ankle lines do not really meet below, as would seem from the reproduction. In the Naples youth, the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent, one of the sides being omitted, and there is no brown vertical line on the left breast. Moreover, as the left hand is held lower, there is room for the brown body-markings which are absent in the Vatican man, but are given in just the same way in the Rollin vase and in our amphora. In nearly every other respect the Naples youth is as like the Vatican man as could be, and the strips on which they stand are decorated with the same, by no means common, pattern. I would invite the reader to compare the Naples youth, not only with the Vatican man, but with the two others, to make sure that I am not gradually leading him astray.

Fig. 5 reproduces a fragment in Athens, found on the Acropolis.¹⁷ The curve of the fragment suggests that the vase was an amphora of Panathenaic shape. Here we find once more the two brown lines on the neck, the recurving collar-bone, in which the recurve is of just the same length as in the Naples youth, the brown line bounding the shoulder, the little brown arc in the middle of the deltoid, the dotted nipple, the short brown vertical line on the breast, the loose folds of the himation on the left of the drawing, the end of the himation flung over the left forearm, the intermediate brown line between this and the shoulder-folds. There are three lines on the left forearm instead of two, but so there are on the right forearm of the Rollin man: the only new detail is the tiny brown arc emphasising the jutting wrist.

In Fig. 6, one of three figures on the reverse of a stamnos in the Louvre,¹⁸ the himation is worn differently, concealing the left arm and hand: the *subject* of the drapery, if one may so speak, is not the same as in the five previous figures. In other respects the himation is as like the Vatican and Naples himation as possible: the same system of folds from left and right, the same left leg line, the same rendering of the inside of the garment at neck and flank. The forms of the body—shoulder, neck, breast, arms, legs, feet and ankles—are the same as before: the only difference is that the figure being more summarily executed, nipples and vertical breast lines are left out. The little arc at the heads of the biceps appeared on the Rollin vase. In the rendering of the pit of the stomach, the new figure stands midway between the Naples youth and the Vatican man: the triangle is complete, but the third side of it is in brown, not in black. The proportions of the figure are shorter than in

¹⁶ Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82. The two long faint lines on the himation from mid forearm to elbow are sketch-lines.

¹⁷ G 139a; the letter after the numeral suggests that other fragments of the same

vase have been found, but I have not seen them.

¹⁸ G 186; the obverse, *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5. Height of the figure reproduced, 19.7 centimetres.

the other vases, for it is one of three figures on the reverse of a broad vase, not the single figure on the reverse of a tall vase.

Another example of the Louvre type of himation is given in Fig. 7, the youth on the reverse of a column-krater in Petrograd.¹⁹ The figure is fragmentary, and the upper part of the right ankle is missing. The profile nipple is new to us; but nothing else. I will only remark that the pattern below the picture is the same as in the Vatican and Naples vases.

The only other reverse figure which I shall show comes from a Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Fig. 8).²⁰ The himation of the Munich youth takes us back to our first type: it stands particularly close to the Naples and Vatican himatia; while the line of the lower edge, with the two garment ends on our extreme right, is exactly as in the Rollin vase.

We have mentioned eight vases; but hitherto we have considered the figures on the reverse only: let us now turn the vases round and look at the obverse, beginning with the Vatican vase.

The discobolos (Pl. III.) resembles his friend on the reverse in all comparable features. As the discobolos is naked, we are able to study the rendering of parts which were concealed by clothing in the reverse figures: especially the hips, the thighs, the knees and the calves. A second naked figure is the Eros on the front of the Naples vase.²¹

The breast of Eros, with all its brown lines, is rendered in the familiar way, except that in the boyish figure the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent: arms, neck, and profile foot are as usual; and the lines of the profile leg are the same as in the Vatican athlete. Now the very fellow of the Vatican discobolos is the discobolos on the obverse of the Panathenaic amphora in Munich mentioned above (Pl. IV. 2). The two pictures speak for themselves: one figure is in profile, the other frontal, but wherever you can compare them they tally, even to the whisker. The nipples are both in profile; but we noticed a profile nipple in the Petrograd youth. The

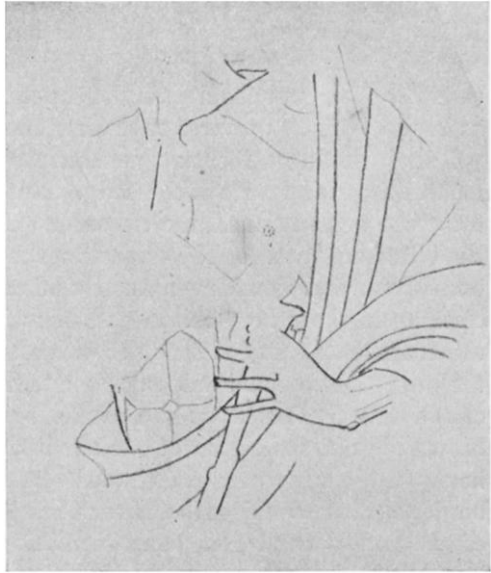


FIG. 5.—ACROPOLIS G 139 a.

¹⁹ 635 (St. 1528); the obverse, *Comptendu*, 1873, p. 22. Height of the figure on the reverse, including the pattern, 23 centimetres.

²⁰ 2313 (J. 9). The obverse, Pl. IV. 2.

Height of the figures, including the pattern: obverse, 26.7 centimetres; reverse, 24.5 centimetres.

²¹ *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82.

frontal knee, leg and ankle find close parallels in the Naples Eros. The rendering of arms, breast, neck, profile foot and ankles, and all the parts which a himation would leave visible, are the same as in the series of reverse figures. The Munich vase bears the love-name Socrates, which occurs on only one other vase, the Petrograd column-krater which we have already considered. A third discobolos is inseparable from the two in the Vatican and in Munich: he decorates the obverse of another, somewhat earlier, Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Pl. IV. 1).²² The satyrs on a third vase in Munich, of the same shape as the other two (Pl. V.),²³ preserve all the bodily features of the Vatican discobolos and of the other naked figures with which we have compared it. These satyrs find their very fellows on another still grander vase, the Berlin amphora 2160.²⁴ Finally, on one of the plates in Furtwängler-Reichhold, Hauser has published two amphorae of Panathenaic shape, one in Munich and one in Würzburg.²⁵ The Munich vase looks somewhat earlier than the other, but the drawing of the forms is the same in both, and the same as in all the figures, reverse or obverse, mentioned above. Reichhold's pictures will show that at a glance: to enumerate the resemblances would be merely to make a list of the parts of the body. But let us turn back for a moment to the first vase we mentioned, the citharode amphora, and compare it with the last, the Würzburg vase.²⁶ The subjects are totally different, and the clothing in the one—cloak and lionskin—naturally offers few points of comparison with the clothing in the other—chiton and himation. But look at the naked parts: the neck, the breast and shoulder with all their boundaries and inner markings, the arms, the feet and ankles. Lastly, the Munich Perseus vase: ²⁷ the short chiton worn by Perseus offers a parallel for the delicate system of gently waving brown lines in the chiton of our citharode: the chiton of Medusa terminates below in the same pair of engrailed black lines as our citharode's: the lower border of Perseus' chiton is different, but it interests us nevertheless: it consists of two narrow bands, one set with black dots, the other filled in with brown: invert it, and you have the border of the apron which hangs from our cithara. The band filled in with brown sounds a simple sort of border; but actually it is not at all common in vase-painting.

It will be admitted, I think, that the thirteen vases described above are closely interconnected. We had to examine them consecutively, but we were continually referring back and across. Shuffle the thirteen, inspect them in any order you like, and they will be found to belong to the same suit.

It cannot be maintained that the points in which these figures resemble one another or one the rest are trifling, few, or restricted to one part of the figure. They comprise both the master lines which in archaic art demarcate

²² 2310 (J. 1). Height of the figure, 26 centimetres. The horizontal line on the left ankle represents a string.

²³ 2311 (J. 52). Height of the figures, 25·8 and 24·2 centimetres. The surface of the legs has suffered a great deal, so that much of the inner marking has disappeared.

²⁴ Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8–9; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15–16 and p. 276. The only reproductions which do justice to the beauty of the original are those published by Winter in *Jahreshefte*, 3, Pls. 3 and 4, and 5, 1. A new publication is promised in Furtwängler-Reichhold.

²⁵ Pl. 134. ²⁶ Pl. 134, 1. ²⁷ Pl. 134, 2.

the several parts of the body and of the drapery, and the minor lines which subdivide or diversify the areas thus demarcated. We may speak, in fact, of a coherent and comprehensive system of representing the forms of the human body naked and clothed.

The system is not restricted to the thirteen vases described. It appears on



FIG. 6.—LOUVRE G 186: PART OF B.

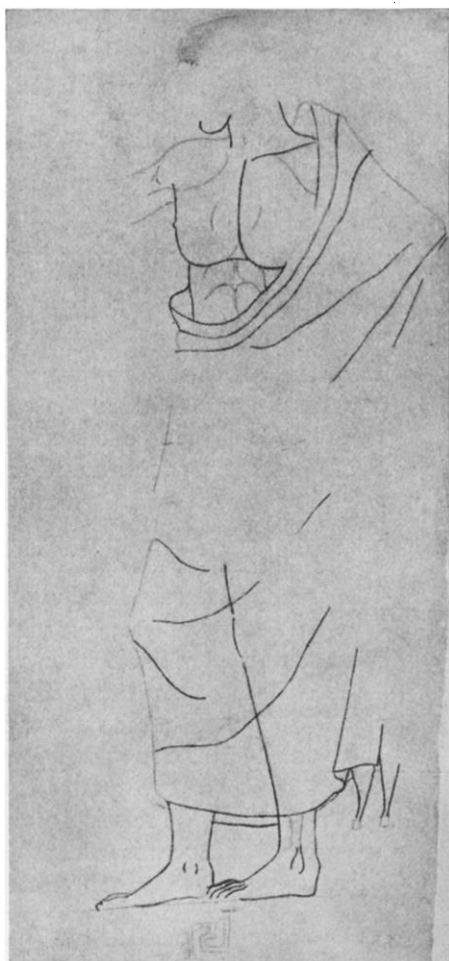


FIG. 7.—PETROGRAD 635: B.

a much larger number of vases: I have given a list before, and I repeat it rearranged, and increased by several items, later in these pages.²⁸ To point out the resemblances between the vases which we have examined, and the others in the list, would take a long time, and part of the work I have done elsewhere. I will confine myself to one or two details which bear upon the citharode vase. The double band of pattern—a band with dots, and a band filled in with brown

²⁸ See p. 91 and note.

—which we noticed on the apron of the cithara, as well as on the chiton of Perseus in the Munich Perseus vase, recurs on the embroidered chiton of Athena in the Munich stamnos and the London volute-krater.²⁹ For the wavy brown gold lines on the citharode's chiton we may refer to the chiton of Thetis on the volute-krater or of the woman on the fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles.³⁰ Finally, the himation of the man on the reverse: compare the himation of Apollo on the volute-krater, and, as far as it goes, that of Triton on the small neck-amphora in Harvard.³¹ We have already looked at one of the reverse figures on the Louvre stamnos G 186 (Fig. 6): we observed that the himation was not worn in the same way as in the vases which we had previously examined; but if we turn to the obverse of the stamnos³² we shall find the excellent Chiron wearing his himation shorter, it is true, than fashion would have prescribed in Athens, but in just the same manner as the instructor on the citharode vase and all his companions; and the rendering of the folds is exactly the same.

This system of renderings cannot be said to be the system universal at the period. It will hardly be disputed that the neck-amphora E 278 in the British Museum³³ belongs to the same period as the vases we have examined, that is to say, it is not later than the latest of them or earlier than the earliest. Now the attitude of the Apollo on the London vase is very like that of the Apollo on the Würzburg vase mentioned above; but if we place the two figures side by side, we shall hardly find a feature or a line in the one body which is the least like the corresponding feature or line in the other. The system of renderings in the London vase is totally different from the Würzburg system. Like the Würzburg system, the London system is not confined to one vase, but reappears on a good many others;³⁴ for instance, on the New York amphora reproduced immediately after the London vase in my *Vases in America*.³⁵

Let it be assumed that the London vase and its fellows are a little earlier or a little later than the vases of our group: admitted, as it must be, that both these and the London vase belong to the ripening or ripe archaic period; but denied, that the two groups can be called contemporary. It may then be contended that the relation of our system to others is still that of a temporal sequence: that ours is the system of a shorter period within the riper archaic period; a decade, say, or a year. But our system is not confined to the thirteen vases mentioned above: it appears, as we shall see, in a much larger number; but among this number there is not one cup. Such a cup may turn up tomorrow; but even so the other vase-shapes will continue to have an immense preponderance. Is it possible to think that during the assumed universal prevalence of this system, the decoration of cups was wholly suspended or the

²⁹ F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14.

³⁰ De Ridder, p. 280.

³¹ *V.A.* p. 39.

³² *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; Chiron alone, Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, p. 108. Neither drawing is accurate, and Morin-Jean omits all the brown lines on the limbs;

but the reproduction of the himation is sufficient for comparison.

³³ *B.S.A.* xviii. Pls. 11–12 and p. 221; the Apollo only, *V.A.* p. 45.

³⁴ See *B.S.A.* xviii. pp. 217–233, and xix. p. 245; *V.A.* pp. 45–47.

³⁵ *V.A.* p. 46.

output at any rate vastly decreased? Is it not more natural to consider that many of the very numerous cups which we still possess were painted contemporaneously with the thirteen vases and their companions, but painted in quarters where this system of renderings was not employed?

The system of renderings described above stands in a certain relation to nature: the individual renderings are more or less inspired by nature, that is, by a desire to reproduce the actual forms of the body. But nature does not ordain that an ankle or a breast must be rendered in just this way and no other. Nor does nature insist, that once you have drawn an ankle with black lines of a certain shape, you must put a vertical line on the chest, or a little arc in the middle of the deltoid. But on the vases, the one rendering brings the other with it: where you find this ankle you find these lines, and the rest of the renderings, within reasonable limits, are predictable.

It may be objected that this system cannot be segregated as I have segregated it, that it passes insensibly into other systems, so that one cannot say where it begins and where it ends. Now there would be no cause for wonder if the edges of its area were somewhat blurred; but they are not blurred. Memorise the system, and

walk through the Louvre or the British Museum: you will not be in doubt on which vases it is present or on which absent. Or turn over the pages of a large collection of good reproductions: Furtwängler-Reichhold, or Hoppin's *Handbook of Signed Vases*. I think everyone will admit that it occurs on three vases in the first book, and three only, and that no other vase in the book shows anything the least like it; and that in the second book it does not occur at all.



FIG. 8.—MUNICH 2313: B.

A system so definite, coherent, distinctive, and in some respects so wilful, is most easily intelligible as a *personal* system: inspired in some measure by observation of nature, influenced and in part determined by tradition, and communicable or prescribable to others; but the child, above all else, of one man's brain and will. The personal character of the system does not necessarily imply that all the works which exhibit it are the work of one hand. Suppose we took a member of the group—the citharode amphora, or the Würzburg vase; or let us say a single figure, the citharode, or the Apollo—and asked the question, at what point in the genesis of the work the system of renderings entered into it; three kinds of answer might be given. First, the figure before us may be a substantive work, the man who executed it having also designed it. If E be the execution, R the system of renderings, and D the design, the work done by the executant may be roughly represented by the formula $E + R + D$.

Secondly, the figure may be a copy, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having made a faithful reproduction of a model which was rendered in R. The executant's share of the work may be represented by $E : R + D$ being the work of another man.

Thirdly, the figure may be a translation, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having reproduced a model, which was not, however, rendered in R but in another system: R being imported by the executant, whose share of the work may be represented by $E + R : D$ being the work of another man.

The whole group of vases which we have been studying may consist of substantive works; or of copies; or of translations; or of any two; or of all three.

I think it is inconceivable that R can have been a copyist's system and no more. It was we who detached it from the other formal elements in the vases where it appears, and dealt with its particulars piecemeal. But a system so clearly and carefully thought and felt out, so adequate to express a definite conception of the human form, must have been originally inherent, must have had its home, in a number of finished figures. It cannot have been meant to be clapped beside alien designs like a kind of substitution table. And if merely a copyist's system, how could it have kept itself pure through a number of years; always at the beck of others, yet not losing or altering anything in itself? The foreign forms continually in front of him, and the constant criticism of his superiors, must have ended by wreaking some change or confusion in the copyist's style.

It may be that some of the vases which exhibit this system are copies of designs executed on another system; but the main function of the system cannot have been translation. All sorts of borrowing went on in the Ceramicus; but if the system was applied to an alien design, it would so transmute it that the result would be a more or less substantive work.

We have now to consider the two other possibilities: substantive work, or faithful copy of a model. In both cases the system of renderings, and the other formal elements, cohere; the second case moves the 'original' a degree farther back.

That the vases of our group are all copies is unlikely : it seems to me that the tendency to degrade the actual executant of the vase-painting into little more than a mere mechanic, and to separate him from a presumed designer, ' the only true artist ' in the matter, is incorrect. We do not know very much about the organisation of potter's industry in Athens, but we know enough to be sure that the analogy of great modern industrial establishments like Creusot or Renault is a fallacious one.³⁶ Modern industries of the kind depend on standardisation, on the production of an immense number of replicas. Now replicas exist among ancient vase-paintings, but on nothing like the scale which we should expect to find if the industry was regularly organised on the principle of one design copied in great numbers. That more or less faithful copies of successful vases or of other models by successful artists were made by younger or lesser men in some of the ancient establishments I am ready to believe ; but not that in the majority of vases the designer of the drawings is different from the executant.

The application of a system of renderings, someone may say, is not sufficient to create a work of art ; and the detection of such a system in a number of vases is not equivalent to an exhaustive examination of their content. There are aspects of the citharode amphora, for example, or of the Würzburg vase, which I have hitherto seemed to be wholly or partially disregarding. There is the material aspect—the nature of clay, glaze, instruments employed, and the like. There are the shape, features and proportions of the vessel itself. There are, finally, those aspects which come under the general heading of design—the arrangement of dark with light, and of line with line, to form a pattern (design in the narrower sense), and to represent something in nature (theme, movement, ethos and pathos). Now with the material aspect we need not concern ourselves : the recipes for making the clay and the glaze, for forming the pot, and so forth, reached their final form early in the sixth century ; the brush was perfected later, but by the time of our vases it had been long in common use : these things do not alter from the early days of the red-figured period to the latest. As to the shape of the vases, I have said something and shall say more later. The aspect of design remains.

Let us give our attention, first of all, to the distribution of the figure-work. We make a distinction between decoration which consists of a single figure, and that which consists of more than one : single and plural decoration. If the vase has two sides, and a figure on each side, this counts as single decoration, even although the two figures may be connected in subject and motive ; since only one of the figures can be seen at a time. Now both single and plural decoration occur in our group, as we should indeed expect ; but there is a marked

³⁶ These firms are not specified by Mr. Pottier, but I submit that I am not misinterpreting the implication of the following passage (*Catalogue des vases du Louvre*, 3, p. 705), where the author is speaking of the heads of the workshops, whom he supposes to have provided the executants with models : ' Il pourrait se faire qu'ils

n'eussent jamais tenu la poterie entre leurs mains et pourtant que cette œuvre d'art fût vraiment le produit de leur intelligence, comme aujourd'hui quelque engin formidable de l'industrie métallurgique sort d'un atelier, sans que celui qui l'a créé et construit l'ait seulement touché du bout du doigt.'

preference for single decoration. This liking is not confined to our group: it is characteristic of the ripe archaic period, apart from the cups, as a whole; but in our group it is more pronounced than in almost any other. This is not merely a consequence of many of the vases in our groups being tall thin vases, such as amphorae of Panathenaic shape or neck-amphorae. Single decoration suits such shapes, but they can be decorated plurally, and sometimes were so decorated by contemporary artists. And in our group single decoration is not restricted to tall thin vases. The four bell-kraters³⁷ are all decorated singly, and single decoration is rare in bell-kraters.³⁸ Again, the list contains three hydriai of the old black-figured shape. Two of the three have plural decoration, but one of them, in the single figure between palmettes which forms the subsidiary picture, that on the shoulder of the vase, shows a leaning towards the favourite principle. The third hydria is very interesting;³⁹ for obvious reasons, it is difficult to apply the single system to this type of vase; but here it is done: the subsidiary picture, on the shoulder, has been dropped; the sharp angle which separates shoulder from body has been boldly ignored; and the magnificent design has been flung over both parts, so that head to waist of Apollo are on the shoulder of the vase, and the rest of the figure on the body. The same tendency is traceable in the Berlin amphora:⁴⁰ it was hard to think of a single figure which could be made ample enough to decorate the side of this huge vase without looking dwarfed: there are actually two figures on the front, not to speak of an animal; but they are set so closely together, and their projecting limbs and attributes so interlaced, that the two, or the three, tell as one.⁴¹

The use and the nature of the ornamental patterns chimes with this love of sparse figure decoration. Patterns are used sparingly in our group. It is true, as I have hinted before, that the riper archaic period is less lavish of its patterns than the periods which follow and precede it; but our group is sparing even for the period. In the whole long list there are only two vases in which the pictures are framed by bands of pattern. Palmettes at the handles are rare, and of the simplest description: floral or other decoration on the neck of the vase is also rather rare; even the rays at the base, common in other sparsely-decorated vases, are almost unknown. The pattern decoration usually consists of a short strip below, and sometimes another above the picture. In the stamnoi the lower strip is often a simple reserved line; in the Panathenaic amphorae the lower strip is sometimes omitted, just as in our citharode amphora,

³⁷ See p. 94.

³⁸ I know but two other examples; Petrograd inv. 13387 (*Izvestiya*, xiii, pp. 188-189), and the small vase formerly in the Kircheriano and now in the Villa Giulia (A, *Mon. Linc.* xiv. p. 307). The Villa Giulia vase is by the Achilles painter (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 179-226; *V.A.* pp. 163-164), who continues in a later age the tradition of our group.

³⁹ P. 95. Alinari's excellent photographs do not show the two brown lines on

the neck; they are duly present in the original.

⁴⁰ P. 91.

⁴¹ There is only one rf. amphora of type A or B which has but a single figure on either side; the Achilles amphora in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 58, 3; A, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 180; photos. Alinari 35816 and 35815). The Achilles painter, as I have observed before (note 38), continues the tradition of our group.

so that the vase is devoid of all pattern decoration. Such patterns as occur in our group are very often of a peculiarly simple type. The normal meander, with its maze of interlocking lines, is pretty frequent; but not nearly so frequent as in most contemporary and later groups of vases. The place of the meander is often taken by much simpler forms of pattern, forms which are generally included, and with reason, under the general term meander, but which I prefer to distinguish as 'key patterns.' There are two types: the running key, which is found occasionally in our group, and is common enough in others; and the stopt key, which is curiously rare outside our group, and extremely common within it.⁴² The tendency to use the key-pattern where other groups would use the more complicated meander is another manifestation of the love of simplicity and clarity which characterises our group.

The rhythmic combination of meander with pattern-square is a decorative idea which seems to have arisen in Eastern Greece and in the eighth or seventh century: it passed into the repertory of Attic vase-painters in the course of the sixth, became extraordinarily popular in the riper archaic period, and retained its popularity as long as the art of the vase-painter continued to flourish.

This class of pattern is common in our group, as in most others of the period: stopt key and meander are found combined with pattern-squares. But the combination is almost always according to a particular principle: this principle is rare outside our group, and if it becomes not infrequent, for a while, later, it is almost restricted to certain groups of vases which, on other grounds, would seem to be related to ours. The principle is this: stopt-meander-groups (generally one stopt key, or one or two stopt meanders) and pattern-squares are so arranged, that the meander-groups face alternately left and right, while the pattern-squares hang alternately from the upper and the lower horizontal bounding line.⁴³ The pattern-unit is therefore a large one: it consists of two different meander-groups and two different pattern-squares: the recurrence of the pattern is postponed as long as possible. The consequence is that the pattern-band has a longer, gentler wave than other combinations of meander and pattern-square.

It is significant that out of the various kinds of pattern-square used by red-figure painters, our group shows a distinct predilection for one: the most linear of them, that in which the effect depends least on the semi-colouristic contrast of dark and light: the saltire-square with a dot between each pair of arms. Significant, because the other pattern-squares catch the eye quicker and hold it firmer, breaking the pattern-band up into short staccato sections.

Most of the patterns used in the group fall under one of the two headings, stopt key; and stopt key or meander combined with pattern-squares on the principle described above. A handsome floral pattern is also used: a special variety, rare outside the group, of a common general type.

It may be well to point out here, that throughout the history of vase-

⁴² *E. g.* Figs. 4, 7, 8; Pls. III., IV. 2.

⁴³ Examples of this principle; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 279, Nos. 2-5 and 7.

painting the pattern-group tends to coincide with the stylistic group, and this is natural enough: there is no reason to suppose that the patterns were not regularly executed by the same hand as the figures; the labour may sometimes have been divided, though I do not for a moment believe that it was often so; but even then the artist of the figures would naturally prescribe the patterns. Two examples only. In many of the cups signed by the painter Douris,⁴⁴ the interior picture is surrounded by a variety of meander and cross-square pattern: this variety of pattern, and even the particular sort of meander which is one of the elements, are rarely found in vases which do not exhibit the style of Douris. Again, the painter Makron encircles the interior picture in his cups with a meander of a particular kind, the meander running in twos. This is not a rare pattern like Douris' patterns; but Makron uses hardly any other: there is only one cup in his style which has it not.

It cannot be said that the comparatively few examples of plural composition in our group are in any way peculiar. Throughout archaic painting, the plural schemes are few, and the main lines of a composition are seldom of an unfamiliar type. It may be merely by chance that one common type is very rarely found in the vases of our list: the two-figure composition consisting of two restful figures facing each other.

Let us now consider the separate figures, whether isolated or grouped with others. We shall expect to find that they have much in common with the other figures of the riper archaic period, particularly in their relation to ideal space. It is well known that towards the end of the sixth century a great advance was made in the exploration of the third dimension.⁴⁵ The new conception of form in space manifests itself in a good many ways; but most obviously in the treatment of leg and foot. The more usual foreshortenings of foot and leg are used freely in our group. In a standing figure, one of the legs may be drawn frontal with the foot seen from the front; in a running or flying figure, one leg may be drawn frontal with the foot extended frontally as if seen from above. Three-quarter views of the back appear in the riper vases, and a three-quarter foot of a special form. The chest is often three-quartered, sometimes timidly, in the later vases with more courage; and a certain desire to give depth to the upper part of the body is shown by indication of the trapezius, where it would be ignored in other groups; and of the front of the farther shoulder when the upper part of the arm is concealed. On the whole, the attitude towards foreshortening is one of moderation: the more uncommon postures do not occur: there is no full back-view; and none of the daring experiments which we find in the work of the Panaitios painter and others. This moderation is consonant with the love of clarity to which we have alluded, and with the love of varied contour of which we shall presently speak.

Let us now turn to the relation of the figure to the actual background:

⁴⁴ Hoppin, *Handbook*, pp. 208-275, Nos. 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27.

⁴⁵ *V.A.* pp. 27-28; *Ancient Gems in Lewes House*, pp. 21-22; where I should have mentioned, as one of the earliest

examples in sculptured relief, the warrior seen from behind on the cornice of the archaic Artemision at Ephesus (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 17, 30).

the contour. I think we may trace in this group of vases a special concern to make the contour at once harmonious and interesting: harmonious, by the use of long gentle curves; interesting, by the careful disposition of long projections radiating from the centre of the design—arms, legs, wings, big objects in the hands. I say a special concern, since the concern for harmony or interest in the contour is obviously widespread in vase-painting; but it sometimes happens that the contour is harmonious without being particularly interesting, or interesting without being particularly harmonious; and in many vases one feels that not the contour but something else has been uppermost in the artist's mind. One of the grandest examples of the combination is the group, already discussed, on the obverse of the Berlin amphora. I think it is possible to trace a real kinship between this design and the design on the Apollo hydria in the Vatican. I mention these two first because they are perhaps the two most complex. But I do not think it is fanciful to find something of the same quality in simpler designs: of course in the Munich silens; but also in the London komast, in the Munich discoboloi, in the Naples Eros, in the Würzburg Apollo and Herakles, in the Louvre Ganymede; even in the earliest vase of the whole group, the hydria with Achilles and Penthesilea in New York; and even in a fragment like the Nike in the Cabinet des Médailles.

Even in the best vases of this group, relief lines are used but sparingly in the contour. This economy of relief lines is not due to haste, as it is in the reverse figures of most vases, and in the principal figures of many. It is evidently deliberate: the contour is the softer though not the weaker for not being completely lined in.

How far the effect of these figures and of the others is due to the contour and how far to the lines within the contour is not always easy to determine. The two sets of lines work together, and their spirit, one is inclined to say their inspiration, is the same. The character of the lines within the contour seems to be determined by the same feeling as the contour line: by the dislike of the harsh, abrupt, violent and unsymmetrical, by the love of equable, harmonious curves, usually with a wave-like flexure, drawn with a rather full brush, and dividing the body into compartments of a clear and pleasant shape.

A word about the shapes of the vases in this group. The range is wide; but there are no kotylai, and above all no cups. Some shapes are commoner than others: the Panathenaic amphorae form a considerable proportion of the extant red-figured specimens: next to these, stamnoi and neck-amphorae with twisted handles are the most frequent, and of the smaller vases, Nolan amphorae and lekythoi. It is more important to observe that the vases of one class of shape are apt to be of a single, sometimes a peculiar variety; to have proportions and features (mouth, foot, handles) in common, and to resemble each other in the distribution of the figures and the distribution and nature of the ornamental patterns. Now we noticed above that the pattern group tended to coincide with the stylistic group: the same may be said of the shape group. This rule, like the other, may be illustrated from the work of Douris and of Makron. Nearly all the signed cups of Douris have a curious feature below the

foot: the reserved strip at the edge of the foot below is set off from the rest of the foot by a ledge. This ledge is a regular feature in a type of cup which was used by the earliest red-figure cup-painters; but in the type of cup which Douris generally uses, the commonest of the red-figured cup types, it is rare outside the signed or unsigned work of Douris. The cups painted by Makron, which include most of the cups with the signature of the potter Hieron, also have a peculiarity in the foot; the little ledge, seldom lacking in the commonest type of cup on the upper side of the foot, is set particularly near the edge. The cause of the affinity between shape group and stylistic group is not so obvious as the cause of the other affinity: it points at any rate to a close connexion between the potter and the decorator; but the question need not be examined here.

To sum up, we began by speaking about a peculiar system of renderings, through which a certain conception of the human form found expression. We found that the vases which exhibited the system had more than this in common: they showed, as a group, a liking for a certain choice and use of patterns, for certain principles of decoration, for a certain relationship between contour and background, for lines and curves of certain kinds. The system of renderings was not easy to separate from the other elements of design: it was, from one point of view, their vehicle, and from another, a collateral expression of artistic will.

I believe the best way of explaining the homogeneity of this group of vases is to suppose that it represents the work of a single anonymous artist, whom I have called, after his masterpiece, the painter of the Berlin amphora. I am ready to admit that some of the vases in the following list may be school-pieces, or, more precisely, faithful copies of the artist's drawings executed by subordinates at his instigation and under his supervision, although I confess that some of those pieces which I have queried may possibly be authentic works of the Berlin painter in a dull or a careless mood. I admit such a resemblance between the works of the Berlin painter and the works of older and of younger artists as may be accounted for by the necessary supposition that he learnt his craft from others, by the natural one that he trained assistants to follow in his steps. But between his masters—Phintias, or Euthymides, or both, or another—and his pupils—Hermonax and the rest—his personality stands out as distinct as that of Douris, or Epiktetos, or Euphronios, or Polygnotos, or any other vase-painter whose name has been preserved.

WORKS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER AND HIS SCHOOL⁴⁶*Amphora, type A.*

- (1) Berlin 2160. Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8–9; Winter, *Jahreshefte*, 3, Pls. 4, 3 and 5, 1 and p. 121; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15–16 and p. 276.⁴⁷

Amphora, type C.

- (2) New York, Hearst collection. Pl. II. and Figs. 1–2.

Amphorae of Panathenaic shape.

- (3) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii., Pl. 58, 2; photos. Alinari 35775–6.
 (4) Munich 2312 (J. 54). F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1, and text, 3, p. 77.
 (5) Munich 2310 (J. 1). Pl. IV, 1; A, *V.A.* p. 35.
 (6) Munich 2313 (J. 9). Pl. IV, 2 and Fig. 8; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 2.
 (7) Vatican H. 488. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, 1; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 1; A and B, photos. Alinari 35773–4 = Pl. III.
 (8) Cabinet des Médailles 386, fragment. De Ridder, p. 280.
 (9) Würzburg 319. F.R.H. Pl. 134, 2.
 (10) Bryn Mawr, fragment. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 1; Swindler, *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 334.
 (11) Naples R.C. 163. Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82; B, Fig. 4.
 (12) Florence 3989.
 (13) Leyden 18 h 34. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 13.
 (14) Munich 2311 (J. 52). Pl. V.; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. 278; A, *V.A.* p. 36.
 (15) Athens, Acropolis G 139a, fragment. Fig. 5.

⁴⁶ I have already put together most of these vases in *J.H.S.* xxxi. 276–295; *Burlington Magazine*, xxviii. pp. 137–138; and *V.A.* pp. 35–40 and p. 193. See also Hauser, F.R.H. 3, pp. 77–80, and Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 630–634.

Mr. Perrot exhibits considerable caution at first; between the Berlin and Würzburg vases, he begins, there is 'une ressemblance assez marquée pour que l'on soit fort tenté d'y voir l'œuvre d'un même artiste, auquel il y a peut-être lieu d'attribuer plusieurs autres peintures, qui ne sont pas sans analogie avec celles des deux vases. . . .' Many of my tokens (indices), however, are not very convincing: 'c'est vraiment abuser de la conjecture.' As he proceeds, he becomes bolder: he is now ready to define the style of the artist (pp. 632, 634). There is some subtlety here which escapes me: one would have expected Mr. Perrot to make quite sure that the artist existed before attempting to define his style.

Finally he steps into the ring himself: 'à la liste qui en (of the artist's works) a été dressée, nous serions tentés d'ajouter le groupe d'Alcée et de Sapho' (F.R. Pl. 64; Perrot, x. Pl. 15). This looks almost as if Mr. Perrot accepted the list; else why should he be tempted to add to it? Let us now see the tokens ('indices') which lead him to make this striking attribution. 'L'œil n'y est pas encore franchement ouvert; le tracé est le même que dans les profils des têtes de nos deux amphores. La longue barbe d'Alcée, qui tombe en pointe sur sa poitrine, rappelle la barbe du Silène compagnon d'Hermès.' Evidently we must number Mr. Perrot also among the connoisseurs.

In the list in the text above I have given the subjects of the pictures only where the vase was unpublished and not mentioned in my previous accounts.

⁴⁷ See note 24.

- (16) Formerly in the Paris market (Rollin). *Él. Cér.* ii. Pl. 16.
 (17) London, B.M. E 287. A small school-piece.

The small vase Cabinet des Médailles 378 (Luynes, Pl. 40) belongs to the later school or following of the Berlin painter.

Neck-amphorae with twisted handles.

- (18) B.M. E 266. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 11–12 and p. 281.
 (19) Louvre G 199, fragmentary.
 (20) Munich 2319 (J. 8). School-piece?
 (21) Petrograd 612 (St. 1638). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1775, p. 66. School-piece?
 (22) B.M. E 268. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76. School-piece?
 (23) Leyden 18 h 33. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76 A. School-piece?
 (24) Berlin 2339. School-piece?
 (25) B.M. E 269. School-piece?
 (26) B.M. E 267. Birch, *Archaeologia*, xxxi. Pl. 4. School-piece?
 (27) Louvre G 198, fragmentary. School-piece?
 (28) Vatican H. 490, fragmentary. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 3. School-piece?
 (29) Munich 2318 (J. 5). F. Thiersch, *Ueber die hellenischen bemalten Vasen*, Pl. 5; B, Lau, Pl. 25, 1. Badly repainted. School-piece?
 (30) Oxford 274. P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 11. A small school-piece.⁴⁸

Small neck-amphora with double handles.

- (31) Harvard 1643, 95. A, *V.A.* p. 39; A, Hambidge, *The Greek Vase*, frontispiece and p. 45.

Nolan amphorae with triple handles.

- (32) Formerly in the Panckoucke collection. A, *Él. Cér.* iv. Pl. 49.
 (33) Naples 3137. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, third row first.
 (34) Louvre G 201.
 (35) Mannheim.
 (36) Naples 3192.
 (37) Vienna.

⁴⁸ All these vases, save the small vase in Oxford, are of a single type. There are only five other vases of just this type: the first, Munich 2317 (Jahn 2; Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, Pl. 18 and p. 30), is contemporary with the earlier members of our series, and is the work of the Eucharides painter (*B.S.A.* xviii. p. 224, No. 6). The second and third, in Providence (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 24) and in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; A, phot. Alinari 35813), are by the Providence painter, who seems to have been at one time a pupil of the Berlin painter (see note 50); the fourth (Petrograd 696; A, *Compte-rendu*, 1875,

p. 199, and Waldhauer, *Kratkoe Opisanie*, Pl., p. 88, Fig. 9) is by a pupil of the Berlin painter, Hermonax; the foot is lost, but in all other respects the vase corresponds to the Berlin painter's type. The last and latest is the Euphorbos vase in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Mon.* ii. Pl. 14; A, phot. Giraudon); it is by the Achilles painter, a craft-descendant of the Berlin painter in the third craft-generation (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 187, No. 2). We noticed above (note 41) that the only amphora of type A or B, which was decorated in the same manner as the Berlin amphora, was also by the Achilles painter.

- (38) New York 07.286.69. A, *V.A.* p. 37.
- (39) Tarporley, Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in the Biscoe collection).
- (40) Naples 3150. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, second row, seventh.
- (41) Naples 3087.
- (42) Dresden 289. School-piece?
- (43) Karlsruhe 203. Welter, *Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung*, Pl. 14, No. 30 B and A. School-piece?
- (44) Yale 133. School-piece?
- (45) Louvre G 219. School-piece?
- (46) Louvre G 218. School-piece?
- (47) Rome, Museo Barracco. School-piece?
- (48) Tarporley, Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in Deepdene). Tischbein, iii. Pl. 7; *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 99. School-piece?
- (49) Petrograd 697 (St. 1628). School-piece?
- (50) Naples inv. 126053.⁴⁹ School-piece?
- (51) Girgenti, Baron Giudice. School-piece?
- (52) Frankfurt, Städtisches-historisches Museum. School-piece?
- (53) B.M. E 310. School-piece?
- (54) B.M. E 313. School-piece?
- (55) Louvre G 204. Dubois, *Description des antiquités . . . Pourtalès-Gorgier*, p. 27; *Catalogue Pourtalès-Gorgier*, p. 29, No. 132; Müller-Wieseler, 2, Pl. 2, 9. School-piece?
- (56) Naples 3214. School-piece?
- (57) Oxford 275. P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* xiii. 137. School-piece.
- (58) Brussels. School-piece.
- (59) Naples (A, Dionysos and maenad running; B, maenad running). School-piece.
- (60) Naples 3068. School-piece.
- (61) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection). School-piece.
- (62) Louvre G 214 (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 6, Pl. 7): a later school-piece.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 62, No. 26) confounds this vase with Naples Heyd. 3129, which is by a different and much later painter.

⁵⁰ The tradition of the Berlin painter's Nolan amphorae is continued, on the one hand by the Providence painter (*V.A.* pp. 76–80; the Nolan amphorae, *ibid.* pp. 78–79), who seems to have detached himself, however, from the Berlin painter before very long, and competed with him; and on the other, more directly, by Hermonax. Five Nolan amphorae by Hermonax are mentioned in *V.A.* p. 127, Nos. 34–38; others are in London (E 311; *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 39) and in Naples (A, Zeus:

B, woman with torches); and three rough vases (Brussels, *Él. Cér.* iii. Pl. 22; Dresden 309, and Altenburg 280) are probably also his. The subsequent stage in the tradition is represented by the Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter and his pupils and imitators: a list of his Nolan amphorae is given in *J.H.S.* pp. 192–196; add Naples 3093 (Triptolemos) and Munich 2336 (J. 263; A, Lau, Pl. 24, 2). The Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter are succeeded by those of his pupil, the painter of the Boston phiale (*V.A.* pp. 168–169; add Cambridge 167 and Naples Santangelo 240).

Pelikai.

- (63) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).
 (64) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 334. A, Masner, Pl. 6. School-piece?

Volute-Kraters.

- (65) B.M. E 468. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14 and p. 283: detail, *B.M. Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, p. 101, fig. 102.
 (66) Louvre G 166, fragments.⁵¹

Calyx-Kraters.

- (67) Winchester, fragment. Herford, *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, p. 72.
 (68) Athens, Acropolis, G 28, fragments.
 (69) Syracuse.
 (70) Oxford 291. School-piece?

Bell-Kraters.

- (71) Corneto. A, phot. Moscioni = *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 2.
 (72) Louvre G 174.
 (73) Louvre G 175. *Annali*, 1876, Pl. C; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 284.
 (74) Formerly in the Roman market (Depoletti).

Column-Kraters.

- (75) Petrograd 635 (St. 1528). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 22; B, Fig. 7.
 (76) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).

Stamnoi.

- (77) Munich 2406 (J. 421). Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 201; F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2, and 2, p. 235.
 (78) Louvre G 56. A, Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 95.
 (79) Palermo. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pls. 77-78.
 (80) Louvre G 186. A, *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; one of the figures on B, Fig. 6.

⁵¹ My attribution of Louvre G 166 to the Berlin painter (*B.S.A.* xviii. p. 226 note 1, and *V.A.* p. 40) was based on the picture on the reverse. A fresh examination has convinced me that the obverse pictures (phot. Giraudon = *Mons. Piot*, ix. p. 39) are not by the same hand as the reverse. I do not think, however, that this is an instance of two painters working on one vase. The vase is in miserable condition; Mr. Pottier had already observed that the upper picture on the reverse was completely modern; but the foot is also

modern, and the big palmette-designs on the body are a modern addition. Moreover, unless I am greatly mistaken, the man who built up the vase used fragments of two different volute-kraters, one by the Berlin painter, and one by another artist. It is well known that such a procedure was not uncommon in the last century; Mr. De Mot once told me that he had found a pelike in the Ravestein collection to consist of fragments from six different vases.

- (81) Castle Ashby 25. Detail of B, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 138, G.
 (82) Louvre G 185. *Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 67.
 (83) Oxford 1912, 1165 (given by Mr. E. P. Warren). *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 17;
 the lion, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 137, C.
 (84) Louvre G 172. *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, Pl. 1, 14-15. School-piece?
 (85) Castle Ashby 2.
 (86) Berlin 2187, fragment. School-piece?
 (87) Leipsic, fragment (head of old man, and shield). School-piece?
 (88) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 21, 1.⁵² School-piece?
 (89) B.M. E. 444. School-piece.
 (90) Berlin 2186. *Annali*, 1860, Pl. M. School-piece, late.
 (91) Boston 91, 226. School-piece.
 (92) Boston 91, 227A. Robinson, *Cat.* Pl. p. 152; Hauser, *Jahrbuch*, xxix.
 p. 30. School-piece.
 (93) Louvre G 371. Strube, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Pl. 1 = Overbeck, *K.M.*
 Pl. 15, No. 20. School-piece.
 Louvre G 370 (*Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 58, 2); is a school-piece, from the hand of the
 Providence painter (*V.A.* p. 80, no. 43).⁵³

Hydriai of black-figured shape.

- (94) Cabinet des Médailles 439. Phot. Giraudon 75. School-piece?
 (95) Madrid 160. Ossorio, Pl. 35, 3; detail, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, B.
 (96) Vatican H. 497. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 15, 1; *Mon.* 1, Pl. 46. Photos.
 Moscioni 8575 and Alinari 35778-9.

Hydriai-Kalpides.

- (97) New York 10, 210, 19. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 9 and Fig. 7.
 (98) Formerly in the Guarducci collection. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pl. 63.
 (99) Petrograd 628 (St. 1588). *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, A, and p. 139,
 D-F.
 (100) Boulogne 449.
 (101) Boston 03, 843, fragment.
 (102) Cabinet des Médailles 441. De Ridder, p. 333. School-piece.

Lekythoi.

- (103) Athens 12394 (N. 1628). *Eph. Arch.* 1907, p. 234.
 (104) Palermo (komast).

⁵² Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 73, No. 94) confounds this vase with the stamnos *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 19, 1, which is by the Aegisthus painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 147, note 1; see Hoppin, 1, p. 79, No. 8).

⁵³ B.M. E. 445 (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pls. 174-175) is a later school-piece, contemporary with the earlier work of Hermonax. The series of stamnoi initiated by the Oxford

Pentheus stamnos mentioned above, in which a single picture runs right round the vase, is continued by Hermonax; a list of his stamnoi is given in *V.A.* p. 124; the Busiris stamnos in Oxford (521: *Annali*, 1865. Pls. P-Q; *J.H.S.* xxiv. 307-308) stands very close to the earlier work of Hermonax.

- (105) Palermo 2683 (young warrior).
 (106) Palermo (Nike flying with head frontal).
 (107) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 19.
 (108) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (Maenad running).
 (109) Munich A 915. (Demeter.)
 (110) Terranova, Cav. Navarra. Benndorf, *G.S.V.* Pl. 49, 2. School-piece.
 (111) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (woman running). School-piece.
 (112) B.M. E. 574. Phot. Mansell 3195 middle = Walters, *Ancient Pottery*,
 i. Pl. 36, 2. School-piece.
 (113) Palermo (Poseidon running).⁵⁴ School-piece.
 (114) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 15, 2. School-piece.
 (115) Berlin 2208. Genick, Pl. 39, 3; von Lübben, *Greek Vase Paintings*,
 Pl. 48, left. School-piece.
 (116) New York (woman running with torch and phiale). School-piece.
 (117) Compiègne (woman running with torch). School-piece.
 (118) Oxford 323. School-piece.
 (119) Harvard 4.08.
 (120) Munich 2475 (the body black: a lion on the shoulder).⁵⁵

Oinochoai, shape 1.

- (121) B.M. E 513. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 93; phot. Mansell.⁵⁶
 (122) B.M. E 514. *Él. Cér.* ii. 1, Pl. 12. School-piece.

Oinochoai, shape 3.

- (123) Munich 2453 (J. 789).
 (124) New York. *Catalogue des Objets d'Art antiques 'vente' Hôtel Drouot*,
 le 7 juin 1922, Pl. 4, no. 56.

Lekanis.

- (125) Taranto. School-piece?

Plate.

- (126) Athens, Acropolis B9, fragment.

Fragments, the shapes of the vases not determined.

- (127) Brussels (two fragments, each with part of a male leg and foot).
 (128) Bonn (young warrior). School-piece?
 (129) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (foot, and stopt key).
 (130) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (part of a female figure with
 oinochoe).
 (131) Athens (phallos-man).
 (132) Munich Z 1 (young rider; from a small vase).

⁵⁴ Miscalled a kalpis by Hoppin (*Hand-book*, i. p. 71, No. 82 bis).

⁵⁵ The line of lekythoi which is headed by those of the Berlin painter runs parallel to the line of Nolan amphorae described

in note 50.

⁵⁶ Lately cleaned: part of the characteristic ankle, previously invisible, and omitted in the old publication, reappeared.

- (133) Munich Z 6 (head of youth; from a small vase).
 (134) Munich Z 7 and 8 (parts of two male figures wearing the himation; from a neck-amphora of no great size).
 (135) Florence (Campana collection; upper parts of a silen and of Dionysos holding a cantharos; from a small vase).

Let us return to our citharode. I am sensible that I have not got his lower lip quite right: the error is tiny, but the Greek artist, if he could see my drawing, would complain that I had made the lad look licentious. I am aware that the right hand of the instructor is not quite accurate in my copy: it is a trifle less incompetent in the original; but the Greek artist would admit that this was not his most successful hand. In spite of such faults, the drawings, in conjunction with the photographs, give a good idea of the singular beauty of the original: they show the powerful shape of the vase, the sobriety of the decoration, the clarity of the design, the sureness and strength of the black and brown lines, the light yet vigorous movement in the expressive figure of the musician. The Berlin painter drew many musicians, both citharodes and lyre-players; but none so animated as this. The Rollin citharode is older and statelier, and he has acquired the correct majestic manner: ⁵⁷ even the satyr musicians, on the vases in Berlin and Munich, are grave in demeanour and deliberate in action. To find a counterpart to our citharode we must turn to works by other artists: to the Dionysos on the cup by the Brygos painter in the Cabinet des Médailles: ⁵⁸ or to the Judgment of Paris on a cup with the signature of Brygos in the Louvre; ⁵⁹ where Paris sits singing to his lyre in the lonely hills, and where the abstraction of the singer gives the picture a peculiar tone. Archaic art portrays the influence of music on the player; and sometimes the influence on the hearer: it shows men capering and bawling at the sound of the flute; but such influence as does not issue in violent gesture it is hardly able to express. The artists of a later period set themselves to represent the quieter emotion which reveals itself not in gesticulation but in attitude. In the Berlin krater with Orpheus and the Thracians, which belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, ⁶⁰ the musician himself is conceived in much the same manner as Paris on the archaic cup; but his hearers, in the varied expressiveness of their bodies and faces, go far beyond the capacity of the archaic style. On an oinochoe in the Villa Giulia, ⁶¹ a lyre-player is mounting the platform, and two girls are waiting for the first notes. One of them sits with face up, an arm cast along her knee, her chin propped on one hand, her whole body relaxed. The scene is the same, in the main, as on a much earlier

⁵⁷ Compare the young citharode on the neck-amphora by the Providence painter in the Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; phot. Alinari 35813.

⁵⁸ 576. Hartwig, Pl. 531; repainted in parts; the drawing is unworthy of the original.

⁵⁹ *Mon.* 1856, Pl. 14 = *W.V.* 8 Pl. 3 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 116; new but J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.

poor drawings in Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 559–561.

⁶⁰ Furtwängler, *50 Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, Pl. 2 = *Kleine Schriften* 2, Pl. 50; Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 197; see also Hauser, *F.R.H.* 3, pp. 108–109.

⁶¹ Savignoni, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 10, p. 347.

vase, the calyx-krater signed by Euphronios; ⁶² but there the listeners are scarcely characterised: Polycles looks expectant, but he shows it by his raised chin only: the girl on the oinochoe is listening with her whole body. In another picture of about the same period as the Orpheus vase and the oinochoe, the Terpsichore in London, ⁶³ the characterisation of the figures is less marked than in the others: the artist wishes to render a less passionate, more solemn, more Apollonian mood: he has not succeeded, for his figures, meant to be plain and grand, are in fact a little empty.

All these pictures of music are simple drawings, without shading and without colouring. When we moderns think of a music picture, our minds turn to Signorelli's Pan, to some Dutch interior, to some Venetian landscape, where the impression is determined, in great measure, by the harmony of colour and by chiaroscuro. Such music pictures cannot have existed in the fifth century. But in a later work, the Pan and Nymphs from Pompeii, ⁶⁴ colour and landscape combine with composition to make a music picture of memorable charm.

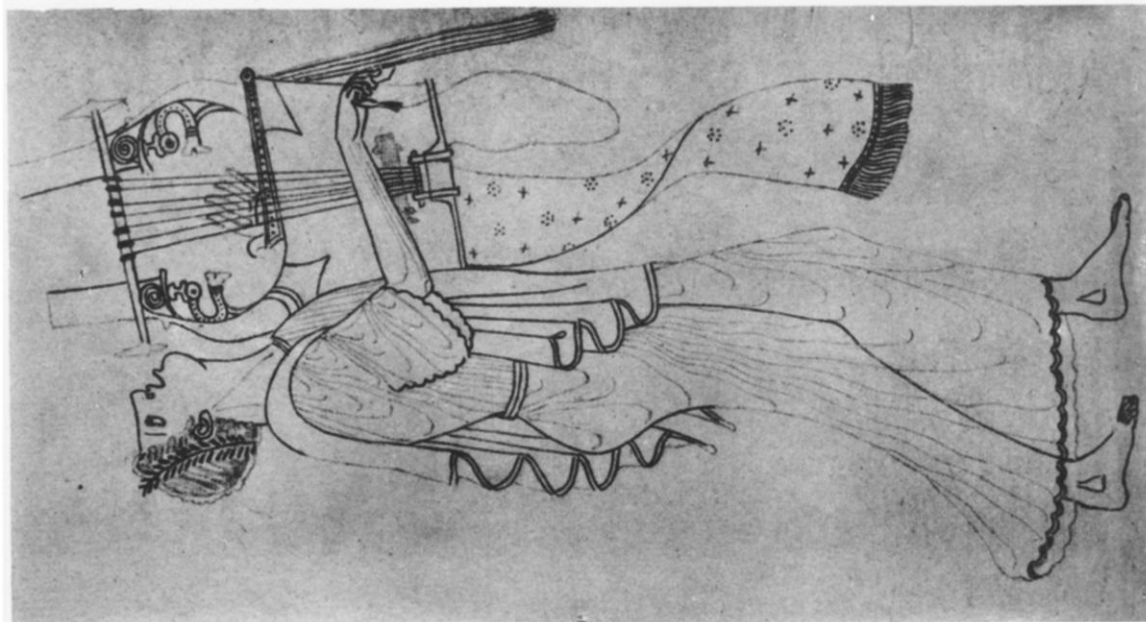
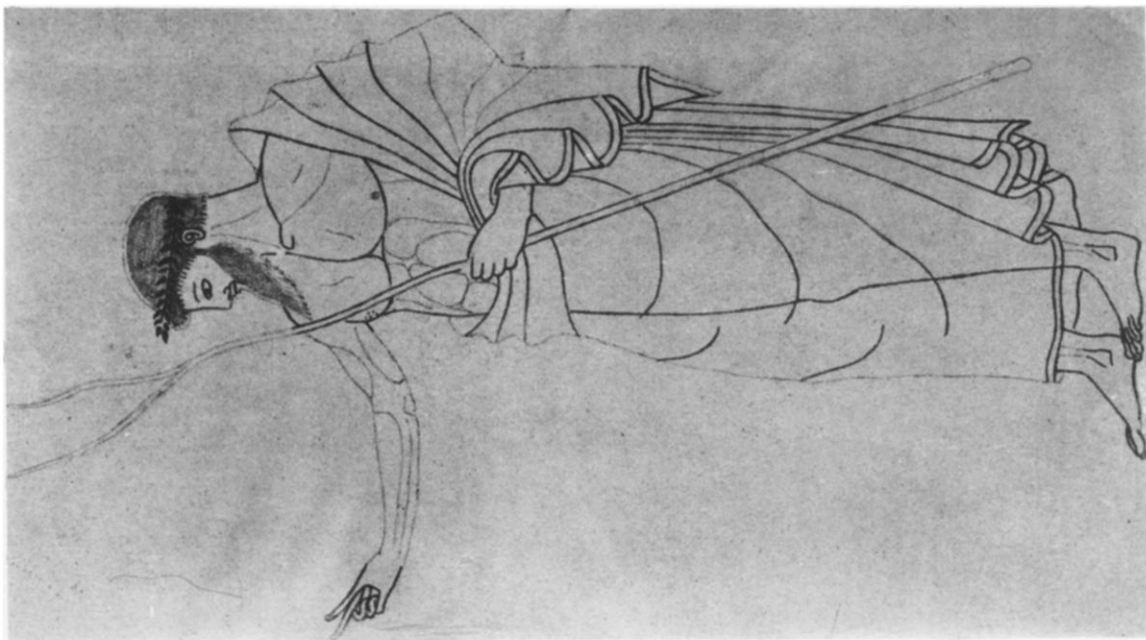
J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁶² F.R. 2, Pl. 93, 1 = Hoppin, *Handbook*,
i. p. 397; Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 101.

⁶⁴ Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, Pl.
69.

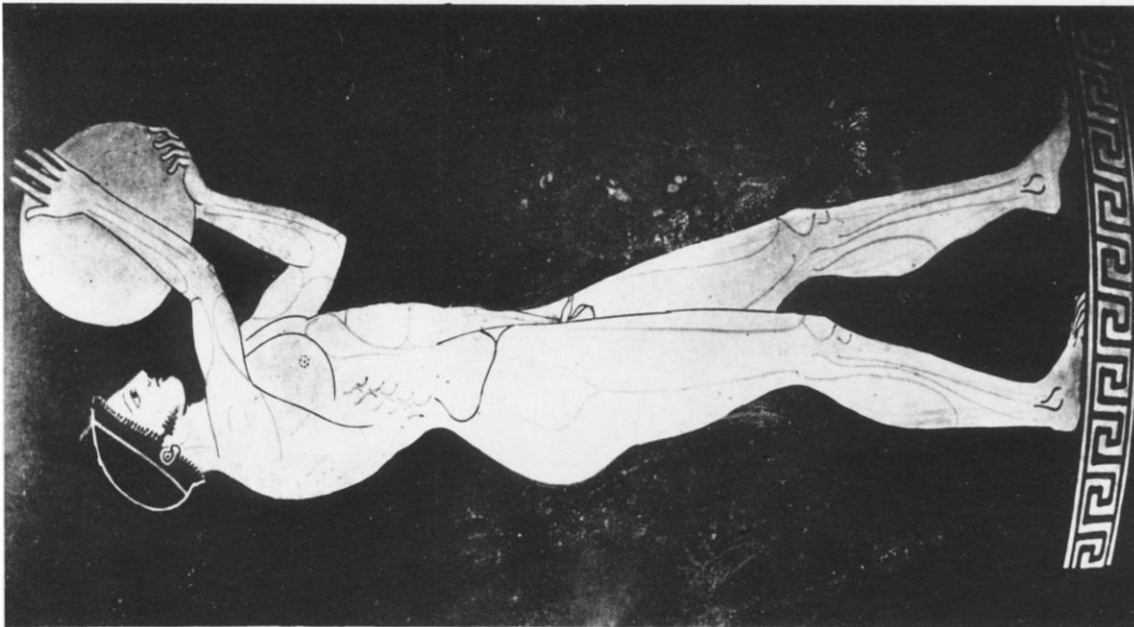
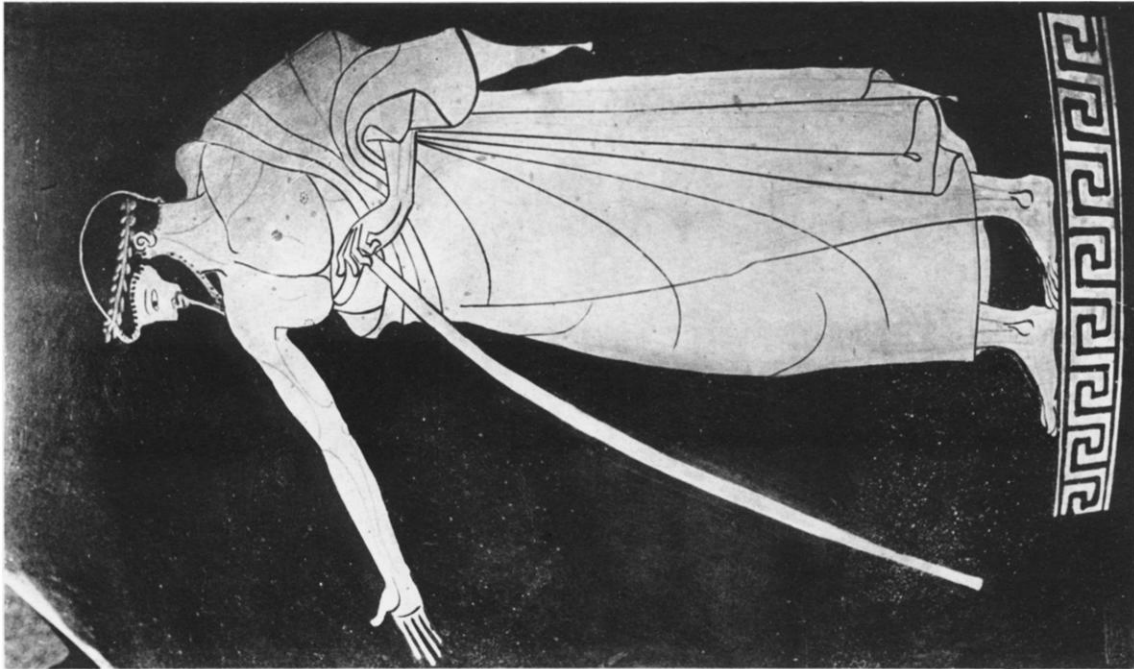
⁶³ F.R.H. Pl. 139; Buschor, p. 199.

NOTE.—My thanks are due to Dr. Sieveking, to Comm. Nogara, to Mr. Pottier, and to Dr. Waldhauer for giving me permission to publish vases in Munich, in the Vatican, in the Louvre and in Petrograd; and to Messrs. Alinari for allowing me to use their photographs of a vase in the Vatican.



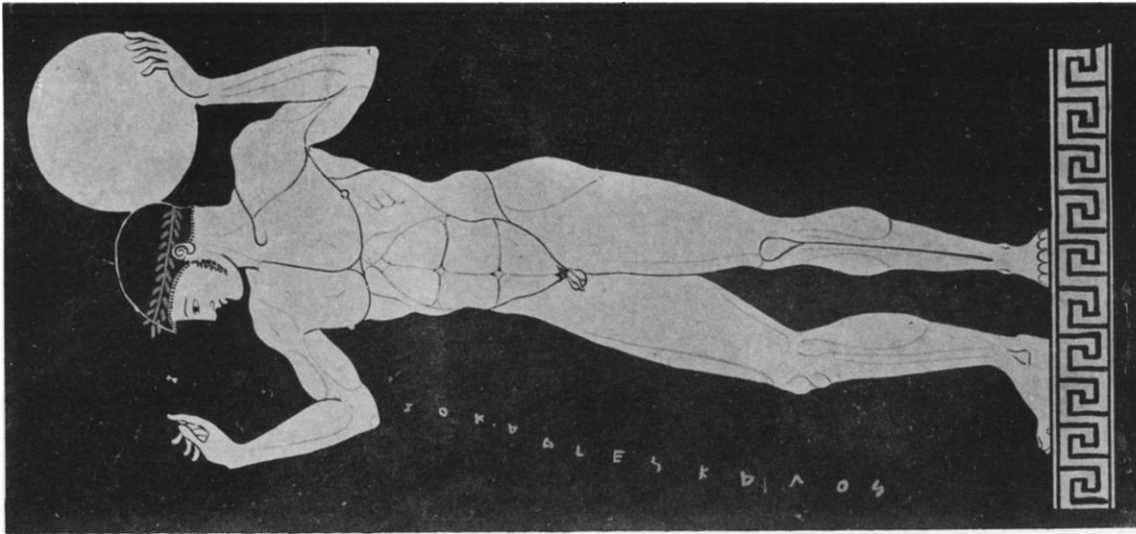
AMPHORA

NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION

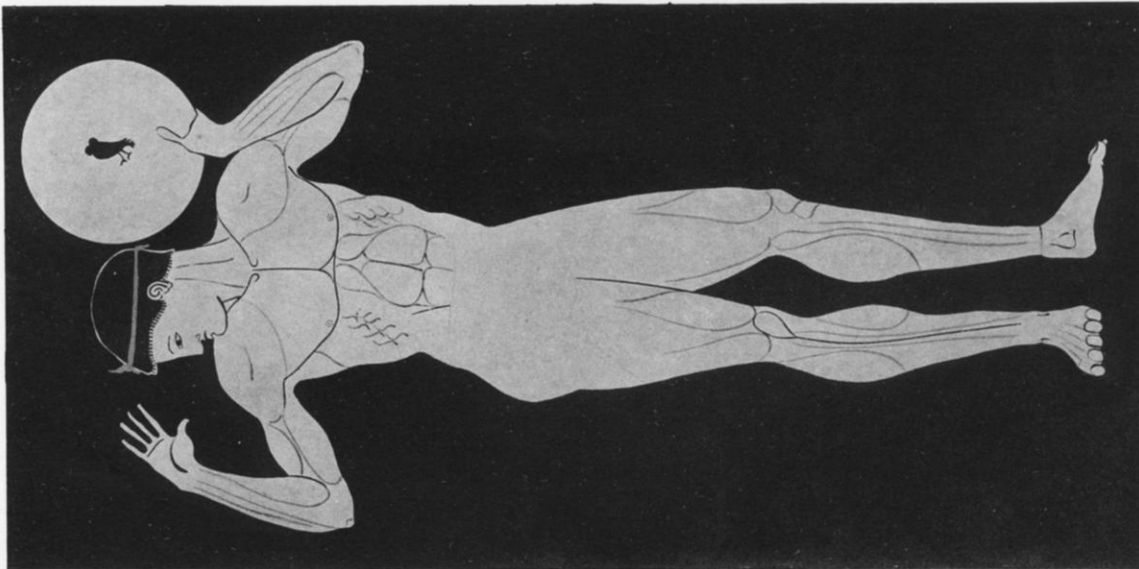


AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE

VATICAN

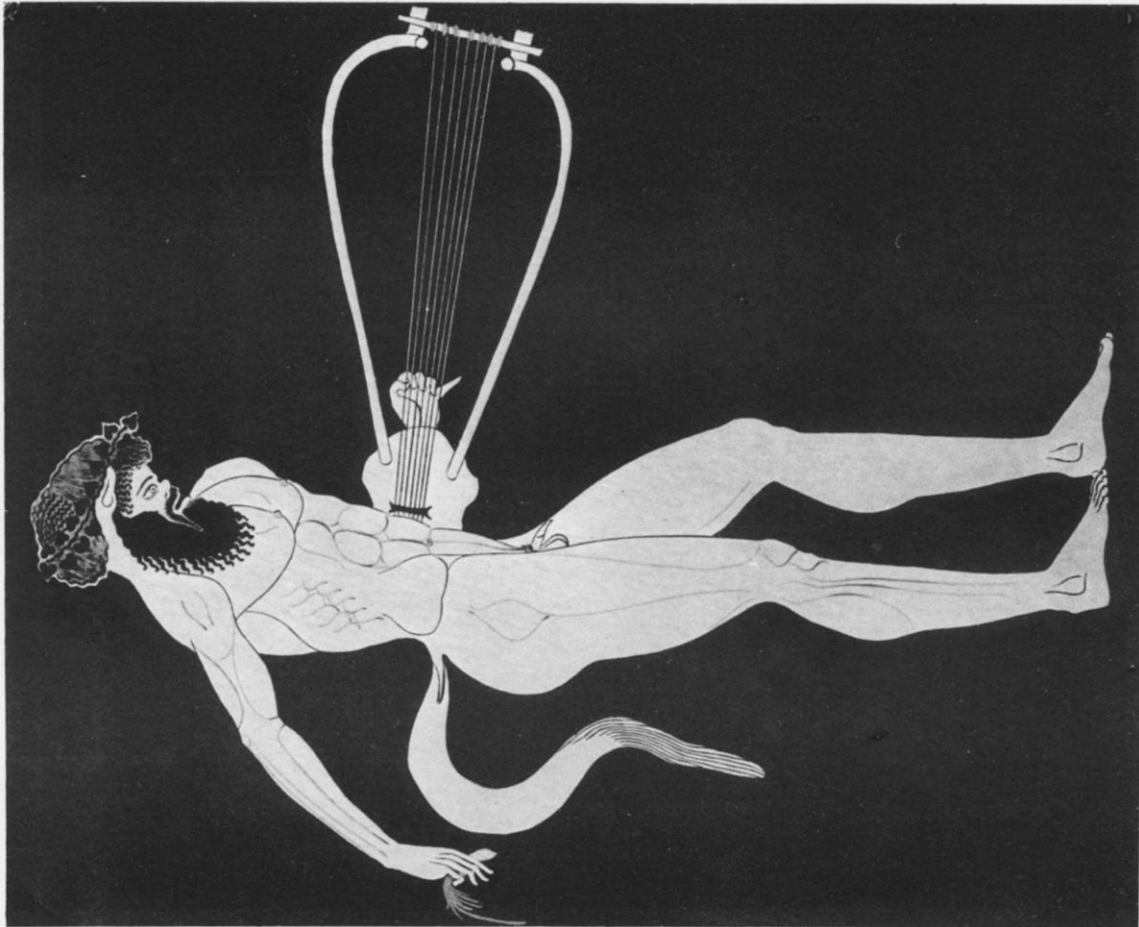
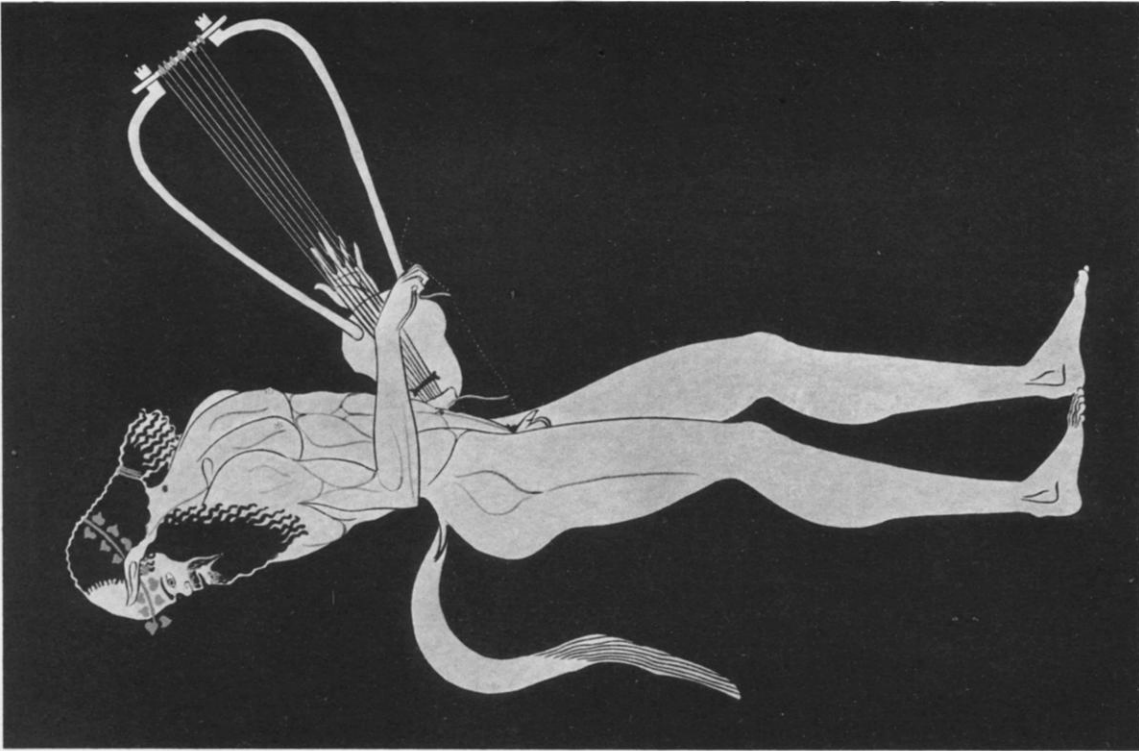


2. MUNICH, 2513



MUNICH, 2510

AMPHORAE OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE



AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE

MUNICH, 2811