# The development of some aspects of early Athenian red figure pottery and their links with black figure conventions

Hedda E. Breckenridge, B.A., M.A.

A dissertation in the Department of Classics submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

March 1997 Volume 1 of 2 ProQuest Number: 13815509

### All rights reserved

#### INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



#### ProQuest 13815509

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC. 789 East Eisenhower Parkway P.O. Box 1346 Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Teris 10745 Copy 1 Uo11



## Abstract

Garment patterning and added colour are the two elements of Attic black figure which are most often cited in literature as being remainders of the older technique which appear in early red figure. A detailed examination of patterning in black figure reveals that although it becomes standard, it does not appear in the earliest black figure vases. Counting the different motifs used by black figure artists reveals that although they share some motifs, each has individual preferences. Added colour is prominent in black figure and appears over large areas as well as small ones.

The artist most often mentioned as the inventor of red figure, the Andokides Painter, is much more old fashioned in his approach to patterning than any other early red figure artist. He uses it much more often and applies it to flat garments, choosing grids that result in a very heavy appearance. His choice of motifs is different from those of the Lysippides Painter; some scholars feel the two may be the same artist, but this difference points to the existence of two artists instead of one. Added colour is also much more prominent in the Andokides Painter's vases than on those of the artists who follow him.

The artists following the Andokides Painter tend to choose finer motifs which are better suited to positioning between folds. Psiax and Oltos seem to be especially interested in elaborate folds, and use patterning on garments much less frequently than the Andokides Painter. Epiktetos, who is the latest artist of these, does not use it at all on his red figure but only in his black, and in a rather half - hearted, cursory manner.

Although these artists continue to use added colour in red figure and black, in the newer technique it is generally used for fine details which would have been a challenge to reserve. This appears to have been the primary consideration behind its continuing use rather than any links with black figure.

These early red figure artists treat red and black figure differently in a number of ways. They use more patterning and added colour over larger areas in the older technique. Their most elaborate garments and representations of anatomical detail appear in red figure, while poses in black figure are simpler. They are clearly differentiating between the two techniques, rather than taking a uniform approach, and this does not support the idea that they were influenced by training of the old technique in their decoration of vases in the new style.

Although general references have often been made to these aspects of early red figure, this is the first detailed examination of them. It demonstrates that general ideas about the continuing use of colour and pattern in early red figure, compared to their rarity later on, are accurate, but even at the early stages of the technique artists are treating it differently from black figure and are moving very rapidly away from the conventions of that style. Only the very earliest red figure artist has strong ties to it.

## Contents

Acknowled	gements		26
Chapter 1:	Introduction and review of literature2	:8 - 4	42
	Introduction		
	Review of literature		31
Chapter 2:	Development of garment patterning and	13 - '	78
	added colour in Attic black figure pottery		
	The earliest Attic black figure	• • • • • •	43
	The Gorgon Painter		43
	Sophilos		45
	The C Painter	• • • • • •	46
	Kleitias		49
	Lydos		50
	The Princeton Painter	(	65
	The Euphiletos Painter		67
	The Lysippides Painter	. <b></b> .	72
	Conclusion		
Chapter 3:	The Amasis Painter7	9 - 9	99
_	Use of outline	. <b></b> .	79
	Garment patterning and added colour		92
Chapter 4:	Exekias and Group E10		
	Garment patterning by Exekias	•••••	.100
	Added colour by Exekias		
	Treatment of drapery		
	Conclusion - Exekias	• • • • • •	111
	Patterning by Group E		
	Group E and Exekias' patterning compared		
	Conclusion		
	Added colour by Group E		
Chapter 5:	The Andokides Painter12	.3 -	143
	Black figure characteristics		
	Treatment of anatomical detail and the female figure		
	Garment patterning		134
	Treatment of garments		
	Depiction of female anatomy		
Chapter 6:	The relationships between the Andokides1	44 -	171
	Painter and Exekias, and the Lysippides Painter		
	Comparison of garment patterning		
	The Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter		
	Chronology		
	Patterning comparisons with Exekias		
	Chronological change in the garment patternin	g of.	.161
	the Andokides Painter		

	Comparison of motifs	• • • • • • • •	164
	Conclusion	· · · · · · · ·	170
Chapter 7:	Psiax	172	- 199
-	Use of incision		172
	Added colour		
	Garment patterning		186
	Treatment of drapery		
	Pose and anatomical detail		
Chapter 8:	Oltos		
1	Added red in red figure		
	Added red in black figure		
	Use of added white		
	Garment patterning		
	Treatment of pose and anatomical detail		218
	Treatment of garments		
	Realism in anatomical detail		
Chapter 9	Epiktetos2		
chapter 3.	Pose and anatomical detail		238
	Garment patterning		
	Animal hide patterning		
	Added colour		
	Treatment of drapery		
	General conclusions.		
Chapter 10:	Vase size and garment patterning		
<b>F</b>	The Andokides Painter		
	Psiax		
	Oltos		
	Epiktetos		
Chapter 11:	Changes in composition and		
•	arrangement of figures		
	Lydos		.269
	The Amasis Painter		
	The Princeton Painter		
	Group E		
	Exekias		
	The Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter		
	Psiax		
	Epiktetos		
	Oltos		
	Conclusion		
Chapter 12:	: Conclusions		
	: Summary of garment patterning		
	by Lydos		
Appendix 2	: Summary of garment patterning		323
	by the Princeton Painter		
Appendix 3	: Summary of garment patterning		324

by the Euphiletos Painter	
Appendix 4: Summary of garment patterning	325
by the Lysippides Painter	
Appendix 5: Summary of garment patterning	326
by the Amasis Painter	
Appendix 6: Summary of garment patterning	327
by Group E	
Appendix 7: Summary of garment patterning	328
by Exekias	
Appendix 8: Summary of garment patterning	329
by the Andokides Painter	
Appendix 8A: Chronological patterning by the	330
Andokides Painter	
Appendix 9: Summary of garment patterning	331
by Psiax	
Appendix 10: Summary of garment patterning	332
by Oltos	
Appendix 11: Summary of garment patterning	333
by Epiktetos	
Appendix 12: Pattern motifs	
Abbreviations	
Bibliography	336 - 353

## Tables

Table 1:	Garment patterning by Lydos	356 - 373
Table 2:	Garment patterning by the Princeton Painter	374 - 379
Table 3:	Garment patterning by the Euphiletos Painter	380 - 384
Table 4:	Garment patterning by the Lysippides Painter	385 - 391
Table 5:	Garment patterning by the Amasis Painter	391 - 417
Table 6:	Garment patterning by Group E	418 - 430
Table 7:	Garment patterning by Exekias	431 - 442
Table 8:	Garment patterning by the Andokides Painter	443 - 447
Table 9:	Garment patterning by Psiax	448 - 453
Table 10	: Garment patterning by Epiktetos	.454 - 465
Table 11	· Garment patterning by Oltos	466 - 475

## List of figures

- Figure 1: Athens 1002 by the Nessos Painter; Para. 2, 6.
  - a. Simon 1976 pl. 45
  - b. Simon 1976 pl. 44
- Figure 2: Leipzig vase by the Nessos Painter; ABV 5, 3. Beazley 1986 pl. 11.1
- Figure 3: Berlin 1682 by the Nessos Painter; ABV 5, 4. Beazley 1951 pl. 5.2
- Figure 4: Aegina 565 by the Chimaera Painter; ABV 3, 1. Beazley 1986 pl. 12.3
- Figure 5: London A1531 by the Chimaera Painter; ABV 3, 2. Beazley 1986 pl. 12.2
- Figure 6: Athens 16383; *ABV* 7g. Beazley 1986 pl. 13.4
- Figure 7: Louvre E874 by the Gorgon Painter; ABV 8, 1.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962 pl. 36.1
  - b. Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962 pl. 36.2
  - c. Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962 pl. 37.1
- Figure 8: Buffalo, Albright Knox Art Gallery G600, in the manner of the Gorgon Painter; ABV 12, 22.

  Boardman 1974 fig. 15
- Figure 9: Athens NM 16285 by the Cerameicus Painter; ABV 19, 3. Boardman 1974 fig. 17
- Figure 10: Athens NM 1109 by the KY Painter; ABV 31, 7. Boardman 1974 fig. 23
- Figure 11: London 1971.11 11.1 by Sophilos; Para. 19, 10bis.
  - a. Birchall 1972 pl. 34
  - b. Williams 1985 fig. 31 (colour)
  - c. Birchall 1972 pl. 35
  - d. Birchall 1972 pl. 37
- Figure 12: Athens Akr. 587 by Sophilos; ABV 39, 15. Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971 fig. 60 (colour)
- Figure 13: Louvre CA 616 by the C Painter; ABV 58, 122.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 48
  - b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 47.1
  - c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 47.2
  - d. Beazley 1951 pl. 9.2
- Figure 14: Florence 4209, the François Vase, painted by Kleitias and potted by Ergotimos; ABV 76, 1.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 40
  - b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 41
  - c. Simon 1976 pl. 54.1
  - d. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 43.2
  - e. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 44.2
  - f. Richter 1968 pl. 12a

- g. Charbonneaux, Martin and Villard 1971 fig. 67 (colour) Figure 15: New York 31.11.1 by Lydos; ABV 108, 5.
  a. Rumpf 1937 pl. 21
  b. Rumpf 1937 pl. 22
- Figure 16: Athens Ker. 1909 by Lydos; ABV 112, 55. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 26.21
- Figure 17: Athens AP 2087 by Lydos; ABV 112, 53. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 24.22
- Figure 18: Athens AP 507 by Lydos; ABV 112, 56. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 26.30
- Figure 19: Basel Market Amyx 1988c pl. 61.2
- Figure 20: Louvre E29
  Charbonneaux, Martin and Villard 1971 fig. 46
- Figure 21: Basel, Cahn 1173 Amyx 1988c pl. 138.1
- Figure 22: Corinth C 65 38 a. Amyx 1988c pl. 139a b. Amyx 1988c pl. 139b
- Figure 23: Berlin 1685 by Lydos; *ABV* 109, 24.

  a. Rumpf 1937 pl. 16 bottom
  - b. Rumpf 1937 pl. 16 bottom c. Rumpf 1937 pl. 15d
  - d. Charbonneaux, Martin and Villard 1971 pl. 73
- Figure 24: Louvre F29 by Lydos; *ABV*109, 21. Beazley 1986 pl. 33.2
- Figure 25: New York 27.11.16 a. Amyx 1988c pl. 79.1a b. Amyx 1988c pl. 79.1b
- Figure 26: Harvard 1959.127 by Lydos; *ABV* 112, 14. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 25.19
- Figure 27: Berlin 1732 by Lydos; *ABV* 110, 37.
  - a. Rumpf 1937 pl. 29
  - b. Rumpf 1937 pl. 31.2
  - c. Rumpf 1937 pl. 30.1
  - d. Rumpf 1937 pl.. 30.2
- Figure 28: Athens Akr. 607 by Lydos; *ABV* 107, 1.
  - a. Rumpf 1937 pl. 18
  - b. Rumpf 1937 pl. 19
  - c. Rumpf 1937 pl. 20
- Figure 29: Athens Akr. 2410 by Lydos; *ABV* 111, 50. a. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 23.1 b. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 23.2
- Figure 30: Florence Va. 102b by Lydos; ABV 111, 46. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.3
- Figure 31: Tarquinia 624 by the Princeton Painter; Para. 130, 15bis.

- a. CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.1
- b. CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.3
- Figure 32: Rhodes 1346 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 7.
  - a. CVA Rhodes 2 pl. 22.1
  - b. CVA Rhodes 2 pl. 22.2
- Figure 33: Naples 144 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 13.
  - a. CVA Naples 1 pl. 1.5
  - b. CVA Naples 1 pl. 1.6
- Figure 34: New York 53.11.1 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 5.
  - a. CVA New York 4 pl. 13.3
  - b. CVA New York 4 pl. 13.1
  - c. CVA New York 4 pl. 13.4
  - d. CVA New York 4 pl. 13.2
- Figure 35: Cabinet des Médailles 254 by the Euphiletos Painter; ABV 324, 38.
  - a.CVA Bibliothèque Nationale 2 pl. 57.1
  - b. CVA Bibliotheque Nationale 2 pl. 59.2
  - c. CVA Bibliotheque nationale 2 pl. 59.3
  - d. CVA Bibliotheque Nationale 2 pl. 59.4
- Figure 36: Tarquinia 627 by the Euphiletos Painter; Para. 142, 12bis.
  - a. CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.2
  - b. CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 17.2
- Figure 37: Boston 99.520 by the Euphiletos Painter; ABV 322, 7.
  - a. CVA Boston 1 pl. 55.2
  - b. CVA Boston 1 pl. 55.3
- Figure 38: Louvre F290 by the Euphiletos Painter; ABV 324, 37.
  - a. CVA Louvre 6 pl. 69.6
  - b. CVA Louvre 6 pl. 69.7
- Figure 39: Munich 1478 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 255, 13.
  - a. CVA Munich 7 pl. 357.1
  - b. CVA Munich 7 pl. 357.2
- Figure 40: London B148 by Lydos; *ABV* 109, 29.
  - a. Boardman 1974 fig. 66.1
  - b. Boardman 1974 fig. 66.2
- Figure 41: Zurich ETH 7 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 256, 17.
  - a. CVA Zurich 1, Schweiz 2 pl. 12.1
  - b. CVA Zurich 1, Schweiz 2 pl. 12.2
- Figure 42: New York 58.32 by the Lysippides Painter; *Para*. 114, 10bis.
  - a. *MMB* 1961 p. 154 fig. 4.1
  - b. MMB 1961 p. 154 fig. 4.2
- Figure 43: Munich 2301 by the Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter; ABV 255, 4;  $ARV^2$  4, 9.
  - CVA Munich 4 pl. 156.2
  - See figure 84 for more details.
- Figure 44: Boston 99.520 by the Euphiletos Painter; ABV 322, 7.
  - a. CVA Boston 1 pl. 55.2

```
b. CVA Boston 1 pl. 55.3
Figure 45: Berlin 3210 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 151, 21.
           a. Beazley 1986 pl. 54.1
           b. Beazley 1986 pl. 55.1
Figure 46: Cabinet des Mèdailles 222 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 152,
           25.
           a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XV (colour)
           b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 57
           c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 56
Figure 47: Basel Ka. 420 by the Amasis Painter; Para. 65.
           a. CVA Basle 1 pl. 29.1
           b. CVA Basle 1 pl. 29.3
           c. CVA Basle 1 pl. 29.4
Figure 48: New York 1985.57 by the Amasis Painter.
           a. Bothmer 1985 p. 110
           b. Bothmer 1985 pl. 111
Figure 49: Kavala 983 by the Amasis Painter; Para. 65.
           Bothmer 1985 p. 116 fig. 70
Figure 50: Samos Museum fragments by the Amasis Painter; ABV 151,
           18.
           Bothmer 1985 p. 109 fig. 67
Figure 51: Wurzburg 265 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 151, 22.
           a. Bothmer 1985 pl. 61 (colour)
           b. Bothmer 1985 p. 113
           c. Bothmer 1985 p. 113
Figure 52: Munich 1383 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 150, 7.
           a. Bothmer 1985 p. 103
           b. Bothmer 1985 p. 102
Figure 53: Louvre F36 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 150, 6.
           a. Bothmer 1985 p. 82
           b. Bothmer 1985 p. 81
Figure 54: Louvre A479 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 156, 80.
           a. Bothmer 1985 p. 201
           b. Bothmer 1985 p. 202.1
           c. Bothmer 1985 p. 202.2
           d. Bothmer 1985 p. 203.1
           e. Bothmer 1985 p. 203.2
Figure 55: Boston 01.8026 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 152, 26.
           a. Bothmer 1985 p. 131.1
           b. Bothmer 1985 p. 130.1
```

c. Bothmer 1985 p. 131.2d. Bothmer 1985 p. 131.3

a. Bothmer 1985 p. 134b. Bothmer 1985 p. 135.2c. Bothmer 1985 p. 135.1

Figure 56: Boston 01.8027 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 152, 27.

- d. Bothmer 1985 p. 136.1
- Figure 57: Boston 10.651 by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 157, 86. Bothmer 1985 p. 221
- Figure 58: On loan to Madison, Elvehjem Museum. Bothmer 1985 fig. 51.
- Figure 59: Louvre F192 by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 154, 52. a. Bothmer 1985 p. 174 b. Bothmer 1985 p. 175.1
- Figure 60: Tubingen 7434 by the Amasis Painter.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 168.1
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 168.2
  - c. Bothmer 1985 p. 169.1
- Figure 61: Mayence 88 by the Amasis Painter; Para. 67.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 215
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 216
- Figure 62: Basel BS L19 by the Amasis Painter; Para. 65.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 83
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 84
- Figure 63: Geneva I4 by the Amasis Painter.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 105
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 106
- Figure 64: Bloomington 71.823 by the Amasis Painter; Para. 65.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 74
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 75
- Figure 65: Louvre F30 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 152, 29.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 140
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 141
- Figure 66: Vatican 369a by the Amasis Painter; ABV157, 87.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 224
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 225
  - c. Bothmer 1985 p. 223
- Figure 67: Vatican 17771 (once 432) by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 154, 48.
  - Bothmer 1985 p. 166
- Figure 68: Munich 2044 by Exekias; ABV 146, 21.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XVI (colour)
  - b. Beazley 1986 pl. 68.1
  - c. Beazley 1986 pl. 68.2
  - d. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 67.1
- Figure 69: London B210 by Exekias; ABV 144, 7.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XVIII (colour)
  - b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 64
  - c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton pl. 65
- Figure 70: Vatican 344 by Exekias; ABV 145, 13.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 63
  - b. Hermary 1978 p. 53 fig. 3

- c. Hermary 1978 p. 53 fig. 2
- d. Boardman 1974 fig. 100
- e. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton XVII (colour)
- Figure 71: Budapest 50.189 by Exekias; Para. 61.
  - a. Bothmer 1968 fig. 13b
  - b. Bothmer 1968 fig. 8
  - c. Bothmer 1968 fig. 12b
  - d. Bothmer 1968 fig. 9
- Figure 72: Athens Agora AP 1044 by Exekias; ABV 145, 19.
  - a. Broneer 1938 p. XVIb
  - b. Broneer 1937 fig. 4
- Figure 73: Boston 00.330 by Group E; *ABV* 135, 45. *CVA* Boston 1 USA 14 pl. 6.1
- Figure 74: New York 56.171.12 by Group E; *ABV* 134, 22. Bothmer 1962 fig. 2
- Figure 75: Christchurch 42/57 by Group E; Para. 55, 7bis.
  - a. CVA New Zealand 1 pl. 6.1
  - b. CVA New Zealand 1 pl. 6.2
  - c. CVA New Zealand 1 pl. 6.3
- Figure 76: Toronto 919.5.176 by Group E; *ABV* 134, 11.
  - a. CVA Toronto 1 Canada 1 pl. 2.1
  - b. CVA Toronto 1 Canada 1 pl. 2.2
- Figure 77: Copenhagen 109 by Group E; *ABV* 135, 33.
  - a. CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 101.2a
  - b. CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 101.2b
- Figure 78: Berlin F2159 by the Andokides Painter;  $ARV^2$  3, 1.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 82
  - b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 83
  - c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 84
  - d. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 85
  - e. Boardman 1975a fig. 31
  - f. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 86
- Figure 79: Boston 01.8037 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 7; ABV 254, 2.
  - a. Schauenberg 1961 fig. 20
  - b. Schauenbery 1961 fig. 21
- Figure 80: Orvieto 64 by the Andokides Painter;  $ARV^2$  3, 5.
  - a. Boardman 1975a fig. 9
  - b. Bothmer 1957 pl. 69.1
  - c. Marwitz 1961 fig. 54
  - d. Marwitz 1961 fig. 53
  - e. Marwitz 1961 fig. 52
- Figure 81: Louvre G1 by the Andokides Painter;  $ARV^2$  3, 2.
  - a. Pfuhl 1923 ill. 313
  - b. Marwitz 1961 fig. 50

- c. Marwitz 1961 fig. 51
- Figure 82: New York 63.11.6 by the Andokides Painter; Para. 320, 2bis.
  - a. Bothmer 1965 fig. 4
  - b. Bothmer 1965 fig. 11
  - c. Bothmer 1965 fig. 2
  - d. Bothmer 1965 fig. 14
- Figure 83: Louvre F204 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 11; ABV 254, 1.
  - a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 88
  - b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XXIX (colour)
  - c. Schauenberg 1961 fig. 55
- Figure 84: Munich 2301 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 9; ABV 255, 4.
  - a. Simon 1976 pl. 87
  - b. Simon 1976 pl. 89
  - c. CVA Munich 4 pl. 157.1
  - d. Simon 1976 pl. 86
  - e. Simon 1976 pl. 88
  - f. CVA Munich 4 pl. 157.8
- Figure 85: Berlin 1739, kore, Ornithe
  - a. Richter 1968 fig. 224
  - b. Richter 1968 fig. 221
- Figure 86: Samos kore, Philippe
  - a. Richter 1968 fig. 220
  - b. Richter 1968 fig. 218
- Figure 87: Louvre F203 by the Andokides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 13. Boardman 1975a fig. 4
- Figure 88: Boston 01.8037 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 7; ABV 254, 2.
  - a. Boardman 1975a fig. 2.1
  - b. Boardman 1975a fig. 2.2
- Figure 89: Boston 99.538 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 12; ABV 255, 6.
  - a. Marwitz 1961 fig. 60
  - b. Marwitz 1961 fig. 59
- Figure 90: London B193 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 8; ABV 254, 3.
  - a. Marwitz 1961 fig. 56
  - b. Schauenberg 1961 fig. 7
- Figure 91: Munich 1575 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 256, 16.
  - a. CVA Munich 8 pl. 363.1
  - b. CVA Munich 8 pl. 364.1
  - c. CVA Munich 8 pl. 364.2
- Figure 92: Munich 2344 by the Kleophrades Painter;  $ARV^2$  182, 6. a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 122

b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 123

Figure 93: Villa Giulia 50396 by Makron;  $ARV^2$  465, 82.

a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 132.1

b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl 132.2

Figure 94: Philadelphia 5399 by Psiax;  $ARV^2$  7, 3.

a. Bates 1905 pl. 6

b. Bates 1905 pl. 7

c. Smith 1929 fig. F

Figure 95: New York 14.146.1 by Psiax; ARV2 8, 9.

a. Boardman 1975a fig. 13

b. Smith 1929 pl. 2

c. Smith 1929 pl. 3

Figure 96: Munich 2302 by Psiax. ABV 294, 23;  $ARV^2$  6, 1.

a. CVA Munich 4 pl. 153.1

b. CVA Munich 4 pl. 154.1

c. CVA Munich 4 pl. 154.2

d. CVA Munich 4 pl. 153.2

e. CVA Munich 4 pl. 154.3

f. CVA Munich 4 pl. 154.4

Figure 97: Leningrad, Hermitage coral tondo cup by Psiax; ABV 294, 22.

a. Kurtz 1975 pl. 18b

b. Kurtz 1975 pl. 18a

c. Kurtz 1975 pl. 18c

Figure 98: Munich 2587 by Psiax;  $ARV^2$  7, 8.

a. Smith 1929 pl. 1

b. Hauser 1895 pl. 4a

c. Hauser 1895 pl. 4b

Figure 99: Brescia amphora by Psiax; ABV 292, 1.

a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 66

b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 67

c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 68

d. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XIX (colour)

e. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. XX (colour)

Figure 100: Berlin 1897 by Psiax; *ABV* 293, 8.

Beazley 1951 pl. 36.2

Figure 101: London 1980.10 - 29.1 (once Castle Ashby) by Psiax; ABV 293, 7.

Williams 1985 inside front cover

Figure 102: Madrid 11008 by Psiax; ABV 294, 24; ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 2.

a. Bienkowski 1900 fig. 9

b. Bienkowski 1900 fig. 8

Figure 103: Getty S.82.AE.24 by Psiax.

a. Mertens 1979 p. 11.1

b. Bareiss 1983 p. 30

```
Figure 104: Berlin 2099 by Psiax; ABV 294, 18.
            JHS 29 1909 pl. 10
Figure 105: Jameson Coll. lekythos by Psiax; ABV 293, 11.
             a. Richter 1941 fig. 10
             b. Richter 1941 fig. 11
Figure 106: Leningrad 381 by Psiax; ABV 293, 12.
             a. Richter 1941 fig. 7
             b. Richter 1941 fig. 8
             c. Richter 1941 fig. 9
Figure 107: Cleveland 76.89 (once Swiss Private Coll.) by Psiax; ARV2
             7, 7.
             a. Boardman 1975a fig. 15
             b. Mertens 1979 pl. 13.4
             c. Mertens 1979 pl. 13.1
Figure 108: Karlsruhe 242 by Psiax; ARV^2 7, 4.
             a. Cohen 1978 pl. 39.1
             b. Cohen 1978 pl. 39.2
Figure 109: Poldi - Pezzoli kyathos by Psiax; ABV 293, 15.
             a. Richter 1941 fig. 1
             b. Richter 1941 fig. 2
             c. Richter 1941 fig. 3
             d. Richter 1941 fig. 4
             e. Richter 1941 fig. 5
Figure 110: London B234 by Psiax; ABV 292, 3.
             Gardiner 1905 fig. 14
Figure 111: Odessa alabastron by Psiax; ARV^2 7, 5.
             Pfuhl 1923 98 no. 344
Figure 112: Oxford 516 by Oltos; ARV^2 63, 92.
             a. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 15.3
             b. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 15.4
             c. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 1.2
Figure 113: Copenhagen 2700 by Oltos; ARV^2 63, 93.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 20
             b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 21
             c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 22
Figure 114: Copenhagen 3877 by Oltos; ARV^2 63, 87.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 27
             b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 26
             c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 28
Figure 115: Berlin 2263 by Oltos; ARV^2 62, 85.
```

b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 32 c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 34

a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 31

Figure 116: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen 100 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  60, 67.

- a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 43
- b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 42
- c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 37
- Figure 117: Holyoke kylix by Oltos; *Para*. 328, 127ter. Finkenstaedt 1968 pl. 129.1
- Figure 118: Oxford 515 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  56, 27.
  - a. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 5.1
  - b. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 5.2
  - c. CVA Oxford 1 pl. 1.1
- Figure 119: Bloomington 80.73 (once Castle Ashby) by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 18.
  - a. Beazley 1929b pl. 5.1
  - b. Beazley 1929b pl. 5.2
  - c. Beazley 1929b pl. 5
- Figure 120: Bonn 464.24 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 56, 31. Kraiker 1930 pl. 53.3
- Figure 121: Florence 3B3 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 12. a. Cohen 1978 pl. 70.2
  - b. Cohen 1978 pl. 70.1
- Figure 122: Altenburg 224 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 17.
  - a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 12
  - b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 10
- Figure 123: Leipzig T3371 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 16.
  - a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 9
  - b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 11
- Figure 124: Vatican 498 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 15.
  - a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 13
  - b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 14
  - c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 15
- Figure 125: Munich 2581 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 55, 11. Cohen 1978 pl. 69.3
- Figure 126: Basel Ludwig 33 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  55, 20.
  - a. Cohen 1978 pl. 81.1 b. Cohen 1978 pl. 81.2
  - b. Cohen 1978 pl. 81.2
- Figure 127: Bryn Mawr P2115 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  1623, 23bis.
  - a. Ferrari 1986 fig. 1
  - b. Ferrari 1986 fig. 4
  - c. Ferrari 1986 fig. 3
- Figure 128: London E8 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  63, 88.
  - a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 44
  - b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 45
- Figure 129: Cambridge 37.14 by the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos;  $ARV^2$  161, 1. Cohen 1978 pl. 76.1

- Figure 130: Louvre CA 576 by the Heidelberg Painter; ABV 63, 3. Boardman 1974 fig. 41
- Figure 131: New York 12.243.4 by the Painter of Boston C.A.; ABV 69, 3.

  Boardman 1974 fig. 42
- Figure 132: Louvre F75 by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 156, 81. a. Bothmer 1985 p. 210 b. Bothmer 1985 p. 211
- Figure 133: Kings Point, New York, Schimmel Coll. by the Amasis Painter; *Para*. 67.

  a. Bothmer 1985 pl. 61
  b. Simon 1976 pl. 71 top
  - c. Simon 1976 pl. 70 bottom d. Simon 1976 pl. 71 bottom
- Figure 134: Brussels R291 by the Antimenes Painter; ABV 270, 52. Boardman 1974 fig. 187
- Figure 135: Yale 111 by the Edinburgh Painter; ABL 217, 19. Boardman 1974 fig. 188
- Figure 136: Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 54 by the Antimenes Painter; ABV 267, 20.

  Boardman 1974 fig. 190
- Figure 137: Louvre F127 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 55, 14. a. *CVA* Louvre 10 pl. 2.3 b. *CVA* Louvre 10 pl. 2.4 c. *CVA* Louvre 10 pl. 2.5
- Figure 138: Oxford 1927.4065 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 62, 77. a. Watrous 1982 fig. 15a b. Watrous 1982 fig. 15b
- Figure 139: Aegisthus vase by the Ram Jug Painter, Berlin a. Beazley 1951 pl. 3.1 b. Beazley 1951 pl. 3.1
- Figure 140: Tarquinia RC 6848 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  60, 66. a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 2 b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 100.1 c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 100.2 d. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 101 e. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 102.1
  - f. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 102.2 g. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 103.1 h. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 101.2
- Figure 141: London E258 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 54, 4. a. Boardman 1975a fig. 57.1 b. Boardman 1975a fig. 57.2
- Figure 142: Getty S.82.AE.49 by Oltos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1623, 20bis. Bareiss 1983 p. 40

```
Figure 143: Vatican Astarita 34997 (once Astarita 46) by Oltos; ARV2
            55, 19.
            a. Ferrari 1986 fig. 5
             b. Cohen 1978 pl. 83.2
Figure 144: Bologna 361 by Oltos; ARV^2 65, 113.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 51
             b. Boardman 1975a fig. 62
Figure 145: Florence Va. 46 by Oltos; ARV^2 64, 97.
             a. Cohen 1978 pl. 71.1
             b. Cohen 1978 p. 71.2
             c. Cohen 1978 pl. 71.3
Figure 146: Berlin F4220 by Oltos; ARV^2 61, 76.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 24
             b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 25
             c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 23
Figure 147: Louvre F128 by Oltos; ARV^2 58, 50.
             a. CVA Louvre 10 pl. 3.5
             b. CVA Louvre 10 pl. 3.3
             c. CVA Louvre 10 pl. 3.6
Figure 148: London E16 by Oltos; ARV^2 61, 75.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 40
             b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 41
Figure 149: Basel BS459 by Oltos; Para. 327, 50bis.
             a. CVA Basel 2 pl. 5.2
             b. CVA Basel 2 pl. 5.3
             c. CVA Basel 2 pl. 5.1
Figure 150: Vatican 502 by Oltos; ARV^2 66, 126.
             EAA vol 5 p. 670 fig. 828
Figure 151: Boston 13.83 by Oltos; ARV^2 57, 40.
             a. Bruhn 1943 fig. 17
             b. Bruhn 1943 fig. 16
             c. Bruhn 1943 fig. 18
Figure 152: London E3 by Epiktetos; ARV^2 70, 3.
             a. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 96.1
             b. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 96.2
             c. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1962 pl. 97
```

Figure 153: Basel BS 436 by Epiketetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1705, 6bis. a. *CVA* Basel 2 pl. 1.1 b. *CVA* Basel 2 pl. 1.3 c. *CVA* Basel 2 pl. 1.2

Figure 154: Oberlin 67.61 by Epiktetos; *Para*. 329, 14bis. a. Boardman 1975a fig. 68

Figure 155: Berlin 2100 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 7. Cohen 1978 pl. 96.1

- Figure 156: Geneva Market (Koutoulakis) by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  1623, 9bis.

  Cohen 1978 pl. 92.1
- Figure 157: Florence 2B4 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 12. a. Cohen 1978 pl. 101.1 b. Cohen 1978 pl. 100.4
- Figure 158: London E135 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  78, 93. Arias, Hirmer and Shefton 1961 pl. 98
- Figure 159: London 1929.11 11.1 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 74, 35. Boardman 1975a fig. 72
- Figure 160: Wurzburg 468 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  71, 8. Cohen 1978 pl. 93.1
- Figure 161: London E38 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, 16. a. *EAA* 3 p. 371 fig. 451 b. Hoppin 1919 p. 313 c. *EAA* 3 p. 370 fig. 450
- Figure 162: Leningrad 645 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 4. a. Kraiker 1929 fig. 7 b. Kraiker 1929 fig. 5 c. Kraiker 1929 fig. 6
- Figure 163: Louvre F203 by the Andokides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 13. (Same as fig. 87) a. Norton 1896 fig. 2
- b. Norton 1986 fig. 1

  Figure 164: Palermo V650 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  5, 14; ABVa. Schneider 1889 pl. 4
  b. Schneider 1889 pl. 4
  - c. Schneider 1889 pl. 4d. Schneider 1889 pl. 4
- Figure 165: New York 1975.11.6 by Psiax. a. Mertens 1979 pl. 9.2
  - b. Mertens 1979 pl. 9.4
- Figure 166: Swiss Private Coll. black figure mastos cup by Psiax. a. Mertens 1979 pl. 10.2
  - b. Mertens 1979 pl. 10.4
  - c. Mertens 1979 pl. 10.1
  - d. Mertens 1979 pl. 10.3
- Figure 167: Basel Market black figure mastos cup by Psiax. a. Mertens 1979 pl. 9.5
  - b. Mertens 1979 pl. 9.6
- Figure 168: Berlin 4514 by Epiketetos;  $ARV^2$  76, 78. Kraiker 1929 fig. 40
- Figure 169: Tarquinia RC 191 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  76, 73.

- Kraiker 1929 fig. 38
- Figure 170: Providence 25.077 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 73, 34. a. Luce 1928 fig. 5 b. Luce 1928 fig. 7.
- Figure 171: Louvre G6 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, 21. a. *CVA* Louvre 10 pl. 10.3 b. *CVA* Louvre 10 pl. 10.6
- Figure 172: Florence 70995 by Lydos; *ABV* 110, 32. a. Rumpf 1937 pl. 2.1 b. Rumpf 1937 pl. 2.2 c. Rumpf 1937 pl. 3.1
- Figure 173: Munich 1681 by Lydos; *ABV* 108, 12. Rumpf 1937 pl. 7d

d. Rumpf 1937 pl. 3.2

- Figure 174: Berlin University 86 by Lydos; ABV 108, 15. Rumpf 1937 pl. 7b
- Figure 175: Harvard 1925.30.125 by Lydos; *ABV* 108, 9. Rumpf 1937 pl. 12c
- Figure 176: Louvre E804 by Lydos; *ABV* 108, 13. Rumpf 1937 pl. 12b
- Figure 177: Athens, Kerameikos by Lydos. a. Tiverios 1976 pl. 42b b. Tiverios 1976 pl. 43a
- Figure 178: Taranto 20273 by Lydos; *ABV* 112, 69. a. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 19.3 b. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 19.4
- Figure 179: Taranto 20129 by Lydos; *ABV* 113, 70. a. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 20.1 b. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 20.2
- Figure 180: Taranto 4362 by Lydos; *ABV* 113, 72. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 18.2
- Figure 181: Taranto 4363 by Lydos; *ABV* 113, 71. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 17.5
- Figure 182: Taranto 52130 by Lydos; *ABV* 112, 67. *CVA* Taranto 3 pl. 21.2
- Figure 183: Florence 102a by Lydos; ABV 111, 45. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.2
- Figure 184: Florence 102c by Lydos; *ABV* 111, 45. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.5
- Figure 185: Athens Akr. 2424 by Lydos;  $\overline{ABV}$  111, 52. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 22.13
- Figure 186: Bonn 339 by Lydos; *ABV* 111, 51. Callipolitis Feytmans 1974 pl. 24.15
- Figure 187: Berlin 1688 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 150, 9. a. Karouzou 1956 pl. 7.1 b. Karouzou 1956 pl. 7.2

- Figure 188: Berlin 1689 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 151, 10. Karouzou 1956 pl. 8.3
- Figure 189: Berlin 1691 by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 151, 12. a. Karouzou 1956 pl. 8.1 b. Karouzou 1956 pl. 8.2
- Figure 190: Philadelphia MS 4849 by the Amasis Painter; ABV 154, 50.
  - a. Bothmer 1985 p. 170
  - b. Bothmer 1985 p. 171a.
- Figure 191: Oxford 1929.19 by the Amasis Painter; *ABV* 153, 38. a. Bothmer 1985 p. 145.1 b. Bothmer 1985 p. 145.2
- Figure 192: Malibu 79.AE.197 by the Amasis Painter. Bothmer 1985 p. 205
- Figure 193: Princeton 169 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 6. Beazley 1932 pl. 9.2
- Figure 194: Boulogne 4 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 3. Beazley 1932 pl. 9.2
- Figure 195: Tarquinia 624 by the Princeton Painter; *Para.* 130, 15bis. (Same as figure 31.)
  a. *CVA* Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.1
  b. *CVA* Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.3
- Figure 196: New York 56.171.9 by the Princeton Painter; *ABV* 299, 15.

  Littauer 1968 pl. 62.4
- Figure 197: Geneva MF 154 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 299, 18.
  a. CVA Geneva 1 pl. 48.1
  b. CVA Geneva 1 pl. 48.3
  c. CVA Geneva 1 pl. 48.2
  d. CVA Geneval 1 pl. 48.4
  - Figure 198: Basel BS 427 by the Princeton Painter; *Para*. 140, 13bis. a. *CVA* Basel 1 pl. 27.3 b. *CVA* Basel 2 pl. 27.4
- Figure 199: Cambridge G59 by the Princeton Painter; ABV 298, 10. a. CVA Cambridge 1 pl. 14.1a b. CVA Cambridge 1 pl. 14.1b
- Figure 200: Tarquinia RC1061 by Group E; *Para*. 56, 58bis. a. *CVA* Tarquinia 2 pl. 26.1 b. *CVA* Tarquinia 2 pl. 26.2 c. *CVA* Tarquinia 2 pl. 26.3
- Figure 201: Munich 1471 by Group E; *ABV* 137, 60. a. *CVA* Munich 7 pl. 346.1 b. *CVA* Munich 7 pl. 346.2
- Figure 202: Copenhagen 7068 by Group E; ABV 134, 14. a. CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 102.1a b. CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 102.1b

Figure 203: Munich 1394 by Group E; *ABV* 135, 42. a. CVA Munich 1 pl. 26.4 b. CVA Munich 1 pl. 29.2 Figure 204: London B163 by Group E; *ABV* 134, 28. Boardman 1974 fig. 225 Figure 205: Louvre Camp. 10659 by Group E; *ABV* 135, 42. a. CVA Louvre 11 pl. 141.3 b. CVA Louvre 11 pl. 141.4 c. CVA Louvre 11 pl. 141.1 Figure 206: Baden, Ros Private Collection by Group E; ABV 133, 5. a. Bloesch 1943 pl. 15 b. Bloesch 1943 pl. 17 Figure 207: London B194 by Group E; *ABV* 136, 56. a. CVA London 1 pl. 37.1a b. CVA London 1 pl. 37.1b Figure 208: Chiusi 1806 by Group E; *ABV* 135, 32. a. *CVA* Chiusi 1 pl. 14.1 b. *CVA* Chiusi 1 pl. 14.2 c. CVA Chiusi 1 pl. 15.2 Figure 209: Munich 1397 by Group E; *ABV* 134, 20. a. CVA Munich 1 pl. 30.2 b. CVA Munich 1 pl. 31.2 Figure 210: Berlin 1718 by Exekias; *ABV* 144, 5. a. Technau 1936 pl. 3a b. Moore 1980 pl. 51 fig. 7 c. Technau 1936 pl. 3b Figure 211: Orvieto 77 by Exekias; *ABV* 144, 10. a. Technau 1936 pl. 7a b. Technau 1936 pl. 7b c. Technau 1936 pl. 8b Figure 212: Orvieto 187 by Exekias; *ABV* 145, 11. a. Technau 1936 pl. 9a b. Technau 1936 pl. 9b Figure 213: Formerly Baden, Ros Private Collection by Exekias; ABV 147, 5. Moore 1982 pl. 76 fig. 1 Figure 214: Boulogne 558 by Exekias; *ABV* 145, 18. a. Simon 1976 pl. 76 b. Technau 1936 pl. 24b Figure 215: Munich 1470 by Exekias; *ABV* 144, 6. a. Technau 1936 pl. 3c b. Moore 1980 pl. 51 fig. 9

Figure 216: London B211 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 256, 14. a. CVA London 4 pl. 49.3a

c. Technau 1936 pl. 3d d. Moore 1980 pl. 51 fig. 8

- b. *CVA* London 4 pl. 49.3b c. *CVA* London 4 pl. 49.3c
- Figure 217: Villa Giulia 24998 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 255, 9. a. Cohen 1978 pl. 2.2 b. Cohen 1978 pl. 3.1
- Figure 218: Bologna 151 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 10; ABV 255, 5.
  a. Cohen 1978 pl. 14.1
  b. Cohen 1978 pl. 15.1
- Figure 219: Louvre F204 (same as figure 83 for comparison with 230) by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter;  $ARV^2$  4, 11; ABV 254, 1.

  a. Cohen 1978 pl. 15.2
  b. Simon 1976 pl. 90
- Figure 220: Moscow 70 by the Lysippides Painter; ABV 255, 8. a. Boardman 1974 fig. 163.1 b. Marwitz 1961 fig. 47
- Figure 221: London B589 by Psiax; *ABV* 294, 17. Walters 1909 pl. 11.1
- Figure 222: London B590 by Psiax; *ABV* 294, 19. Walters 1909 pl. 11.2
- Figure 223: London B591 by Psiax; *ABV* 294, 20. Smith 1929 pl. 4
- Figure 224: Vatican 506 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  73, 27. Wrede 1916 pl. 34
- Figure 225: Berlin F2262 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  72, 15. Kraiker 1929 fig. 12
- Figure 226: Oxford 520 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 76, 84. Boardman 1975a fig. 76
- Figure 227: Villa Giulia calyx krater by Epiketetos;  $ARV^2$  77, 90. a. Cohen 1978 pl. 91.1 b. Cohen 1978 pl. 91.2
- Figure 228: London E35 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  74, 38. Boardman 1975a fig. 73
- Figure 229: Ferrara, Schifanoia by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  75, 55. Bates 1912 fig. 3
- Figure 230: London E136 by Epiktetos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 78, 94. Hill 1938 fig. 7
- Figure 231: London E137 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  78, 95. Williams 1985 title page
- Figure 232: Athens Akr. 68 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  75, 62. Boardman 1975a fig. 70
- Figure 233: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  75, 56. Boardman 1975a fig. 69

Figure 234: Orvieto, Faina 97 by Epiktetos;  $ARV^2$  70, 1. Cohen 1978 pl. 95.3

Figure 235: Hanover 1966.84 by Oltos; *Para*. 325, 26bis. a. *CVA* Hanover 1 pl. 31.1

b. CVA Hanover 1 pl. 31.2

c. CVA Hanover 1 pl. 31.3

Figure 236: Florence 81061 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  64, 96.

a. CVA Florence 3 pl. 73.1

b. CVA Florence 3 pl. 73.3

Figure 237: Copenhagen 13407 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  59, 57.

a. CVA Copenhagen 8 pl. 334.1

b. CVA Copenhagen 8 pl. 335.1a

c. CVA Copenhagen 8 pl. 335.1b

d. CVA Copenhagen 8 pl. 334.1b

Figure 238: Munich 2606 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  64, 102. Bruhn 1943 fig. 29

Figure 239: New York 10.210.18 by Oltos;  $ARV^2$  54, 7. Bothmer 1955 pl. 47 fig. 2

Figure 240: Kings Point, New York, Schimmel Private Collection red figure psykter by Oltos; ABV 1622, 7bis. Simon 1976 pl. 95

Figure 241: Louvre G3 by Oltos; ARV2 53, 1. Boardman 1975a fig. 56

## Acknowledgments

This project would never have been begun without the encouragement of Tony Barrett, nor completed without the unfailing guidance and support of Elizabeth Moignard. The financial support which allowed me to finish what I started came from the University of Glasgow, the Overseas Research Student Awards Committee, and the Pisapio Scholarship Trust. The Graduate School of Arts and Humanities funded endless photocopies as well as the illustrations for the dissertation.

Jennifer Murray was a cheerful face on even the darkest days. Kathleen Young provided a welcoming refuge, an uncritical ear, and practical help and support when I needed it most.

Dr. Karen Stears of the Classics Department at Edinburgh University provided information on fabric and garments in antiquity. Trevor Graham of Glasgow University's Photographic unit gave much needed advice on how to take the pictures for the plates.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my parents, Marilyn and John, and my sister Jenny, who have supported me from the beginning in every way. Without their encouragement I would never have found the courage to pursue my love of Classical archaeology.

Hedda Breckenridge March 1997

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is based on research conducted by myself in the Department of Classics, University of Glasgow between October 1993 and March 1997.

Any contributions made by other scholars have been acknowledged as such.

## Chapter 1: Introduction and review of literature

## Introduction

The initial intention behind the production of this dissertation was to do a study of the development of early Attic red figure in a more holistic manner than had been done previously. Preliminary research revealed that the questions of how early red figure differs from black, as well as how it is similar, and how early red figure artists had been influenced by black figure, if at all, had for the most part been dealt with only briefly, if at all, and for individual artists only with little comparison between them. The development of red figure away from black is a particularly interesting period because of the many changes and adjustments which must have been necessary on the part of the artists, before vase painting reached what may be considered its highest level under later artists.

The use of added colour as well as the way artists patterned garments are both aspects of vase decoration that seem to change in the new technique, and indeed both of these aspects are cited by authors writing about early red figure artists. Neither has ever been examined in any depth, and nor has there been any comparison between the vases in different techniques by bilingual artists to determine whether or not they were handling the two techniques differently in response to the different possibilities and requirements of each.

Added colour can be somewhat problematic to discuss analytically; it is often difficult to determine from illustrations whether or not it has been used, and its fugitive nature also complicates the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The term "bilingual" in this thesis follows standard usage and refers not to language but to the two main different techniques of Athenian pottery decoration. A bilingual artist is one who works in black figure as well as red. A bilingual vase has two sides decorated in different techniques, most often red and back figure. The use of "bilingual" to describe these vases was originated by Beazley 1928 p. 25.

quantification of exactly how much of it was applied. For this reason, I have discussed its use by different artists in rather general terms.

Garment patterning, on the other hand, is often incised in black figure and usually executed with slip in red figure, so it tends to be easier to give definite numbers for comparison. In order to develop a solid basis for comparison of different artists I compiled tables listing each different motif used on a given pot, as well as the type of garments on which it appears and how it is arranged. These tables have been summarized into appendices to facilitate discussion. In the text I refer to these appendices to provide specific details of motif frequency and numbers of motifs used in the hope of avoiding rather mind numbing discussion of the exact numbers. I hope the more general tone of the discussion will be less taxing to the reader.

I did not examine illustrations of every vase by every artist I have cited. Instead, for reasons of feasibility, I tried to examine a minimum of approximately half the vases attributed to each artist by Beazley. Statistically speaking, this is a good sample size and makes it unlikely that anything will be exceptionally different in the unsampled half of the artist's work. To help accuracy, especially in regard to the frequency of pattern use, I did not include in the counts from the tables vases which are too fragmentary to give a reasonable idea of the overall picture, or vases that are too poorly illustrated to provide the same. Any of these which I examined are included at the end of the tables in a separate category.

Within the tables themselves the vases are loosely grouped by vase shape and then by date. I give accession number, shape, Beazley reference, and the illustrations consulted for each vase as well as a figure number if a vase is illustrated in the figures which accompany the dissertation. The names of the various motifs should be self explanatory

and if I am uncertain about the exact nature of a motif it is followed by a question mark in its listing, but included in the appendix counts under that name. In the appendices the motifs have been divided into those used for trims and those used over the greater area of a garment; this is because the two applications are different in terms of which motifs are used for them. The discussion focuses on those used for the decoration of whole garments rather than trims, because the changing depiction of garments is a very important part of early red figure.

I have chosen not to discuss vase shape, although it is part of the study of pottery which does shift over time and on which the appearance of the new technique of decoration does have an impact. Nor have I addressed the question of how subjects depicted change. I have made these omissions in order to focus mainly on aspects of Athenian pottery that are directly affected by the technical differences between the two methods of decoration. I do discuss composition and arrangement of figures; although changes in these are not necessarily affected by changing techniques, they are, like patterning and added colour, integral to the decorative appearance of a vase and therefore part of the discussion.

One question which remains unanswered is the extent to which these changes in the patterning of garments relates to garments in real life. There is a change in the dress style of Athenian women in about the middle of the sixth century, from Doric peplos to the much more voluminous Ionic chiton. This change is attested to in the archaeological record, as pins disappear to be replaced by buttons,<sup>2</sup> as well as in literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Although why peploi could not be fastened with buttons, I do not understand; nevertheless, this is the general interpretation of this change.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus V, 87 ff.

It is certainly conceivable that the replacement of a flat garment with one that hung in many folds and was a lighter fabric would show exactly the same changes in patterning as have been visible on the pottery, namely from heavy, often dense patterns to smaller, lightly Indeed, painted decoration on scattered motifs. some korai reveal scattered motifs on chitons; these tend to be more elaborate than those on pottery, including a kind of asterisk rosette, a cross with spiral ends and a four petal rosette,5 an opposed palmette motif, as well as a diamond with a spiral extruding from each corner and dots in the interstices.<sup>6</sup> But the problem still remains of how accurate a reflection these sculptures are of the kinds of garments worn on a daily basis.

I had even speculated that the change from black to red figure could have been encouraged by the appearance of these more voluminous garments and a desire of the artists to be able to depict their wonderful folds more realistically than black figure would allow. Unfortunately the chronology of when the Ionic chiton came into use by Athenian women is very vague and could not be pinned down accurately enough to support or disprove this idea. Still, the possibility is an interesting one and not entirely implausible.

#### Review of literature

## General discussion

General discussion of the nature of the transition between black and red figure and the initial development of the new technique is lacking. Examination of this particular period tends to take the form of studies of the works of individual artists, with little discussion in terms of creating a collective understanding of general trends and changes. Nevertheless, some writers have made brief comments on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Athens Akr. 681, Richter 1968 p. 69. <sup>5</sup>Athens Akr. 671, Richter 1968 p. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Athens Ark. 675, Richter 1968 p. 79.

differences between the two techniques. In 1946 Richter describes red figure artists as initially following the conventions of black figure, with a gradually improving depiction of anatomical detail until "a fairly successful three - quarter back view was sometimes attained" by the end of the sixth century BC. She also points out that some black figure characteristics remain in the new technique, such as incision of details like hair and the use of added red and white paint.

In 1965 von Bothmer characterizes red figure as a refinement of the outline figures which have occasionally been seen in earlier black figure, especially the vases of the Amasis Painter. He points out that by filling in the background with black slip the figures take on a much more prominent appearance. In developmental terms he points out that relief lines are little used in early red figure, but that "their competent application becomes the hallmark of the great red - figure masters."

Boardman 1975a describes black figure as having peaked and started to decline until the invention of red figure re - energized vase painting. He also cites relief lines as being very important in early red figure and points out that they, along with dilute slip, alowed much greater realism than incision did in black figure. He feels that after the experimentation of the first generation of red figure artists the technique is simplified, and the use of colour and patterning on clothing dies out as part of this general simplification.

Most recently, in 1992, Robertson describes black figure as essentially decorative, and notes that the reversal of colour in red figure maintained a decorative effect while it created new possibilities for realism. He points out that red figure uses much less added colour than black, and suggests that the change in techniques occurred to keep up with the increasing naturalism in other art forms. He considers Psiax

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Richter 1946 p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Bothmer 1965 p. 205.

and the Andokides Painter to reflect black figure influence in their use of added colour, as well as in Psiax's unusual use of incision. Changes in early red figure are visible on bilingual eye cups and include more use of relief line, the use of dilute slip for anatomy and other detail, as well as a brown wash, whereas the use of relief line was very restricted in black figure.

## The Andokides Painter

Initially the Andokides Painter was called Andokides, without the more cautious modifier being added. In 1896 Norton reattributes a vase that had originally been attributed to this artist based on the signature of Andokides, taking the style of the decoration into account as well. This brings up the point that it is dangerous to work from signature alone without taking style into account. He suggests that the black figure and red figure sides of certain vases could have been executed by different people, on the grounds that the drawing on the black figure sides reveals inaccuracy in anatomical details as well as differences in the depiction of He suggests that some of unsigned vases could have been produced under the supervision of Andokides, thus accounting for both differences and similarities to the signed vases. He discusses the origins of the technique of red figure, but without any suggestion that the Andokides Painter might have been responsible for its initial appearance. The use of red paint on early red figure vases is interpreted as demonstrating "how the Greek potters did not at first grasp the full force of their new invention, and so often painted details of their work in the way they had been used to paint them on black figured vases."9

In 1918 Beazley combines earlier lists of signed vases and those in the style of Andokides under the name of the Andokides Painter, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Norton 1896 pp. 11 - 12.

describes him as "one of the first to use the red - figure technique." 10 Langlotz appears to have been the first to make the connection between the decoration of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi and the appearance of red figure, and in his book published in 1920 he conducts a detailed comparison of the sculptures with vases, particularly those of Andokides and the Andokides Painter. The similarities he finds in depictions of drapery, the heavy proportions of the bodies, the poses and certain details of the depiction of anatomy establish the chronological congruence between these sculptures and early red figure vases, especially those of the Andokides Painter.

In 1923 Pfuhl suggests that red figure might have been founded in the workshop of Andokides, and that in any case his vases are the earliest red figure ones we have.11 The bilinguals are part of this in their combination of old and new techniques. He also differentiates between the Andokides Painter and the Menon Painter, whom Richter will show to be one artist with Psiax, but describes the latter's vases as being barely later than those of the Andokides Painter. 12

Beazley, in 1951, suggests that the Andokides Painter is a strong possibility for the inventor of red figure, although the identity of this figure is uncertain. He describes the artist as a student of Exekias and points out that he never progresses far enough with the new technique of vase decoration to exploit its maximum possibilities; this is left to the Pioneers instead. 13

Finally, in 1961, Marwitz catalogues the black figure elements in the Andokides Painter's early red figure works. These include such details as treatment of hair, eyes, helmets and armour, as well as the ornamentation of garments, and he suggests that these were brought in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Beazley 1918 p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Pfuhl 1923 p. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Pfuhl 1923 p. 287. <sup>13</sup>Beazley 1951 pp. 75 - 76.

from the technique the artist learned as a student, and indicate innate caution on the part of the artist. Marwitz also discusses some differences between the way depictions of the same subject are handled in the two different techniques on one of the artist's bilinguals, Munich 2301. He concludes that both sides of the vase show elements translated from the opposite technique. He points out that as a pupil of Exekias, the Andokides Painter must have had black figure skills, and must have done some work in black figure since it is unlikely that his earliest work was in the new technique of vase decoration. In the same year, Schauenberg points out that certain elements in the Andokides Painter's work indicate that he must have been taught by a black figure artist; for example, he is the first and last artist in red figure to depict a bearded Gorgoneion on the shield of Athena. He also discusses some of the elements in the Andokides/Lysippides Painter question, including subsidiary decoration, thematic preferences, composition, and the use of landscape elements.

Boardman describes the Andokides Painter as the first artist to use red figure "regularly" in 1974, and says that he is responsible for the decoration of the black figure sides of the bilinguals as well as the "Many details and patterns are borrowed straight from black figure" 15 in the earliest red figure, and since the Andokides Painter seems to have been at least among the first red figure vase painters, he must have also painted black figure. In 1975 he goes further in characterising this artist, saying that his "earliest red figure...is so very much a negative of black figure that he must have been a black figure painter by training." He points out that the Andokides Painter's vases still have their subsidiary decoration in black figure, and other elements

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 103.
 <sup>15</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 105.
 <sup>16</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 15.

which indicate the influence of this technique include the plentiful patterning of garments, the use of added red, plus the incision the artist uses to outline black areas of hair.

Finally, in 1978, Cohen provides the first detailed examination of the problem of the Andokides and Lysippides Painters. Considering factors such as the presence and absence of inscriptions, and differences in compositional and other details, she demonstrates the existence of two different artists decorating the bilinguals, one working in black figure, the other in red. By tracing the appearances of specific details like the representation of calf spirals or the way one artist depicts the anatomical detail of a knee, she finds evidence of very close collaboration between the two artists, with definite indications of cross influence in changing details such as these.

Her study of the vases of the Andokides Painter reveals that he was not trained in black figure, and neither is there any one black figure artist of whom he was a student, whereas the Lysippides Painter is related in many ways to Exekias. Of the red figure artist, she says, "...his earliest vases are further from black figure than later works. He began his career in vase decoration employing a technique of his own invention." Based on the examination of more details she determines that his earliest vases are strictly red figure, and the bilinguals come later. A greater awareness of black figure generally is apparent at the end of his early period, marking the start of when the bilinguals appear, as a result of his close work with the Lysippides Painter. Cohen does mention the Andokides Painter's use of patterning; she points out that the gridded garments which appear on some of the ependytai worn by Athena are related to black figure, and that this type of patterning does not appear often on the artist's early vases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 106.

Most recently, in 1992, Robertson points out that the artist must have been trained in black figure unless he came to vase decoration from another art form such as sculpture, but finds this unlikely. He characterises the Andokides Painter's work thus: "His drawing shows a progression from a very hesitant manner to a much more assured one, without ever moving away from the decorative ideas of black figure or seeming to realise the potential of the new technique."

#### **Psiax**

In 1895 Hoppin attributes a third vase to Psiax, after alabastra at Karlsruhe and Odessa, both of which were also signed by Hilinos as poietes. Based on this vase, he dates Psiax to the same time as early Epiktetos. At this period Psiax is thought to be working some time after red figure appears, perhaps 20 years afterwards. In 1905 Bates introduces a red figure amphora by a new painter, Meno, whose signature is incised on the vase as poietes. He points out some indications that Meno was trained in black figure, including his use of incision for hair contours, the incised details in his border palmettes, and his extensive use of added red and white paint. He suggests that this artist is a contemporary but not a pupil of 'Andocides', now known as the Andokides Painter.

In 1929 Smith attributes more vases to this artist as well as conducting a general discussion of his other vases. He considers 'the Menon Painter' to have initially been a black figure artist: "...this accomplished master of delicate relief - line was probably bred to the older technique, survivals of which are nowhere more abundant and remarkable than in his red - figured work." He points out a number of aspects of the artist's work which are near black figure, including his use of incision to delineate hair contour and other odd details such as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Robertson 1992 p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Smith 1929 p. 5.

spear heads, his plentiful use of added colour, and his use of the pyramidal triple dot pattern on one vase, which he describes as "...a commonplace of black figured...."<sup>20</sup>

In 1931 Beazley asserts his opinion that the Menon Painter was "one of the first to use red - figure" and also that Psiax and the Menon Painter are very much alike. In 1934 Richter demonstrated that they were the same artist; opposition to this idea was slight and the identification was generally accepted. In 1946 she points out that Psiax seems to take a particular joy in experimenting with different techniques and added colour in his vases.

In 1963 Beazley classes Psiax with the Andokides Painter in the category of the earliest red figure pot painters, and suggests that he may have been a pupil of the Amasis Painter, as well as being related to the Antimenes Painter, who is a strictly black figure artist. Boardman describes his black figure as being "much affected by red figure", 22 and in 1975 describes his work in the two techniques as being "closely matched". 23 He considers Psiax to have started work in the 520's BC after red figure became less experimental in nature, and describes him as "showing figure contour through dress with less emphasis on colour or pattern".<sup>24</sup>

In 1978 Cohen determines that Psiax is the artist responsible for the white ground picture on the lip of an amphora in New York which she considers to be the earliest red figure vase in existence. Although he seems to have just been starting out in vase painting at this time, his decoration on this part of the vase indicates that he was working at the start of red figure, although not necessarily in the new technique until

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Smith 1929 p. 15. <sup>21</sup>Beazley 1931 p. 120. <sup>22</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 106 <sup>23</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 17. <sup>24</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 17.

later on. He uses incision plentifully even in his late black figure, and outside of his vases white is uncommon in red figure; this particular characteristic may reflect a link with black figure. She concludes that Psiax was part of the same workshop as Andokides, the Andokides Painter, and the Lysippides painter.

In 1979 Mertens attributes several more vases to the artist and describes him as "...mediating between the last pure black - figure generation and the first generation of red - figure masters."25 considers him to be a "thoroughly, even paradigmatically, bilingual artist..."26 and points out that he uses motifs differently on his small and large black figure vases as well as on his red figure ones. "Although Psiax uses certain motifs throughout his oeuvre, the character of his ornament in black - figure and red - figure may be differentiated; it is characterized, in part, by his layering of patternworks on the one hand and by his composition of floral elements on the other."<sup>27</sup>

In 1991 Williams suggests that Psiax was another viable possible candidate, in addition to the Andokides Painter, for the origination of red figure, and points out that he appears to be the first artist to show interest in varying poses of figures. In 1992 Robertson describes Psiax as more experimental than the Andokides Painter, and points out that he depicts some complex foreshortened poses, which might be a result of Pioneer influence on his work, or in which he could conceivably be the innovator. Robertson describes Psiax's work as continuing to show black figure influence after its earliest phases, with elements like use of added colour and his experimentation with incision in red figure.

#### Oltos

In 1918 Beazley described Oltos as a pupil of the Andokides

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Mertens 1979 p. 22. <sup>26</sup>Mertens 1979 p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Mertens 1979 p. 26.

Painter, but said that Oltos was comfortable using the relief line, where the Andokides Painter is very cautious with them, "...and so his work beside his pupil's looks a little soft and nerveless."<sup>28</sup>

In 1943 Bruhn produces the first comprehensive study of Oltos' vases. She considers that his treatment of drapery is one element which he has learned from the Andokides Painter, while his representations of embroidered fabrics with ornate patterning come from Exekias and the Amasis Painter by means of the red figure artist, along with some other details of his work. On the subject of draperies in general she says, "The ornamented draperies, which actually bear some relation to the decorative character of the black figure style, is by no means common in the red figure style, in which ornamentation of this type plays an insignificant role."29 She also points out that garment patterning is "superfluous in the red - figure style" and that it is used by only a few red figure artists. She describes his composition as retaining symmetry even on his developed vases, with groups placed symmetrically around a central one, and considers his tondos to be generally unimaginative and repetitive.

One role Oltos' vases play, which appears to be generally agreed upon, is that of a link between very early red figure and the more developed work of the Pioneers.<sup>31</sup>

Cohen's 1978 examination of the artist's bilingual vases produces the result that his earliest work is a bilingual eye cup, and that on this vase Oltos is as uncertain at black figure as he is at red; he does not seem to have started in black figure first before red. She characterizes him as a red figure artist "who was called upon to do bilingual work." 32

<sup>32</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Beazley 1918 p. 8. <sup>29</sup>Bruhn 1943 p. 20. <sup>30</sup>Bruhn 1943 p. 100. <sup>31</sup>Bruhn 1943 p. 10; Robertson 1963 p. 116; Boardman 1975a p. 57.

She points out that he uses less added white in both techniques on his later vases as compared with his early ones, and that he continues to use red for "slender shafts of all types well into his middle period." One aspect of Oltos' continuing use of colour is particularly old fashioned, his colouring of alternate folds red and black. "Oltos always clearly separates his black - figure from his red - this traditionalism in black - figure is what sets Oltos apart from every other major bilingual vase - painter."

#### **Epiktetos**

In 1891 Hartwig mentions the use of dilute slip for musculature as one indicator of the new style of vase painting, and describes it as rather Kraiker 1929 tentative in the vases of Epiktetos. attributes some bilinguals to an artist who was previously thought to have worked only in red figure, and sees a black figure principle of composition in some of Epiktetos' early vases, but after these he depicts the interiors of his cups in the new manner, with plasticity, modelling, and more space around the figures. His vases show a progession in understanding of the shape of the body beneath drapery as well as a development of proper composition for a circle. The development of the depiction of movement is an important part of Epiktetos' vase painting, and Kraiker considers his work to fit perfectly into its period as a forerunner of the Pioneers.

In 1978 Cohen examines Epiktetos' bilinguals and points out that he treats his drapery differently in the two techniques, edging garments with a red line in black figure and a double line in red figure. Another difference between the two techniques is that on his black figures in cup tondos he tends to include incised leg muscles, and this added detail does not appear on the red figures on the outside of his cups. She also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 367.

suggests that this artist invented the motif of the nude male figure, squatting, who is depicted frontally, because his representations of it are the earliest preserved; she sees this as an initial movement in the development of increased interest in depicting the human body, and very different from the simpler figures that are much more usual between the eyes of a cup. He has left behind the traditional alternate red folds of black figure and leaves his drapery in this technique all one colour.

This review of literature on pottery reveals exactly how scanty discussion of the development of the earliest red figure pottery has been. Although added colour and garment patterning are the elements most often cited in regard to the change in technique, the nature of how they change has never been examined. It has been generally recognized that patterning and colour are used less in red figure than in black, and also that they are used more in early red figure than later. Most discussion, however, has been in the study of specific aspects of the work of one artist, namely the Andokides Painter, without much reference to the work of other artists and how the changes begun with the Andokides Painter continue in their work. The aim of this dissertation is to start filling in the gaps in our picture of the development of early red figure.

## Chapter 2:

# Development of garment patterning and added colour in Attic black figure pottery

## The earliest Attic black figure

The boundary between very late Protoattic vases and true Attic black figure is extremely blurred due to the gradual evolution of the one into the other. Several vases, however, mainly attributed to one artist, are generally accepted to be very early Attic black figure.<sup>1</sup> The neck amphora by the Nessos Painter, from which he takes his name, has both Herakles on the neck and the Gorgons on the body clad in short chitons.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1) Those of the Gorgons are painted red without any other added ornament; that of Herakles is a plain black. Other vases and fragments by the same artist show no indications of garment patterning yet either.<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 2 and 3)

The artist is still using animals frequently on his vases, which hampers the investigation. The amount of filling ornament which is still in use is worth noting; the Nessos Painter seems to be using pattern, but has not yet applied it to garments.

Other artists of the same earliest period, such as the Chimaera Painter, also depict animals very frequently, but they do not seem to have begun using garment patterning yet either.<sup>4</sup> (Figs. 4,5,6)

## The Gorgon Painter

It is only with the next generation of artists, especially the Gorgon Painter and Sophilos, that garment patterning begins to appear.<sup>5</sup> The Gorgon Painter especially is still using animals on his vases, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In this discussion I follow groups of black figure artists as set out by Boardman 1974, who in turn has largely followed Beazley 1951 and ABV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>for the Nessos Painter, see ABV 3 - 7, Para. 1 - 5, and Add. II 1 - 2; Athens, National Museum 1002, Para. 2, 6; fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Leipzig, ABV 5, 3; fig. 2; Berlin 1682, ABV 5, 4; fig. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Animals: Aegina 565, ABV 3, 1; fig. 4; London, A1531, ABV 3, 2; fig. 5. Garments without patterns: Athens 16383 ABV 7, 7g; fig. 6.

For the Gorgon Painter, see ABV 8 - 10, Para. 67, and Add. II 2 - 3.

sometimes now these are subsidiary decoration rather than being the main focus of the vase. His well known dinos, from which he takes his name, has Perseus and the Gorgons on its broadest band of decoration at the top of the bowl, with a series of three much narrower animal bands around the vase's base.<sup>6</sup>

The garment decoration on the band with Gorgons on this vase is quite varied, especially considering the total absence of this type of detail on vases of the previous generation. The appearance of decoration at hemlines, around armholes, and at the shoulder is particularly striking. (Fig. 7) On the preceding vases examined this was confined to a set of double, triple, or quadruple lines, while decoration across the shoulder of a garment was nonexistent. We may interpret these multiple lines as indicating some kind of band or trim decoration, but of an unelaborated nature.

With the appearance of this vase by the Gorgon Painter, it becomes apparent that the artist is now sometimes elaborating these details. He uses two patterns particularly often for the trimming of his garments, a crenellated line and a wavy one structured the same way. Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between the two, and sometimes both are combined in the hem trim of a single garment. On the dinos, the artist seems to particularly favour these bands of decoration on his chitoniskoi, but they also appear twice on longer garments.

In addition to this newly elaborated trim decoration, the Gorgon Painter also adds bands of decoration in other positions. On the skirt of the figure who walks before Hermes, for example, a vertical spiral band is visible below where the mantle stops. The chitoniskos bodice of the collapsing, headless Medusa has a vertical central band of crenellation extending down to the waistline of the garment. The central Gorgon of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Louvre E874, ABV 8, 1; fig. 7.

the three has a similar band, and the one closest to the fleeing Perseus has the same and with a spiral motif in it instead. This vase, therefore, shows that patterning of garments does appear in the second generation of vase painters in Athens. It seems, however, that little variety in motifs is as yet available, and the Gorgon Painter does not seem to have developed the concept of overall decoration on a garment yet; instead, he uses only bands of it.

An important aspect of other vase paintings of this period is that garment decoration has not yet become the rule. Various vases exist on which the multiple lines mentioned previously are still in use.<sup>7</sup> (Figs. 8, 9, 10) It is difficult to say whether most or all of these had some form of decoration in colour, whether it was an overall coat of red or white, or just motifs in these colours.

### **Sophilos**

Sophilos is classified as the last artist in the period under discussion. His garments, or at least some of them, are unusual in more than one way. The first unusual aspect of these is that, at least for some of his garments of women, he introduces overall decoration. On his dinos with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, for example, the peploi of the women are decorated in heavy horizontal lines of patterns, at least where they are visible below the heavy black mantles. (Fig. 11) This is the first time we have seen decoration over the whole area of a garment instead of just stripes. Also unusual are the motifs he puts into these bands. These are not only the geometric motifs so popular later on, but also organic ones like rows of animals, such as sphinxes, panthers and lions. The third unusual aspect is the way Sophilos uses

<sup>10</sup>Beazley 1986 p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Paris Louvre CA 823, *ABV* 12, 23; fig. 8; Athens Nat. Mus. 16285, *ABV* 19, 3; fig. 9; Athens, Nat. Mus. 1109, *ABV* 31, 7; fig. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 19; on Sophilos, see ABV 37 - 42, Para. 18 - 19, and Add. II 10 - 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>London, British Museum 1971.11 - 1.1, Para. 19, 16bis; fig. 11.

added colour for these garments; they are white, with the patterns painted on in red.<sup>11</sup> A fragment of another dinos has the peploi handled in exactly the same manner, so this is not the only example by Sophilos.<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 12)

The appearance of overall decoration and the unusual use of added colour are simply explained. Sophilos may have been experimenting, or, perhaps more likely, he might have been trying to make this vase an extra special one. The great size of dinos and stand correlates with the latter explanation; it must have been an expensive and valuable item. The use of the animals as motifs to decorate whole garments may be part of the above explanation, but in addition Sophilos does still use only animals to decorate other vases. I am inclined to believe that the use of animals to decorate garments is very rare on later vases because their use declines dramatically with the next generation of vase painters; with this final decrease animal motifs rarely stand on their own, and are unlikely to be conceived of as suitable to frieze decoration on vases, let alone on garments.

Whatever the correct explanation for these unusual features may be, their most important feature for this discussion is that although Sophilos decorates women's garments in this manner on more than one vase, this type of decoration is atypical of what follows it. Therefore, although Sophilos seems to be the first artist to introduce this overall patterning, it is only with the artists who follow him that garment decoration takes on the form in which it will continue up to and beyond the appearance of red figure.

## The C Painter

<sup>11</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Athens Akropolis 587, *ABV* 39, 15; fig. 12.

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$ One red figure example, by the Andokides Painter, is known to me: Orvieto, Faina 64,  $ARV^2$  3, 5; fig. 80.

In terms of relative chronology, the C Painter is thought to begin work slightly before Kleitias, near the end of the career of Sophilos.<sup>14</sup> It is with these two, Kleitias and the C Painter, that the elaborate modes of garment decoration so familiar from later vases first appear. The C Painter's tripod pyxis in the Louvre appears to be quite an early example of gridded garments.<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 13) Several aspects of the garment decoration on this vase are worthy of note.

To begin with, one obvious aspect of these grids by the C Painter is their size. They are considerably larger than the grids which appear slightly later in our next group of vase painters. Another difference between this vase and later usage is the garments on which the C Painter places the grids. On this vase they appear on mantles more frequently than chitons or peploi, and for this use the artist covers the whole fall of the mantle with them. This is a very different usage from that which most artists settle into later, where the grid is used on chiton or peplos (most often the peplos, for the garments of women), decorating the skirt or bodice or both, while the mantle is usually done with alternating red and black stripes. This later habit must be due to increasing complexity of folds, which is especially the case on mantles as opposed to the garments beneath. Since grids are not compatible with folds something different is adopted for the decoration of mantles; and the alternation of red and black emphasizes the existence of the folds on the garment.

On this vase, the C Painter has used grids only to decorate the garments of women. Apparently this method of decoration was used mainly for women from the time of its initial appearance. This restriction of usage could be a reflection of actual practice, if the garments of women were more heavily ornamented with embroidered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>On the C Painter, see ABV 51 - 60, Para. 23 - 25, and Add. II 13 - 16; Boardman 1974 p. 243; his chronological chart shows relative starting points for the painters. <sup>15</sup>Paris Louvre Ca 616, ABV 58, 122; fig. 13.

or woven motifs than those of men. This seems quite likely to be the case but is difficult to verify because hard physical evidence is not a common occurrence; fabric is fragile and rarely survives to be discovered by the archaeologist.

The C Painter uses only one motif in his gridded garments, a cross with V's between the arms which is set diagonally. This alternates with blank black squares, a habit which persists in the vase painting of the Amasis Painter at least occasionally. This alternation of motif and black not only reduces the amount of incision required, but also helps balance the garment and keep the surface from becoming too elaborate.

In addition to his grids, on this vase the C Painter also uses vertical central stripes on several garments. Two of these are filled with a fine diagonal grid, which is too delicate to admit motifs within the squares. Another is filled with a double interlocking zig zag pattern. A fourth is filled with the same cross with v's alternating with a dotted incised band and black spaces. The final vertical stripe is especially interesting because it occurs on a garment which is also decorated with a grid. The stripe, which contains the interlocking zig zag, interrupts the grid rather than being superimposed on it; this combination is an unusual one.

Another unusual use of patterning on this vase is visible on the mantles of several figures. The C Painter has added strips of patterns where otherwise red might have been used. On the leg of the vase with the married couple in the chariot, for example, the woman facing the chariot and closest to it has a stripe filled with a diagonal grid over her front arm. Similar stripes are visible in the scene of the birth of Athena. These cannot represent folds, because there are no waves or ripples visible in the hem trim band of these mantles. This vase

precedes the development of folds and elaborate drapery, and the C Painter is using patterns as an alternative to stripes of added colour.

This vase represents another step in the development of the use of pattern by Attic black figure artists. It has a lavish use of trim bands for hems and edges, which appeared previously in vase painting. Now it also has grids, both in stripes and applied overall: the two appear to have come into use simultaneously. The grids, however, have not settled into the size and usage which will become typical. There is also experimental use of pattern by the artist in decorative stripes on mantles, a use of pattern which does not seem to continue. With the next vase to be examined, the application of patterns in the way that will become standard is to be seen.

#### **Kleitias**

On the François Vase, Kleitias continues to use the elaborate hem trim bands which we have seen before. <sup>16</sup> (Fig. 14) This artist tends to make them especially elaborate along mantle edges; this is particularly visible on the youths in the scene of the Athenians, rescued from the Minotaur, arriving from Crete. On these figures the bands are particularly wide and Kleitias fills them with zig zags and interlocking meanders. The girls in the procession all wear peploi, and these are decorated either with overall grids with motifs such as the dotted cross in them, or with a broad stripe which is usually visible on the bodice as well as the skirt of the garment. Interestingly, these stripes are not filled with grids, but usually blocked into a single line of squares filled with alternating motifs such as the dotted cross and the single meander.

A few other methods of decoration in addition to the strips and grid are visible on this vase. One of the Athenian maidens has her bodice and skirt decorated with broad stripes, matched with each other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>On Kleitias see ABV 76 - 79, Para. 29 - 30, Add. II 21 - 22. Florence Museum 4209, ABV 76, 1; fig. 14.

over the two parts of the garment, which probably alternating being painted red and left black. In the band depicting the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, one of the Muses, named as Ourania, who stands in the middle of the trio immediately behind Dionysos, has a very broad area of both bodice and skirt marked off by double lines into spaces which seem by the photographs to have traces of red paint.<sup>17</sup> Dionysos, on the same band of the vase, who carries an amphora and turns full face to the viewer, is a male figure wearing a gridded chiton with a white painted mantle over it.<sup>18</sup> This is an exceptional instance of a gridded full length garment on a male figure. Indeed, grids do sometimes appear on chitonisko - skirts worn by warriors, and in one exceptional instance Exekias applies a grid to a mantle, reminiscent of the usage of the C Painter except for its fineness.

#### Lydos

The group of vase painters following the C Painter and Kleitias is where we pick up the examination of patterning, and indeed added colour, in closer detail. For this discussion a total of 79 vases and fragments attributed to Lydos were examined. (See table 1, pp. 356 ff.) Of that number, 24 pieces had very little patterning due to the small size of the fragments or the area covered by them. These have been omitted from the discussion that follows because of their small size and lack of patterning, and have been placed in a category of their own at the end of the table for Lydos. It is important to note, however, that other pieces that lack patterning but of which the fragments constitute a substantial area have been included, because in his case the absence of patterning over the main area of decoration is more certain. In ABV attributed 85 vases to Lydos in his main list, with three more in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Beazley 1986 pl. 24. 3; fig. 14. <sup>18</sup>Beazley 1986 pl. 24.2; fig. 14.

addenda, and a further 14 in *Paralipomena*..<sup>19</sup> This total of 102 was reduced when two fragments of plates were shown by Callipolitis - Feytmans to belong to the same vase.<sup>20</sup> My total represents a significant proportion of the total of 101 Beazley attributions plus any later additions, and should be an adequate sample.

On these vases Lydos uses a total of 22 different motifs (see appendix 1 p. 322). These can be divided into two categories, those which he prefers for decoration in bands, at hems and necks for example, and those which are applied overall to the whole area of a bodice or skirt, or at least for a broad stripe rather than for a relatively narrow band. There are four motifs which are used for both purposes. These include the square, the meander, and a plain fine grid, all of which are divided more or less equally between the two applications. The fourth motif, the ring, is used mainly for trims with just one exception.

The reason I chose to divide the motifs used by Lydos into these two categories was that some variation in the types of motifs used for the different places was apparent. Like the other black figure artists whose work I examined, Lydos does have favourite motifs in each category. For the overall decoration of garments, the artist's overwhelming favourite is the dot rosette, which he uses about twice as often as his second choices, red dots and the cross with V's, and four times as often as the scales. For his garment trims, the herringbone design (which consists of V's lying on their side facing either left or right) appears twice as often as fine white dots and vertical zig zags. These single lines of white dots are most often used to frame a band of another motif. The herringbone appears about three times as often as

<sup>19</sup>ABV pp. 107 - 113, 684; Para. pp. 43 - 46; Add. II 29 - 32.

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$ The two fragments from the same plate are ABV 112, 53 and 112, 57; Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 p. 118 and pl. 24.22.

the following motifs, the incised dots, guilloche, and the interlocking V's.

These proportions indicate an interesting split in Lydos' use of motifs, between incised motifs and those executed in added colour. In terms of the number of garments on which each different motif is used, the band herringbone motif is used most often, followed by the overall dot rosette and the band motif of fine white dots. So although the motif Lydos uses most often is an incised one, the next two are dependent on added colour. The rest of these motifs, with the exception of the red dot, are all incised. In overall terms, therefore, Lydos appears to prefer incised motifs to those which involve added colour. He uses a much greater variety of incised motifs and these are also more important in terms of overall numbers.

Although Lydos' overall preference for incised motifs may seem rather out of place compared to some other black figure artists such as the Amasis Painter, another factor which must be taken into account offsets this. Lydos uses a very great deal of added colour, especially on his garments. This must be linked to the greater variety and number of trim motifs he uses compared to his overall motifs. He regularly paints whole garments red, and occasionally white as well. The Amasis Painter also does this regularly, but more often with chitoniskoi rather than the full length garments, thereby lessening the areas of added colour.

Lydos, on the other hand, most often paints full length garments red; he is obviously not concerned with moderating the sizes of these areas of added colour. The artist does female garments as well as those of men in this manner.<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 15) He also decorates whole mantles with added red, especially those that are wrapped diagonally.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 16)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Garments of several maenads, New York 31.11.11, column krater, ABV 108, 5; fig. 15. <sup>22</sup>Athens, Kerameikos 1909, plate, ABV 112, 55; fig. 16.

Both of these uses of added colour are different from the Amasis Painter's typical use on smaller garments. Lydos also decorates chitoniskoi in this way,<sup>23</sup> which is more typical of what follows. (Fig. 26) In fact, despite the Amasis Painter's extensive use of added colour, in this respect it is a lesser element in his vase painting that in that of Lydos.

Lydos' extensive use of added colour to decorate whole garments precludes the addition of any other patterning. Black figure artists simply do not use overall patterning on garments which have been painted wholly red or white. The exception to the rule is the fine, wavy vertical lines which appear on several white garments attributed to Lydos,<sup>24</sup> but these are almost certainly intended to be indicative of texture instead of patterning. (Figs. 17,18) On a garment which is painted completely red or white, neck and hem trim bands are the only options for patterning left to the artist. This is one explanation for the great prominence of this kind of patterning on the vases of Lydos.

In fact, his unusual habit of painting long garments and mantles completely red may be Corinthianizing, along with his regular use of scales over relatively large garment areas. Group E also uses scales to decorate garments, more often than any of the other black figure artists whose work I examined, even more often than Lydos. (See pp. 123 -127 following.) This may also be due to Corinthian influence, since they are thought to begin work about the same time as Lydos, but this influence is less apparent in their work than in that of Lydos, and there are other considerations in the work of Group E to take into account.

Payne originally defined several groups of vases as being Attic imitations of Corinthian vase painting.<sup>25</sup> These include the group of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Harvard 1959.127, plate, ABV 112, 54; fig. 26; New York 31.11.11, ABV 108, 5; fig. 15,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Athens AP 2087, plate, ABV 112, 53; fig. 17; Athens 507, plate, ABV 112, 56; 18. <sup>25</sup>Payne 1931 pp. 189 ff.

vases in the Polos style (first defined by Beazley), the Deianeira Group, which appears to be all by one artist, and another group of various shapes which he considers to be by the Gorgon Painter and very likely by the same artist as the Deianeira Group. Payne groups a number of his vases into his Comast Group, of which Corinthian - shaped cups form the central part, but which also includes kotylai of Corinthian shape, tripod - kothons, column kraters, and bowls. He sees more than one hand decorating these vases, but is certain that all are Attic. places three vases together to form another unimportant imitatory group and four vases all of different shapes to the Group of the Dresden In addition to all these groups of Attic imitations of Lekanis. Corinthian pottery, he finds several other regional imitations, including Peloponnesian,<sup>27</sup> Cretan,<sup>28</sup> Boeotian,<sup>26</sup> Sicilian,<sup>29</sup> Etruscan,<sup>30</sup> Apulian.<sup>31</sup> All these are much fewer in number than the Athenian imitations. Payne dates the Attic imitations for the most part in the first quarter of the sixth century BC.

Following Payne's general delineation of groups of Attic vases reflecting a great deal of Corinthian influence, Kleinbauer goes further in defining the nature of the ideas exchanged. He focuses particularly on Attic vases of the second quarter of the sixth century BC, with special emphasis on Lydos and his group, and finds exchange in vase shape, technique, themes, figure types and style, and also subsidiary ornament, in short every major aspect of pottery and its decoration. Kleinbauer also argues intensely for ending the use of hyphenated terms, describing vases as Attico - Corinthian for example, and I have avoided the use of these terms because of their imprecise and confusing

<sup>26</sup>Payne 1931 pp. 202 - 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Payne 1931 pp. 204 - 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Payne 1931 p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Payne 1931 p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Payne 1931 p. 206 - 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Payne 1931 p. 209.

nature. The exchange, incidentally, does work in both directions, with Attic elements on Corinthian vases as well as vice versa, but here I am concerned only with the Corinthian influence on Athenian artists, and specifically Lydos.

Kleinbauer determined a number of specific indications of Corinthian influence in the vase painting of Lydos. Dot rosettes, for example, appear on some of his earliest vases, but go out of use later.<sup>32</sup> Some of the animals of Lydos and his companions also show Corinthian influence; specifically, cockerels include elements such as the application of red and white paint for the feathers, indented wing coverts, and fringed hackles.<sup>33</sup> The depictions of this bird by the group also tends to reveal "heraldic bearing", also Corinthian.<sup>34</sup>

Other, more general examples of Corinthian influence in Athenian vase painting include the adoption of certain themes. The warrior arming scene, with one warrior putting on a greave, is shown by Kleinbauer to have appeared first in Corinthian vase painting and to have been taken up by Athenian artists after falling out of favour with vase painters in the other city.<sup>35</sup> Another Corinthian theme is the frontal chariot; Beazley suggested its origins to be in that city, and points out that it nevertheless appears on Attic vases very early, with the Gorgon Painter.<sup>36</sup>

Corinthian influence upon Lydan vases also extends to garments. Kleinbauer finds that attempts to show folds on garments, by means of wavy vertical lines, appear first in Corinthian pottery. The earliest Athenian example, the François Vase, appears after several Corinthian depictions.<sup>37</sup> Following on from the François Vase, both Lydos and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Munich 1681, ABV 108, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Kleinbauer 1964 p. 364; Louvre E810, *ABV* 121, 14; Painter of Vatican 309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Kleinbauer 1964 p. 364.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Kleinbauer 1964 pp. 364 - 365.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Beazley 1951 p. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Kleinbauer 1964 pp. 366 - 367.

Amasis Painter depict folds in this manner; I found six examples on vases by Lydos and 11 on those by the Amasis Painter. (See appendices 1 and 5.)

With this precedent for Corinthian influence on garment depiction by Athenian artists, I would like to suggest that some of the unusual aspects of Lydos' garments may also be a result of Corinthian influence. The first of these is his unusual application of scales to whole garments. Other artists (such as Group E) also use scales to decorate garments other than Athena's aegis, but very rarely over both bodice and full length skirt. Lydos is exceptional in this respect.

Scales are applied as decoration over fairly large areas of Corinthian vases quite regularly, if not often, by the late Protocorinthian period.<sup>38</sup> These appear to be sometimes painted alternately red and black and also sometimes enlivened with a dot of added white.<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 19) Most often this motif appears to be applied over the lower neck and shoulders of a vase. Although late Protocorinthian is the period by which the motif has become quite usual, it is still fairly common for some time after that. There are a number of examples in Middle Corinthian. (In fact, Amyx has named a group after their almost constant use of the pattern, the Scale - Pattern Group.) An examination of Amyx's catalogue of Late Corinthian vases seems to indicate that at this period the pattern was rarely applied to vases in this manner, if at all.

What we do have from later periods, however, are several pieces on which the artists have patterned white garments with this motif. The first of these, and the most complete, is a column krater in the Louvre.<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 20) One side of this vase depicts a banqueting scene, with pale

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Amyx 1988b p. 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Examples: Berlin F1136 Amyx 1988c pl. 21.1a-c; Berkeley 8/3F4, Amyx 1988c pl. 61.1; Basel Market, fig. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Louvre E29, fig. 20; Payne 1931 pl. 34.3-4

skinned women reclining on the same couches as the dark skinned men. A number of the reclining women, at least three of them, wear mantles decorated with patterns of scales. Two of the three have black mantles with the scales incised; a third wears a reserved one on which the scales are executed in slip. In addition to these garments, at least two of the couches are also decorated with scales, one black with incised patterning, the other reserved with scales in slip. This vase is placed in the Middle Corinthian period by Payne.<sup>41</sup> The other two examples of this kind of patterning on garments extend over just a few small fragments. The first of these is in Basel.<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 21) The fragment is from a krater showing Herakles and Nereus wrestling. The white chiton worn by the penguin woman on the right is decorated partly with scales. The vase was originally a red ground one and Amyx places it in Late Corinthian I.43

The second of these examples are fragments from a much cruder pyxis in Corinth.<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 22) The protomai of two women which largely remain show them to have been wearing reserved garments, decorated with scales outlined in slip, with large, heavy, very black dots on them. Amyx considers this vase to be Corinthian II.45

In terms of absolute chronology, I follow Amyx, whose recent dates are essentially a revised version of the sequence initially set out by Payne. Based on this, scales have become a usual part of overall vase decoration by late Protocorinthian, 650 - 630 BC; this implies that their use in Corinthian pottery could have begun some time before this period. They are still extremely popular by Middle Corinthian, 595/590 - 570 BC, and it is at this time that Athenian black figure artists are very

<sup>41</sup>Payne 1931 p. **318.** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Basel, Cahn 1173, fig. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Amyx 1988b p. 582 - 583. <sup>4</sup>Corinth C-65-38, fig. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Amyx 1988b pp. 591 - 592.

are very likely to have been influenced by it. It certainly appears as a motif much earlier in Corinthian vase decoration than in Attic, and this points to the origination of scales on Corinthian pottery and thence to Athenian. Its great frequency in Corinthian pottery, even as an overall motif, in the period when Attic vase painters were developing more elaborate garment patterning, also points towards transference from Corinthian pottery.

The most complete application of scales to garments on Corinthian pottery, as well as other surfaces, belongs also the Middle Corinthian Period. The more fragmentary examples are later, ca. 570 - 550 BC, and the third falls in the period of latest Corinthian vase painting, after 550 BC. We can probably discard this latter as proof of anything, since it comes after the Lydan examples. The first of these does predate his work, though, and this also is suggestive of Corinthian origins for using scales over whole garments as well as over large areas of vases.

In absolute chronological terms, the first appearance of scales as garment patterning on the vases of Lydos is on his early vases.<sup>46</sup> (Figs. 23 and 24) In absolute terms Lydos begins work ca. 560 BC,<sup>47</sup> at about the same time as the Amasis Painter and Group E. This is somewhat later than the Middle Corinthian period, 595/590 - 570 BC, when scales were so often applied to large areas of vases, as well as our first examples of scales on garments, but not at so great a distance that the influence from Corinthian pottery is impossible or even unlikely. Lydos' proximity to Corinthian vase painting also helps to explain his frequent depiction of "penguin women".<sup>48</sup> In fact scales are also a

<sup>47</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 235

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Berlin 1685, amphora, ABV 109, 24; fig. 23, skirts and bodices of two women; Louvre F29, amphora, ABV 109, 21; fig. 24, skirts of two women. See appendix for more details.

<sup>\*</sup>This distinctive description of women wrapped up in their mantles was originated by Beazley, 1951 p. 42.

prominent part of the garment patterning of Group E, perhaps partly also as a result of Corinthian influence.

Another unusual aspect of Lydos' vase decoration, which may also be linked to Corinthian practice, is his habit of painting whole garments red. Particularly unusual is his decoration of full length garments with this colour; other vase painters such as the Amasis Painter will usually paint short garments red, but much less often long ones.

In Corinthian pottery full length red garments seem to start appearing in the Middle Corinthian period, just as scales are very prominent at this time. A column krater by the Detroit Painter, for example, includes wholly red mantles as well as full length garments.<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 25) Other examples from the same period include a number of vases by some of the various Frauenfest Painters.<sup>50</sup> As with the scales, this practice seems to have originated with Corinthian pottery, as part of their general love for added colour, and Lydos has brought it into his Attic work.

Lydos' unusual practices of decorating garments with scales and painting full length garments red extend the recognized range of Corinthian influence in his vase painting. Although the spirit of his work is not Corinthian, it is permeated with Corinthian influence in details, to a greater degree than Group E and the Amasis Painter, who start work about the same time as Lydos.

There are a number of other features of Lydos' work which seem to reflect Corinthian influence and are rather old fashioned. One such is his regular use of animal friezes on his vases, even on those which do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>New York 27.11.16, fig. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>The Beziers Frauenfest Painter, Montpellier 127, Amyx 1988a p. 230, 2, Amyx 1988c pl. 98.2. The Berlin Frauenfest Painter, Berlin F1151, Amyx 1988a p. 230, 21, Amyx 1988c pl. 99.1; the London Frauenfest Painter, London 1927.7-15.2, Amyx 1988a p. 230, 2, Amyx 1988c pl. 99.2; London 1965.7 - 20.20, Amyx 1988a pl. 230, 1, illustration Amyx 1988c pl. 99.3.

not appear to be particularly early.<sup>51</sup> In fact, a count of the subject descriptions in ABV<sup>52</sup> and Paralipomena<sup>53</sup> reveals 19 vases with animal bands, plus 8 cups with animals inside them. Some of those without animals, many of them in fact, are fragmentary, so that not enough of the vase is left to provide many indications of the subject matter.

In addition, the poses of his figures tend to be rather backward; a plate depicting two winged figures,<sup>54</sup> for example, has them in a knielauf pose, offset so that the onlooker can see two front and two back legs, a second facial profile and the tip of another wing. (Fig. 26) This very unrealistic pose is a rather schematic way of depicting speed, and appears very early in Attic black figure.<sup>55</sup> The artist's penguin women are also originally Corinthian, and once the artist paints Theseus with an incised rosette on his bottom.<sup>56</sup> Boardman describes Lydos as "rooted in the tradition of Athenian black figure...His is especially, though, the mood of the years before the mid - century...."<sup>57</sup> I hope this discussion has given some idea of the grounds for taking Lydos as an artist who is not progressive, and indeed backward - looking in many ways. His interest in decorating garments often only with bands of trim is only a part of this larger phenomenon.

Although Lydos' focus on trim decoration appears to be part of his old fashioned habits, he certainly uses a greater variety of motifs for this purpose than the artists who introduce this method of patterning. Lydos' total of fourteen different motifs in his trims is considerably

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Berlin 1732, oinochoe, ABV 110, 37, Rumpf 1937 pl. 29-31, with lions attacking deer and boars, as well other lions, deer and a panther; Athens, Akropolis 607, dinos, ABV 107, 1, below the main band, a band of animals being led to sacrifice, and then a hunt on horseback - both, it seems to me, rather Corinthian somehow; New York 31.11.11, column krater, ABV 108, 5, animals on the flat upper surface of the lip: swans, panthers and fawns, lions, bulls and boars; Harvard 1925.30.125, ABV 108, 9, column krater, in the main panel on one side, a sphinx between lions.

52pp. 107 - 113.

53pp. 43 - 46.

54Harvard 1959.127, ABV 112, 54; fig. 26.

<sup>55</sup> With the Gorgon Painter: Athens 1002, Para. 2, 6; fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>London B148, *ABV* 109, 29, Boardman 1974 fig. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 52.

higher than the two sometimes indistinguishable motifs used by the Gorgon Painter, for example. This difference must be a result of some further development of the decoration of garments in this way.

Lydos depicts very few gridded garments on the vases examined, for just nine garments are wholly gridded and two have gridded stripes. There are several factors involved in the small size of these numbers. First, although the artist does depict women regularly, he does not do Many of his vases include only male figures, and females so often. make up less than a quarter of the figures on his vases. This in itself reduces the opportunities for showing gridded garments, since from their appearance these are almost completely confined to the peploi worn by women and goddesses, with the occasional exception of the skirt of a warrior's chitoniskos. When Lydos does depict women, he sometimes shows them muffled in a mantle or in a garment which is plain except for neck and hem decoration and sometimes added colour. One method he has for decorating women's garments, that of a covering of delicate, finely incised scales, also reduces the opportunities for decorating garments with a grid. These scales appear on seven different figures by the artist.

Although Lydos uses grid patterns much less often than some other black figure artists do, a number of factors appear to underlie this difference. Lydos uses a greater variety of methods of decorating women's garments. Another difference between this artist and later ones like Exekias is that Lydos consistently shows female figures wearing the ependytes, a knee - length overfold. This is usually shown divided in front, sometimes falling flat and sometimes in folds. The extra garment breaks up the flat area the skirt would otherwise provide for decoration, which Exekias so consistently exploits. When Lydos

does depict a female wearing a gridded garment, or indeed one with the added decoration of scales, he does not include the ependytes.

Another factor may be involved in the infrequent use of this method of decoration by the artist. (See appendix 1 p. 322.) The distribution of these figures with more complex garment patterning is quite concentrated. One vase in Berlin, a type B amphora, 58 is decorated with a Trojan theme; one side depicts the slaying of Priam, the other the ambush of Troilus. (Fig. 23) On the ambush side one female wears a peplos decorated completely with a grid; in the squares is the motif of a cross with V's. The other woman on this side of the vase has bodice and skirt decorated with very elegant dotted scales. On the other side of the vase, another woman has the same scale pattern on her peplos, a second woman behind the altar has a grid with a small incised cross in the squares on her garment, and a third has a very fine diagonal grid down the central stripe of her skirt. These last two are particularly interesting because Lydos has differentiated the tiny strip of pattern visible beneath their raised arms from the patterning of the overfold of the garment, which is a subtle refinement towards realism. On this single vase, therefore, there are two scaled garments, two with the overall grid, and one with the grid stripes. That is almost one quarter of the totals for these different decorative methods on a single vase.

A second vase of a different shape, an oinochoe also in Berlin,<sup>59</sup> shows a similar proportion of the overall total of this kind of patterning. (Fig. 27) Instead of panels, this vase is decorated with overall bands, the main one of which extends over slightly more than half the length of the body. This band depicts the battle of Herakles and Kyknos, with Athena standing behind the hero and two chariots moving away from the central duel, one on each side, which fill the remaining space.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Berlin 1685, *ABV* 109, 24; fig. 23. <sup>59</sup>Berlin 1732, *ABV* 110, 37; fig. 27.

Athena's bodice and what appears to be a flat overskirt are decorated by a grid in which a cross with V's alternates with blank black squares. (Fig. 29) Kyknos wears a diagonally slung overgarment which is also gridded, in which the cross with V's alternates with incised squares. Again, these represent a high proportion of the overall total, and interestingly, some rather realistic and complicated folds on the chitoniskos of Kyknos point to a late date for this vase.

A third vase provides much of the rest of the gridded garments that make up the total. The dinos from the Athenian acropolis, 60 despite being very fragmentary, has had its subject and composition very well reconstructed, and the attribution of the fragments to a single vase is secure, based on a number of considerations.<sup>61</sup> There are three gridded skirts on these fragments, two filled with the cross with V's alternating with the dot rosette, and a third filled with the dot rosette alternating with a single meander. (Fig. 28) Again, this is a significant proportion of the total, especially on a vase which is so fragmentary; there must have been a great deal more patterning on the majority of the vase, which is lost.

Some plates, all of them very fragmentary, finish up these totals. One shows Athena standing behind Herakles;<sup>62</sup> she, interestingly, wears no aegis, but her skirt is covered with scales and another female figure wears a gridded skirt with the squares filled with the cross with V's. A second plate, 63 which appears to be much earlier, has one woman in a scaled skirt and another whose skirt is decorated in two vertical lines of the cross with V's, each motif in its own square. (Fig. 30) Again, each of these vases has more than one elaborately patterned garment on it.

<sup>63</sup>Florence, Va. 102b, ABV 111, 46; fig. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Athens Acropolis 607, *ABV* 107, 1; signed; fig. 28. <sup>61</sup>For a full discussion see Moore 1979. <sup>62</sup>Athens, Akropolis 2410, *ABV* 111, 50; fig. 29.

What these examples seem to indicate is that firstly, Lydos does not use overall patterning very often. When he does use it, there generally appears to be more than one example on each vase, so he seems to be concentrating his efforts in this direction on certain vases, perhaps to create a balanced effect. Another factor on several of these vases which sets the apart is the presence of white painted garments, which are unusual, and these are incised with fine, slightly wavy vertical lines, which create a textural effect and may be indicative of a lighter kind of fabric.<sup>64</sup> (Figs. 23, 27, 28, 29) The recurring use together of this textural effect in conjunction with this more complex patterning enriches these vases even further.

The great variations in the shapes of the vases cited above seems to indicate that although shape and size may be one consideration involved in making these vases special, it cannot be the only one. Nevertheless, several of these vases are special in some way. The type B amphora in Berlin, for example, has a very specific mythological theme, which is the same on both sides, and that sets it apart from the majority of Lydos' vases. The Trojan theme, too, is not a particularly common one, although it does occur occasionally on vases by other artists as well as Lydos. The type I oinochoe is a less common shape than some others, both by Lydos and generally, and this marks it out as something at least slightly out of the ordinary, even though it is not particularly rare. The Akropolis dinos is special in the same way, being a somewhat unusual shape, and given its size and the unusual complexity of its decoration within the oeuvre of Lydos, the fact that it is signed must be significant. The plates, which are neither as large nor as unusual within the artist's oeuvre as the oinochoe, at least provide a flat surface to work on.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Athens Akropolis 2410, plate, *ABV* 111, 50; fig. 29; Athens Akropolis 607, dinos fragments, *ABV* 107, 1; fig. 28, two garments; Berlin 1732, oinochoe, *ABV* 110, 37; fig. 27, chitons of 2 charioteers; Berlin 1685, amphora, *ABV* 109, 24; fig. 23, chitoniskos skirt of Greek.

Speculation about whether these vases might have been specially commissioned, thus explaining both shape and complexity, would be interesting but futile. In any case, some of these vases are set apart by other factors in addition to their patterning.

In absolute chronological terms, Lydos begins work about the same time as the Amasis Painter. ca. 560 BC.65 Comparison of the two reveals that Lydos does seem to have a more old fashioned approach.<sup>66</sup> The two artists share a very common use of added colour, on whole garments as well as for small details like wreaths. They use about the same number of motifs, and share the same basic repertoire in terms of types of motifs, particularly favouring the dot rosette, although Lydos uses scales to a much larger degree. The Amasis Painter also varies his garment trims (see appendix 5 p. 326), although not to the same extent as Lydos, and in his case they are much more often used with some additional patterning on the garment. The Amasis Painter, in fact, depicts gridded garments half as often as Lydos, which is interesting. This difference underscores the rarity of this kind of garment patterning by the Amasis Painter; it is not only relative to Exekias that he uses few grids on garments. This appears also to be the case relative to more contemporary artists, such as Lydos, who share the same chronological starting point.

#### The Princeton Painter

Despite the Princeton Painter's fairly minimalist approach to the patterning of garments, he does not, unlike Lydos, feature varied trim patterning to compensate.<sup>67</sup> (See appendix 2 p. 323) The Princeton Painter uses five of his motifs to decorate trims. The most elegant of these, the guilloche, he uses once, and the rest of his trim motifs are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Following conventional chronology, that is; Boardman 1974 p. 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>For the Amasis Painter, see pp 90 - 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>On the Princeton Painter, see ABV 297 - 301, Para. 129 - 130, Add. II 78.

quite basic; the dot is his overwhelming favourite. Unlike Lydos, when the Princeton Painter uses white dots at hem and neck, these are generally on their own, rather than as lines framing a band of more elaborate incision.<sup>68</sup> (Fig. 31) The Princeton Painter does not share the Lydan focus on trim decoration, perhaps because he is a younger artist.

Added colour is still very important to the Princeton Painter, as is evidenced by the dot rosette, which is his favourite motif for patterning the body of garments. He consistently paints alternate stripes on diagonal mantles red<sup>69</sup> (Fig. 32) as well as bodices, chitoniskos skirts, and panels on longer peplos skirts.<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 33) In addition, accoutrements such as helmet crests, greaves, and shields, provide more opportunities for the application of added colour. One thing which he does only rarely is to paint the whole area of a garment red. If a bodice is red, the skirt will be black or at least have black stripes.<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 34) The few garments which he does paint wholly red tend to be ones of smaller area, such as chitoniskoi.

Indeed, these various stripes and swathes of red are the Princeton Painter's favourite method of decorating garments, and the dots and dot rosettes he uses are often placed on the black areas of garments decorated in this way. This is not always the case, however, and sometimes the artist uses lines of motifs, either the dot or the incised cross, to cover a smaller area such as a chitoniskos skirt or the overfold of a peplos. When he does this, which is not often, the motifs can be quite closely spaced, or further apart.<sup>72</sup>

The Princeton Painter does use grids to decorate garments, all confined to part of a garment, never a whole one on the vases examined,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>Tarquinia 624, *Para*. 130, 15bis; fig. 31, single lines at neck, sleeve and hem of rider's chitoniskos. <sup>69</sup>Rhodes 1346, amphora, *ABV* 298, 7; fig. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>Naples 144, *ABV* 298, 13, fig. 33. <sup>71</sup>New York 53.11.1, *ABV* 298, 5; fig. 34. <sup>72</sup>London B212, ABV 297, 1; Boardman 1974 fig. 140.

so that a skirt will be decorated with a grid while the bodice might have red dots on it instead. (See appendix 2 p. 323.) The artist uses another form of overall patterning, the scale, several times, but this is confined to even smaller areas than the grid, such as chitoniskos skirts or even just a central stripe on them. When the Princeton Painter does use gridded decoration, the motifs he puts into the grid squares are very small and simple, either the cross or the dot. The use of these uncomplicated motifs in the grids means that the elegance created by the use of more detailed motifs is lacking.

Generally the Princeton Painter is little interested in incision or patterning. His limited repertoire includes mainly simple, basic motifs. When he does include a slightly more detailed motifs such as the scales on his figures, these lack the precision and uniformity which make the same motif by other artists so elegant. Instead, the Princeton Painter's scales are a little careless, a little sketchy, and vary in size as well as direction. (Fig. 34) The artist's grids may be more regular, but they lack the added detail which makes those of other artists such a pleasure to look at. The Princeton Painter is competent, but uninspired, lacking the spirit of Lydos and the Amasis Painter; chronologically speaking he appears approximately in the middle of their respective careers.

# The Euphiletos Painter

The body of vases attributed to the Euphiletos Painter is about twice as large as that of the Princeton Painter. In *ABV* Beazley attributed 43 vases, with a further eight in *Paralipomena*. Of these I examined 21; one was very fragmentary, and a second was poorly illustrated, so that little information could be gleaned from the pictures. This artist seems to have mainly painted fairly large vases, including a variety of amphorae, hydriai, an oinochoe, and some plaques.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>New York 53.11.1, *ABV* 298, 5; fig. 34; Princeton 168, *ABV* 299, 19, Boardman 1974 fig. 138. <sup>74</sup>*ABV* 321 - 326, Para. 143 - 143; *Add. II* 87 - 88.

Although the single dot is the artist's favourite motif, and on the body of garments this motif is executed with added colour, the artist's next two preferred motifs are both incised ones, so he does not have an especially strong preference for added colour motifs. (See appendix 3 p. 324.) Although the Euphiletos Painter does use a variety of incised motifs, the more complex ones such as the cross with V's and the curly cross only appear a few times, while his two favourites, the incised cross and the ring, are very easy to execute.

Only three gridded garments appear on these vases; just one of these is a whole gridded skirt. The other two are an ependytes, which extends only to the knee, and a central band on another example of the same garment. This method of decorating garments is clearly quite unimportant to the Euphiletos Painter. His clothed figures instead have their garments covered by incised folds, which are sometimes sketchy, but sometimes (especially on his Panathenaics) very fine, careful and detailed. Even on some examples with very fluid folds he retains the tradition of painting alternate folds red,75 but it is difficult to assess how often this was the case from illustrations. (Fig. 35) It does seem to occur more often on mantles than chitons and peploi. He tends not to paint whole garments red, a characteristic which both Lydos and the Princeton Painter displayed regularly, probably because the Euphiletos Painter does include folds on almost every garment, even the little chitoniskos skirts that these other two artists often either painted red or covered with an overall pattern such as scales or a grid.

It is also worth noting that despite this artist's almost constant use of folds on garments, his vases still feature a variety of motifs. As I said before, though, he uses the simplest ones most often and the more complex motifs are much less common in his work. His favourite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>Cabinet des Médailles 254, ABV 324, 38; fig. 35.

motif, the single dot, is particularly well suited to placement between folds because of its small but variable size. His second favourite, the incised cross, is also suited to use with folds for the same reasons. The Euphiletos Painter does use some more complex and larger motifs between folds as well, such as the dot rosette, the dotted cross, and some different groups of dots, but these occur much less often than the smaller, simpler motifs.

Because there are so few examples of grids on the vases by the Euphiletos Painter, it is worthwhile looking at where these occur in his work. Two of the three examples of this kind of garment decoration appear on the ependytes of Athena on Panathenaic amphorae; this shape seems by its prominence in his work to have been something of a speciality.<sup>76</sup> One example consists of a diagonal grid with an incised cross in the squares.<sup>77</sup> (Fig. 36) The second example features only the central band of the garment, also with a diagonal grid, with an unusually elaborate pattern filling the squares; this consists of diamonds with white dots at the corners.<sup>78</sup> (Fig. 37) Both of these figures have only the central band of the ependytes decorated by the grid, and on both there are smooth, curving lines on either side of the central band which indicate folds on the ependytes. On the second example cited, more folds are apparent on the part of the skirt which appears below the knee - length ependytes, in a fairly symmetrical fan - like arrangement of wavy lines which nevertheless have little depth of fabric indicated at the hem.

The Euphiletos Painter's third example of a grid is also found on a depiction of Athena, but on a hydria rather than the Panathenaic amphorae.<sup>79</sup> (Fig. 38) The main panel of decoration, on the body of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>14 Panathenaics of 49 attributed vases in ABV and Paralipomena.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Tarquinia 627, *Para*. 142, 12bis; fig. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Boston 99.520, *ABV* 322, 7; fig. 37. <sup>79</sup>Louvre F290, *ABV* 324, 37; fig. 38.

vase, depicts two heroes, both fully armed, playing a game. They must be Ajax and Achilles, although neither is labelled, because the presumed originator of this theme, Exekias, does label the figures on this original amphora. (Fig. 70) The Euphiletos Painter has added a third figure to the scene; Athena, wearing helmet and aegis and carrying her spear, is standing between the heroes with one hand raised in a gesture by which she seems to be trying to get their attention. A diagonal grid covers her skirt to the knee; this may be another of the ependytai so favoured by the artist. In this case the squares of the grid are filled with incised rings.

In this scene I suspect the extension of the grid to cover the whole ependytes could be a response to the superb, intricate incision on Exekias' scene in one of two ways, especially as the unusual motifs used by the artist are suggestive of direct imitation of that artist. First, the Euphiletos Painter may have used the grid simply because the incision on the original scene is so elaborate. Second, and perhaps more likely, the gridded ependytes may be a deliberate echo of Exekias' standard method of depicting female garments. I will discuss how common this method of decorating garments is for this artist, and the other black figure artists whose work I have examined do not share this characteristic.

The cloak of at least one of the heroes, the one on the left, is decorated in a way very similar to the original of Exekias, with the garment divided into sections by decorated bands. On the Euphiletos Painter's version the bands lack the elegant guilloche and meander patterns seen on the heroes of Exekias, to say nothing of the delicate and varied incision which fills the sections of the original. Instead the Euphiletos Painter has filled the sections with a single large motif, a

<sup>80</sup> Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

petal - cross, with a broad incised line in each of the interstices of the cross creating a flowerlike or starlike effect. Admittedly these are not executed with much care, but there is some similarity, if only conceptual, to the large white flowers on the cloaks of Exekias' heroes. On the original vase these form a particularly prominent part of the decoration, both because of their size and because of their execution in a well preserved added white. This petal - cross is unique on the vases I examined by the Euphiletos Painter, and may be an indication that he had seen the original vase of the same subject.

The question which then arises is whether or not any other aspects of the Euphiletos Painter's patterning habits reflect the influence of Exekias, the master of black figure patterning. Exekias uses a considerably larger repertoire than the Euphiletos Painter. (See appendix 7 p. 328.) In addition, his four favourite motifs are all incised, and he displays stronger preferences in regard to which motifs he uses. Overall incised, complex motifs play a much more important part in his vase painting than they do on vases of the Euphiletos Painter, even though the two artists use some of the same motifs.

The numbers of vases I examined by these two artists are about the same; this fact simplifies the comparison of the two and highlights the differences between them. Although the Euphiletos Painter seems to have been influenced by Exekias on this particular vase, therefore, this influence does not seem to continue in the rest of the Euphiletos Painter's work.

In terms of absolute chronology, the Euphiletos Painter is thought to have begun work slightly after Exekias finishes.<sup>81</sup> It would appear, based on this comparison of the two artists, that some aspects of Exekias' vase painting were more influential than others. Its more

<sup>81</sup> Boardman 1974 p. 234.

subtle aspects of Exekias' Ajax and Achilles are gone from the Euphiletos Painter's version, specifically the implied dominance of Achilles in throwing a slightly higher hand of dice<sup>82</sup> as well as possessing added height given by the helmet he still wears, while Ajax has removed his own.<sup>83</sup>

## The Lysippides Painter

Illustrations of 27 vases attributed to the Lysippides Painter were examined. This is a larger number than the 25 vases originally attributed to this artist by Beazley in *ABV* and *Paralipomena*,<sup>84</sup> but includes some additional attributions made later on. Only one of Beazley's original attributions was omitted, due to inadequate illustrations.<sup>85</sup>

Although the Lysippides Painter does use some motifs much more often than others, and this is indicative of preferences on his part, the motifs he uses do not display the great differences in numbers that those of other artists display. (See appendix 4 p. 325.) His three favourite motifs are incised, with added colour dots, dot rosette and six petal flower, all of which are executed in added colour, appearing less often. His use of this flower motif, as well as the dot square, adds some variety to the motifs in added colour which he uses; neither of these are very common on the vases of other black figure artists.

The Lysippides Painter uses 18 gridded garments on these vases. Of these, most are overall grids, covering the whole area of a skirt or bodice, and three are only stripes. One of these is only a trim band in which the rings are separated, with each in its own box. His preference,

~

<sup>82</sup> Four, as opposed to Ajax's three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>On Exekias' depictions and characterization of Ajax see Moignard 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>ABV pp. 254 - 257; Para. pp. 113 - 114; Add. II 65 - 67...

<sup>85</sup>Bonn 62b, ABV 255, 11.

therefore, is for overall gridded garments, but it should be noted that the artist also regularly scatters motifs over a garment, as well as placing them between folds or leaving the folds plain. 86 (Figs. 84, 91)

The Lysippides Painter also uses added colour regularly, although to a lesser extent than some of the artists discussed previously. He often uses red for details such as alternate leaves in garlands (which, incidentally, he outlines nicely with incision, executing each leaf separately, rather than simply blobbing them on with the colour), hair (the occasional beard, and more often manes and tails of horses), and details of armour (mainly shield crests and rims).87 (Figs. 40, 42) He also applies added white consistently for female flesh, which is quite usual, occasionally for a garment (Fig. 39), 88 and for the beard and hair of an older man, as well as a petasos on the same vase.<sup>89</sup> His incision of the garlands is unusual, but otherwise all these applications of added red and white are quite standard.

On garments, however, the Lysippides Painter's use of added colour is more unusual. He rarely uses red or white for whole garments. There is a single white chiton used for Dionysos (Fig. 39),90 and a single chitoniskos skirt which is wholly red.<sup>91</sup> (Fig. 41) The white chiton of Dionysos is exceptional, and the chitoniskos skirt is a small area of added colour, made even smaller by a broad band of trim at the hem. Wholly red or white garments are uncommon in the artist's work.

Although the Lysippides Painter does regularly paint folds red, these are executed in a manner quite different from the wide alternate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup>British Museum B492, ABV 256, 19; Boardman 1974 fig. 166; Munich Antikensammlungen 2301, bilingual, ABV 255, 4; ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 9; fig. 84; Munich Antikensammlungen 1575, ABV 256, 16; fig. 91.

87 Munich 1478, *ABV* 255, 13; fig. 39; New York 58.32, *Para*. 114, 10bis; fig. 42.

88 Munich 1478, *ABV* 255, 13; fig. 39.

89 Villa Giulia 24998, *ABV* 255, 9, Hermary 1978 fig. 8.

90 Munich 1478, *ABV* 255, 13; fig. 39.

91 Zurich, ETH 7, *ABV* 256, 17; fig. 41.

folds seen, especially for mantles, in the works of Lydos and the Princeton Painter. (Figs. 15, 34) The folds the Lysippides Painter incises are rarely broad ones; instead, they are more closely spaced, more fluid and realistic than these less developed versions. (Fig. 41) This is the case not only on garments such as chitoniskos skirts, but also on some mantles which other artists show with broad, flat looking diagonal folds. The folds are still slanting across the body, but they do so at a steeper angle, which is more natural, and the fold lines have more of a curve to them, so that they seem to actually wrap around the body. (Fig. 39) In fact, the artist does not often show figures wrapped up in the old fashioned kind of mantle; his characters are more mobile and less restricted by their garments than those of earlier artists.

Another difference with the Lysippides Painter is that he does not always fill in these more fluid, narrower folds with red. Nor does he consistently paint alternate folds red; he often has a lighter hand with the paint. Although sometimes he decorates both whole and alternate folds red, more often, he does alternate folds with a broad curving line of red that echoes the line of the fold but does not fill it (Fig. 42), as well as only every third or fourth fold partly red. (Figs. 43, 84) The combination of these factors, namely narrower folds which are not always completely red, and less often red as well, is part of what appears to be an overall characteristic of the Lysippides Painter's vase decoration, less colour applied generally. The decrease on whole garments as well as their folds is particularly evident.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup>British Museum B148, ABV 109, 29; fig. 40; Cabinet des Medailles 206, ABV 109, 27; Beazley 1932 pl. 10; Taranto 20137, ABV 112, 65; CVA Taranto 3 pl. 23; Princeton Painter Brussels R279, ABV 299, 20; CVA Brussels 2 pl. 5; New York 53.11.1, fig. 34.
 <sup>93</sup>Zurich, ETH 7, ABV 256, 17; fig. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Zurich, ETH 7, *ABV* 256, 17; fig. 41. <sup>94</sup>Munich 1478, *ABV* 255, 13; fig. 39.

<sup>95</sup> Munich 1575, *ABV* 256, 13, Boardman 1974 fig. 165.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>New York 58.32, *Para*. 114, 10bis; fig. 42.
 <sup>97</sup>Cambridge 37.12, *ABV* 257, 23, *CVA* Cambridge 2 pl. 4.1; Munich 2301, *ABV* 255, 4; figs. 43, 84.

The main purpose behind examining the vases of these black figure artists was to provide a context with which to compare Exekias and the Amasis Painter, as two of the most important black figure artists who are decorating pottery at the time red figure appears. This appears to be somewhat problematic, because each of the preceding four artists has rather individual characteristics; therefore, a more suitable method of comparison is to handle these artists on an individual basis instead.

#### **Conclusions**

Lydos and the Amasis Painter use about the same number of different motifs (see appendices 1 and 5, pp. 322, 326). They also share the same favourite motif, the dot rosette. Dots, however, are much less important on Lydos' vases than on those of the Amasis Painter, and Lydos' preferences are better balanced between incision and added colour, although his preference is for the former. He also uses some more complex motifs with greater frequency than the Amasis Painter, notably the cross with V's. In addition, Lydos uses gridded motifs about twice as often as the Amasis Painter; in fact the latter artist uses fewer grids than any other black figure artist I have studied except for the Euphiletos Painter (See appendix 3 p. 324). The explanation for this tendency, however, lies in the artist's preference for showing garments with folds.

The Lysippides Painter also uses a comparable number of motifs to Lydos and the Amasis Painter. He shows a slight preference for incised motifs, and prefers to use simpler ones most often. His three favourite motifs are all incised, namely the wavy line he uses so often for trims, rings, and the guilloche pattern. Dots are his fourth favourite and the dot rosette comes in even further down the list, but he also uses an unusual added colour motif which is only found elsewhere on the vases of Exekias, the six petal flower. The Lysippides Painter uses the

petal cross a few times, also an Exekian motif, which we have already seen on one vase of the Euphiletos Painter.

Another rather Exekian facet of the Lysippides Painter's work is his use of gridded garments. Numerically these do not approach the grids on used by Exekias (see appendix 7 p. 328), but it is much more frequent than any of the other black figure artists whose work I examined. There is about a fourfold difference between the Lysippides Painter and Lydos, a six fold difference between him and the Amasis Painter, and a three fold difference with the Princeton Painter. Given the consistently large size of these differences, the greater number of gridded garments used by the Lysippides Painter may be a reflection of Exekias' influence and that artist's notably frequent use of grids on garments. This characteristic sets the Lysippides Painter apart from other black figure artists.

Less clear are any additional links between Exekias and the Lysippides Painter in terms of the motifs he uses. Indeed, the overwhelming favourite of Exekias, the meander pattern, appears only a few times on vases by the Lysippides Painter, and the Exekian favourites of the square and cross with V's appear just twice and once respectively on vases by the Lysippides Painter, so it would seem that this artist does not favour exactly the same motifs as Exekias. However, as I have specified above, the Lysippides Painter does use two of Exekias' more unusual motifs, indicating the occurrence of some specific crossover, but it appears to be associated with specific subject matter, namely the game playing heroes, rather than being more general in nature. The Lysippides Painter seems to have been strongly affected by this vase.

The Princeton Painter is strongly akin to the Amasis Painter in terms of his preferences for motifs. This artist's favourite for overall

patterning is the dot rosette, with the dot his favourite trim motif, and other motifs are used much less often. In fact this artist uses fewer motifs than any other black figure artist examined. On these vases he uses fewer grids than the Lysippides Painter and Exekias, but more than Lydos and the Amasis Painter. A characteristic he shares with the latter two artists is his use of scales for overall patterning, a pattern which is much more common on his vases than theirs. Despite the more frequent use of the scales, the Princeton Painter tends to make them sketchier than those of the other two artists, so although more important numerically, they lack artistic care.

Even though each of these artists is different in terms of exact preferences, there are various threads in their patterning, which connect them. Lydos, the Amasis Painter, and the Princeton Painter all share the dot rosette as their favourite motif for overall garment patterning, for example. Exekias and the Lysippides Painter are linked by some special motifs, as well as a more frequent use of gridded garments than these others. The Euphiletos Painter, however, stands apart from these two groupings.

The Euphiletos Painter's preference seems to be for smaller motifs, both incised and added colour, such as dots, the cross, and incised rings. Larger, more elaborate motifs like the dot rosette and dotted cross are less popular on his vases, and he uses very few grids. This could initially seem to be quite an important link to the Amasis Painter, but in fact it is not, for the Euphiletos Painter prefers to decorate garments with folds and place his motifs between them. (Fig. 44) This is why there are so few grids on his garments, and also explains his preference for smaller motifs. The artist's regular use of folds sets him apart from what has been up to this point the mainstream

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>Boston 99.520, Panathenaic, *ABV* 322, 7; fig. 44; Copenhagen Chr. V111 809, *ABV* 324, 29, *CVA* Copenhagen 3 pl. 4a-b; Paris, Louvre F292, *Para*. 142; *CVA* Louvre 6 pl. 70.2, 4.

of vase painting. The differences in his preferences are indicative of a greater change in vase painting in general.

In general chronological terms the Euphiletos Painter is the latest artist whose work I examined; he is thought to start work about 525 BC, about the time red figure appears or just slightly after. 99 Artistically he is rooted in the most recent developments of vase painting. It is of interest to note that this artist particularly decorated Panathenaic amphorae, a type of vase which had a very traditional format for its decoration, with Athena on one side and the event for which the vase and its contents were a prize on the other. The Euphiletos Painter is bound to retain this format, but within it he depicts folds which are up to the minute in developmental terms, and shifts his patterns accordingly. The differences between his work and that of all the other black figure artists whose vases I examined can be linked to this change in garment depiction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 234.

# Chapter 3: The Amasis Painter

### Use of outline

One of the peculiarities of the Amasis Painter is his occasional use of outline to delineate female flesh, rather than the more usual technique of laying white paint over black slip, or indeed over the clay itself.<sup>1</sup> A total of six examples of the outline technique are attributed to the artist.<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 45 - 50) This particular aspect of his work is often mentioned as possibly acknowledging or at least foreshadowing the appearance of red figure ca. 530 BC.<sup>3</sup> The Amasis Painter's work begins ca. 560 BC and extends to a period approximately contemporary with the Pioneers, ca. 515 BC,<sup>4</sup> so either foreshadowing the new technique, or acknowledging its existence, is a possible reason for his use of outline. A closer examination of the six examples of outline may help clarify this question, although as always, caution is necessary when attempting to place pottery chronologically according to its style.

Of the six examples of outline attributed to the Amasis Painter, three are on relatively complete amphorae (two neck amphorae and a single one-piece amphora), and three consist only of fragments. Because of their good condition, the amphorae are easier to place stylistically within the artist's work, and so they will be examined first. Based on the sophistication of the incision and the use of folds in the drapery, Berlin 3210 can be placed quite late in the artist's career (Fig. 45), although not as late as the two Boston neck amphorae (Figs. 55, 56),<sup>5</sup> which exhibit extremely sinuous folds and which have been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>On the Amasis Painter see ABV 150 - 158, Para. 62 - 67, Add. II 42 - 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Berlin 3210, *ABV* 151, 21; fig. 45; Cabinet des Médailles 222, *ABV* 152, 25; fig. 46; Basel Ka 420, *Para.* 65; fig. 47; fragments Kavala Museum 983, *Para.* 65; fig. 49; New York 1985.57; fig. 48; and Samos Museum, *ABV* 151, 18; fig. 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>See for example Boardman 1974 p. 55; Cook 1972 p.85; Robertson 1991 p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>For a discussion of chronology and stylistic development see von Bothmer 1985 pp. 39-44, pp. 47-51, and a chronological table on p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Boston 01.8026 and 01.8027, ABV 152, 26 and 152, 27; figs. 55, 56.

compared to the work of the Pioneers.<sup>6</sup> Following von Bothmer's chronology, then, this vase may be assigned a date of ca. 530 BC, which is the beginning of the artist's "Late Period", extending from 530 BC to 515 BC.<sup>7</sup>

The Paris vase with two maenads, done in outline and in an armlock (Fig. 46),<sup>8</sup> seems to be about the same time or perhaps a little earlier than the Berlin amphora. In von Bothmer's estimation this vase belongs in the artist's middle period,<sup>9</sup> but not in its earliest stage. In terms of absolute dates, von Bothmer puts the artist's middle period between 550 BC and 530 BC,<sup>10</sup> and so the Paris amphora may be assigned an absolute date of ca. 540 - 530 BC.

The last amphora that features an outline female figure is in Basel.<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 47) Like both the other amphorae, this one features Dionysiac scenes. The scene of the grape harvest seems particularly comparable to the one in Wurzburg<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 51) and extremely similar to the other two amphorae with outline figures in both drapery and execution of figures, so it may be assigned to the same time frame, ca. 540 - 530 BC. Comparison of these three amphorae reveals that they are very similar and therefore we may say that they date to approximately the same time.

The three sets of fragments with outline figures are similar to the above-discussed Dionysiac vases. The fragments in New York<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 48) appear to be from a panel amphora and show bits and pieces of stippled satyrs and outline maenads, very similar in execution to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Beazley 1951 p. 58; for more discussion von Bothmer 1985 p. 53, and Karazou 1956 p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> von Bothmer 1985 p. 329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Bibliotheque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152, 25; fig. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Basel Antikenmuseum und Saamlung Ludwig, Ka 420, Para. 65; fig. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Wurzburg 265, ABV 151, 22; fig. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>New York 1985.57; fig. 48.

Basel amphora, and therefore approximately the figures contemporary with it. The fragments in Kavala<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 49) show stippled satyrs vinting wine and appear to be contemporary with the Basel amphora, and perhaps slightly later than the vinting scene in The fragments in the Samos Museum show satyr and Wurzburg. maenad couples and part of a column krater. (Fig. 50) These satyrs appear slightly rougher than the ones in the Berlin and Basel, perhaps closer to the ones in the Wurzburg vinting scene, and slightly earlier than those in Kavala and New York. But the distinction is slight and rather suspect, given the poor condition of parts of these fragments, and in any case the fragments in Samos appear to fit into the same basic period as all the other vases with outline: ca. 540 - 530 BC. This puts all of these outline pieces to about the same period (or slightly before) as the invention of red figure. Some of the pieces, however, show use of another refinement which is taken over and exploited in the new technique: the use of dilute slip.<sup>15</sup>

The panel amphora fragments in New York appear to display use of a dilute slip in several places: the contour of the ear and the overlapping ends of one maenad's bracelet, and the zig-zag necklace of another maenad, along with the fingers of a clenched fist which are just visible beneath the extended hand of Dionysos. (Fig. 48) The maenad's earring, in contrast, is done in dark slip that helps the hoop and its three pendant spikes stand out dramatically against her neck. On the outline figure of a woman, possibly Thetis, on the amphora in Berlin, the earring is similarly done in a very black slip. (Fig. 45) So are the contours of this woman's ears, for that matter. Her zig-zag necklace,

<sup>14</sup> Kavala Museum 983, Para. 65; fig. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Although the artist's amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles has a pair of outline maenads on it, my examination of the vase itself revealed spots of re - oxidation on the vase; these are most visible on the chitons of Dionysos and Poseidon in the illustrations. These make the examination of the use of dilute slip on the vase problematic, and so this vase (Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152, 25) is not included in the discussion that follows.

however, appears to be done in a thinner slip instead; it does not stand out as clearly as her earring does. On her right hand, which is clenched around a spear, a rather faint line of dilute slip appears to delineate her fingernails. This use of the dilute slip is particularly akin the the way it is used in developed red figure: to make subtle distinctions that on a real person would be differentiated only by contours.

The other side of this amphora also has dilute slip in a number of places on its outline figures. The ankle bones of all the maenads appear to be detailed in a thinner slip than the outlines of their bodies. So are the knees of the two naked maenads, and what appears to be a hint of a calf muscle on the forward leg of the right hand maenad. markings are particularly pale. The clothed maenad on the left side of the Dionysiac panel has quite a dark bracelet and necklace and the fingernails on her clenched left hand also appear to be delineated with a dark line. So clearly the artist did not use the dilute slip consistently, for all the same details on these outline figures. It is important, though, to be constantly aware that all of this discussion is based on black and white photographs in books, so a note of caution is appropriate. All the uses of dilute glaze mentioned here appear (quite definitely) to be a softer tone than other, blacker, lines in the photographs.

The type B amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter in Munich, 16 with a scene of the recovery of Helen by Menelaos, is attributed by von Bothmer to a time late in the artist's middle period, ca 530 BC,<sup>17</sup> and thus in the same range chronologically as all of the pieces with outline figures that have been attributed to the artist. The folds on the chitoniskoi of Menelaus and his armed companion, as well as those of Helen's mantle, appear to confirm this dating. (Fig. 52) The skin of

<sup>Munich 1383, ABV 150, 7; fig. 52.
von Bothmer 1985 p. 103; for the identification also see Karazou 1956 p. 5.</sup> 

Helen on this vase has been done in applied white, along with a number of other details of the scene. Helen wears a hoop earring and a necklace, the same jewellery as most of the maenads who are depicted in outline. Instead of using slip over the white paint, however, for this figure the artist has incised Helen's necklace instead, with the result that the black slip beneath the white paint shows faintly through.<sup>18</sup> contrast with this line her earring, which consists of a hoop with pendants like the outline maenads and Thetis all wear, is done with a broader line of dark slip. It stands out more boldly than the necklace; perhaps the artist felt this was necessary because the earring on Helen is very close to the large dark area of her hair. A quick examination of the jewellery of Thetis reveals the same situation; her earring is quite broad and dark, her necklace not as visible.

The white skinned maenads who appear with Dionysos and a pair of male revellers on the reverse of an amphora in the Louvre 19 are placed by von Bothmer to the middle of the artist's middle period, or ca. 540 BC.<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 53) Stylistically they appear to be from the same time, or perhaps just slightly earlier, than the pieces with the outline figures on them. One of these maenads is stepping forward in a dance while the other gestures to the reveller behind her. Both the maenads wear earrings, necklaces and bracelets; the pendants of their earrings are depicted in added red paint.<sup>21</sup> The rest of their jewellery appears to be depicted with a very dilute slip, as are the lines of their anklebones. This vase and these white skinned maenads, therefore, appear to indicate that the Amasis Painter's use of dilute slip in his outline figures was not exceptional within the body of his work. He uses (or seems to, based on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 103. <sup>19</sup> Louvre F36, *ABV* 150, 6; fig. 53. <sup>20</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 82. <sup>21</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 83.

illustrations) the same thinner slip in varying degrees on the female figures which he covers in white paint first. He does not use the dilute slip only on vases that are roughly contemporary with those with the outline figures, either, but also on some which appear to be earlier.

Another consideration which is important to note is that the artist seems to include essentially the same details on all his female figures, whether or not they are in outline. The white skinned maenads in the Louvre 22 have anklebones, toes, fingers jewellery and a single line in the arm each of them has raised as their sum total of anatomical detail. The same is true of the armlocked maenads in the Cabinet des Médailles, but in their case the line of muscle in the arm has been replaced with a slight line contouring the creases of skin on their outer bent elbows.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 46) It appears that the artist is not using outline for the purpose of exploring anatomy, or drapery either, since the clothed figures he depicts in outline have the usual opaque black drapery.

The extremely unexperimental nature of the anatomy in the Amasis Painter's outline figures becomes clear with examination of two of these pieces. The fragments in the Samos Museum show a maenad who appears to be armlocked in an embrace with the satyr behind her.<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 50) The depiction of her face and her arm holding the kantharos make it clear that she should be standing in profile to the onlooker, with the satyr's arms coming around her. The seemingly extra arm around the satyr's shoulders is another definitive indicator that her pose must have been intended as a profile one. If she was facing the onlooker with a frontal torso, there is no way that her arm could have appeared around the satyr's shoulder as it does. The Amasis Painter has taken the easy way out of the problem of how to depict her breasts by giving her

Louvre F36, ABV 150, 6.
 Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152, 25; fig. 46; von Bothmer 1985 pp. 125 - 129.
 Samos Museum, ABV 151, 18; fig. 50.

the same boxy, square profile as he gives his clothed women, and by omitting any hint of a breast in that view. He is clearly not interested in depicting naked women realistically, or in even making an attempt to do so despite lack of experience drawing this subject. These fragments only preserve a small amount of the maenad's body; another example will prove even more illuminating.

The Dionysiac scene on the amphora in Berlin includes two naked maenads, each armlocked with a satyr.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 45) A glance at the outlines of their bodies is very telling in regard to the approach the artist has taken with them. They are exactly the same shape as the satyrs beside them, except that they lack the male genitals. They have the same massive thighs and broad, shallow pectoral muscles as the naked men the artist depicts. The maenad on the left, whose face is preserved, has an almond shaped, female type eye, and this is the main characteristic that marks her out to be female. She has no breasts or nipples and the artist has not altered the line of her chest to give any indication that she is female. This is not the case only with his naked outline women; he takes exactly the same approach with his naked white skinned women on the Louvre cup-skyphos.<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 54) One woman on each side forms the centrepoint of the pairs of courting couples. These women are simply men in miniature, slightly smaller in stature than the men they face and lacking only genitals. At a glance, and if one did not understand the white paint differentiating them, these could be men. Except for the genitals, the anatomy is exactly the same, because no concessions have been made to the fact that women are shaped differently. In this case the use of white paint works to the artist's advantage, because the viewer

<sup>25</sup>Berlin 2310, *ABV* 151, 21; fig. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Louvre A479, ABV 156, 80, cup-skyphos with courting couples; fig. 54.

is aware that these figures are female no matter how masculine their bodies look.<sup>27</sup>

The Amasis Painter, then, is not depicting women in outline because he wants to experiment with the details of their figures. The details of the outline women are the same as the white skinned ones; their anatomy is treated in the same way too. And the artist is not trying to make his women more realistic by changing their skin tone either; if realism was his goal he would surely have shown the naked women with something other than a male pectoral muscle. His use of dilute slip does not betray any interest in altering the poses of these outline figures or in depicting more realistic anatomy. The different technique he uses for the outline figures does not provide any clues to the question of why he depicted some women in outline, particularly at a time very close to the invention of red figure proper, or possibly even overlapping it. It is not possible to pin down a chronology closely enough to say on stylistic grounds on which side of the invention of red figure the artist was working in outline. But perhaps the subjects in which he depicts outline figures can help clarify this issue.

As previously stated, a total of six works attributed to the Amasis Painter have outline figures. Three of these are fragments and all of the sets of fragments contain the outline figures as maenads in Dionysiac scenes. The other three pieces are amphorae, each with two main figural scenes on it. Of these six figured panels, five have outline women and one has a figure on Athena done in added white paint over a black slip. Four of the five amphora panels with outline figures are Dionysiac contexts. Satyrs and maenads press grapes and dance, interlocked on some panels and separated on others, with Dionysos at the centre of some of these scenes. The fifth panel is an arming scene,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>On the depiction of female figures in early red figure see Robertson 1992 pp. 27 - 28.

in which a woman in outline holds a Boeotian shield for an armed warrior. The Dionysiac connection of the majority of these outline figures is, potentially, the key.

Most important is the mood of the Dionysiac scenes. They are relaxed, happy occasions, sometimes with a frontal face adding comic overtones. (Fig. 51) Perhaps within this context the artist felt free to relax the convention of women having white skin, and so he used these scenes as a venue for experiment with outline. An examination of his vases has shown that the Amasis Painter was not using outline to develop greater anatomical realism; perhaps simply for a different effect instead. The outline would also serve to increase the amount of red in scenes that would otherwise have been dominated by black figures and the sometimes rather garish white.

It would appear that despite his use of outline in Dionysiac scenes, added white was still employed by the Amasis Painter for certain female figures. Specifically, the Athena on the Cabinet des Médailles amphora is one such figure. <sup>29</sup> (Fig. 46) Despite the outline maenads on the other side of the vase, the patron goddess of Athens had her skin coloured with white paint, now almost gone, over black slip. The fact that she was painted white while the maenads were done in outline may indicate that the Amasis Painter was working before, even just slightly, the advent of red figure. It shows that he was very much still rooted in, and tied up with black figure techniques and conventions. Especially, perhaps, for a figure like Athena, who was venerated and very important to the life of the city. The Amasis Painter, in view of the extant vases, seems to have been unwilling to do anything unconventional such as depicting this goddess in outline. Maenads have

<sup>29</sup>Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152, 25; fig. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Wurzburg L265 ABV 151, 22; fig. 51; on frontal faces generally see Korshak 1987; on those of Dionysos and the Gorgon, and their connotations, see Frontisi - Ducroux 1979.

an association with wildness and revellery which may have loosened the hold of conventions. If an artist wanted to experiment, this context would allow him to do so without upsetting traditions overly, or traditionalists for that matter.

There is a red figure Athena by the Andokides Painter,<sup>30</sup> an early red figure work. (Fig. 78) This would appear to indicate that there was no problem with depicting the goddess in this technique, and this appears to point again to the Amasis Painter working before the advent of red figure when he was depicting his outline figures. This was a stage in which the outline technique was still only an experiment, acceptable for use in a relaxed party context like a Dionysiac scene but not yet acceptable for a scene intended to be more serious, which had to follow conventions in order for the purchaser of the vase to consider it as a serious scene rather than something more lighthearted.

There is, of course, a single exception to the connection of the Dionysiac scenes with outline figures by the Amasis Painter. This is the female figure on the arming scene in Berlin.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 45) She is in the process of handing a Boeotian shield to a warrior. I have already stated that this vase appears to be quite late, but not as late as the Boston amphorae contemporary with the Pioneers.<sup>32</sup> (Figs. 55, 56) The Boston amphorae by the Amasis Painter can be dated ca. 520 - 515 BC because of this similarity.<sup>33</sup> And the Berlin amphora with a woman in outline could be put only a few years before this, and thus perhaps after the development of red figure as an alternative technique to black figure. Certainly the magnificent delicate incision of the animal whirl on the shield places it close to the Boston amphorae. The youth behind the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Berlin 2159, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, 1; fig. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Berlin 3210, ABV 151, 21; fig. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>This relationship was originally suggested by Beazley 1951 p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Boston 01.8026 and 01.8027, ABV 152, 26 and 152, 27; figs. 55, 56.

woman with the shield adds a second plane of depth to the panel and is another indicator of a late date among the artist's works. The lack of sinuosity in the folds does not preclude this dating either. Those full folds on the Boston amphorae reflect a change in length in the garments of Apollo and Achilles. The himation of Phoenix, standing behind Achilles as he takes his helmet from Thetis, has flatter folds than those on the chitoniskos of Achilles. The handling of the figures on the Boston amphorae is slightly more fluid, not as stiff and blocky as the arming scene in Berlin. There is a difference in style and time between the two vases, but it need not be even ten years' difference.

The point is that the difference between the Berlin amphora and the Boston amphorae is unquestionable but not necessarily major, so that the Berlin amphora could easily have been produced some time after red figure was introduced. It is not necessarily as late as the work of the Pioneers, but nevertheless after enough time to allow the depiction of women with reserved skin to become accepted rather than experimental. Hence the woman in this arming scene is not necessarily the anomaly she initially seems, as part of a serious scene among a group of Dionysiac revelries.

There is another possibility to consider in seeking the motivation behind the Amasis Painter's use of outline. Beazley appears to have been the first to mention that the outline technique is also used, and more commonly, in earlier black figure; he cites Lydos as one artist who uses it at this period.<sup>34</sup> The Amasis Painter actually appears to be greatly influenced by earlier vase painters. His work has such a strong kinship with the Heidelberg Painter that at one point Beazley thought they might have been the same artist, with the work of the Heidelberg Painter being an earlier phase and that of the Amasis Painter being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Beazley 1951 p. 46.

later.<sup>35</sup> The Amasis Painter also shares many details with, and has similarities to, the work of Lydos; and some of his early lekythoi resemble late lekythoi by the C Painter.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the work of all these artists appears to have some stylistic and hence (probably) chronological overlap with the Amasis Painter, so it is no surprise to discern their influence in his work. Artists, after all, have to learn their craft from somewhere, and are always being influenced by each other.

But there are also similarities of the Amasis Painter with an artist like Sophilos, who worked earlier in black figure and with whom there appears to be no stylistic overlap, but instead a potentially direct imitation. The Amasis Painter's rather vulgar cup in Boston,<sup>37</sup> a variant of the type A shape, has on one side an eye siren, a male one, with his face and chest painted red. (Fig. 57) Von Bothmer pointed out that Sophilos uses this convention on his sirens too.<sup>38</sup> Obviously one cannot be certain that the Amasis Painter was directly imitating Sophilos, although it is possible that he saw this technique used on a vase decorated by Sophilos and still extant approximately fifty years later, in his late period when this cup seems to have been produced.<sup>39</sup> Or perhaps the Amasis Painter saw this convention in use earlier in his career and did not put it into use until later. It is probably unwise to speculate any further about the circumstances surrounding this similarity.

The point of this detail, and the mention of the Amasis Painter's ties to a number of artists who began work earlier than he did, is that they suggest that in many ways the Amasis Painter was not a forward looking artist. A great deal of his work appears to have links to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Beazley 1951 p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>For a list of Lydan characteristics and ties to the C Painter see von Bothmer 1985 pp. 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Boston 10.651, ABV 157, 86; fig. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>von Bothmer 1985 p. 222.

past instead; not just links, but very strong connections. In this light it is at least possible that his use of outline is another one of these links to earlier black figure, rather than presaging the advent of red figure.

The Amasis Painter was not the only black figure artist who sometimes depicted female figures in outline. A type B amphora with an arming scene also depicts a woman, standing to the left and behind the central warrior, in the outline technique. (Fig. 58) This vase has another similarity to the Amasis Painter; specifically, the panel is framed laterally by a double line in the same manner favoured by the Amasis Painter. The composition, however, is much more crowded than any by the Amasis Painter, with seven adult figures plus two small figures at the feet of the warrior who must be intended as his children. The artist who decorated this vase has chosen to use outline in a non-Dionysiac context, which may indicate that the vase was decorated after the advent of red figure as an alternative technique, when it was no longer an experiment being conducted by a few artists within the context of black figure itself. A closer examination of the vase should be conducted to try and determine its date on stylistic grounds.

Another characteristic of potential significance in the development of red figure as a technique are the Amasis Painter's compositions. <sup>42</sup> These seem to begin very simply, not just with little overlap, but also with figures in uncomplicated poses and with minimal interaction between them. By the middle of the artist's middle period, however, the poses have become more complex and the figures interact a great deal. This has the effect of increasing the apparent depth on his vases. Obviously, the development of the artist's skill has a great deal to do with the increase in complexity. But perhaps it is also possible that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>On loan to Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art.

<sup>41</sup> von Bothmer 1985 fig. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>See chapter 11 and specifically pp. 272 - 274 following.

this tendency in black figure was another factor necessitating the development of a new technique, one which would allow complex poses and overlapping to be depicted more realistically.

This is the major drawback of some of the Amasis Painter's more complicated poses, specifically and especially the armlocked maenads, satyrs and satyr and maenad pairs that occur on some of his later vases. The arms around shoulders in these pairs of figures are invariably disjointed and awkward looking, whether done in outline or in black figure, and so the Amasis Painter appears not to be completely comfortable with the complex poses, or at least this particular pose.

Because the Amasis Painter begins work considerably earlier than Exekias (about 15 years before based on conventional chronology), <sup>43</sup> the much greater size of the body of work attributed to him is not unreasonable. Of approximately 130 attributed vases and fragments, <sup>44</sup> my table of patterns includes 96. This high proportion is due to an exhibition of the artist's work which was staged in 1985 and opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Having been able to examine such a high proportion of the works by the Amasis Painter helps secure my conclusions, with the usual proviso of caution lest something new appear.

# Garment patterning and added colour

The Amasis Painter holds strong preferences when it comes to the patterns he uses: his overwhelming preference seems to be for dots. (See appendix 5 p. 326.) The motif of the dot rosette, which he uses the most often, consists of a large central red dot surrounded by smaller white dots in a ring. When the Amasis Painter uses this motif it tends to be quite large and so only a few are required to fill a given space. It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Bothmer 1985 p. 38.

often appears alternating with a pair of red dots. The artist's preference for dots of one form or another must be at least partly due to ease of execution, even with the dot rosette. The dot is simple enough to do; a quick touch of a paint - laden brush would be enough. Even the more complicated dot rosette is reasonably simple, especially considering the greater area the motif fills with a little added effort. The explanation of simplicity also takes in the artist's third most popular motif, the plain incised cross, which even in its finest form is very easy to execute. The Amasis Painter does not, interestingly, use the painted cross often, which seems odd because it too seems to have been easy to do. It would have required more care with the brush, however, than a plain dot. Other slightly more complicated designs like the dotted cross and cross with V's are used much less frequently as well.

At the bottom of the list, however, are some motifs that would have been about as easy to do as a dot, specifically simple incised crescents (consisting of a short, slightly curved line) and a plain incised ring. These seem to indicate that simplicity was not the artist's only criterion for which motifs he used. Another explanation is necessary.

The opportunity to use red and white paint appears to be another possible reason behind the Amasis Painter's predilection for certain patterns, and dot rosettes are particularly well suited to this because they allow for the use of both colours. It is a rare garment by this artist which does not have added colour on it, often in the form of red folds or stripes and patterning as well. This is true from vases from the whole of the artist's career as we know it. If a garment does not have the feature of some red stripes on it, then almost certainly it will have red dots.

One question which arises is whether the Amasis Painter's own habits change in respect to added colour (and pattern as well) during the

very long duration of his career. Enough discussion of the chronology of various works by the artist has been carried out, especially by D. von Bothmer, to facilitate this approach considerably. Von Bothmer's dating corresponds to Beazley's and both appear to have been generally accepted. I find von Bothmer's dating to be very good. Although I have been unable to locate date placement for all the works I examined by the Amasis Painter, with sixty - nine vases placed at least into early, middle and late categories there is a firm basis with a large enough sample size for reliable results.

Three vases by the artist have been grouped into a cluster of what is considered to be his earliest work.<sup>46</sup> These three lekythoi are scattered in different museums but have enough similarities in added colour that we are able to establish the Amasis Painter's basic use of both red and white from them. (Figs. 59 - 61) He uses red, especially, both for dots and larger areas of garments. Alternating stripes and areas, not necessarily folds, are painted red on multiple figures on all three vases, in such a way that the most central stripe will be a black one flanked by two red areas. The colour is also used for dots on two of the three vases. Also done in red are the area of the wing above the feathers on a normal bird, a winged youth, and two sphinxes. The colour appears for lesser details as well; some figures are red haired, some have red hair patches on their chest or around a nipple; they wear red fillets and one a red petasos. The sphinxes have red bands on their legs and a horse on one of the vases has a red painted neck.

The Amasis Painter uses white in a similar way, although less so for large areas of clothing. The only sizeable areas of this colour on

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$ See Bothmer 1985, dates given in catalogue of exhibition pieces; Bothmer 1960; Clark 1981; Beazley  $ABV\,$  p. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Paris Louvre F192 ABV 154,52; fig. 59; Tubingen University 7434, fig. 60; Mayence University 88, Para. 67, fig. 61.

these three vases are the necks and faces of the two sphinxes. Otherwise it is confined to some different arrangements of dots and a wavy line on a bystander's mantle. Worth noting at this point is an apparent lack of incised patterns on any of these three vases; this must appear later in the artist's work.

The Amasis Painter's use of added colour becomes much more flexible by his middle period. There are scenes from this period which have little added colour on them, but this appears to be due to subject matter more than artistic preference.<sup>47</sup> Satyrs, for example, are hairy but tend not to wear clothes, and at least for the Amasis Painter, this limits the possible use of added colour. That the nakedness of the satyrs is the main factor rather than a deliberate choice by the artist is indicated by the use of added colour on the miniature bands of decoration above the main panel on one particular vase from this period.<sup>48</sup> These smaller figures are consistent with the way the artist uses added colour on his early vases.

Occasionally on some of his middle period vases, the Amasis Painter uses added red for larger areas of garments. Instead of a central stripe or two flanking ones being the only red part of a garment, he paints the bodice of a peplos red as well as parts of the skirt.<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 62) Alternatively the whole visible area of a diagonal mantle is painted red instead of only alternate stripes (Fig. 63),<sup>50</sup> and so are the whole areas of various chitoniskoi.<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 63) In terms of an overall view, therefore, it appears that the artist's use of added red increases slightly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Munich Glyptothek 8763, Para. 65, illustrated Bothmer 1985 p. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Wurzburg University L265 and L282, *ABV* 151, 22, illustrated Bothmer 1985 pp. 113 - 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Basel Antikenmuseum L19, *Para*. 65; fig. 62; Paris Louvre F36, *ABV* 150, 6, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Munich Glyptothek 8763, *Para.* 65, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 79; Geneva I4, fig. 63; Bloomington University 71.82, *Para.* 65, illustration Bothmer 1985, p. 63 (colour) and p. 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Geneva I4, fig. 63; Paris Louvre F26, ABV 150, 5, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 94; Munich Glyptothek 8763, Para. 65, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 62 (colour) and p. 79.

into the middle period as compared to his earlier vases. This is even more clearly the case if allowances are made for vases with satyrs or horses on them, which tend to skew the balance slightly away from added colour.

Aside from this change, the places in which the Amasis Painter uses red remain the same in his middle period. Stripes and dots on garments are still much more common than solid red areas covering the whole garment. He also continues using the colour for details on animals, especially the neck area of dogs, for example.<sup>52</sup> (Fig. 64)

An increase in the Amasis Painter's use of white which is the same in character as his use of red is also apparent in his middle period. At this time he is painting whole garments white as opposed to only decorative motifs. This can range from small areas of a chitoniskos which are visible at neck and hem beneath a mantle<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 61) to larger areas on a full length chiton.<sup>54</sup> (Fig. 63) This seems to be the only change in his use of white in this period; it continues for female flesh, dots around rosette cores, and single lines of white dots along garment hems and shoulder lines.<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 65)

Based on the above assessment, the Amasis Painter's overall use of added colour increases in his middle period as compared to his early works. This increase seems almost exclusively to be due to his use of red and white for whole garments instead of only for stripes and pattern motifs. Otherwise his use of colour is consistent with early vases in terms of where he uses it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Bloomington 71.823, *Para*. 65; fig. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Mayence University 88, Para. 67; Paris Louvre F75 ABV 156, 81, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Geneva I4, fig. 63; London, British Museum B524, ABV 156, 81, illustration Bothmer 1985 p. 163

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>London British Museum B524, *ABV* 154, 47; Paris Louvre F30, *ABV* 152, 29; fig. 65; Berlin Staatliche F1688, *ABV* 150, 9; Bothmer 1985 p. 91.

On the artist's late vases, there seems to be a matching decrease in the uses of both red and white. None of the late vases which I examined had any whole garments elaborated in either colour; the artist has reverted to stripes and dots instead.<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 66) Even on vases with advanced and sophisticated drapery, this is the case.<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 67) In fact it may be partly because of the increased complexity of drapery, especially in the greater number of folds and their more realistic voluminous quality, that this is the case; stripes of red alternating with black patterned folds create a contrast that shows off individual folds to a greater extent. It is also the case that more garments were being depicted with folds, which makes it less practical to simply paint the whole of a garment red or white. This method of decoration counteracts the apparent volume of the folds which the artists had been developing. The chitoniskoi of the two warriors on the very late vase in Boston<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 55) are particularly good illustrations of this fact, since the chitoniskos had in the Amasis Painter's middle period been a flat garment and one which he painted red on a number of vases.

It seems, therefore, that the Amasis Painter's abandonment of his habit of painting whole garments red or white is very likely to have taken place because of the increased complexity, realism, and more frequent use of folds. The two were not consistent; they cancelled each other out, and so one had to be abandoned. The Amasis Painter seems to have left this habit behind even on garments which are still shown flat, depicted in the traditional manner with stripes but no folds visible at the hem.<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 56)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 369a, *ABV* 157, 87; fig. 66; NY Metropolitan Museum 59.11.17, *ABV* Add. 449 3bis, illustration Bothmer 1960 pl. 8, 1 - 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 17771, ABV 154, 48; fig. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Boston Museum 01.8026, *ABV* 152, 26; fig. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Boston Museum 01.8027, ABV 152, 27; fig. 56; garments of Phoenix, for example, with a broad diagonal mantle and chiton with wavy vertical lines delineating stripes decorated with dot rosettes.

Another possible explanation for the change lies in the chronology of the Amasis Painter's vases. His career in vase decoration is thought to end slightly after the invention of red figure, ca. 525 BC.<sup>60</sup> In red figure pottery the use of added colour changes quickly, becoming much less important, being used for small details rather than larger areas.<sup>61</sup> This trend is also visible on the principal scenes on the Amasis Painter's two neck amphorae in Boston, on which some extremely fluid folds provide grounds for very late dating in his career.

On these two vases, the Amasis Painter has used added red for some areas such as the greaves of two warriors on one vase, and the bowl of the tripod on the other. But for the most part the focus for these two vases is on elaborate incision (especially for the Amasis Painter, who does not use it as often as others; this will be discussed later). The red folds on clothing which the artist has so often coloured before are in scarce supply on the main scenes of the two vases. Instead they appear on the two Dionysoi, one beneath each handle of the neck amphora with Athena and Poseidon.<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 55) These two figures have the usual, large areas of red folds alternating with black, as opposed to the two warriors who have much smaller red folds visible, although admittedly their armour limits the amount of their clothing which is actually visible. On the other side of the vase, however, Athena's skirt has been treated in a manner unusual for this artist, who usually divides a skirt into three stripes and decorates either the central one or the two flanking it. The Amasis Painter has incised an overall grid over the whole area of the skirt and filled in the squares with diagonal rows of incised crosses with V's, with rows of red squares and black squares

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 54.
 <sup>61</sup>See pp. 191 - 197, 211 - 214, 218 - 223, 264 - 267.
 <sup>62</sup>Boston Museum 01.8026, ABV 152, 26; fig. 55.

between them. Again, the focus on this garment is the incision and the smaller areas of added colour.

The other Boston neck amphora has a similar approach taken to the garments of Phoenix in the arming scene of Achilles. (Fig. 56) Phoenix wears a long chiton with a diagonal mantle. In his middle period the Amasis Painter would very likely have painted the mantle red and perhaps also the chiton white. Instead, on this vase he has painted only the narrow mantle folds over Phoenix's arm and back red, and left the large area of the mantle an unrelieved black.

The garments of Athena and Phoenix on these two vases, therefore, seem to indicate that the artist's usual methods of garment decoration have changed by the end of his career, with less added colour being used and placed over smaller areas as well. The garments of these two figures are of the types usual for this artist, so they provide a good basis for comparison with his earlier vases. The simplest explanation for these changes is the lateness of these two vases; they must be reflecting the same kinds of changes which were going on at the same time in the red figure technique.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>Boston Museum 01.8027, ABV 152, 27; fig. 56.

# Chapter 4: Exekias and Group E

## Garment patterning by Exekias

Exekias' use of pattern is different from the Amasis Painter's in many ways. The total number of different motifs the artist uses on 20 vases is 22 (see appendix 7 p. 328). The four dominant motifs are all incised ones, as opposed to the work of the Amasis Painter (see appendix 5 p. 326), where the two most popular motifs are each used about three times as often as the third (specifically, these are very dominant) and these two are both dot based with added colour. Exekias, then, uses incision where the Amasis Painter prefers added colour.

Another major difference between the two artists lies in the variety of motifs they use. On his vases the Amasis Painter uses 22 different motifs, of which five are variations of dots, such as different sizes, for example, and arrangements in a single line at hemlines or in a double line of negative and positive dots. This leaves 17 motifs which are truly separate from each other. Exekias, in contrast, uses 22 motifs on his vases, a substantially larger number without the repetition of the Amasis Painter's dots.

The two artists each use motifs which the other does not. The Amasis Painter includes a checkerboard pattern, a single crenellated line, and also a vertical wavy line, which do not occur on the known vases by Exekias. Of greater interest, perhaps, is the variety of arrangements of dots favoured by the Amasis Painter, which do not appear on vases by Exekias. He, in turn, also uses a number of motifs which do not appear on the Amasis Painter's vases: swastikas and half swastikas, meanders, stars, incised squares, hooks, and rings with dots.

On Exekias see ABV 143 - 149, Para. 59 - 61, Add. II 35 - 37.

Except for the stars, these are all incised motifs; the stars are partly incised and partly executed with added colour.

Another major difference between the two artists is apparent in another aspect of how they handle garments. Exekias depicts many gridded garments while the Amasis Painter depicts very few, and the artists apply the motif in different ways; Exekias tends to cover the whole area of a skirt with a grid, and usually the bodice of the garment as well.<sup>2</sup>

Exekias is much more interested in pure patterning and ornamentation than the Amasis Painter. This is evident from vases such as the Vatican amphora with the board game playing Ajax and Achilles.<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 70) This is not an aspect of the artist's work which appears on all his vases, but it is undeniable nevertheless. One possibility is that his standard use of grids is part of the same phenomenon as his liking for incision.

I have already pointed out that where the Amasis Painter uses added colour, Exekias prefers incised ornament; these two artists are very different in their preferences. To execute very fine ornament incision is required; the graver can produce thinner, finer lines more simply than a brush. The grid represents a simple way of producing a well balanced, satisfying incised decoration. It would be much less difficult to incise an even grid and then fill in its squares than to produce decoration as on the cloaks of Ajax and Achilles in a balanced way, without any gaps and without too much repetition of motifs or overlap. Exekias facilitated this decoration by dividing the cloaks into distinct areas by means of heavily ornamented bands, but even so these garments must have been extremely challenging as well as time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13.

consuming to execute. A grid would have been much simpler by comparison, still allowing for some delicate incised decoration, but producable in a much shorter time. In fact, the dense, detailed ornamentation which Exekias uses to decorate some garments is new to Attic black figure, as is the extent to which he uses incision to decorate garments. Although incision began to be more popular with Group E, it is only with Exekias that it becomes very common and is fully exploited.

### Added colour by Exekias

Another aspect of the work of Exekias which has not yet been discussed is his use of added colour. In some of the places he uses it he is the same as the Amasis Painter, namely for small areas like armour; helmets and greaves, especially, and also for alternate folds on the skirts of the warrior's chitoniskoi.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 68) Exekias, however, tends on garments to generally implement added colour over smaller areas than the Amasis Painter; he rarely uses it to decorate (or cover) whole garments and often uses it to complement his incision, double emphasizing incised lines with echoing lines of red paint, especially the pectoral spirals on armour (Fig. 69),<sup>5</sup> but also to outline details like alternate squares incised within a grid.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 70)

Note that there are, however, some instances of large areas of added colour on the vases of Exekias; these tend not to be garments. One exception is on the reverse of the Vatican vase with Kastor and Polydeukes.<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 70) Kastor, at the centre of the scene, has his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Munich Antikensammlungen 2044, ABV 146, 21; fig. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>London British Museum B210 ABV 144, 7; fig. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70. On the question of homecoming or departing see Mackay 1979, pp. 474 - 476, who summarizes earlier thoughts on the subject as well as presenting her own. Hermary 1978 pp. 58 - 69 suggests another subject, the apotheosis of Kastor, who was the mortal twin of the two, being the son of Tyndareus instead of Zeus. He was killed after the twins kidnapped the daughters of Leucippus, and Zeus allowed him to return to the living on alternate days taking turns with Polydeukes.

chlamys painted completely red, with incised folds showing through. Although this is indeed the whole area of a garment painted red, it is a very different usage from the way the Amasis Painter does it, specifically on flat and foldless garments, which also tend to be shown frontally. Kastor's chlamys falls over his shoulders in folds instead. In fact the overall application of colour reduces the contrast between incised fold lines and the material of the garments, and takes away from Exekias' accomplishment in showing the folds.

Kastor and Polydeukes have a long history of association with Sparta. The two royal houses of the city claimed descent from the twins.<sup>8</sup> Their human father Tyndareus was the king of Lacedaemon,<sup>9</sup> and after his death the Dioscuri ruled jointly,<sup>10</sup> thus establishing the dual kingship. They were of some importance to the history of the city, and their role in several mythological adventures gives them some heroic status as well.<sup>11</sup>

Given the identity of the twins as Spartan heroes, the presence of this red cloak worn by Kastor (his figure is labelled, so there can be no mistake about his identity) is of potential importance, especially because wholly red garments are so unusual on the vases of Exekias. We must ask why Exekias chose Kastor, specifically, to wear a red cloak, while Polydeukes is unclothed. The answer may lie in the literary evidence.

There are several specific references in literature to Spartan warriors wearing, or being associated with, red cloaks. Plutarch describes the laws made by Lykurgus in regard to the burial of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Mitchell 1964 p. 106 - 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Odyssey XI, 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Pausanias III, 1, 5; Herodotus VI, 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>They appear in three main myths. They recover Helen, their sister, after she is kidnapped by Theseus, take part in the saga of the Argonauts, and kidnap the daughters of Leucippus. They are also mentioned briefly in the *lliad* (2.300 ff.). For more details see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. Hammond and Scullard, under the listing "Dioscuri", which is also the souce of the preceding information.

interred with the body: "He (Lykurgus) did not allow them to bury anything with the body, but they laid it out in a red cloak and olive leaves." A more specific connection between red cloaks and the military comes from other authors.

Xenophon includes a mention of the garment in his description of the Lykurgan army.<sup>14</sup> "In the equipment he devised for the troops in battle, he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to woman's clothing and to be most suitable to war...."

The third reference to the garment, by Aelian, also mentions the garment in connection to burial, stating that burial with leaves was granted to men who died after fighting well, and burial with the red cloak was for those who had shown themselves to be especially brave.<sup>16</sup>

Based on this literary evidence, the connection of Kastor and Polydeukes to Sparta, and the rarity of wholly red garments on the vases of Exekias, it seems that the artist was making a deliberate reference to Spartan military garb with the red cloak of Kastor on this vase.

The question of the subject of this vase has for a long time swung back and forth. There are several basic possibilities, the return of Kastor, the departure of Kastor and arrival of Polydeukes, and the return of both the brothers. Most recently Mackay has suggested that rather than the focus being on the arrival or departure from mythical adventures, the vase is a depiction of the Dioscuri returning from the different activities with which each is associated, namely Kastor from horse - riding, and Polydeukes from boxing.<sup>17</sup> This explains why Kastor is shown with his horse and Polydeukes unclothed; the aryballos

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Plutarch Lykurgus 27.2, translation MacDowell 1986 p. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Xenophon, Lac. Pol. 11, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Xenophon, Lac. Pol. 11, 3, translation Marchant 1946 (Loeb) p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Aelian, Var. Hist. 6.6, as cited in Macdowell 1986 p. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Mackay 1978 p. 162.

held by the small boy on the right side of the scene is for him to refresh himself with after his exercise. Hermary has also suggested that the flower and branches extended by Leda indicate that the scene depicts the apotheosis of Kastor, the mortal son of Tyndareus, but the absence of Olympian deities in the scene, other than Leda, makes this problematic, for normally in apotheosis scenes Zeus at least is included. I suspect that the association of the flower and branches with immortality is not consistent enough to be a reliable indicator.<sup>18</sup>

I have described above the association of the Dioskuri with the two kings of Sparta. Mitchell describes one of the differences between the two kings thus:

Apparently the two kings in their priestly or military function were supposed to be possessed or led by the Dioscuri. When a campaign was undertaken, one of them remained in Sparta with the king who had been left behind. (Herod. V, 75.) We infer from the fact that the Spartans advanced to the battle to the sound of 'Castor's tune' that his spirit was active in the field, while Pollux remained inactive at home." 19

Based on this difference in the functions of the two kings, I would suggest another explanation of the subject on this side of the vase.

Rather than an entirely new explanation of the subject of this vase, what I have to offer is a revised version of Mackay's idea that the vase painting by Exekias is an iconographic depiction of the two heroes. The military cloak worn by Kastor, which stands in contrast to the nakedness of his brother, is an indication of his martial character in addition to his nature as a horse tamer and in contrast to Polydeukes the boxer.<sup>20</sup> It is an additional way of contrasting the twins and suggesting the differences

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Hermary 1978 pp. 67 - 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Mitchell 1964 p. 107. The reference to Kastor's tune is in Plutarch Lyk. XXII. He says that after the soldiers were lined up the piper would be ordered to play 'Kastor's tune', and the army would advance in step to it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Iliad 3, 237.

between them; the spear Kastor carries in contrast with his unarmed brother may also be part of this. This kind of subtle differentiation between intangible characteristics (also exemplified by the superiority of Achilles on the other side of this vase, depicting the game playing Achilles and Ajax) is one of the most impressive aspects of Exekias' vase painting, and the depiction of Kastor wearing this garment appears to be part of the great depth the artist gives to his vase paintings.

Garments aside, Exekias uses added colour over large spaces where the Amasis Painter does not, something which is only partly due to the different subject matters favoured by the two artists. The famous eye cup with Dionysos sailing across the bowl not only has the interior surface covered with an unusual coral red glaze, but also the whole sail of the ship covered with white. (Fig. 68) Exekias occasionally does horses white, 2 usually the pole horse of a chariot, which is behind several horses so that less of it shows, and the strong contrast of the white is lessened by its smaller area. (Fig. 71) This is a far more subtle use of colour than anything by the Amasis Painter, and serves more than one purpose, for in addition to lightening the vase it is easier to distinguish between multiple horses, especially their legs, when one of them is a different colour. The addition of red paint to the manes of the horses also helps enliven the black areas of their necks.

One application of added colour by Exekias which is also apparent on vases by the Amasis Painter is on the armour of the game playing heroes on the Vatican amphora.<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 70) In addition to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Munich Antikensammlung 2044, ABV 146, 21; fig. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Budapest Museum 50.189, *Para*. 61; fig. 71; Orvieto Faina 77 *ABV* 144, 10; Orvieto, Faina 187, *ABV* 145, 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>On horses by Exekias see Moore 1968, pp. 357 - 368, where she uses them to establish dating criteria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

white used for the stars on their cloaks, Ajax's red fillet, and the red helmet crest of Achilles, Exekias painted larger areas with added colour, namely white, in the form of the cuirasses of the two heroes. These were also incised with lines of patterns such as meanders and diamonds. Because the cuirasses are quite elaborately incised, and so are the cloaks that fall over them, the addition of the white paint to the armour helps the viewer differentiate between the two garments of the warriors, emphasizing that cuirass and cloak are two different garments. Like Exekias' white horses, therefore, this use of added colour is a rather strategic and thoughtful one. The Amasis Painter also paints a cuirass white, but his lacks the elaborate incision which Exekias uses and has only minimal elaboration of details instead, which is consistent with the Amasis Painter's preference for added colour over incised decoration.<sup>25</sup>

## Treatment of drapery

Although both Exekias and the Amasis Painter use added colour for large areas as well as small details, the way they do so is very different. The Amasis Painter paints whole garments red or white, often as an alternative to any additional incised decoration. The larger areas of added colour that Exekias executes, by contrast, have a function, making the details of a scene easier to decipher. Where the Amasis Painter decorates a garment in broad stripes of red and black, Exekias will incise over the whole area instead, a much more time consuming method of decoration, which requires more skill and more care. Exekias also uses colour to complement his incision, adding a red outline around an incised square, for example. The Amasis Painter tends to separate the two, so that one section of a skirt will have incised decoration while another has added colour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Louvre F75, ABV 156, 81.

Two interesting examples of possible experimentalism are especially visible in the work of Exekias. One has already been mentioned. On the Vatican amphora, the central figure, Kastor, wears a chlamys tossed back over his shoulders. (Fig. 70) The garment has been incised with folds that disappear over Kastor's shoulder and are visibility on the diagonal fall of the hem of the chlamys. These folds lack the sinuosity and volume that appear a little later in vase painting. The visibility of the fold lines is decreased, however, by the way the whole mantle is painted red rather than only alternating folds. The contrast between the colour levels of incised fold lines and the body of the folds themselves has been reduced.

On the artist's exceptional eye cup decorated with Dionysos in his boat, the exterior of the vase is decorated at each handle with two sets of warrior fighting over a dead body which sprawls horizontally beneath the handle, neatly filling the available space. <sup>27</sup> (Fig. 68) Some of the warriors are naked, others clothed, and chitoniskos skirts are visible decorated in a variety of methods which are really a catalogue of possibilities. One garment is painted red, for example, several have alternating red and black folds, one is covered with an elaborate incised scale pattern and another has two lines of an incised grid pattern. The variety of decorative methods which Exekias puts into practice on this one aspect of the warrior's garb shows clearly that he was fully aware of all the different possibilities for decoration.

Only one of the warriors, however, out of the dozen appearing on this vase, wears a gridded garment of any complexity. The garment is not his short skirt, for this is decorated with only two lines of a grid. His mantle falls over his shoulders in a very flat sheet, covered with a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Vatican 344, *ABV* 145, 13; fig. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Munich Antikensammlung 2044, ABV 146, 21; fig. 68.

fine diagonal grid with rings incised within the squares. The hemline of the garment is especially interesting, because here Exekias has drawn a few narrow folds at the back of the mantle. I have said before that gridded decoration or indeed elaborate decoration of any kind is not compatible with the dimensionality of folds, because elaborate decoration must have a flat surface to show off the detail at its best, and in addition, elaborate decoration flattens a surface. This is the garment, I think, which proves my point. The small folds appear rather incongruous against the broad expanse of that carefully incised grid. Exekias has sensibly not included the lines of the folds themselves, only the lappets created at the hemline, but these do not add volume to the garment because the grid rolls right over them with no adjustment and flattens them completely.

The same phenomenon is visible on the board game playing Achilles and Ajax on the Vatican amphora. (Fig. 70) The corners of Ajax's mantle, especially, hang down in the lappets which indicate folds. On the front corner of the cloak no fold lines are visible, for the decoration seems to be especially closely spaced at this point. Again the volume of the fold ends is flattened out, although to a lesser degree, it seems, than they were with the strictly geometric grid superimposed as on the last example.

Fold lines do actually appear on the back corner of Ajax's mantle. These are visible between ornament which has been closely spaced along the lines of the folds. This small area illustrates why not only grid ornamentation is incompatible with folds, but also closely spaced patterning that is not in a grid. It detracts from the fold lines, making it hard to focus on or even to notice them. This kind of heavy ornament combined with fold lines does not come into common use in black

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

figure; I have never seen another example of it. That Exekias would be the artist who does this is only logical, since he displays a greater interest in and skill at heavy patterning than any other black figure artist known to us.

Another notable aspect of these particular falls of fabric is that for continuity, Exekias was obliged to decorate them heavily. They are, after all, part of the very heavily patterned cloak worn by Ajax, and would have looked very odd indeed if left plain, where the rest of the garment was so heavily patterned. Exekias was clearly aware of developments in naturalistic depiction of drapery, but his intense patterning nevertheless seems to have been his focal point, on this vase at least, and realistic drapery comes second to that. This is the case on other vases as well; the black figure calyx krater in Athens, which appears to be the first of its kind, has some quite elaborate drapery combined with rather heavy patterning.<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 72)

The figure of Poseidon on this vase is bare to the waist but appears to be clothed in some fairly elaborate drapery below that point. A small section of the garment is visible beneath the belly of the horses he stands behind, above a section of the vase where fragments have been lost. The sweeping folds appear to be in quite a complicated arrangement, for they vary in width and also direction. Between the folds are visible several motifs: swastikas, crosses with V's, and incised V's. The variety and density of the motifs is unusual for the placement between folds. This example is not an exceptional occurrence, either, for the garment of Apollo is treated in a similar manner, although his folds are less elaborate than Poseidon's. Neither of these examples are as densely ornamented as the cloak of Ajax, so perhaps Exekias has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Athens, Agora AP 1044, ABV 145, 19; fig. 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Hill 1974 pl. 92c.

learned from that vase, but both are exceptionally heavily ornamented for garments with folds. Exekias is holding on to his own preferences even on late vases like this one, where development in other aspects of his vase painting is clearly visible.

A question which we must ask about Exekias is whether he could have been responsible for the invention of red figure. He seems to be the most likely candidate for the introduction of the eye cup and calyx krater, as well as numerous popular compositions such as the game playing heroes, but other factors will indicate whether or not his originality might have extended as far as the invention of the red figure technique.

### Conclusion - Exekias

The answer to this question has to be no. Exekias does not seem to have been restricted by the limitations of black figure; his superb use of patterning maximizes its possibilities instead. Although his figures are lifelike, he is also interested in exploring the use of emotion in his pictures, the inner realism as opposed to the outer realism which is the anatomical detail and experimentalism of the new technique. For many of his vases, the greatest achievement is what you do not see directly rather than what you do. His emotional subtlety and power are something which, at least in my opinion, never come again in vase painting.

Artistically Exekias is very much a black figure artist even on his latest vases. His kalyx krater from the Agora in Athens<sup>31</sup> shows that even though he keeps up with increased sophistication in the depiction of folds and drapery, he also favours using very heavy patterning at the same time. (Fig. 72) He prefers incision over added colour for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Athens, AP 1044, ABV 145, 19; fig. 72.

decoration of garments, a strong contrast to the Amasis Painter, for whom elaborate incision only appears on his very latest vases, and who has a very strong preference for added colour in the decoration of garments, possibly due to his slightly earlier start in black figure. Although Exekias also uses colour over large areas occasionally, his uses tend to be more considered than the Amasis Painter's, and he rarely uses colour over whole garments, something the Amasis Painter does quite often.

In terms of the overall development of black figure, it appears that elaborate incision was the last technical aspect to be mastered before red figure appeared; this mastery happens very quickly, within one group of vase painters. Once incision had reached the levels Exekias took it to, the logical artistic next step was towards realism, especially in garments at first, with fabric being given volume and realistic drapery. If the more voluminous Ionic dress had become common for Athenian women by this time, that could have provided a guiding incentive for artists, and once they had started to move towards realism in drapery, anatomical realism had to follow.<sup>32</sup> Exekias in particular stands at the cusp of this change, for his work encompasses both the height of ornamentation and also developed drapery. He remains true to his black figure origins, however, while the Amasis Painter begins to experiment with entwined poses and the outline technique; these two artists clearly took very different approaches to their work, and their differences in decorative habits reveal this aspect of their artistic personalities in a strong way.

# Garment patterning by Group E

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Archaeological and literary evidence both indicate a change in the kinds of garments worn by women in the sixth century. Herodotus (V, 87ff) tells the story of how the women of Athens were made to change to Ionic dress fastened with buttons or fibulae after killing the only survivor of a battle with the long pins used to fasten the Doric peplos. Elderkin 1929 describes a mid sixth century decline in the appearance of these long pins in the achaeological record.

In terms of general preferences, incised motifs are of much greater importance to Group E than those that allow the use of added colour. <sup>33</sup> (See appendix 6 p. 327.) In fact the group uses relatively few motifs which do involve added colour; the fine white dot for trims and the dot rosette for overall decoration, both of which are standard black figure motifs, are the most prominent of the added colour motifs. The red dot, pyramidal triple dot, and dot circle each play a small part in the group's decoration of garments, especially compared to the more favoured motifs.

This aspect of Group E's work seems to set them apart from other black figure artists, who give motifs involving added colour a much more prominent place on their vases. Lydos' favourite motif for overall patterning is the dot rosette, as is that of the Princeton Painter. (See appendices 1 and 2, pp. 322, 323) In fact his preference for this motif is over three times greater than that of Lydos. Like Lydos, there is a strong decrease in the numbers of the overall patterning motifs after the dot rosette on the vases of the Princeton Painter. In contrast with these two artists, dot rosettes are quite far down the Euphiletos Painter's list of chosen motifs, but the added colour dot, most often red, is his favourite method of decorating garments overall. (See appendix 3 p. 324.) In fact, the Euphiletos Painter's vases are quite well balanced in patterning terms between incision and added colour, more so than those of Lydos and the Princeton Painter. Vases attributed to the Lysippides Painter display a similar balance between incision and added colour.

Based on the counts Group E's vases are inclined to the incision side of the scale in terms of preferences. This sets Group E apart from the Princeton Painter and Lydos, but is more comparable to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>For Group E, see *ABV* 133 - 143, *Para*. 54 - 57, *Add*. *II* 35 - 37.

preferences of the Euphiletos Painter and the Lysippides Painter. This is particularly interesting because in chronological terms both of these artists follow on after Group E is generally thought to be working, while the group's career coincides with those of Lydos and the Amasis Painter despite the different preferences of these two artists compared with the group. The Amasis Painter's overwhelming favourites are the plain dot and dot rosette, undoubtedly linked to his great love of added colour on his garments. In terms of absolute dates the chronology works like this:<sup>34</sup>

Lydos ca 560 - 540 BC Amasis Painter ca 560 - 525 Group E ca 560 - 540 Princeton Painter ca. 545 - 530 Exekias ca 545 - 530 Lysippides Painter ca 530 - 515 Euphiletos Painter ca 525 - 515

Considering that added colour is so much more important in the patterning of Lydos than on that of Group E, the similarity in their use of grids is of particular interest, especially since it is so low compared to what the Princeton Painter does. There is another aspect of the work of these two artists which may be related to this characteristic which they share, and that is the extensive use of scales on the vases of both. Lydos uses scales to decorate garments nine times on 55 vases; Group E, 18 times on 42 vases. (See appendices 1 and 6, pp. 322, 327.) The Princeton Painter uses scales regularly, but tends not to cover whole garments which them, instead incising the pattern over just a central band of a skirt, 35 or over the small area of a chitoniskos skirt often worn by a warrior. 36 (See appendix 2 p. 323.) Just once does this artist cover

<sup>34</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 234.

<sup>36</sup>London B212, ABV 297, 1; New York 56.171.9, ABV 299, 15.

<sup>35</sup> Basel BS 427, Para. 130, 14bis; Princeton 168, ABV 299, 19; Geneva 154, ABV 299, 18.

the whole area of a longer skirt with this pattern (fig. 34).<sup>37</sup> The Amasis Painter uses scales very little, and these examples too are generally on garments of small area, especially the ubiquitous chitoniskos skirt. (See appendix 5 p. 326.) Despite his love of elaborate patterns over relatively large areas, Exekias uses the scales just three times on 20 examined vases, and also for small areas. (See appendix 7 p. 328.) The Lysippides Painter does not use scales even once on the attributed vases I examined, and the Euphiletos Painter is the same. (See appendices 3 and 4, pp. 324, 325.)

Lydos, in contrast, uses scales for both bodice and skirt on some figures<sup>38</sup> and whole, long skirts on others.<sup>39</sup> Although Group E uses scales with much greater frequency than other black figure artists, therefore, the group still maintains for the most part the standard black figure application of this particular pattern over fairly small areas<sup>40</sup> and most frequently the warrior's chitoniskos skirt. (Fig. 73) Although on the vases of Lydos, it seems that this specific motif is very likely the result of Corinthian influence, and Group E begins work at the same time as Lydos, this is not necessarily the case for them. I showed that a number of aspects of the works of Lydos reflect Corinthian influence (see pp. 53 - 61), but this is not the case with Group E, so although their choice of motif might have been influenced by seeing it on Corinthian vases, I think it is part of their focus on incised decoration generally, rather than being a polychrome motif as it is used on areas of earlier Corinthian vases.

The great popularity of scales on the vases of Group E may be part of their general interest in the use of incised patterning as opposed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>New York 53.11.1, ABV 298, 5; fig. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Berlin 1685, *ABV* 109, 24; two women.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Taranto 20137, *ABV* 112, 65; Athens Acropolis 2410, *ABV* 111, 50; Florence Va. 102b, *ABV* 111, 46.

 $<sup>^{46}</sup>$ . Typical is Boston 00.330, *ABV* 135, 45; fig. 73; the scales cover small areas of two garments.

to added colour. It seems to me that conceptually the scales are similar to the grid pattern, as both are incised continuously and have the effect of subdividing the area of which they are incised into small compartments, as opposed to breaking up a flat black surface at intervals as other motifs such as the cross with v's do. In addition the scales are quite often elaborated in a similar way to the grid pattern, with the addition of a dot or dash inside the area of each scale as outlined by incision. Inside the boxes of a grid the pattern can be much more elaborate than this, but not always, and sometimes the grids are even turned diagonally with the squares left empty as an alternative form of decoration. Taking these considerations into account the frequent use of scales in Group E, which is much greater than on the vases of any other black figure artist, seems to be significant in terms of their place at what seems to have been a rather pivotal stage in black figure, the development of artistic interest in elaborate incision as an alternative to added colour, and offsets the lack of grids on their vases relative to Exekias.

## Group E and Exekias' patterning compared

Exekias took this elaborate incision to its highest levels, and it has long been recognized that there is a relationship between that artist and Group E, ever since Beazley first began the task of delineating the group as an entity. He characterized the group thus:

This is the name I give to a large and compact group which is ve very closely related to the work of Exekias, although earlier...than the vases assigned to him in my list...One day we may be able to draw the cord still tighter and to establish...Group E or part of it, as early work of Exekias himself: for the present I prefer to keep the two groups distinct. 'E' alludes to the connection with Exekias; and Group E is, if not more, the soil from which the art of Exekias springs; the tradition which, on his way from fine craftsman to true artist he absorbs and transcends.

Most of these vases will be by one hand.<sup>41</sup>

Little else has been written on the relationship between Exekias and Group E. Moore did some comparison of certain characteristics of the two in her study of the chronology of Exekias' horses. Although many of the details are similar, those by Exekias tend to be more accurate, truer to life, more careful and slightly more detailed than those of Group E.<sup>42</sup> The discussion which follows is in no way intended to be a comprehensive one, but since his rich patterning and variety of motifs is one of the special aspects of Exekias' vase painting, it seemed possible that comparison with Group E might be enlightening with respect to the origins of this aspect of Exekias' work.

Direct comparison of the motifs used by Group E and Exekias reveals both similarities and differences. (See appendices 6 and 7, pp. 327, 328.) The two use approximately the same number of motifs, but the lists of motifs are not exactly parallel. Group E uses motifs which do not appear on Exekias' vases, including the herringbone, the arrow, the dot rosette, diagonal grid, pyramidal triple dot, crenellated line, and a boxed S pattern. This last is unique among the vases of black figure artists which I examined, and is best paralleled by Exekias' own crossed square. These two motifs are of unusual complexity and neither of them is used often, with just a single appearance on each on the vases examined. Similarly, Exekias uses a number of motifs which do not appear on the vases of Group E. These include dot rings, probably his equivalent to the dot rosette and quite possibly some of these were originally dot rosettes with now faded red cores, so that in the illustrations only the surrounding white dots are now visible. When Exekias does use these dot circles, they are executed with fine dots, to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Beazley 1932 pp. 3 - 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Moore 1968 pp. 359 - 360.

small size, and are placed between fine folds. This manner of use is quite different from that we see with artists such as the Amasis Painter, who tend to make their dot rosettes larger and therefore place them between broad folds.<sup>43</sup> In addition, this category includes the swastika, the incised v, the petal cross, the Macedonian star, the spiral swastika, the double meander, the crossed square, the oval chain, and the four petal flower. Many of these motifs are not found on the vases by the other black figure artists whose works I examined. They tend to be very complex, especially compared to those motifs used by Group E but not by Exekias. Those that involve added colour on this list, especially the Macedonian star, are also quite complex and involve delicate, refined, careful brushwork, as opposed to Group E's pyramidal triple dot, which must have been considerably simpler to execute with a few The complexity of these motifs is one of the touches of a brush. trademarks of many of Exekias' vases and appears to be an aspect of his work which was not originated by or shared with Group E. significant difference between them supports the idea of separate identities for the two, as opposed to Group E being simply the very earliest phases of Exekias work, although it is of course not conclusive.

Group E and Exekias also display differences in terms of which motifs they favour, both for overall patterning of garments as well as for trimming them. Before comparing these I should note that the reader must keep in mind that I examined just over twice as many vases for Group E as I did for Exekias, so that apparent differences in numbers of motifs are actually twice the size they seem to be when they are adjusted to sample size.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Compare, for example, by the Amasis Painter, New York 56.171.10, *ABV* 150, 3 (Bothmer 1985 no. 7) or London B52, *ABV* 153, 31 (Bothmer 1985 no. 26) with, by Exekias, Budapest 50.189, *Para*. 61, fig. 71; and Orvieto, Faina 78, *ABV* 144, 9; Raeck 1984 fig. 5 p. 11 and Technau 1936 pl. 11 -

Taking into account the difference in sample size it is clear that firstly, Exekias uses overall patterning much more frequently than Group E, and secondly, he displays a great deal more variety in terms of the motifs he favours. Group E really just has two favourites, the scales and the plain cross, and after these other motifs appear much less often, whereas Exekias has five different motifs appearing ten times or more. In fact, adjusting for sample size, Exekias uses 12 different motifs with the same frequency as Group E's top three. Although the two are comparable in terms of the numbers of motifs they use, variety plays a much greater part on the vases of Exekias than on those of Group E, and indeed, Exekias does not have such pronounced preferences as Group E, but uses more motifs more often. This is another strong difference between the two.

Then, too the different artists favour very different motifs for overall patterning. Exekias favours the ring first, followed by dot rings, the the meander and the cross with v's, the square and the swastika. Group E's favourite scales are further down his list, as is their second favourite, the plain cross. Interestingly, the dot rosette and its apparent equivalent the dot rings are high on both lists. Exekias' meander, on the other hand, is much less popular with Group E.

This motif, along with Exekias' favourite, the ring, is particularly well suited for application within an incised grid, and this may be one reason underlying the differences between the two. Exekias uses many grids on his vases, while Group E uses much fewer; when the difference is adjusted for sample size the difference is more than tenfold. (See appendices 6 and 7, pp. 327, 328.) In this aspect of his decoration of garments Exekias stands apart, not only from Group E, but also from all the other black figure artists whose vases I have examined. In fact

the frequency of grid use on Group E's vases is very comparable to that of Lydos. The group's much greater use of scales than Exekias also puts them closer to Lydos, who is unusual in this respect. In his frequent use of grids, Exekias is very different from Group E.

With all these differences between Exekias and Group E so far, it is not surprising that their trim motifs also differ. As with the overall pattern motifs, one difference is frequency; again Exekias uses his preferred motifs twice as often as Group E uses theirs. The two also have different preferences in this area. Group E's top three trim motifs are the incised dash, the incised dot and the fine white dot. Exekias' top three are the horizontal zig zag line, the fine dots and the meander. He appears to favour motifs which require more care and effort to produce than Group E's favourites, for incising a line of dashes or dots is very quick where a zig zag line or meanders are more complicated and therefore take longer.

#### Conclusion

This comparison of the patterning motifs used by Exekias and Group E makes it clear that not only does Exekias stand apart from his contemporary, the Amasis Painter, and a number of black figure artists who work both before and after him, but he also stands somewhat apart from Group E. He has a tendency to use more elaborate incised motifs than Group E, as well as using them more often, and his great use of gridded decoration makes him truly exceptional among black figure artists. One link between Group E and Exekias appears to be the number of motifs each uses, which are about the same and greater than many other black figure artists. In the exceptional variety of motifs used by Group E, therefore, we may be seeing the beginnings of Exekias' focus on incision, but not yet his interest in elaborate incision and patterning. Moreover, none of the other black figure artists whose

work I examined display this interest in such detailed, elaborate patterning; Exekias seems to have originated this himself, even adding some new motifs such as the Macedonian star and the four petal flower to garment decoration on pottery, as well as continuing the use of other standard motifs such as the meander and altering these (his opposed double meander, for example). In this aspect of his work Exekias is unique among black figure artists.

### Added colour by Group E

Group E's use of added colour is on about the same level as some of the other black figure artists whose work I have examined. They use red often to decorate stripes of garments, often broad ones, and much less often for a whole skirt or bodice (fig. 74). Red also appears often to various details of armour or other equipment such as chariots, in addition to its frequent use for hair, beards, and fillets. 45 (Figs. 75, 76) In addition to white painted female flesh, there is the occasional completely white chiton. 46 (Fig. 73) Group E also tends to use red especially for manes and tails of horses, a tendency which Exekias does not share (perhaps because he prefers to incise them instead) and once there is even a white horse.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 77) The white horse is a detail which recurs on vases by Exekias (Fig. 71); 48 applying this colour to one of the horses in a team makes it easier to read the vase. Group E's white horse is, as is usual with Exekias too, not the first one in the team, which makes the added colour most effective at this simplification. The first horse is easy to make out; it is with those following that the legs especially become confusing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>New York 56.272.12 (ex Hearst), *ABV* 134, 22; fig. 74; London B163, *ABV* 134, 28; Burrell 19.159, *ABV* 134, 23; *CVA* Glasgow 1 pl. 12.1 - 2; Chiusi 1806, *ABV* 135, 34; Munich 1394, *ABV* 135, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Weaponry and armour: Christchurch 42/57, *Para.* 55, 7bis; fig. 75; Louvre 10659, *ABV* 138, 69; Baden, Ros, *ABV* 133, 5. Hair: Toronto 919.5.176, *ABV* 134, 11; fig. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Boston 00.330, ABV 135, 45; fig. 73; chiton of Apollo visible beneath mantle, and chiton of charioteer on the other side of the vase.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Copenhagen 109, ABV 135, 33; fig. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Budapest 50.189, *Para*. 61; fig. 71; Orvieto, Faina 77, *ABV* 144, 10; Orvieto, Faina 187, *ABV* 145, 11.

One aspect of Exekias' use of added colour which Group E does not share is the rather subtle way he uses it to accent his incision. Exekias uses colour, especially red, for this purpose in several different ways. Several times it is applied to garment patterns so that, for example, alternate meanders in a grid are elaborated by a red line echoing the incised one.<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 70) Occasionally the artist adds a fine dot at the crossing point of the grid's incised lines.<sup>50</sup> The elegant curves of incision on armour may be echoed with a solid red line (on a cuirass) or a wonderfully fine line of dots (on a helmet).<sup>51</sup> (Figs. 68, 69) None of these appear on vases of Group E;<sup>52</sup> it seems to me that this kind of extra elaboration required a great deal of patience and attention to detail, which many vases by Group E, being more hastily and carelessly executed, do not show.

This difference in the way Exekias and Group E use added colour is a telling one, indicative of how Exekias has moved away from his roots in vase painting. He takes it much more seriously than Group E does, putting much more effort into many of his vases. His patterning of garments reflects this attitude as well, of course. Indeed, it is the details of Exekias' vase paintings which give many of them their emotional impact, such as the furrowed brow of Ajax preparing the sword for his suicide, the interlocking eyes of Achilles and Penthesilea as he gives her a mortal wound, and the subtle dominance of Achilles in his greater height and higher dice score than Ajax. Exekias' superb patterning and individual use of added colour to enhance it are part of this same attention to detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Berlin 1720, *ABV* 143, 1; Basel, Cahn Coll. 300, *Para*. 60, 1bis; Vatican 344, *ABV* 145, 13; fig. 70; Berlin Staatliche 1814, *ABV* 146, 22; Boardman 1974 fig. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Berlin Staatliche 1814, *ABV* 146, 22; Boardman 1974 fig. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Munich 2044 (exterior), ABV 146, 21; fig. 68; London B210, ABV 144, 7; fig. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Nor, notably, on Vatican 344, with the elaborate cloaks of the game playing heroes; perhaps the artist wanted to avoid overloading the scene with detail and keep the focus on these garments.

# Chapter 5: The Andokides Painter

### "Black figure" characteristics

The Andokides Painter is a leading candidate in the question of who was responsible for inventing the red figure technique of pottery He does indeed share many characteristics with black decoration.1 figure, a fact that suggests not only that he may have been initially trained in black figure, but also indicates close chronological links with These characteristics have been mentioned and listed, although not discussed in a thorough manner, in a number of books and articles. They include general features like the artist's extensive use of added red, his use of incision instead of reservation for details on black areas like helmets and hair, and his tendency to use dark lines instead of dilute slip for details like musculature. He also omits some anatomical details which will later be included in red figure, and some of his figures are reminiscent of black figure in their poses. These are all general tendencies which appear in the artist's red figure, and there are a number of more specific details of this sort in certain works which appear to originate in black figure too.

Marwitz compiled a short list of a number of details in specific works by the Andokides Painter, which he considered to be black figure elements. Some of the details appear in more than one vase. He points out the hair of Herakles and Apollo, and that of the athletes on the other side, of Berlin F2159, as well as the eye of Herakles and its double ring for both iris and pupil, as opposed to (for example) the single black dot in the eye of Apollo.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 78) Simon says that the hair of Apollo and Herakles on this vase has an incised outline against the black ground;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For the Andokides Painter, see  $ARV^2$  3 - 6, Para. 320 - 321, Add. II 149 - 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Marwitz 1961, p. 93; Berlin 2159, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 1; fig. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Simon 1976, p. 92.

presumably this is the black figure detail to which Marwitz refers. This particular detail occurs on other vases attributed to the Andokides Painter as well, such as the game players on Boston 01.8037<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 79) and the satyrs on the back of Orvieto 64.<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 80) Interestingly, there is one example of the hair outline being incised on the same side of a vase as it is shown on another figure with a reserved outline, namely the belly amphora Louvre G1.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 81) The central kitharode on this vase and the spectator to the right both have hair with a reserved outline. The spectator on the left has his hair done with an incised outline instead.

This sort of mixing of methods seems to demonstrate that the Andokides Painter may have begun his training in black figure. He seems to slip into and out of incising his hair outlines; the habit must therefore have been made automatic by early training. Then he remembers himself and allows for a reserved hair outline on other figures. But there is another possible explanation underlying this characteristic.

The procedure for incising a line to delineate hair from background is simple: you pick up a pointed tool and use the sharp end to scratch a line. If you want a fine line, you use a tool with a sharp point; if you want a broad line you can use a different tool. It is all very straightforward. Reserving a fine line, on the other hand, must have been a more difficult procedure from a technical point of view. You would have to paint up to the thin line you wanted to reserve with a fine brush, without too much slip on it, or else face the possibility of either accidentally obliterating the reserved line by a movement of the brush or by too much slip coming off it. Of course, should this sort of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 7; *ABV* 254, 2; fig. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>ARV <sup>2</sup> 3, 5; fig. 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 2; fig. 81.

mishap occur, there was always the incising tool to re-establish the line. Perhaps this is the reason for some of the incised hairlines in the Andokides Painter's work, particularly those which occur in conjunction with reserved ones.

This is not intended as an argument about the skill and capabilities of the artist; there can be no question that he was capable of executing fine details with a steady hand whenever necessary. But from the point of view of expediency, it would certainly have been faster as well as easier to incise the fine hairline rather than reserving it. Certainly the visual effect on the vase would have been almost the same whichever way an artist chose to do it, namely a fine red line separating the mass of hair from the background. It is certainly reasonable to consider this line being incised to be a black figure tendency, but expediency is another consideration which might have influenced the Andokides Painter's continuing use of an incised line in this position.

It is most likely that incision of the hairline around the outer part of the head is in part a leftover from black figure; but it is a practice which in red figure serves a different purpose than it did in black figure. In black figure incision was necessary to differentiate hair from face. Certainly even in the older technique reservation was a possible alternative, but incision would have been much easier. But incising around the top of the head was not strictly necessary in black figure to show where hair stopped and background began. Nor for that matter was incision of a fine line around the whole edge of the figure, as the Amasis Painter seems to do on at least some of his figures (Figs. 55, 56);<sup>7</sup> the redundancy of this outline leads to the question of why artists continued to use it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Boston 01.8026 and 01.8027, ARV<sup>2</sup>152, 26 and 152,27; figs. 55, 56.

From an artistic and technical point of view, outlining hair or figures this way in black figure would perform two functions. First, it would allow the artist to incise through any little irregularities in the line of a figure's head or garment. Any big irregularities in the placement of the slip would not be helped by this, but this incision could help smooth out a slightly rough edge. This is something of an advantage from a technical point of view. The second result in black figure of incising a specific feature like the top of the head, or of incising around a figure, is that the incised line is going to function as an outline, although a subtle one. It will emphasize the shape of the feature, but only slightly, because the incised line will blend quite well into the background. That is important too; this outlining incision in black figure forms part of the background, not part of the figure.

In contrast with these two functions it served in black figure, in red figure incising the mass of the hair is only necessary to give shape Since the hair is the same colour as the to the top of the head. background, the incision will not serve to cover up any blips in the hairline; there cannot be any such irregularities. These would only result if the hairline was reserved. And incising an outline around the whole of a figure to provide an emphasis would not be effective in red figure because the incised line would appear to be part of the body rather than the background. The artist would have to allow for this in the placement of the line, or else the proportions of the figure would be slightly off balance, or at least different from what he intended, because the colour of the incised line would increase the apparent size of the figure if it was placed to be an outline. If the artist did compensate for this consideration, the result would look odd because the outline would be part of the figure, along with the slight colour difference of the incised lines, which is probably caused by the impossibility of burnishing an incised line without erasing it.

All of these factors mean that incision is not suitable for outlining red figures. The Andokides Painter appears to have been aware of this, because he does not try to use incision this way on his red figure vases. He only uses it for hairlines and the occasional detail within black areas like hair; to incise a hair band on the satyr on the early vase in New York, for example. (Fig. 82) His selective use of incision indicates that some consideration (or experiment which does not survive) went into the new technique. It is unfair to the Andokides Painter to assume his habit of incising hairlines to be an automatic continuation of black figure habits, when these habits (or at least that of incision) have undergone some revision before being implemented in red figure. Apparently, there were other considerations involved in his continuing use of incision to outline hair.

Other black figure details noticed by Marwitz also appear to have been selected quite deliberately by the artist, in this case for their contrast value. On two amphorae, Athena wears a tall crested helmet with black slipped details defined in places by incision. (Figs. 80, 83) On the first vase, the unusual detail consists of a black cheekpiece extending in front of the goddess' ear and covering part of her jaw. Of course, other details of this helmet are done in black as well, including its spiral decoration and the lozenge pattern decorating its crest. But both of these patterns are rather narrow and interspersed with the red of the reserved clay behind them for a decorative patterned effect. That cheekpiece, however, is very solidly black and stands out against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6, Para. 320, 2bis; fig. 82

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Louvre F204, ARV<sup>2</sup> 4,11; ABV 254, 1; fig. 83; Orvieto Museo Faina 64, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3,5; fig. 80.

Athena's cheek. Its squared off appearance is rather at odds with the other graceful curves of the helmet, and its dark colour emphasizes this.

This part of the helmet appears to have been slipped black quite deliberately to contrast with and break up the otherwise large area of Athena's reserved neck and jaw. The artist is evidently very much aware of the decorative effects he can achieve by superimposing black areas over red. A canonical form for a red figure helmet has not yet been reached, and experiments are still being carried out; in effect, the Andokides Painter is playing with the possibilities. A red cheekpiece on a black figure helmet would have looked very odd in contrast with the sheer volume of blackness of the helmet, flesh and armour of the figure who wore it. In this early red figure work, however, the patterning with black slip and the black background are such that this consideration does not present a problem.

The other amphora with black cheekpiece, Orvieto 64, must surely be one of the Andokides Painter's later works. The graceful folds of Athena's hem appear to indicate this. (Fig. 80) particularly the slight asymmetry of the curving line the squares follow across her torso. This refinement helps the eye adjust to the three quarter view of her torso, with her left arm away from the viewer. Especially interesting is the way the pattern of her skirt changes halfway across, from squares alternating with open circles, to alternating dotted crosses instead. The crosses are aligned so that they seem to form a regular line along her skirt, and how they line up with Athena's foot and ankle. Perhaps the Andokides Painter is trying to hint at the goddess' leg being visible beneath her drapery. It is certainly done in a very subtle manner, but there are only the two lines of the crosses and their pattern even appears to show her leg bent just slightly at the knee, as it should be if she is stepping forward. If this is not a coincidence of patterning of the garment, then this artist is showing great subtlety and cleverness.

Another example of transparent drapery by this artist appears on the amphora that depicts Herakles reclining while Athena holds out a flower to him. <sup>10</sup> (Fig. 84) The line of the hero's lower leg is visible through the fold lines of his mantle. This vase, although near the end of the artist's career and therefore later than the Orvieto amphora from his middle period, <sup>11</sup> does at least confirm that the Andokides Painter was aware of this aspect of red figure and used it, on at least one occasion.

Despite the apparent lateness in his career, and the refinement visible on the Orvieto vase, the artist is still using (and perhaps playing with) black figure details. This seems to be a very clear statement of his artistic origins, perhaps deliberate, perhaps accidental. The cheekpiece and the helmet rim of Athena are both black. So is the spiral decoration on her helmet, which is itself painted red, and there are red dots at regular intervals along the black helmet edge. The continuing use of added red is another feature which seems to be a leftover from black figure, especially, it does fade from use as red figure continues to evolve. And certainly the Andokides Painter does use a great deal of added red, particularly as foliage.

What is particularly interesting about the use of the added red in this helmet, though, is that it seems to be a substitute for reservation; it also appears to have been applied over black. Perhaps the Andokides Painter forgot himself and slipped the helmet black, and then realized his mistake. In this case the added red would indeed be a substitute for reserving the helmet, a substitution necessitated by the painter's mistake.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ Munich 2301, bilingual,  $ARV^2$  4, 9; ABV 255, 4; fig. 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>On the chronology of the Andokides Painter's vases, see pp. 155 - 160 following.

And therefore this particular detail may be indicative of the artist's original black figure training and his ties to that style. It is also true, however, that in black figure red was normally added over black slip. This detail is therefore not necessarily a mistake, but certainly a black figure habit.

Even if the mistake scenario is accurate, the artist still left the cheekpiece of the helmet plain black, perhaps feeling, with some justification, that the added red would clash if placed next to the reserved red of Athena's face. Like the other cheekpiece, this one is something of an experiment with the contrast of colours.

A helmeted Amazon on the other side of the same vase in Orvieto wears a black helmet with a magnificent reserved crest and a neatly incised scale pattern decorating its top. (Fig. 80) This is, I think, another experiment with contrast. In black figure the norm was a black helmet over a black face, which stood out very dramatically against a reserved background, but which did not allow the person looking at the vase to see much of the face beneath the helmet, especially when the helmet was a Corinthian one with a noseguard and full cheekpieces. Only incision separated face from helmet, and the result could be a very inhuman, frightening appearance, as the humanity of the person was subsumed by the armour they wore.

The Andokides Painter's treatment of the Amazon wearing a Corinthian helmet on this vase works differently from the dehumanizing black figure depiction, because the helmet is the opposite colour from the Amazon's face. We can see where the helmet ends and the Amazon begins because of the colour difference; we can see her eye and part of her nose and upper lip. Because the helmet is the same colour as the background, however, it does not stand out as strongly as black figure helmets do. This depiction is something of an exchange, with the

prominence of the helmet against the background being traded for greater visibility of the person wearing the helmet.

This is a more humanistic treatment, with a focus on the contrast between flesh and armour rather than between silhouette and background. It is interesting that this detail occurs at the same time as, with the development of the new technique, a greater interest in genre scenes begins to appear and artists become concerned with depicting the patterns of anatomy and musculature rather than the patterns on garments and armour. The change must be part of exploiting the greater realism which the new technique allows, once its possibilities are realized. This detail, of black helmet and red face, is one small indication of how awareness of these possibilities gradually developed.

### Treatment of anatomical detail and the female figure

Von Bothmer considers the belly amphora in New York<sup>12</sup> to be an early work by the Andokides Painter, perhaps even the earliest one in existence.<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 82) The anatomical details of the figures on this vase, especially Herakles and Apollo, appear to bear out this estimate and could well be the basis for it. They are inaccurate in places, and have, along with the poses of Apollo and Herakles, a rather tentative feeling. From Herakles especially, one gets the feeling that the artist is aware that red figure allows for better depiction of anatomy than black figure does, and he knows he should try and do something about this, but he is not too certain what to include and what to omit. So Herakles has several muscles outlined on his chest and lower body, but none on his arms. The depiction of his stomach muscles is anatomically incorrect, with the not uncommon triple division instead of a double one.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6, Para.320, 2bis; fig. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>von Bothmer 1965, p. 212.

The calf muscles of Herakles and Apollo particularly seem to indicate that the artist is tentative. He has correctly decided that the calf muscle would look different when seen on the inside of the leg, as opposed to the outside. But on the inside of the leg he delineates the muscle with a rather limp curve that does not align particularly well with the bulge of the muscle at the back of the leg. The multiple lines on the outside of the calf are not particularly accurate either. The artist is obviously aware that he needs to depict some details, but exactly how they should be placed and shaped has not been developed yet. It is also interesting that while both Apollo and Herakles have anatomical details, the satyr on the other side of this vase has nothing beyond collarbones and genitals. Perhaps Apollo and Herakles merited more detail because of their divine statue, while the satyr is merely supernatural, and therefore not deserving of the extra effort, or is not conceived of as being a heroic figure like these two and so lacking in the muscle definition they possess.

It is worthwhile to compare the tentative anatomical detail on this vase with later depictions by the same artist, just to get an idea of how his depictions of musculature developed. Herakles on the belly amphora in Orvieto<sup>14</sup> makes a particularly good contrast. (Fig. 80) It is the same hero in the same pose as the example discussed above, although on the Orvieto amphora Herakles is striding to the right instead of to the left. The lines of the calf muscles in the Orvieto example have been moved just slightly and they have just the smallest difference in their curves, but the slight changes mean that they give an impression of power rather than limpness. The calf muscle as seen on the inside of the leg has become tightly coiled, a much fuller curve which is better aligned with the bulge of the muscle. The line of the muscle on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Museo Faina 64, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 5; fig. 80.

outside part of the calf is shown with two lines instead of three, and these are longer, less curved and more realistic. This Herakles is extremely powerful instead of being rather limp. And yet the only major change in the anatomy of the legs was in the inside calf muscle. The other elements remain almost exactly the same. Even so, if you cover the improved calf muscle with a finger, the Orvieto Herakles still looks more powerful. These changes seem to be quite slight and subtle, and they probably were refined over a short period of time, but they do indicate that the Andokides Painter did realize what was possible with the new technique, and his ideas of how to show male anatomical detail improved, probably quite rapidly.

One of the facets of the work of the Amasis Painter discussed previously was the way he depicted his women. They tended to be very similar to his men in appearance, with massive thighs and shallow pectoral muscles instead of breasts. This was true both of his outline females and of those he depicted in the more traditional method of white over black slip. His women just do not look feminine; they are men with female genitals and hair. The white paint on some of his naked women was an advantage because it allowed easy differentiation between the two sexes.

It is worth noting that the Andokides Painter also depicts some of his women with very masculine bodies, initially at least. It is impossible to evaluate Athena and Artemis on the New York amphora, because Athena is concealed by her garments and Artemis' upper body is missing.<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 82) On the back of this vase, however, is a Dionysiac scene with the god at the centre facing a maenad who is dancing towards him. She is wearing a short, sleeveless tunic over her long skirt, so her neck and arms are visible for examination, and they appear to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>New York 63.11.6, Para. 320, 2bis; fig. 82.

masculine. Her neck is thick and her shoulders are broad, and her arms (especially the raised one) are beefy and well muscled. There is no sign of a bustline beneath her tunic, and the calf muscle on her back leg stands out in a rather masculine prominence. This probably is only to be expected, as this vase is early as red figure goes.

### Garment patterning

The way the Andokides Painter decorates the garments worn by his figures is another characteristic that ties his vases to black figure decoration. He seems to have replaced his graver with his brush, so that patterns which were incised in black figure are painted instead. Some of his patterns appear to have simply been transferred from black figure. In fact, there was no good reason to change them; these worked just as well when outlined by brushwork as when engraved, because of their simple, linear nature. On a belly amphora in Berlin<sup>16</sup> for example, a number of figures on both sides have their garments decorated with a scattered, dotted cross pattern. (Fig. 78) The Amasis Painter uses exactly the same pattern on a number of his vases too, such as the garment of Athena on the Louvre oinochoe, the women on an amphora in Berlin<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 45) and the back maenad of the pair on the Cabinet des Medailles neck amphora.<sup>18</sup> (FIg. 46) In fact the Amasis Painter uses this pattern quite frequently, and so does Exekias. (See appendices 5 and 7, pp. 321, 323.) It is perhaps worth noting that although the basic component of the pattern remains the same, its orientation can be varied to produce different effect. The cross can be placed upright, or tilted onto its side so that it is an X instead. This pattern actually appears to have been something of a standard in black figure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Staatlich Museen 2159, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3,1; fig. 28. <sup>17</sup>Berlin 3210, *ABV* 151, 21; fig. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Cabinet des Medailles 222, ABV 152, 25; fig. 46.

Another garment pattern which appears in the work of the Andokides Painter is one of three small dots placed closely together to form a pyramid. As with the dotted cross, he uses it both on men and women, sometimes in a scatter and sometimes aligned with the folds of a garment. One would expect this pattern to be an even more natural one to take over from black figure than the dotted cross, because the artist does not even have to change his instrument, only the colour of the paint it is dipped into. In black figure this pattern could have been executed in applied red or white, while in red figure it was logically done in black instead. The Amasis Painter does not seem to have used this particular motif on any of his surviving vases. He apparently preferred his dots larger, and arranged either in neat rows or around a red core as part of a dot rosette. Exekias did not use this pattern either. In fact, the body of vases examined indicates that this pattern was not used often in black figure. There are few pieces that have the triple dot pattern on small areas of garments.<sup>19</sup> All of these examples are after the invention of red figure, so the influence may have been coming from the new technique rather than being received by it.

That this particular pattern is used on several vases by the Andokides Painter has already been mentioned.<sup>20</sup> (Figs. 78, 82) One of these vases<sup>21</sup> may be a very early one by the Andokides Painter, and this appears to establish that the triple dot pattern was in use very early in the development of red figure. But it is neither particularly common, nor long lived. An examination of the patterning of other early red

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>London B323, ABV 362, 33, Boardman 1974 fig 204: in white on the chitoniskos of the leftmost Greek; Cabinet des Medailles 251, Boardman 1974 fig. 221, very sparsely in white on the skirt of the leftmost woman; Yale University Museum 111, ABL 221,1, Boardman 1974 fig. 240, on the garments of all figures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Berlin Staatliche Museen 2159,  $ARV^2$  3,1; fig. 78, on mantle of Athena in combination with the dotted cross, and on the garments of the onlookers on the other side; Budapest Museum of Fine Arts 51.28,  $ARV^2$  1617; Boardman 1975a fig. 5, 3, on woman's skirt; Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, Para.320, 2bis; fig. 82, himation of Dionysos and skirt of dancing maenad.

<sup>21</sup>Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, Para.320, 2bis; fig. 82.

figure artists shows that Psiax used the motif several times, as did Oltos. (See appendices 9 and 10, pp. 331 - 332.) When other patterns are used, to supplement the folds of a garment, they can be single dots, crosses or dotted crosses, or even three dots in a straight line. But the triple dots in a pyramid do not seem to be used outside the period between the appearance of red figure and the dramatically increased exploitation of its possibilities by the Pioneers.

The pyramidal triple dot pattern and the dotted cross pattern appear to be popular with the Andokides Painter, and each reveals a different aspect of his artistic personality. The pyramidal dot arrangement is unusual, apparently both in red and black figure, and it is a reasonable possibility that the pattern was conceived by the Andokides Painter.

The dotted cross pattern, on the other hand, was a standard pattern for decorating garments from quite early on in black figure.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 14) It is therefore not surprising that the Andokides Painter chose to use it (especially as it was well suited to the brush), but despite its long history this pattern seems to become quite scarce as the use of patterns on garments fades, and its simpler version (a cross without dots) is occasionally used instead.<sup>23</sup> The Andokides Painter's use of the dotted cross pattern is something of a continuation of that black figure pattern, and indicates his links with the older technique. But the pyramidal dot pattern seems to be something new which appears about the same time as red figure does, and is used more in the new technique even though it is never especially common. It looks forward, while the dotted cross pattern looks back.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>See for example Florence Museum 4209, the François Vase, ABV 76,1; fig. 14, garments of Athenian girls, goddesses and gods at wedding, and Potnia Theron in handles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>See for example Berlin 2279,  $ARV^2$  115,2; Boardman 1975a fig. 214.1, on garments of both Peleus and Thetis; Munich 2416,  $ARV^2$  385, 228; Boardman 1975a fig. 261, garment of Alcaeus.

### Treatment of garments

I mentioned earlier that the garments of the Andokides Painter appear to be a bridge between the flat, sometimes elaborately patterned garments of black figure, and the elaborate folds of red figure. This comes about mainly because the artist uses both elements to decorate his garments. I will start by using the Amasis Painter as an example of the practice in black figure. His neck amphora in the Cabinet des Medailles<sup>24</sup> is a good example which appears to have been decorated with two outline maenads right around the time red figure appeared. (Fig. 46) The maenads both wear peploi which are utterly without folds, and decorated with very intense, closely set patterns (including the dotted cross). Dionysos wears a chiton, also without folds. His mantle hangs over his shoulders, falling to a single, flat angular fold. On the other side of the vase Poseidon's mantle falls into several similar folds. This presentation of clothing, with large flat areas and a few angular folds at the hem of certain garments, is characteristic of black figure at this time. This kind of clothing tends to hang quite straight and reveal little of the body beneath them, and is in no way transparent. Even the garments that are not covered with patterns are very opaque. Many black figure vase painters were not particularly skilled at the depiction of anatomy, and so they had no reason to include any more anatomical detail than strictly necessary. It would only detract from a scene that would otherwise be quite acceptable. This treatment of drapery changes, apparently almost as soon as red figure appears.

The Andokides Painter's early amphora in New York<sup>25</sup> provides more than one example of the new approach to drapery. (Fig. 82) On

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152,25; fig. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, Para. 320, 2bis; fig. 82.

the side with the tripod battle, Apollo's mantle hangs in a light series of folds. That the lines on the garment are folds and not stripes is apparent because they align with the folds visible on the mantle's hem. The vertical lines on the garment of Artemis appear to be folds because they converge towards a single point somewhere about her waist.

The treatment of the area around the hem of Artemis' garment is also interesting. A narrow black band has been divided into segments by the lines of the folds, and alternating segments are placed higher on the garment. This is apparently intended to indicate the perspective placement of this band if the folds were real; the part of the folds that went in towards the body would appear to have their section of the band at a slightly higher level than it would be on the front part of the folds. Also, notice how the snakey hemline of her garment does not agree with, or add depth to, the fold lines higher up. Athena's hem is treated somewhat better, but only because it is drawn on a slant. The artist is obviously still having trouble with his folds.

Both the goddesses seem to be holding their garments with one hand, so that the line of their back legs is made visible by the tightness of the drapery. This is not a characteristic which appears in black figure before this time, and it is extremely reminiscent of the gesture made by korai, which has the same effect and allows the sculptor to show body forms beneath drapery. This development seems to appear somewhat earlier in sculpture than it does in vase painting, around 560 - 550 BC.<sup>26</sup> (Figs. 85, 86) This contouring of the figure beneath drapery is a much more natural development in a three dimensional art form like sculpture than in a two dimensional one like vase painting. The silhouette nature of figures in black figure may explain why this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>For examples, see Ornithe from the Geneleos Group on Samos (Berlin 1739), fig. 85; Samos kore, Philippe, fig. 86.

development was apparently so slow to be taken up by vase decorators. The greater realism allowed by red figure, on the other hand, probably encouraged the vase painters to attempt this new characteristic, which they must have seen and appreciated in sculpture.

The general artistic tendency in black figure was towards flat drapery, with perhaps a few folds on a mantle. Because of this flat quality of garments in black figure, they lend themselves to decoration with elaborate incised patterns. One method of creating such patterns was to incise the flat surface of a garment with a grid, and incise a pattern such as the dotted cross in every alternate square, of to combine more than one such pattern element or different colours in alternating squares. Such a regular, gridded pattern is especially suitable for the type of garment used in black figure because of the very flat appearance of its surface. It had the artistic benefit of adding richness and texture to what otherwise could have been a very simple drawing. There are many examples of this sort of patterning in black figure, and it appears to have come into use quite early.<sup>27</sup> (Figs. 13, 14) It does seem to fall out of use after the invention of red figure. This kind of patterning required that the whole surface of a garment be visible, and therefore it was not compatible with growing artistic interest in the rendition of elaborate folds. I suspect that interest in depicting folds was probably greater in red figure than in black, but some of it must have transferred as black figure artists was what was being produced in red figure, and some artists worked in both techniques. The folds do not work nearly as well in black figure as they do in red, but nevertheless black figure artists seem to have abandoned their rich patterns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>See for example the François Vase, Florence Museum 4209, *ABV* 76,1; fig. 14; Louvre CA 616, *ABV* 58,122; fig. 13; Berlin Staatliche Museen 1814, *ABV* 146,22; Boardman 1974 fig. 105.2; British Museum B212, *ABV* 297, 1; Boardman 1974 fig. 140.

What I am trying to demonstrate is that dividing a garment into a vertical or diagonal grid is a black figure characteristic. It originates in this technique and is used for a long time in it, and goes along with the silhouette figures that are also characteristic of this style.<sup>28</sup> Andokides Painter uses this pattern too, notably on a maenad on an early amphora.<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 82) He uses it in other places too, but I will discuss that usage later. I have already discussed the experimental anatomy and folds on the side of this vase with the tripod battle. The other side is a Dionysiac scene, with the god at the centre facing right, a maenad dancing towards him, and a satyr coming up from behind. The maenad wears a sleeveless tunic of some kind over a skirt or sleeveless chiton. This tunic has a feline head on each shoulder and is decorated with a pattern of black diamonds within a diagonal grid. Of course, instead of being incised, the grid in the red figure version has been painted with a fine brush. But the conception of the pattern is the same as in many black figure examples. The incised linear patterns used in black figure have been replaced by solid black diamonds; the black figure equivalent would have been to use added red or white for the diamonds instead of reserving them. Nevertheless, the pattern on this tunic is black figure in its origins.

For that matter, so is the tunic itself. It looks very dark and heavy against the material of the maenad's skirt, which appears much lighter in weight and in colour. The wavy lines, done in dilute slip on the skirt, reinforce this impression. It is interesting that, despite their waviness, these lines are apparently intended to be representative of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Despite the origins of this kind of decoration in fairly early Attic black figure (although not the earliest - see p. 53 above), it is used more often by Exekias than any other black figure artist whose vases I examined. The grid as a method of decorating garments also becomes much more ornate and tightly packed with incised decoration on the vases of this artist. The appearance of this method of decorating garments on red figure vases by the Andokides Painter may be a result of the relationship between the two artists; see pp. 155 - 161 following.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6, Para.320, 2bis; fig. 82.

folds. This is indicated by the way they truncate the black band near the hem. Apparently the Andokides Painter wanted to show folds but was not certain how to depict them on a straight hem. He uses the same technique on Dionysos' garment. The rich, heavy look given by this gridded patterning must be another reason why it was gradually abandoned. It is incompatible with drawing garments in folds and also with a growing interest in showing the lines of the body beneath the drapery. This transparent treatment of drapery is incompatible with anything more than lightly scattered patterning. Too many painted linear patterns would confuse the lines of the body beneath the drapery, and any of this gridded patterning would make it impossible to see them anyway.

### Depiction of female anatomy

One of the aspects of the Amasis Painter's work which I discussed previously was the way he used dilute slip on his outline female figures. He did use it, but not with a great degree of consistency. On one vase details such as ear, bracelet and necklace were done in dilute slip (Fig. 48),<sup>30</sup> and on another knees and ankle bones.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 45) He was apparently not using the dilute slip to experiment with anatomy.

The Andokides Painter does not appear to use dilute slip for experimental anatomy on women either. But he does not use black slip for this purpose either; instead, he does not experiment with female anatomy at all. There is one vase attributed to him with naked women on it; they are swimming, and not executed in outline, but in white paint on a black slipped background.<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 87) The only details of an anatomical sort on these figures are their breasts, which I have already discussed. Three of them wear jewellery, but it appears to be done in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Metropolitan Museum of Art 1985.57; fig. 48. <sup>31</sup>Berlin Staatliche Museen 3210, *ABV* 151, 21; fig. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Louvre F203, ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 13; fig. 87.

dark slip. The lack of detail on these figures is interesting in itself; even on his white painted nudes the Amasis Painter at least included ankle bones. The red figure women by the Andokides Painter do not show the same lack of anatomical detail as his white painted ones; although his red figure women are all clothed, some of them do have anklebones.<sup>33</sup> His men do have this detail more often, especially Herakles.

The Andokides Painter was apparently not experimenting with detailed female anatomy in his vase decoration. If he was interested in it, he would certainly have used those swimming women as an opportunity for experiment. He is, however, interested in improving the quality of the overall depiction of women; his begin looking rather masculine, but do become more feminine, and he certainly improves on he Amasis Painter's version of the female breast. He does start to show more anatomy on his male figures, and he experiments with that. It is probably only natural that at this time his focus (and perhaps artistic focus in general) is on depicting the male body better, since on a day-today basis the artist might have been exposed to it more often than the female body.<sup>34</sup> I think interest in showing women naked in a realistic manner must have come slightly later, after the male body in a variety of poses had been mastered and the subjects depicted had started to shift more towards genre scenes. The Andokides Painter is working too early for this interest to be readily apparent in his vase decoration.

While the Andokides Painter is too early in red figure to be showing the female anatomy in any detail, the shift towards genre scenes may be reflected in some of his work. His depictions of Herakles feasting, for example, are a subject that was not common in black figure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Athena, Orvieto, Museo Faina 64,  $ARV^2$  3,5; fig. 80; Athena, Louvre F204, ABV 254, 1,  $ARV^2$  4.11; fig. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>At least some of the artists would have been. Keuls 1985 suggests that Athenian wives did not undress for marital intercourse (p. 115-116); but also that the use of prostitutes was common, even standard (pp. 99 and 154-186).

but which seem to have become a favourite in red figure. He also humanizes Athena in these scenes, and makes her into a participant, such as on the vase where she offers the reclining hero a flower blossom.<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 84) This is part of a trend in red figure, one which is also reflected in the increased variety of poses in which Athena is shown. Bringing this kind of humanity into a scene of myth was actually begun by Exekias, in his depictions of Achilles and gaming and Ajax preparing for his suicide. The Andokides Painter treats heroes in the same human manner, but he does it with humour, whereas Exekias tends towards more intense emotions, especially sorrow.

There has never been much doubt that the Andokides Painter could have arisen as an artist from the black figure community, and no question that he had ties to the black figure style and technique of pottery decoration. What has become apparent from his work is how quickly red figure appears to move away from black figure after its invention, while at the same time certain ties persist. This artist introduces small changes in figures that are otherwise black figure standards, such as the folds near Athena's hem. At the same time he is experimenting with rather dramatic new possibilities such as the depiction of greater anatomical details, and also continuing the use of black figure details such as grid patterned garments. He is an intermediary between the two styles, helping to determine what can be translated and what cannot.

<sup>35</sup>Munich 2301, ARV2 4, 9; ABV 255, 4; fig. 84.

### Chapter 6:

# The relationships between the Andokides Painter and Exekias, and the Lysippides Painter

For many years, a connection has been recognized between Exekias and the Andokides Painter. This relationship is generally acknowledged as one of teacher (Exekias) and pupil (the Andokides Painter). Similarities are apparent in subject matter as well as drawing; the Andokides Painter, for example, copies the depiction of the game playing heroes Ajax and Achilles which was introduced by Exekias. The connection between the two artists is a strong one and given this connection, a comparison of the patterning habits of the two artists may shed light on this aspect of their relationship.

### Comparison of garment patterning practices

One similarity that is obvious between the two artists is that Exekias uses about the same number of motifs, 21 as opposed to the Andokides Painter's 20 (see appendices 7 and 8, pp. 323, 324). This is very significant because almost all the vases attributed to the Andokides Painter were examined; they should be quite representative of his use of pattern. The two artists, however, have very different preferences in terms of motifs; the meander, which is so popular with Exekias, is found less than five times on the vases by the Andokides Painter. He favours instead the dotted cross, which he uses twice as often as his next favourites, the pyramidal triple dot and the medium size dot. The rest of his motifs the Andokides Painter uses five times or less on these vases. In this frequency he also differs from Exekias, because he does not have as many motifs which are of intermediate popularity. Instead

<sup>3</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 17; Cook 1972 p. 164; Szilyagi *Bull Mus Hongr* 28 (1966) p. 17; Knauer 1965 p. 9; Buschor 1921 pp. 115 - 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.8037, ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 7; ABV 254, 2; fig. 88.

the Andokides Painter has three favourite motifs and the rest are uncommon in his work by comparison.

The Andokides Painter uses a few motifs which Exekias does not, such as the banded animal decoration, which is seen on the short tunic of an Amazon (Fig. 80),<sup>4</sup> and which we have previously seen on vases by Sophilos<sup>5</sup> (Figs. 11, 12) and not since then, for it is a rare treatment. The Andokides Painter also has two examples of bands filled with geometric motifs, which is also very uncommon, and is probably related to the animals since both divide the garments they decorate into horizontal strips, and also because on one vase they are used on the same garment.<sup>6</sup> These horizontal strips are rare, for usually a garment is divided into vertical stripes or a grid instead.

The Andokides Painter's preferred motifs involve dots, with the dotted cross and medium dot at the top of his list. In red figure these motifs are rendered with slip very easily, rather than with added red or white as is necessary in black figure. Exekias' preferred meander is strictly an incised pattern, although this artist does sometimes add red paint to the motif for extra emphasis and elaboration. The meander is particularly well suited to Exekias' habits of garment decoration, because its geometric shape fills in grid squares very well, while it can also be applied to band decoration, such as along hemlines, in connected chains. The dotted cross is also well suited to grid decoration because of its fairly regular shape, but this motif is also often used between folds and outside them on flat garments by some artists, while the single meander is to my knowledge not used once in either of these positions. It is perhaps slightly too geometric for this usage, while the dotted cross

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Orvieto, Faina 64, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3,5; fig. 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>London, British Museum 1971.11 - 1.1, *Para*.19, 16bis; fig. 11; Athens Akropolis 587, *ABV* 39, 15; fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Orvieto, Faina 64, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 5; fig. 80.

is more successful as an independent motif outside the framework of a grid or a narrow band. Not all of the motifs which work well inside a grid are also suited to being used outside its framework, whether scattered over a flat surface or placed between folds.

I have already mentioned that the grids are much more important to the garments of Exekias than those of the Amasis Painter. The same is also true in comparison with vases by the Andokides Painter. On 20 vases examined, Exekias uses 49 different gridded garments, usually more than one on each vase. The Andokides Painter, in strong contrast to this, used just eight gridded garments on the sixteen vases examined.

The existence of a great difference of practice between the two artists is clear. The size of this difference, despite their connections, supports my contention that artistic interest in the depiction of folds appears with red figure. The slight decrease in variety of motifs which is also visible on the vases of the Andokides Painter is a logical accompaniment to a greater interest in folds. In fact, the use of gridded garments and patterns drops off sharply after the Andokides Painter, with other early red figure artists using even fewer of these elements than he does. (See pp. 186 - 189, 212 - 217, 246 - 250 following and appendices 9, 10, and 11, pp. 331 - 333.)

It is of particular interest how the decrease in these two elements follows a sequence. Based on the comparison of these two artists, the use of grids to decorate garments seems to decline on the appearance of the new technique. The Andokides Painter, however, continues to use a variety of decorative motifs, slightly less than Exekias does, but at least comparable. The artists who begin work slightly after the Andokides Painter show a further drop in usage of grids (in fact, they seem to abandon the grid completely), but also another one in terms of variety of pattern motifs.

In terms of the different motifs used by the two artists, it is interesting to note that Exekias particularly favours incised motifs of a somewhat linear nature which are lacking on vases by the Andokides Painter. The swastika is much more common on vases by Exekias, and he also uses a variant, a half swastika, which the Andokides Painter does Other motifs used by Exekias but not the Andokides Painter include zig zags, spirals, incised V's, scales on clothing, dashes, In contrast, the motifs which the Andokides crescents, and hooks. Painter uses and Exekias does not include the Maltese cross, black squares, and his bands of geometric and animal figures. These are motifs which are suited to the brush rather than the graver, for they require more body and width than a fine incised line can give, as well as a precision of outline difficult to achieve by filling in an outline with incision. This shift in the types of motifs used, as opposed to a simple translation of incised linear motifs to slipped linear motifs, may be indicative of adaption to the possibilities of the new technique on the part of the Andokides Painter, in addition to individual differences between the two artists.

The Maltese cross and heavy black squares appear on fairly early vases by the Andokides Painter,<sup>7</sup> while the animal and geometric bands are on a vase from his middle period,<sup>8</sup> perhaps after he had acquired more skill with the brush. This particular method of decoration is an unusual one, and a significant aspect of its appearance may be the type of garment which it elaborates. This is the short, flat, foldless tunic of a fallen Amazon, foreign dress on a foreign figure. Perhaps these foreign qualities were what allowed the unusual method of decoration; after all, no one could say definitively how an Amazon dressed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For the squares, New York Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, *Para*. 320 2bis; fig. 82; for the Maltese cross, Paris Louvre G1  $ARV^2$  3, 2; fig. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Orvieto, Faina 64, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 5; fig. 80.

The Andokides Painter, then, uses different motifs from Exekias, but not fewer of them. This difference indicates that despite the connections between the two artists, the Andokides Painter's methods of garment decoration are different from those of Exekias, a change that must be at least partly due to the fact that these two artists work in different techniques of vase decoration. The Andokides Painter did not simply adopt his mentor's methods of garment decoration, but has adapted the motifs he uses to the new technique as well as decreasing his use of grids, apparently in response to the increasing depictions of folds on these garments. He does use grids even on his developed vases rather than abandoning the habit, which is also important because it shows that he was maintaining ties to old technique, despite the fact that his decorative habits do differ from those of Exekias.

I have already shown that Exekias and the Amasis Painter also have very different preferences for garment decoration, despite the chronological relationship of their sharing the same end date of their work; the Amasis Painter uses far fewer gridded garments than Exekias, in addition to his smaller number of motifs. Exekias prefers incised motifs where the Amasis Painter uses those that allow the use of a great deal of added colour, especially different forms and sizes of dots. In fact the preferences of the Andokides Painter lie between the two artists, for his favourite motif is the dotted cross, which is constructed by a plain line (a translation of incision) for the lines of the cross and slipped dots done with a brush in the four corners. After this motif the artist's preferences are for two different dot arrangements, a plain medium sized dot and the pyramidal triple dot, which are used to approximately the same degree.

Although the Amasis Painter and the Andokides Painter both like dots, the underlying reasons are different for each. To begin with, the Amasis Painter's preference is a much stronger one than that of the Andokides Painter. The Amasis Painter's overwhelming preference for the dot rosette is a rather old fashioned, or at least traditional one. This motif appears from close to the beginning of Attic vase painting, in Geometric pottery, and is prominent on Corinthian pottery as well as appearing on the Protoattic and Attic pottery which develops into Attic black figure. The motif itself is quite unimportant on vases by both the Andokides Painter and Exekias, as well as those of Group E, the Euphiletos Painter and the Lysippides Painter. Lydos and the Princeton Painter both use it quite often. Lydos starts work at about the same time as the Amasis Painter, but the Princeton Painter is later, so the correlation is not only chronological. Also of interest is that the motif does become so rare in red figure (Fig. 103),9 because its shape is such that it could have been scaled down to fit between some folds, at least the broader ones. That it was abandoned so readily indicates a strong link between this motif and black figure, which is partly historical, but mainly, I suspect, due to the fact that in black figure this motif was exploited to allow the use of added colour.

I have already described how the Amasis Painter's favourite motifs involve the use of added colour, which is very important to his work, and this is the reason which underlies his frequent use of dots (see pp. 93.- 94). A different reason must be behind the Andokides Painter's use of dots, because in red figure this motif is executed with slip rather than added colour. It is also important to note again that dots are much less important to the Andokides Painter than to the Amasis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>I did find one later example of a slipped dot rosette on a fragmentary red figure cup by Psiax, Getty S.82.AE.24, once Bareiss, fig. 103.

Painter. The main reason behind the Andokides Painter's use of dots may be that they are very well suited to another development of the new technique of pottery decoration, that of increasingly elaborate folds on garments. The dots can be fine enough to be placed between even very tight folds, and can be spaced however the artist wants. The pyramidal triple dot used by the Andokides Painter may in some way be serving as a successor to the dot rosette, as both involve the basic unit of the dot and are a more elaborate, slightly larger combination of this unit.

Although both of these artists use dots to decorate garments, this motif is much more important in the works of the Amasis Painter than those of the Andokides Painter, and the reasons underlying their use are very different. Each is rooted in a different technique and to the demands and possibilities of that technique.

# The Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter

One specific problem which comparison of motifs may illuminate is the question of the identity of the Andokides and Lysippides Painters, a problem which has been on-going and swinging back and forth for a long time in the study of Athenian vase painting.

Beazley himself changed his mind on the subject before reaching his final conclusion, that there were two artists not one involved. In his own words:

In ABS 25 and 38 - 41 I put together a number of black figure vases and called the painter (after a kalos - name on one of them) the Lysippides Painter. Among his works are the black - figure pictures on the six bilingual amphorae in the following list (nos. 7 - 12) and the black - figure part of the bilingual cup (no. 14). In ABS I said that he might be the same as the Andokides Painter - the painter of the red - figure portions of these vases - but I would not decide. Later in ARV and elsewhere, I made up my mind that the two were the same; but in ABV I came to the conclusion that they were not, and I revived the name of "Lysippides Painter" for the man who painted the black - figure portions and the all - black - figure

vases that go with them.<sup>10</sup>

There are many factors involved, which make the question a complex one. Early writers on this subject saw more than one hand at work in the black - figure sides of the Andokides Painter's bilingual vases. One problem is that some of the black figure sides of the bilinguals depict the same subject and bear a very close resemblance to the red figure pictures on the same vases, while others are a different subject and a different style. In Boardman's opinion:

Three of the bilingual amphorae present virtually the same scene on each side. On the amphora with Herakles and the bull the correspondence is close...On the other vases the differences are so great that either a different hand was at work, or our artist was very deliberately covering his traces and demonstrating differences. The red figure on other bilinguals so closely matches the black figure of the 'Lysippides Painter' that identity seems assured; so the Andokides Painter did paint black figure, but did he paint all the black figure on his bilingual vases?<sup>12</sup>

Another argument for the existence of one artist instead of two is that the Andokides Painter clearly reflects the influence of Exekias in his vase painting, and must therefore have some skills in black figure if he was taught by this best black figure artist. In addition, it is not likely that the Andokides Painter's first work was in the new technique, so he must have worked in black figure, and therefore decorated the black figure sides of the bilinguals.<sup>13</sup>

More recently Cohen undertook a detailed study of the bilinguals, as well as the Lysippides Painter's black figure vases and the red figure ones by the Andokides Painter, and concluded that they were two artists not one. Her argument is generally convincing and rests on a variety of

-

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ Beazley,  $ARV^2$  p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Pfuhl 1923 p. 287; Norton 1896 p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Boardman 1975a pp.15 - 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Marwitz 1963 p. 73.

factors. To begin with she points out that no red figure vase painting by the Andokides Painter has any inscription in it, while a variety of inscriptions are found on the Lysippides Painter's black figure vases. The black figure pictures on the bilinguals are also bare of inscription. In addition, the five signatures of the potter Andokides all appear to have been incised by the same hand, based on certain peculiarities, so he and the Lysippides Painter certainly knew how to write, but it seems that the Andokides Painter did not, and therefore must have been a different person from these two.<sup>14</sup>

The most substantial argument for the identity of the two artists is the similarities on some of the bilingual vases that show the same subject, thereby indicating that the Andokides Painter did paint black figure on at least some of these vases. Cohen's study of these vases, however, reveals telling differences even on the bilingual on which the similarities are greatest, Boston 99.538.<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 89) This vase is decorated on each side with Herakles driving a bull to sacrifice. points out that the black figure side contains elements which are poorly placed in comparison to the red, such as the tree trunk which on the black figure picture seems to be growing out of the bull's stomach, while the other side of the vase has no such awkwardness, avoiding it by making the trunk bend and placing it slightly assymetrically. On the red figure side of the vase the wineskins Herakles carries hang heavy with the weight of their contents, which the black figure ones are more buoyant and less realistic. It would appear, therefore, that the two artists were working very closely on the bilingual vases, even including the same basic compositional elements, but that the lesser skills of the Lysippides Painter still distance him from the red figure artist.

<sup>14</sup>Cohen 1978 pp. 3 - 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 12; ABV 255, 6; fig. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 189 - 190.

Another of the strongest arguments in favour of a single artist is that the Andokides Painter could not have started his career in the new technique of vase decoration, but must have been trained initially in the traditional black figure technique. Despite the association with Exekias which had been previously asserted, Cohen finds that his earliest vases do not in fact follow any specific black figure artist of the last generation, and neither had he been trained in the old technique. "He began his career in vase - decoration employing a technique of his own invention."<sup>17</sup> The earliest vase by this artist, New York 63.11.6, <sup>18</sup> has details indicating both that the artist was unfamiliar with black figure and that he was also new at vase decoration. 19 Incision, which is an essential part of true black figure and one of its hallmarks, is put to very limited use on the vase, and used for details that would have been difficult to reserve such as the contour of the hair. The black slip of the background has been applied too thinly in places on the side of the vase depicting Dionysos, so that the background lacks a uniform glossy black finish, and that same black slip has not been applied quite up to the outline of the figures. The problems with the slip indicate the earliness of the vase and the inexperience of the artist, and the limited application of incision immediately distances him from the black figure technique.

One Exekian aspect of the Andokides Painter's vase decoration is his frequent use of grids to decorate garments, a method of decoration which fades from use very quickly in red figure after him. This tie to the black figure artist has also been suggested as a reason why the artist must have had a black figure background.<sup>20</sup> In fact, these grids appear to be a result of Exekian influence only inasmuch as the Lysippides Painter

<sup>17</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 106.

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>ARV^2$  1617, 2bis; *Para*. 320; fig. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 107 - 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Boardman 1974 p. 105: "...many details and patterns are borrowed straight from black figure."

Painter was a follower of Exekias. According to Cohen, the Andokides Painter's earliest vases, before his collaboration with the Lysippides Painter begins, in fact have extremely few grids; just one, on five Athenas, whereas all the red figure Athenas on the artist's bilingual vases have the gridded ependytes.<sup>21</sup> Cohen also finds other details of the Andokides Painter's work from the bilinguals which indicate Exekian via Lysippidean influence.<sup>22</sup> In fact, Exekian influence is something which does not play a prominent part in the Andokides Painter's patterning.

For me personally, one of the most convincing of Cohen's arguments for two artists and not one is the difference in the spirit of the two vase painters.<sup>23</sup> The Andokides Painter's vases are lively, charming and good humoured. Those of the Lysippides Painter lack the charm and humour of the red figure artist. They are competently executed, to be sure, but they simply feel different from those of the red figure artist. Surely if they were the same person some of these qualities would be found also in the Lysippides Painter's black figure, even on just one of his pictures. Having the ability to evoke an emotional response from the person looking at the vase is, to me, one of the most important factors that sets the top rank of artists apart from those who are simply competent, but not inspired. The emotional content of his pictures is one of the most striking aspects of the vase paintings of Exekias, for example. I suspect that this is not something that can be taught to an apprentice vase painter, but must develop from an artist's own abilities. Yes, the details of the vase painting of the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter do differ, despite other details making it clear that they influenced each other, but their overall

<sup>21</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 161 - 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 44.

approach to their craft differs too, for the Lysippides Painter lacks the sense of joy that the Andokides Painter instils in his work.

By now it has probably become clear that I personally agree with Cohen and Beazley, that there are two artists responsible for these bilingual vases, not one, and indeed my approach in this thesis has been to separate the two. This point of view, however, is not a universal one, and therefore I think a comparison of the two artists' applications of patterning may still shed some light on the identity question. It will be particularly interesting to compare them in light of the idea that the influence of the Lysippides Painter was responsible for the prominence of the grid pattern on garments in the Andokides Painter's transitional period, and that this aspect of the Andokides Painter's vase decoration is actually Exekian influence passing down through an intermediary.

### Chronology

Chronology will be an important factor in this discussion, and therefore I will review several different chronologies put forward over the past 70 years and assess them.

One early chronology for the Andokides Painter divided the artist's work into four main groups, with the bilinguals first.<sup>24</sup> These were as follows:

Group I: Leipzig fragments (unidentified)<sup>25</sup>

Bologna 151 (bilingual)

Palermo V650 (bilingual)

London cup (unidentified)

Louvre F204 (bilingual)

Group II: Boston 01.8037 (bilingual)

Munich 2301 (bilingual)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Schweitzer 1929 p. 129 - 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>I was unable to cross - index all of the vases in Schweitzer's inexact list with specific accession numbers on Beazley's later list.

Louvre F203 (white ground)

Group III: London B193 (bilingual)

Boston 99.538 (bilingual)

Group IV: Berlin 2159 (red figure)

Louvre G1 (red figure)

Orvieto, Faina 64 (red figure)

Schweitzer intended these strictly as groups, and the placement of the vases within the groups was not intended to be sequential. The vases are grouped based on a number of similarities. The bilinguals are found in groups I - III. Groups I and II have palmette - lotus and net patterns for their borders, III lotus buds, and IV, as the latest group, features spiral hooks and upright palmettes. The figures of Athena in Groups I - III follow what Schweitzer dubs "the archaic Peplos figure", while in group IV they are the "newer kore type". The subjects of the vases in groups I - III are those found in previous black figure vases: myths, thiasos scenes, duels, and arming scenes, while those of group IV are those of the future of vase painting: palaestra scenes and musical contests.

A second chronology, more general in its approach, but following the same lines as that of Schweitzer, was put forward by Byvanck a few years later.<sup>27</sup> He divides the Andokides Painter's vases into three main categories, providing examples of each category.

Group I: Boston 99.538 (bilingual)

Munich 2301 (bilingual)

Boston 01.8037 (bilingual)

Group II: London F204 (bilingual)

London B193 (bilingual)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Schweitzer 1929 p. 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Byvanck 1947 pp. 237 - 238.

Palermo V650 (bilingual cup)

Group III: Louvre G1 (red figure)

Berlin F2159 (red figure)

He thought that the earliest vases, in the first group, had been painted in that specific order, because the style of the pictures became gradually freer. These first vases were grouped together on the grounds that they depicted the same subject on both sides, while those of group II are also bilinguals but depict more varied scenes. He thought that the fighting scenes on Palermo V650 were definitely linked to the Siphnian Treasury and therefore important for the overall dating of the artist's work, which he saw as beginning ca. 530 BC and extending only over 10 years to ca. 520 BC. The last group of the artist's work is made up of vases that are only black figure, but he offers no explanation as to why these vases should follow the bilingual ones, nor why the artist reverted to black figure after painting both red and black.

A very different view of the artist's relative chronology was put forward much later by Dietrich von Bothmer.<sup>28</sup> He offered a more detailed placement of the vases relative to each other than the earlier chronologies did.

red figu	<u>re</u>
----------	-----------

bilingual

white ground

Berlin 2159

New York 63.11.6

Louvre G1

Leipzig T635

Louvre F203

Orvieto Faina 64

**Swiss Private** 

Boston 01.8037

Palermo V650

Taranto and

Bologna 151

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Bothmer 1965 p. 212.

mature period

Reggio frags.

London B193

Louvre F204

Munich 2301

Boston 99.538

The earliest vases in the list were produced ca. 530 BC and the latest ca. 515. This chronology is very similar to the one which followed it, produced by Cohen.<sup>29</sup>

red figure New York 63.11.	<u>bilingual</u> 6	white ground	<u>cups</u> <u>early</u>
Berlin 2159 Louvre G1			
Swiss Private Leipsic T635 transitional	Boston 01.8037	Louvre F203	Budapest 51.28
Orvieto 64			
Taranto and			Palermo V650
D , C	D 1 171		

Reggio frags

Bologna 151

Louvre F204

London B193 Munich 2301

Boston 99.538.

The earliest vases in this chronology were produced ca. 525 BC and the latest ca. 515 BC. Cohen divides the vases into three groups, early, transitional, and mature. Earliness is indicated by imperfections which indicate inexperience on the part of the artist, such as the slip of the background not quite meeting the outline of the figure, and imprecisions in matching the length of the panel with the length of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Cohen 1978 pp. 105 - 193; chronological outline p. 118.

horizontal border that accompanies it. In Cohen's transitional period Exekian influence appears on the bilinguals due to association with the Lysippides Painter; she considers these vases to be more clearly linked to black figure than the early ones by the same artist due to his influence. In the mature period the number of figures in a scene tends to be reduced from the black figure version, reflecting a more minimalistic approach with the essential figures to the action. Within each group she links the vases by specific details, such as all the Athenas in the mature group wearing long ependytes with diamonds and dots in a grid; sharp edged folds on all the early vases but the very first, which stands apart in several ways; simpler compositions and more monumental figures on the later vases; and a number of links to the sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi in the early group, such as hair styles, the shapes of folds, certain figures such as the horse and Amazon rider on Louvre F203.30 Details are also used to indicate which vases are associated with each other.

Based on these various chronologies it is apparent that there are two basic approaches to this question. The first writers took for granted that the bilinguals came first in the artist's works, perhaps on the grounds that these vases were produced at the beginning of red figure to accustom the customer to the new technique while providing vases that he would continue to purchase. The later chronologies, instead, place the bilinguals later in the artist's career. This would at first appear to be counter - intuitive, but in fact close examination and comparison of the vase paintings does bear out the observation that the artist's earliest vases are wholly red figured, while the bilinguals are more developed and accomplished in style. Although Cohen and von Bothmer do not agree as to the exact placement of all the vases within

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>ARV^2$  4, 13; fig. 87.

the artist's oeuvre, within the general categories of early, transitional and late their assessments match well. Cohen's chronology in particular is solidly based on assessment of stylistic details and composition, as well as an understanding of vase painting which has broadened considerably since the first two chronologies I considered were developed, so that their basic reasoning has been replaced by a much more detailed consideration involving more factors. Because Cohen and von Bothmer's chronologies are much more solidly based than the earlier two, the initial chronologies have been superseded.

### Patterning comparison with Exekias

The Lysippides Painter seems to share Exekias' preference for incised motifs, although not to the same degree as Exekias. (See appendices 4 and 7, pp. 325, 328.) The younger artist also shares Exekias' predilection for gridded garments, but again, he uses this method of decorating garments to a lesser degree than Exekias, with fewer than half as many on the vases I examined. Despite this difference, the Lysippides Painter is still using grids much more frequently than other black figure artists. There is little crossover of specific motifs between these two artists, however, for the Lysippides Painter does not share Exekias' favourite motifs, but he does use two of Exekias' more unusual motifs, the six petal flower and the petal cross. The six petal flower in particular is linked to the subject of the gaming heroes, it seems, for this motifs is prominent on their cloaks on Exekias' famous vase<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 70) as well as on the Lysippides Painter's depictions of the same subject.<sup>32</sup> (Figs. 88, 90)

The differences between the Andokides Painter and Exekias are similar in nature to those between the Lysippides Painter and Exekias.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$ London B193, bilingual, ABV 254, 3,  $ARV^2$  4, 8; fig. 90; Boston 01.8037, bilingual, ABV 254, 2  $ARV^2$  4, 7; fig. 88.

The Andokides Painter also uses fewer motifs, and different ones from those favoured by Exekias; in addition, dots are relatively much more prominent on his vases than they are on those of Exekias, making up his second and third favourite motifs, while for Exekias they come eighth. The red figure artist clearly favours simple motifs over Exekias' more detailed incised ones. The Andokides Painter also uses grids to decorate garments less than half as often as Exekias, and also slightly less often than the Lysippides Painter.

# Chronological change in the garment patterning of the Andokides Painter

Comparison of the patterning of the Andokides and Lysippides Painters was originally intended to be quite straightforward, possibly shedding some light on the question of one artist or two based on congruences or dissimilarities. In fact the situation is much more complicated than that. Cohen's modification of the earlier chronologies of these artists puts the bilinguals in a period when they were collaborating, so that the Andokides Painter's grids could be a result of the Lysippides Painter's influence rather than direct Exekian influence or initial training in black figure. Therefore, before I compare the patterning habits of the two artists directly, I want to look at where, on the Andokides Painter's vases, these grids are found, and where the vases with grids stand in this chronology. If the Andokides Painter's patterns are different before the collaboration begins, then they could reflect a different artistic personality if the bilinguals have been patterned under the Lysippides Painter's influence.

In his transitional period, the Andokides Painter uses three new motifs as compared to his early period and abandons one more, the swastika. (See appendix 8a, p. 330.) The new motifs are the dot rosette, the dotted ring, and animal bands. The dot rosette and the animal bands

are both old black figure motifs and rooted in that technique, although the animal bands are a very unusual method of decorating garments even in black figure. The ring motif is used quite frequently by the Lysippides Painter, the dot rosette much less so. The appearance of the latter motif in red figure, executed in slip instead of added paint, is particularly interesting, for in black figure this motif often adds colour to a garment, whereas in the new technique the Andokides Painter has adapted it to a more restrained approach.

Overall, between these first two periods, the artist appears to move towards simpler motifs. He uses fewer examples of the pyramidal triple dot pattern as well as the dotted cross motif, while his use of the plain dots increases. These changes are still significant when the change in number of vases between early and transitional periods is taken into consideration. The slight increase in numbers of motifs between the early and transitional periods is made particularly interesting by the dramatic drop to two motifs in the mature period. The artist's usage of grids on garments appears to be quite stable, for all three periods, even the mature one, despite the drop in variety of motifs at that time. This is a point in which I differ from Cohen; she looked only at grids on the ependytes of Athena, whereas examination of grids on other figures in addition to these yields different results.

These changes in the Andokides Painter's patterning seem to be divided in their nature. The increase in simpler motifs in his middle period, and the sharp decrease in numbers of motifs in his mature period, are the same kinds of changes that other red figure artists show in their work generally compared to black figure vases before the appearance of the new technique. At the same time, there seems to be no great change in how often the Andokides Painter uses grid patterns; in fact, adjusted for vase numbers, there is even a very slight increase in

the mature period, rather than the extremely sharp drop (ie abandonment) other early red figure artists display as grids are replaced by folds. Then, too, the addition of the animal bands and especially the dot rosette in the transitional period, is, if not a strengthening of ties to the old technique of vase decoration, at least an indication of familiarity with black figure.

It is at least feasible to link the introduction of these two motifs back to Cohen's idea of the artist beginning to work with the Lysippides Painter at this time, and thereby coming further into the influence of black figure. But these changes are not definite enough to confirm her ideas. The shifts towards black figure, in the introduction of these new motifs and the consistent use of grids, are slight, while those towards more advanced red figure, the movement towards simpler motifs and (finally) very few of them are quite strong.

The Andokides Painter's uses of animal and geometric pattern bands to decorate garments is particularly interesting in regard to ideas about his origins. Cohen has suggested that the artist could have come to pottery decoration after working as a sculptor on the Siphnian treasury frieze.<sup>33</sup> It is true that there are a number of aspects of the frieze which are very similar to the vase decoration of the Andokides Painter. Boardman has pointed out that relief sculpture would have had the same colour balance as red figure pottery, with light figures on a darker background.<sup>34</sup> And yet, as Robertson says, "I think it unlikely that anyone would become a vase painter who had not been through the shop from boyhood, turning the wheel, working the clay, learning to pot and paint before he specialized."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Cohen 1978 pp. 113 - 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Robertson 1992 p. 11.

These patterns, as I have said before, are unusual in black figure; I have seen them before on the François vase, as well as on pieces by Sophilos, but not in the intervening period, not even on the vases of Exekias, the master of black figure ornamentation. In some ways they are better suited to red figure than black, as the dark patterns on a red ground would be easier to execute with a brush than to reserve for light patterns on black, although in black figure they were actually painted on in red or white.

The animal and geometric patterns are unusual in black figure and perhaps some significance may be given to the fact that the Andokides Painter knows about them as an alternative method of garment decoration. This implies, it seems to me, a strong familiarity with black figure decoration, perhaps stronger than a sculptor might be expected to have. The great rarity of this kind of garment decoration at the time the Andokides Painter starts working reinforces this idea. Admittedly it is difficult to know whether the vase painting that remains to us from this time is representative, but it is what we have left to work with, and I think these bands of figural decoration are not compatible with the kind of decoration artists like the Princeton Painter, the Amasis Painter, and Exekias seem to favour, for they require expertise with the brush where incision is favoured for elaborate detail and variations of dots for added colour. If the Andokides Painter had started his working life with red figure, he could still have had this familiarity with black figure due to training in that technique, but it seems less likely that this would be the case for a sculptor.

# Comparison of motifs

The Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter use approximately the same number of motifs for their overall garment patterning. (See appendices 4 and 8, pp. 325, 329.) The Andokides

Painter's use of patterns is different from that of the black figure artist, and each uses motifs which the other does not. The Lysippides Painter, for example, uses rings, spirals, the six petal flower, dot squares, the petal cross and the open incised square, none of which appear on vases attributed to the Andokides Painter. The red figure artist uses the pyramidal triple dot, the Maltese cross, solid squares, and bands of geometric and animal patterns, which are not found on vases by the Lysippides Painter.

The motifs which are not shared by the two artists give indications about the artistry of each. Some of the Lysippides Painter's motifs which the Andokides Painter does not use are closely linked to Exekias, specifically the six petal flower and the petal cross. On the Lysippides Painter's vases these appear on vases of the same subject as Exekias uses them, the game playing Achilles and Ajax, on their cloaks. In the Andokides Painter's depiction of the same subject, one cloak is divided by folds instead of bands of ornament, and patterned with dots and dotted crosses, while the other is divided by simple crenellated lines and decorated with dots, dotted crosses, double meanders and gentle S curving lines, all of which are quite widely spaced compared to the tight and intense decoration on Exekias' original.<sup>36</sup> (Figs. 70, 88) The differences point to the Lysippides Painter being more closely linked to Exekias and less original whereas the Andokides Painter adapts the garments' decoration to the development of red figure, by including folds on one cloak and making the ornamentation on the other much less dense.

Other motifs by the Lysippides Painter which the Andokides Painter does not use are rings, spirals and open squares, incised motifs

 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$ Boston 01.8037,  $ARV^2$  4, 7; ABV 254, 2; fig. 88, by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides painter; Exekias' original, Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

which he apparently chose not to transfer into slip in the new technique. although they would have been simple enough to execute by brush. The motifs which the Lysippides Painter does not share tend to be those involving brush work, solid and heavy patterns such as the thick Maltese cross, the solid black squares, and the bands of animal and geometric decoration. Although the Lysippides Painter does use plentiful amounts of added colour in his vase decoration, and even some motifs that would have required careful brushwork such as the petal cross and the six petal flower, these do not approach the precision that would have been required for some of these other patterns. Even though the geometric and animal bands have their roots in earlier black figure, it seems that their reappearance now may be looking forward as well as back, to the precise execution that will be required for the fine folds and anatomical detail that become increasingly common in red figure with the Pioneers. The motifs are black figure in nature, but their conceptualization is red figure because of their appearance at this early, transitional period in the new technique.

The Lysippides Painter's four favourite motifs for overall patterning are as follows, in order of decreasing use: rings, spirals, crosses, and the dot rosette. The first three of these are incised. The Andokides Painter's four favourites are dots, the dotted cross, the pyramidal triple dot, and the cross. These tend to be smaller than the Lysippides Painter's favourites, and simpler, fitting better between folds. The focus for the Andokides Painter is less on linear motifs, which places him further from Exekias than the Lysippides Painter; although, even so, some of the detailed linear motifs such as the meander and the swastika still turn up in his work.

The smaller motifs the Andokides Painter prefers are also less suited to being placed in grid squares, especially the dot and pyramidal

triple dot; the dotted cross fits into a square format well and therefore is good for this position. Indeed for his grids he does use this motif, as well as the unusual solid black squares, meanders, and dotted rings. Once the Andokides Painter does put dots at the centre of grid squares, but accompanies them with a diamond shape within the squares to fill out the grid better. In his grids the Lysippides Painter uses rings frequently, and also spirals, and the cross with V's. Most often, though, his grids are filled with rings (I counted 14 grids done this way out of 18) and it is probably significant that his favourite motif is one that he puts into grids this way, while the Andokides Painter's favourite motif is the smallest one of all and used only once in a grid, otherwise between folds.

Then, too, the Lysippides Painter uses just slightly more grids than the Andokides Painter. The small size of the difference once the numbers are adjusted for the number of vases by each artist is somewhat surprising, for one could legitimately expect the Andokides Painter to use significantly fewer grids than the Lysippides Painter given his place in red figure. I have shown that the grids used by the Andokides Painter do not increase significantly in number on the artist's bilinguals, <sup>37</sup> when he may have started working directly with the black figure artist, so this similarity does not necessarily point to especially strong stylistic ties between the two artists. What it does emphasize, however, is that the Andokides Painter does have ties to black figure in this respect and that he does stand very early in the new technique.

The Lysippides Painter does use considerably more gridded garments on his vases than other black figure artists, a characteristic which is most likely due to Exekian influence. The Andokides Painter's use of grids may reflect the same influence, possibly directly rather than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>See appendix 8A, p. 330.

through the Lysippides Painter, since there is no dramatic change in this aspect of his vase decoration when his bilinguals begin to appear.

The way these two artists use different motifs for bands of decoration on garments also reveals differences between them. The majority of the Lysippides Painter's trim motifs are incised ones, and several of them are not shared by the Andokides Painter. In fact the motifs they have in common for this purpose are the dot, the crenellated line, the zig zag line, and the meander, and the last three of these are not significant in the Andokides Painter's trims from a numerical point of view. That artist does not use the wavy line so favoured by the Lysippides Painter, nor the spiral line or the ring, all incised patterns. All of these would be simple enough to execute with slip instead, but the Andokides Painter has apparently chosen not to do so.

The motifs which that artist uses, which are not shared in their black figure equivalents by the Lysippides Painter, are uncommon in much of the red figure that follows just as the artist's black squares and bands of animal and geometric patterns are. Also like those patterns, these require careful brushwork to create, such as the artist's thick spiky lines or his variations on broad bands of rectangles. These are the artist's most important patterns for trimming garments, and the more linear ones such as the vertical zig zags and the crenellated line are much less prevalent on his vases.

In fact the Andokides Painter's approach to the way he trims his garments is very different to the Lysippides Painter's, for the red figure artist seems to enjoy exceptionally elaborate borders. This is one of the factors underlying the greater variety of motifs which he uses. When the Andokides Painter does decorate garment trims (which, it must be remembered, is not uniformly the case on his figures, because many of them wear garments which are rich in folds and therefore untrimmed)

he will sometimes combine two or even three of the elements cited above to create a very rich effect. Usually these combinations consist of a narrow single line of dots, on either side of a broader band of another motif, and sometimes with the extra addition of a spiky line. Each of these bands is separated from its neighbour by a thin black line except for the spiky line, which creates its own line of separation by facing outwards, away from the other bands.

One particularly good example is on Berlin 2159,<sup>38</sup> an early vase, where the neck of Apollo's chitoniskos is decorated with all of these elements. (Fig. 78) Another, less rich example on the same vase, are the garments of Artemis, for her mantle is trimmed with dots and zig zags and her skirt's central band has a crenellated line with spikes on either side. On other vases, though, the trims can be as simple as an single extremely narrow line of fine dots; the very early New York 63.11.6<sup>39</sup> features this at the hems of several garments. (Fig. 82) There does not appear to be any particular correlation between earliness or lateness of vase and elaboration of the trim detail, for Berlin 2159<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 78) has elaborate trims and is early, while Munich 2301<sup>41</sup> also has elaborate trims and is late. (Fig. 84)

The Lysippides Painter's trims do tend to be simpler than these, usually with just a single line of a motif not flanked by any others. On New York 58.32,<sup>42</sup> for example, the hem of the ependytes worn by Athena is decorated with a single crenellated line in a band, and there is a single line of dots on the bodice of a female onlooker. (Fig. 42) On Munich 1575<sup>43</sup> the Lysippides Painter uses his favourite trim motif, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Berlin 2159, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, 1; fig. 78. <sup>39</sup>New York 63.11.6, *Para*. 320, 2bis; fig. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Berlin 2159, ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 1; fig. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Munich 2301, ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 9; ABV 255, 3; fig. 84 (Herakles reclining).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Para. 114, 10bis; fig. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>ABV 256, 16; fig. 91.

wavy line, on both the chitoniskos hem of Herakles and the neck trim of Athena. (Fig. 91) In addition to using different motifs for this purpose, therefore, the artists have different approaches as well.

#### Conclusion

The Andokides Painter's interest in elaborate trims is consistent with a greater artistic interest in the depiction of garments with elaborate and realistic folds. Both are part of a concern with the depiction of garments that outlasts the Pioneer's interest in realistic and varied anatomical detail. In fact, these trims by the Andokides Painter are the most elaborate I have noticed in vase painting, especially in red figure, where, as folds grow finer and are depicted with greater fullness, artists omit these trims altogether by necessity.<sup>44</sup> (Figs. 92, 93)

This is another aspect of the Andokides Painter's work which sets him apart from the artists who follow him. In addition to an interest in garments, these trims also require something of an interest in patterning, which is more of a black figure characteristic. In fact, these trims also become much less elaborate on the black figure vases which follow the appearance of red figure, because artists working at this time are trying to show better, finer folds and have become less interested in patterning than their counterparts who were working earlier.

There does not appear to be any major change in the patterning habits of the Andokides Painter which indicates that artist being more influenced by black figure when he begins decorating bilinguals. Changes in the Andokides Painter's patterning come later in his career and point instead towards red figure development. In addition, the Andokides and Lysippides Painters take very different approaches to which patterns they use, both in overall garment patterning and in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>See, for example, the superb garments worn on Munich 2344,  $ARV^2$  182, 6, the Kleophrades Painter's amphora with a Bacchic revel, fig. 92; or Villa Giulia 50396,  $ARV^2$  465, 82, fig. 93, by Makron.

garment trims. The Lysippides Painter prefers linear incised motifs, which are very different from the Andokides Painter's dots and heavily painted motifs. These differences indicate two artistic personalities at work.

## Chapter 7: Psiax

### Use of incision

One aspect of the work of Psiax which is particularly relevant to the development of the earliest red figure is his extensive, and unexpected, use of incision. On one vase in particular, this has been thoroughly described, making discussion possible. Philadelphia 5399¹ was found in Vulci and published thoroughly by William Bates in 1905.² (Fig. 94)

On this amphora, as on some other vases, Psiax has used incision in some places which seem to be rather ordinary, in that other artists working soon after the appearance of red figure use incision in them too. These include around the top of the head, and between long hair and background. The three figures with incised heads on this vase are all on the same side; a central Apollo holds a kithara high, his hands on the strings, watched by Leto on the left and Artemis on the right. the goddesses hold something out to Apollo; Leto has a delicate plant stalk, Artemis a flower. All three of these figures have their hair separated from the black background by incision. The Andokides Painter uses incision in this place on a number of his vases too; interestingly, some of these are thought to be very early while others appear to be later in his career. This apparent spread in the use of incision to separate hair and background seems to indicate that this black figure habit was thoroughly ingrained and comfortable to the artist, because otherwise he would have abandoned it more quickly.

Psiax seems to have started work shortly after the Andokides Painter, perhaps five years separating them. Psiax, however, still uses incision to depict this particular detail, as opposed to reservation, which

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>ARV^{2}$  7, 3; fig. 94; on Psiax generally see ABV 292 - 295,  $ARV^{2}$  6 - 9, Para. 127 - 128, 321; Add. II 76 - 77 and 150 - 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Bates 1905, pp. 170-180, plates 6 and 7.

becomes usual for red figure. He still appears to be very rooted in the black figure technique, in which he was probably trained. Indeed, there are more black figure vases attributed to him than red figure, about twice as many based on Beazley's attributions. The continuing use of incision to outline hair seems to indicate that the one eighth inch outlining slip<sup>3</sup> was not necessarily developed quickly, or at least not adopted immediately, or adapted to depicting black hair. This would require that it be slightly offset upwards or downwards, and that the artist allow for a reserved strip of red to outline the hair. Perhaps this was too much trouble to take over a relatively minor detail.

On the side of the Philadelphia amphora which shows Leto, Apollo and Artemis, there is another detail for which Psiax substitutes incision instead of using reservation. The stem of delicate foliage which Leto holds out to Apollo has been incised. There is more than one possible explanation for the use of incision for this particular detail. First, it is quite possible that Psiax or an apprentice or co-worker forgot to allow a reserved area for this detail when the background of the pot was being slipped. If this was the case, something had to be added, because the position of Leto's hand makes no sense unless she is holding something, and so the stem was incised. One may speculate with some amusement as to whether this stem was what Psiax intended Leto to be holding; a flower is more often found with figures in this pose, but of course this was not as suitable to incision as a stem because of its fuller shape.

Another possible justification for incising the plant stem could simply have been ease of execution. Although this incision would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The one-eighth inch outlining strip was just that. Its width made it practical for outlining the figure and giving an idea of how that figure would look against the black ground of the vase. The problem is that while in black figure a black outline becomes part of the figure and adds to it, in red figure a black outline is part of the background and therefore not included in the size of the figure. The need to shift the outline requires some adjustment on the part of the artists and this broad strip for outlining was their solution.

been delicate, careful work, an artist who was more accustomed to working in black figure (and therefore quite at home with incision) would probably have found it preferable to outlining a flower and then having to paint in the area around the outline with slip. This idea is not necessarily countered by the fact that Artemis holds a flower, because that flower is painted red,<sup>4</sup> rather than being reserved. The fact that this flower is painted red appears to correlate with both of the two ideas suggested above; which is preferable is not especially clear, although this work is of high calibre and so perhaps we should do the artist the courtesy of assuming these details were intentionally added later. In that case these details are indicative of Psiax's grounding in black figure, because he adds them in the black figure way rather than true red figure.

The third possible reason for the incision of Leto's stem is a purely artistic one. The composition of the panel is carefully balanced, with the two goddesses in essentially the same pose. Apollo's kithara even appears to be positioned advantageously for this consideration, being held against his body rather than out away from it. At the same time, however, the artist seems to have taken some trouble to avoid complete symmetricism. The hair of the goddesses is dressed differently, and their garments are arranged in a contrasting manner as well. Leto wears her mantle over her head, and this gives her rear profile a very different appearance from that of Artemis. The choice of a plant stem for Leto, rather than a flower, might also have resulted from the desire to have the composition balanced without being monotonously symmetrical.

The last way Psiax uses incision on this vase is the most unusual one, and he does it on both sides. He incises details that would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bates 1905, p. 174.

otherwise have been depicted in slip. These include the gathers at the fastening points of the sleeves of Artemis' chiton, as well as wavy lines on the upper part of the chiton, which are visible above the folds of her mantle. The sleeve fastening points of Apollo's chiton have been incised in a similar way.

The use of incision is even more generous on the other side of the amphora, and this must be at least partly because of the smaller amount of other detail on this side. Two horses are being led by a man who wears high boots, chitoniskos, mantle, and an unusually shaped helmet, perhaps intended for travelling. The large bodies of the two horses present rather broad, empty areas which Psiax has chosen to decorate with incision. He has incised facial lines around the horses' ears, eyes, and nostrils. Other incised details include muscle lines on the horses' necks, legs, and front and hind quarters. The man leading the horses has only a few incised lines, on the inside of his short mantle below his right arm.

There are a number of different ways to look at this very unusual use of incision, and there is no reason only one of them must be correct. It is much more likely that a combination of factors came into play in this particular aspect of Psiax's work. The first of these, and perhaps the most obvious, is that the incised lines so clearly indicate how Psiax started out, or at least focussed on, black figure. He is transferring technical details from black to red figure, so most likely he is best at home in black figure.

The second way to look at these incised lines is as a substitution for slip. Perhaps at this time the use of dilute slip had not yet been refined; this would mean that there were few options if an artist was interested in showing subtle details, instead of having them stand out strongly against the red of reserved areas. Examination of Psiax's other red figure vases might help to clarify this point.

The third way of looking at these incised details is linked with Psiax's character as a vase painter. He decorated vases in a variety of colours and techniques; red and black figure, but also an alabastron in Six's technique<sup>5</sup> as well as white ground and black figure with an added coral ground. He was an experimentalist, and his use of incision in red figure is part of this too. His interest in experimenting must be partly because of the period in which he is working, which is very much a transitional one and which therefore allowed and even encouraged experiment. It is much easier to play with colours and decorative methods at a time when a new technique has just been introduced and not yet developed to a point where it has been standardized.

There is one red figure vase attributed to Psiax on which he depicts a horse and uses dilute slip for the details.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 95) This kylix is unusual because it has been decorated without eyes, so that Psiax was free to cover the whole surface of the exterior in a battle frieze composition, rather than being restricted to single figures. The tondo of the kylix is red figure, like the exterior, and shows a youth, with one leg braced against the edge of the tondo, trying to restrain a horse who appears to be rearing slightly or plunging ahead. The next step in this discussion will be to examine the detail in slip on this horse and compare them with the details Psiax incised on the other pair of red figure horses, to try and determine if there is any congruence between the two.

The best photograph available of the cup tondo appears to be a good one, if small, and it reveals that little detail was included on this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>London 1900.6-11.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 8, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>NY 14.146.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 8, 9; fig. 95.

horse.<sup>7</sup> The lines of its jaw and bridle have been executed in dark slip, as has the line of the horse's shoulder and the fold of flesh between its front legs. There is also a dark line in slip which appears to indicate the division of the horse's back legs. All of these details, with the exception of the leg dividing line, are also done in dark slip on the pair of horses. Both of these horses have their back legs separated, so they have no place for the leg dividing line that is in evidence on the cup tondo. The lack of details in dilute or dark slip on this horse seems to indicate that Psiax was not substituting incision for slip on the pair of horses on the Pennsylvania amphora. We must look elsewhere for an explanation of this unusual characteristic.

Black figure is the obvious next place to look in discussing this characteristic. There are two black figure vases attributed to Psiax which depict horses; it appears that the incision of the Pennsylvania horses is not being used as a substitute for slip. Perhaps, instead, it is a habit or technique transferred from Psiax's black figure work.

The first piece with horses on it in black figure is a belly amphora in Munich.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 96) One of the panels on this amphora depicts the chariot of Herakles; the hero stands beside it, with Iolaos actually in the chariot and Hermes at the head of the four horses which are attached to it. Clearly visible are the full body of the closest horse, the hindquarters of the one behind it, most of the head and neck of the third horse, and small areas of the heads of the second and fourth horses. Unfortunately, the curvature of the vase makes it difficult to see and discuss some of these areas.

There is actually very little detail, incised or otherwise, on these horses, beyond the basics of eyes, bridle, jawline and shoulder muscle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Boardman 1975a, fig. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Antikensammlungen 2302, ABV 294, 23; fig. 96.

This must be because the composition is very complex already, with legs and tails and reins and necks making the picture rather difficult to decipher. Psiax made the right choice in keeping these horses simple in body; the multiple overlapping of them provided details enough, and then some. There is one short incised line on the haunch of the second horse, and something that might have been a similar line on the first. (Although this is along a fracture line and therefore suspect.) The hooves of all the horses are separated by incision. The rightmost pair of back legs (which seem too far forward to actually be connected to any of the horses) seem to have some faint lines on their upper portions, which might be red paint, but their faintness makes them somewhat questionable. The lack of anatomical details on the horses of this vase means that it does not provide any input towards solving the problem under discussion.

The second piece which Psiax decorated with a black figure horse is a cup which has the added feature of a coral ground. (Fig. 97) Herakles appears with one of the man eating horses of Diomedes in the cup's interior. The horse (with the gruesomely charming detail of the groom's head and arm dangling from its mouth) is rearing back slightly, with its front legs off the ground. Herakles, protected by his lion skin, stands in front of the horse, looking backwards, with one arm around the horse's neck and the other arm brandishing a long club behind its head, as though the horse is about to receive a blow from it. Herakles' body obscures the back of the horse's neck and a small part of its torso, but not enough to make examination difficult.

<sup>9</sup>Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, ABV 294, 22; fig. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>This vase appears to be the earliest evidence, both in art and in literature, for this particular one of the hero's labours; on this, as well as for the first recognition of the detail of the groom's head and arm in the horse's mouth, see Kurtz 1972 pp. 171 - 172.

This particular horse is the best one for comparison with the incised red figure pair because they share the characteristic of having a considerable amount of detail. The horse shown with Herakles has its incised detail in the same general areas as the other pair, namely leg muscles and muscles on the horses hindquarters, as well as on the The correspondence between them, however, is not horses' heads. exact, nor even particularly close. The red figure pair of horses has incision in some places where the black figure horse does not, and vice versa. The red figure horses, for instance, have incised lines on their necks and immediately above their front legs, with the added detail on the rear horse of some incision to indicate the wrinkling of skin in front of and behind the weight bearing front leg. The black figure horse does not have these, but it does have forked lines on each leg, which branch to indicate the knee; the red figure horses do not have either this particular branched line or its appearance on every leg.

Comparison of Psiax's incised red figure horses with more orthodox examples in red and black figure seems to indicate that he was not using incision on them strictly as either a substitute for slip or as a precise transference from his black figure habits. Some caution is necessary in drawing conclusions, because there are only a few examples of horses by Psiax for comparison, but, that having been said, it is necessary to work with the evidence available.

The Philadelphia amphora is not the only vase attributed to Psiax on which he uses incision in unexpected ways, but it is the only one on which it is applied so extensively. On the artist's other unusual examples the incision is used much less often. On the Munich eye cup, 11 the artist has incised some spear heads. (Fig. 98) This is all the more unexpected on this particular vase because the figures on it have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Munich 2587, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 8; fig. 98.

reserved hairlines, a detail which would have been much more easily done with incision. Another vase by Psiax, a now lost aryballos once in Bologna,<sup>12</sup> features an incised sword blade alongside two figures with reserved hairlines and two with incised ones. The third vase, the New York cup,<sup>13</sup> also features several incised spearheads. (Fig. 95) The Philadelphia amphora is just one vase of a number by Psiax is just one vase of a number by Psiax on which unusual incision appears, but it is also the only one on which he uses incision in red figure to delineate folds and anatomical detail.

This evidence seems to indicate that Psiax was experimenting with incision in red figure. The inspiration for using it for interior details in this technique probably came from black figure, but Psiax immediately seems to move beyond the simple uses to which incision was put in the older technique. He uses it in a much subtler manner, to indicate fine details like the skin bunching around a horse's leg and jaw. In this usage Psiax has gone beyond the possibilities of incision in black figure, and for that matter, beyond what slip could do in red figure as well. Using incision in red figure adds a texture which is a very subtle effect, filling the artistic gap which exists between lines in dilute slip and no lines at all. It is interesting that this habit of using incision to add very fine detail was not picked up by other red figure artists. Apparently they preferred the clarity and precision which were attainable with even dilute slip, to the more subtle appearance given by incising details on a reserved figure.

## Added colour

Psiax uses added colour frequently in his black figure, but generally for smaller areas than some of the black figure artists whose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Once Bologna 322, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>New York 14.146.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 8, 9; fig. 95.

work I examined previously. His applications of red and white are generally in the same places as earlier black figure with a few differences. White, for example, appears for female flesh and also for a number of whole garments. The artist's application of white is especially interesting. First, it appears on several garments in the artist's black figure, on both sides of the Brescia amphora, for example. On this vase the white garments are all chitoniskoi, but on the black figure hydria in Berlin he paints a charioteer's long chiton white. (Fig. 100) In fact using white for these long garments work by charioteers is quite standard in black figure. Psiax's application of the colour to short chitons is more unusual.

The association with horses may help explain the application of white paint to two of the figures on the Brescia amphora, both of whom wear travelling cloaks and close fitting archers caps although they do not carry bows. (Fig. 99) On the other side of the same vase, however, Iolaos also wears a white chitoniskos although the chariot is nowhere to be seen.

Several points about the garments worn by these figures, and the their disposition, may help explain the artist's use of added colour in these places. None of the white garments is wholly visible. The charioteer's long chiton is partly hidden by the body of the horse he stands behind, and this is also the case for the two dismounted riders on the Brescia amphora. The garments of these two figures are also partly hidden and broken up by the cloaks they wear, which are actually pinned at the neck and fall over the shoulders. Iolaos, too, wears his cloak in a similar manner; it falls over one arm and covers the front of his body.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Brescia amphora, ABV 292, 1; fig. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Berlin 1897, ABV 293, 8; fig. 100.

In the case of the three figures who are standing behind their horses, the white garments helps differentiate between them and their horses as well as offsetting the large area of flat blackness the bodies of the horses create. For the three figures wearing the short cloaks, the white also allows differentiation of the two garments and appreciation of the artist's skill in arranging the travelling cloaks. In older black figure the short mantles worn by these kinds of figures are rarely shown in this manner, but instead draped over the figures' arms or worn diagonally across the chest, usually with nothing beneath in both cases. The first arrangement leaves the torso almost completely uncovered, the second almost completely covered, so the need for clarification is minimal, and applying red to alternate folds helps with differentiation of garment and body. Psiax's arrangement of garments on these figures is something new to black figure and he has adapted his use of colour to make it clear as well as show it off to its best advantage.

An interesting by-product of the artist's application of white in this way is the reduction of the area over which it is applied. In fact for the three figures in cloaks the area of white which is visible is very small. In earlier black figure the colour appears over larger areas, not generally hidden by other garments or horse bodies. This is one way that Psiax's addition of added colour differs significantly from the way it is applied in earlier black figure, and it seems to be largely due to the fine, heavy, often massed folds on his garments,

The artist's depiction of these fine folds precludes the division of a garment into bands of which a central one or the two lateral ones can then be painted red. In earlier black figure this is most often the case on a flat, long skirt. A frequent alternative was to paint red alternate bands of a diagonal mantle, probably representative of alternate folds. But with Psiax's elaborate folds in black figure as well as red this is no

longer feasible. The artist does not paint alternate folds red either. which would be possible even with fine folds. This different treatment of garments is a major difference between Psiax's black figures vases and those of artists who began work before the appearance of red figure.

Having pointed out these two differences, in many other ways the artist's application of added colour follows the conventions of black These include red beards and tails, garlands, added colour shield bosses, and the occasions red helmet, crest or greaves.<sup>16</sup> (Figs. 96, 101, 102) On the Brescia amphora Psiax paints the caps and parts of the boots of the two riders red and there are white details on the stool used by the man who greets them in addition to their white chitoniskoi. On the other side of the vase there are details in added colour also, including Herakles' beard, parts of Athena's helmet, her shield rim and its owl boss as well as the edge of her mantle and that of Iolaos. These applications are generally over small areas and quite evenly distributed.

In addition to these uses of added colour, Psiax also occasionally uses it as part of his patterning on garments. Sometimes this is in conjunction with incision and sometimes not. On the bilingual amphora in Munich, <sup>17</sup> for example, the artist dots Herakles' lion skin in red. (Fig. 96) This is unusual for black figure, where incised decoration for animal skins would stand out as well as or better than red paint and be simpler to execute. Another example is the artist's neck amphora in the British Museum, signed by Andokides as maker, on which the decoration is confined to the neck of the vase. 18 (Fig. 101) The black

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Red horse tail, breastbands, chariot, boots, dots on lion skin and cap, Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23;  $ARV^2$  6, 1; fig. 96; red greaves, London B590, ABV 294, 19; red crest, manes, breast bands, beards and tails, garlands, mantle, trim, London 1980.10-29.1 (once Castle Ashby), ABV 293, 7; fig. 101; red tail, mantle trim, leaves of wreath, fillet, Madrid 11008, ABV 294, 24; ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 2; fig. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Munich 2302, *ABV* 294, 23; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96. <sup>18</sup>London 1980.10-29.1, *ABV* 293, 7; fig. 101.

figure Dionysos who dances with satyrs wears a chiton patterned with red dots alternating with white - dotted crosses. Added colour for garment patterning does tend to be restricted to quite simple motifs.

Another unusual use of colour by Psiax, which appears only in his black figure, is his fairly frequent application of a stripe of red, either close to a garment's bottom edge or directly along the hemline. This is something which earlier black figure artists do not do often. Since many of their garments have few folds, more elaborate hem decoration is feasible and often utilized. These narrow red bands are suited even to garments with folds, however, and they appear on a number of elaborate black figure garments by Psiax, most often applied to mantles worn by men or gods.<sup>19</sup> (Figs. 96, 99, 101, 102)

In functional terms this red line emphasizes the line and volume of the folds, adding three dimensionality and therefore reality. I think Psiax uses it for this reason, and we can see its equivalent in red figure by other artists, in the wide black slipped line that sometimes appears partially up a very full garment, and the double lines that appear at the hems of these garments.<sup>20</sup> (Figs. 92, 140) It is impossible to determine whether this aspect of Psiax's added colour is a direct antecedent of this red figure practice, but clearly the two are conceptually related, for they have the same effect. Psiax's decoration of garments in this way seems to indicate that he is thinking of them in three dimensions instead of two, a quality which is also demonstrated by his realistic piling up of folds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>London 1980.10-29.1, ABV 293, 7; fig. 101, mantle of Dionysos; Madrid 11008, ABV 294, 24,  $ARV^2$  7, 2; fig. 102, mantle of Dionysos; Brescia amphora, ABV 292, 1, fig. 99, cloak of Iolaos, mantle hem of Athena, cloak edges of both riders and seated man; Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23;  $ARV^2$  6, 1; fig. 96, hems of Iolaos and Hermes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Tarquinia RC 6848,  $ARV^2$  60, 66; fig. 140, by Oltos; Munich 2344,  $ARV^2$  182, 6; fig. 92, by the Kleophrades Painter, who especially favours this detail; Basel BS456,  $ARV^2$  1634, by the Berlin Painter. This detail cannot be used as folds become softer and less definite, and seems to fade from use as fold lines are drawn in a more sketchy manner.

On his large black figure vases, therefore, Psiax uses quite a bit of added colour; his applications of it are in some ways the same as earlier black figure and in some ways different. The most important difference is his use of red and white for small areas, without the large stripes that are a standard feature of many black figure garments. Psiax's smaller black figure vases seem to have somewhat less added colour, but are generally also less well preserved than the larger ones. They also tend to have fewer figures and therefore fewer opportunities for the application of added colour. Another difference in addition to their small size that may be a contributing factor may be that the large vases are decorated in panels on black while the smaller vases do not have the panels. The whole surface of these vases is reserved with figures and floral and vegetal decoration applied over the whole surface. The smaller vases are lighter in appearance and require less colour to be added.

In terms of added colour, Psiax's red figure is very different to his black figure, and the extent of the difference may be significant in respect to his place in the very earliest stages of red figure. Whereas Psiax uses added colour extensively in his black figure, in his red figure it is much less important. It is used for garlands and ribbons, ivy leaves, and once a satyr's tail.<sup>21</sup> (Figs. 94, 96, 102, 107) White appears for small objects, but only very occasionally; one red figure vase has a white double flute and a white kylix.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 103) The added red especially is used for much smaller objects than in black figure, many of them linear and therefore demanding to reserve, easier to paint. This tendency is, as I have shown, also especially in evidence on

<sup>22</sup>Getty S.82.AE.24, fig. 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Madrid 11008, ABV 294, 24;  $ARV^2$  7, 2; fig. 102, wreaths and ribbons; wreaths, Cleveland 76.89, (once Swiss, private),  $ARV^2$  7, 7; fig. 107; garlands, reins, ringlets, flower, Philadelphia 5399,  $ARV^2$  7, 3; fig. 94; stool legs, Getty S.82.AE.24, fig. 103; ivy leaves and red tail, Munich 2302,  $ARV^2$  6, 1, ABV 294, 23; fig. 96.

the vases of Oltos, but that artist does not use white in the red figure vases examined.

Psiax generally is acknowledged to stand early in Attic red figure, but generally the Andokides Painter appears to be a more likely candidate for the position of being its inventor, and Psiax thought to be his pupil.<sup>23</sup> This artist uses added red on his red figure vases for the same kinds of details as Psiax does, the smaller ones such as wreaths, ivy leaves and so on. But one difference between the two is that the Andokides Painter seems to use added red for these details much more often on each vase than Psiax does. There is also more variety in the added red details of the Andokides Painter's vases, including a helmet cheekpiece, snakes on the gorgoneion of Athena, Apollo's bowstring and arrowheads, and strips of meat hanging from the table below the kline of the reclining Herakles.<sup>24</sup> (Figs. 82, 84)

The Andokides Painter also uses the colour much more often for hair than Psiax does in his red figure. I have already shown that garment patterning by the Andokides Painter is very different to that which follows it, still very strongly tied to black figure. Psiax does not have the same strong links to the old technique in this aspect of his vase painting. It seems that the Andokides Painter's use of added colour in his red figure is also closer to black figure than that of Psiax, and therefore the Andokides Painter stands closer to the invention of red figure than Psiax.

# Garment patterning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Mertens 1979 p. 22; for a contrary view, Psiax as contemporary but not pupil, see Bates 1905.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>New York 63.11.6, *Para*. 320, 2bis; fig. 82; Munich 2301, *ABV* 255, 4; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 9; fig. 84.

The patterning Psiax uses to decorate garments is very different in his black figure and his red figure. In black figure he uses half as many motifs for trims as for overall patterning. (See appendix 9 p. 331.)

The total number of different motifs is eight, and of these only two appear with any frequency. There is a great decrease over the numbers of motifs used by black figure artists such as Lydos, the Amasis Painter, and Exekias. This differences illustrate the extent to which artistic interest in patterning shifts in the transition from black to red figure vase decoration

Then, too, in addition to this numerical shift, there are clear differences in terms of which motifs are favoured. The top three motifs Lydos uses for patterning garments overall are the dot rosette, red dots, and the cross with v's. The Amasis Painter's top three are the dot rosette, the large red dot, and the cross, while Exekias' preference is for rings, dot rings, and then the meander. The most popular motif used for this purpose by each of these artists is quite a large one, whereas in the case of Psiax's preferred cross the artist always incises the motif to be very small whether using it on a flat garment or between folds.

Another important difference between Psiax and black figure artists whose work mainly precedes the invention of red figure is in terms of degree of preference. Psiax uses only two of his black figure motifs more than once. The black figure artists whose work I examined also all have strong preferences for certain motifs, and numerically there is usually a large difference between an artist's few preferred motifs and the rest on the list. But none of these artists take their preferences to the same extreme as Psiax does in his black figure, even taking into consideration the numbers of vases examined. This

difference must be part of the same trend as the overall decline in the numbers of motifs Psiax used.

Another point of interest is how Psiax arranges the motifs he uses on his black figure vases. There was not a single grid incised on any of the vases examined, which is hardly surprising given this artist's regular use of folds. Even his flat garments have a puffy, voluminous quality especially visible about the sleeves and neckline as well as the hem.

Psiax's approach to patterning is different in his red figure than his black figure, which shows that he is differentiating between the two techniques. He uses about the same number of motifs in his red figure as in his black, but the motifs themselves are somewhat different. His preferred motif for the overall decoration of garments in red figure is the pyramidal triple dot, which does not appear on his black figure vases. Neither does the dot rosette, which he has unusually adapted to red figure by equalizing the size of the dots (all of them are quite fine) and executing the motif in slip instead of added colour. The plain cross so strongly preferred in his black figure appears just once on the red figure vases examined. This seems odd because this motif is just as well suited to red figure when executed with slip as it is to black figure when incised, but apparently Psiax had different preferences in patterning for different techniques.

In fact the pyramidal triple dot also appears in black figure vase painting; it is not an exclusively red figure motif. The Amasis Painter uses it a number of times and Group E twice. (See appendices 5 and 6, pp. 326, 327.) It does not appear on the examined vases of the Lysippides Painter, Exekias, the Princeton Painter or Lydos. The Amasis Painter's use of this motif is probably part of his predilection for motifs that allow him to apply added colour, but no such explanation

can apply in the case of Psiax's red figure because the motif is executed in slip instead.

The motifs used by Psiax for edging garments are very different on his red figure garments than on his black. Some he uses in red figure are only suited to that technique and not to black figure, especially the diamonds and solid rectangles which he uses in several different ways. Their solidity makes them ideal for execution in slip. The motifs he uses for his black figure garment trims are all incised ones. These could be executed with slip in red figure, but Psiax has, with the exception of the dot, chosen not to do so. In red figure he prefers the more solid motifs over the linear ones, reflecting his awareness of the different possibilities of the technique.

Another aspect of Psiax's bands of decoration to note is the apparent discrepancy in how often he uses band motifs. On his red figure vases, a much greater number of band motifs appear, than on his black figure vases; the difference is approximately sixfold when the numbers of vases examined are taken into account. In fact the difference is not as great or as significant as its size would make it seem. As I mentioned earlier in my discussion of how Psiax uses added colour, in black figure he often decorates mantle edges with a red line. This accentuates the folds much more effectively than a line of elaborate incised decoration and must also have been easier to add.

Psiax clearly differentiates between red figure and black figure vases in terms of the motifs he uses. Numerically the differences are equally significant as the typological ones, for there is a substantial difference between the two techniques. (See appendix 9 p. 326.) Not only does Psiax use different motifs in the two techniques, but he also uses garment patterning less often on his red figure garments, about

thirty percent less than black figure Again, this clearly indicates that the artist is treating the two techniques differently.

The question then arises of whether this difference is due to the artist treating drapery and the depiction of folds differently in the two techniques. On his black figure vases Psiax depicts flat patterned garments three times more often than in his red figure. Conversely, in his red figure he depicts garments with patterning between folds two and a half times more often than in his black figure.

In conclusion, Psiax differentiates his garment patterning in black figure and red figure in several different ways. He uses different motifs in the two techniques and applies patterning less often in red figure. Psiax also places the patterns differently, much more often between folds in red figure and more on flat areas in black figure. The next question which must be addressed is whether or not there is a corresponding difference in how he depicts garments generally in the two techniques.

# Treatment of drapery

Although Psiax does generally depict black figure drapery in a detailed manner, often with many folds, it is on his red figure vases that we find his most elaborate garments.

The Munich bilingual amphora is a particularly good example of these fine folds in black figure.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 96) The black figure side is a chariot scene, with Iolaos in the process of stepping up into the chariot, Herakles standing behind it, and Hermes (with cadeucus and winged boots) at the head of the horses. All three figures wear chitoniskoi and the skirts of all three fall in very fine, delicate folds which are meticulously detailed. Not only does the depiction include closely spaced incised fold lines, but also the ends of the folds have been drawn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Munich 2302, ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1, ABV 294, 23; fig. 96.

in such a way as to appear realistically voluminous. In fact on most of the black figure vases by Psiax which I examined, the artist draws this short skirt with folds. These are not always as elaborate as the previous example, as the artist's black figure plate in Berlin shows. (Fig. 104) The striding warrior on this plate also wears a short skirt, but this one has a central fan of fine folds and the rest are wider and wrap around the contour of his body. On this figure Psiax has also included the sleeve of the warrior hanging out from the edge of his cuirass. The skirt of Perseus on the Leningrad cup<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 97) is treated in a manner similar to those on the Berlin bilingual amphora, while that of Herakles on the same vase is a more developed version of the warrior on the Berlin plate.

The exception to this practice is the black figure hydria in Berlin,<sup>28</sup> the shoulder of which is decorated with warriors, several of which have flat skirts albeit with fluffy looking edges that add volume. (Fig. 100) These figures are on a smaller scale than the other ones I have already cited and therefore perhaps left flat for simplicity. This vase strikes me as being rather early; the drapery on the other figures lacks the appearance of volume which other of Psiax's vases display so well. Psiax's display of superb folds on this particular garment is particularly interesting because in black figure it remains for the most part a flat garment right up to the invention of red figure.

Despite the examples cited above of elaborate folds in his black figure, it is also true that on these vases there are a number of flat garments, something which do not appear in Psiax's red figure. In addition to the flat skirts cited above, one of the shoulder warriors on the same vase wears a flat tunic, with no cuirass over it. Two other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Berlin 2099 ABV 294, 18; fig. 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Leningrad, Hermitage, ABV 294, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Berlin 1897, *ABV* 293, 8; fig. 100.

vases depict maenads in flat garments, both of which have the fabric at the waist pulled into a kolpos or overfold.<sup>29</sup> (Figs. 105, 106) The artist's neck amphora in the British museum shows Dionysos in a flat chiton as well.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 101) Apparently flat garments are, if not frequent in the artist's black figure, at least making appearances.

In his red figure, in contrast to the number of black figure examples cited above, there is only one rather uncertain possible example of this kind of garment. (I do not count Psiax's depictions of archers in red figure because they are always shown in flat garments.) A woman on the artist's red figure cup, formerly in the Bareiss Collection and now in the Getty Museum,<sup>31</sup> wears a garment with a flat empire waisted bodice and possible a flat skirt as well. (Fig. 103) Unfortunately the illustration is indistinct and almost all of the skirt is missing, so the exact nature of this garment is unclear, but in any case there are certainly fewer garments of this sort in Psiax's red figure than in his black.

It is perfectly feasible that these depictions are intended by the artist to represent a different kind of garment with less fabric than the other which he shows with folds, but the lack of this type on red figure vases mitigates this idea somewhat. This aspect of Psiax's treatment of garments on his black figure vases does seem to indicate somewhat different conventions for this technique, even though he also depicts some very developed folds on some of his black figure vases.

In fact Psiax's most elaborate depictions of folds appear on two red figure scenes, both amphorae, one wholly red figure and one bilingual. The Madrid bilingual depicts a Dionysiac scene on the black

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Jameson lekythos, *ABV* 293, 11; fig. 105; Leningrad 381, *ABV* 293, 12; fig. 106, alabastron.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>London 1980.10-20.1, (once Castle Ashby), ABV 293, 7; fig. 101.

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$ Getty S.82.AE.24, fig. 103. The other dot rosettes on this vase, in addition to this garment, are nipples; a link to the drinker on the Andokides Painter's red figure cup Budapest 51.28,  $ARV^2$  1617.

figure side;<sup>32</sup> the god's mantle in some very sophisticated folds where both edges of the mantle are visible as it is draped over his arms. (Fig. 102) The other side of this vase, showing a lyre player and his listeners, also has elaborate drapery, with long sleeves hanging down in folds on three figures and one with her mantle pulled over her head.

The height of Psiax's depiction of folds comes on his red figure amphora in Philadelphia.<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 94) One side of the vase shows Apollo playing the lyre, accompanied by Leto and Artemis. Leto wears her mantle over her head. Some of the fabric from her bodice has been pulled out over her girdle to form a kolpos, and this overfold is shown with fine folds of its own. Artemis wears her short mantle diagonally and the folds over her extended arm are beautifully detailed, down to the little weights on the tips that keep them hanging nicely. The most notable aspect of her garments, however, is the way the upper edge of her diagonal mantle has been depicted. The edge of the fabric has been turned or pulled over to create a kind of ruffle along its top edge. These kinds of detailed depictions of garments are quite unusual in vase painting generally, and Psiax seems to have taken a special interest in showing garments with extra details. His unusual travelling cloaks, buttoned at the neck with the button clearly visible, are part of this too.

It is important to note that Psiax's bilingual amphorae, both of which I described above, both have very skilled, developed depictions of drapery. This indicates that neither of these vases can be early in the artist's career, and therefore are somewhat removed from the earliest stages of red figure vase painting. Some bilinguals by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter are also too developed to be from the very earliest red figure.<sup>34</sup> The situation with Psiax appears to be the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Madrid 11008, ABV 294, 24; ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 2; fig. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Philadelphia 5399, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 3; fig. 94

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>On chronology see Bothmer 1965 p. 212; Cohen 1978 p. 105-193 but especially p. 118.

same and I would like to point out the strong Andokidean influence apparent on the red figure side of Psiax's bilingual amphora in Munich,<sup>35</sup> depicting a reclining Dionysos with a satyr behind him and a maenad at the foot of the kline. (Fig. 96) Comparison of the two shows that Psiax's fold are considerable softer and more fluid than the Andokides Painter's. Apparently this Andokidean influence is not exhaustive, however, for generally Psiax's garments are quite a bit more realistic and sophisticated than those of the Andokides Painter, and in addition, Psiax does not appear to have maintained the black figure influence evident in the Andokides Painter's patterning of garments, for not one grid was present on the vases I examined, and even Psiax's rather flat garments still had voluminous sleeves.

### Pose and anatomical detail

In black figure Psiax's poses are simple. One standard pose before the appearance of red figure, consisting of frontal torso and profile legs, persists on his red figure vases as well. Another usual pose also appears, namely the purely profile figure, on his vases in both techniques. In his red figure, however, there are a few examples of more varied poses, some with more anatomical detail to accompany them and some without it.

One such vase is Psiax's Munich bilingual amphora.<sup>36</sup> The red figure side of this vase depicts Dionysos reclining. This particular composition seems to have originally been introduced by the Andokides Painter; his version featured Herakles instead. The basic poses of the central figures are the same on both vases; both lie back on one elbow and prop themselves up on a pillow. In the Andokides Painter's version both of Herakles' legs are bent at the knee and therefore shown in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23; ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23; ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96.

profile. The artist has fudged the question of profile, three quarter or frontal torso by including only the lines of the hero's collarbones and not his pectoral muscles.

In Psiax's version of the scene Dionysos has his front leg lying flat along the kline, turned outwards so that the god's foot can be drawn frontally. His torso is quite frontal, although the critical area of the stomach is missing, so it is impossible to judge how the artist coped with the muscles there. They may well have been covered by the god's mantle or simply omitted.

A much showier display of complicated pose as well as anatomical detail appears on Psiax's red figure eye cup in Munich.<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 98) On this vase the usual palmettes which fill the space between the eyes and handles have been omitted, replaced instead with single figures. Two figures appear between each set of eyes although including only one is more usual for this artist as well as others. One side of the vase shows a young girl dancing to a piper; of the musician only the tip of the instrument remains. The dancer's lower arms and legs from just above the knee are missing, but enough remains to make clear the lack of anatomical detail on this figure. The presence of a naked female figure is unusual on the vases of Psiax and, in accompaniment to the decoration, marks this vase out as being unusual.

The central decoration on the other side of the vase shows two warriors. Of the left one only the legs remain, making it difficult to evaluate his pose. The other, an archer, is seen from behind; he kneels on one leg and has the other turned at right angles for a profile view of the other leg. Both his arms are raised as he draws back the bowstring and he is leaning slightly in the direction he aims the arrow. The pose is unusual because it is seen from behind, in addition to the placement of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Munich 2587, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 8; fig. 98.

the legs. We see the leg on which the archer kneels from behind, and Psiax has even included the archer's foot, which we see from beneath, although somewhat awkwardly.

The pose of this archer is quite exceptional and Psiax does not attempt anything like this in his black figure. The archer is equally unusual in terms of the amount of anatomical detail on his body. Many muscles in his back, arms and legs have been indicated with dark slip. Several other figures on the same vase also have quite a bit of anatomical detail displayed on their legs. Like the archer's pose, this amount of anatomical detail does not appear on the black figure vases by Psiax which I examined.

Another exceptional pose with a great deal of anatomical detail by Psiax appears on a red figure eye cup in Cleveland.<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 107) The single warrior between the eyes on this cup must have been wounded, for he is down on one knee, with his face, covered by his helmet, looking out in a rather pleading manner with his head tipped to one side as though the weight of his helmet is too much for him. He leans in the same direction as though the weight of his shield is pulling him over. The lower part of the leg on which he rests is turned so that the foot lies horizontally but is displayed from the front. The artist is again presenting one leg frontally, at least partially, and the other in profile.

The focus on this figure in terms of anatomical detail is the muscles of his stomach. Psiax has tried to delineate each one separately with a rather overlarge oval. These are not shaped or arranged symmetrically; those on the right slant to a greater degree than those on the left, and the effect is very odd. Psiax may have been trying to make the shape of the muscles reflect the warrior's lean to the right, but if so, it is not a successful attempt. As with the muscles of the archer, this

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$ Cleveland Museum of Art 76.89 (once Swiss private),  $ARV^2$  7, 7; fig. 107.

amount of detail in terms of stomach muscles is not something he attempts in black figure, nor does it appear on the other red figure vases I examined.

In terms of anatomical detail, Psiax's red figure is generally much more restrained than these vases would indicate. On the Munich bilingual amphora<sup>39</sup> cited previously the satyr at the head of Dionysos is unclothed; of muscular detail the artist includes only the pectoral An unclothed warrior on Psiax's red figure (Fig. 96) muscles. alabastron in Leningrad<sup>40</sup> is depicted in profile; we see his thoracic arch and some short lines delineating his ribs, with little further detail beyond the line of his groin and the muscle under his arm. (Fig. 106) A naked athlete on the red figure alabastron in Karlsruhe<sup>41</sup> has even less detail; he is missing the rib lines.

These red figure vases are much closer to the amounts of anatomical detail Psiax includes on his unclothed black figures. In fact, if anything, the artist seems to include slightly more anatomical detail in his black figure than in his ordinary red figure. On the black figure neck amphora in the British Museum, 42 for example, one of the satyrs has not only pectoral muscles, thoracic arch and rib lines incised, but also muscles on his thighs and calves as well as the details of his knee caps. (Fig. 107) Other unclothed figures show similar amounts of anatomical detail.<sup>43</sup> (Figs. 106, 109, 110) The difference between these black figures and some of the artist's red figures appears to be the addition of details on the legs of the figures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Munich 2302, *ABV* 294, 23, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96. <sup>40</sup>Leningrad 381, *ABV* 293, 12 fig. 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Karlsruhe 242,  $ARV^2$  7, 4; fig. 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>London 1980.10-20.1 (once Castle Ashby), ABV 293, 7; fig. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>See the Poldi - Pezzoli kyathos, ABV 293, 15; fig. 109; the Hermitage alabastron, Leningrad 381, ABV 293, 12; fig. 106; and London B234, an amphora, ABV 292, 3; fig. 110.

This assessment of poses and anatomical details on the vases of Psiax shows that they are dealt with differently in the different techniques, but not always with the kinds of differences one might expect. The difference which meets expectations is that in red figure Psiax has executed a few examples of complicated poses and a great deal of anatomical detail (although the two do not always go together), and nothing like these appears in his black figure. This indicates that Psiax appears to have reserved the new technique for this kind of advanced depiction. The scarcity of examples of these elements in his red figure may indicate that his primary interests lie elsewhere, perhaps in the very detailed, elaborate garments which he depicts much more frequently in both techniques.<sup>44</sup> Leaving aside the exceptional examples, however, the artist's more ordinary figures display more anatomical detail in black figure than in red. This is not necessarily the oddity that it seems; the black figures are, after all, very flat without added detail, while the red figures do not share this disadvantage. In addition, this lack of anatomical detail on Psiax's ordinary red figure is certainly consistent with a general disinterest in this kind of detail on his part.

The size of the vases Psiax decorates does not appear to have any direct correlation with the amount of anatomical detail. The Munich bilingual amphora,<sup>45</sup> with a total height of 63.5 cm,<sup>46</sup> has the panels decorating it occupying about a third of that, but no elaboration of the anatomical detail on the unclothed satyr. (Fig. 96) The neck amphora in London,<sup>47</sup> on which the decoration is confined to the neck and therefore considerably smaller, does have more extensive anatomical detail. (Fig.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>For a different view see Smith 1929 p. 23. "He has his hobby, but it is the perspective of the body, not its markings."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23; ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>CVA Munich 4 text to pl. 153 - 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>London 1980.10-20.1 (once Castle Ashby), ABV 293, 7; fig. 101.

101) The Munich eye cup<sup>48</sup> offers a much smaller picture field than the bilingual amphora and yet has a number of figures with a great deal of anatomical detail and in varied poses (Fig. 98), while there is little anatomical detail on Psiax' red figure alabastra.<sup>49</sup> (Figs. 108, 111) The size of the vase being decorated, therefore, may be a consideration in this regard, but apparently it is not the artist's main concern.

 $<sup>^{48}</sup>$ Munich 2587,  $ARV^2$  7, 8; fig. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Odessa,  $ARV^2$  7, 5; fig. 111; Karlsruhe 242,  $ARV^2$  7, 4; fig. 108.

# Chapter 8: Oltos

The Attic vase painter, Oltos, is important to the study of early red figure for a number of reasons. First of all, the volume of his preserved work renders him significant compared to other artists whose work remains to us in much smaller numbers. Second, the artist's work is linked to black figure in a number of ways, but at the same time he is developing into a highly skilled red figure artist. By studying his work various characteristics are revealed which are significant to the study of how red figure is influenced by and moves away from black figure at the same time.

## Added red in red figure

Examination of Oltos' red figure reveals that he is at least consistent in his use of colour, and he uses it quite regularly, if not extensively. In this technique the artist uses added red paint, but apparently less frequently white. The red is most often used for fairly minor details, and most of these tend to be linear, such as reins and bridles, staffs and spears, ribbons, wreaths, straps and jewellery.<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 112 - 118) There are, however, a few exceptions to this tendency in the red figure of Oltos, such as the red dolphins held by the nereids on the Bloomington eye kylix (Fig. 119),<sup>3</sup> and the tail and mane of the horse on the Bonn eye cup.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 120) The inscriptions on red figure also tend to be in added red, but this is standard for red figure vases generally. This colour is used not only on the artist's early vases, but also on a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For Oltos see  $ARV^2$  53 - 67, Para. 326 - 328, Add. II 162 - 166.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Wreaths and leaves: Oxford 516,  $ARV^2$  63, 92; fig. 112; Copenhagen 2700,  $ARV^2$  63, 93; fig. 113; ribbons and blood, Copenhagen 3877,  $ARV^2$  63, 87; fig. 114; reins, Berlin 2263,  $ARV^2$  62, 85; fig. 115; reins, spears and snakes, Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 100,  $ARV^2$  60, 67; strap and bridle, Rome, Castellani fragments,  $ARV^2$  59, 60; bracelets and fillet, Holyoke kylix, Para. 328, 127ter; fig. 117; shield rim, helmet crest edge and baldrick. Oxford 515,  $ARV^2$  56, 27; fig. 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Bloomington 80.73, once Castle Ashby, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 18; fig. 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bonn 464.24, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 31; fig. 120.

number of those which Beazley has termed 'developed' in style.<sup>5</sup> (Figs. 112 - 114, 116)

The way these sorts of details are consistently added in red paint on vases which seem to cover the whole span of Oltos' career (at least as we know it) has interesting implications in regard to the question of why the artist used added red, and also why he used it where he did. It is possible to argue that this use of red is a leftover from black figure, and that it indicates strong links to this technique on the part of the artist. One might suggest that he was trained in black figure and began work in this technique on the basis of his use of added colour.

There are, however, definite problems with this analysis. Oltos' continuing use of red throughout his working life would seem to suggest that this scenario is not necessarily the case. Late red figure works reveal him to have developed into an artist who was very skilled in the red figure technique, for although his depictions of anatomy tend to be much less frequent as well as less elaborate than those of artists like the Pioneers, he nevertheless regularly shows complicated drapery and fine, neatly executed patterns. He is very much a skilled red figure artist by this developed stage of his work, and his skill in this technique is at a high level, past the point at which one might expect to find an artist clinging to the remnants of his favoured technique, which was rapidly becoming antiquated. Oltos' skilled red figure, and the fact that his use of added red continues consistently throughout his career, seem to indicate that this habit of his may not be simply a black figure remnant.

The details for which Oltos consistently uses added red provide a possible reason for his use of extra colour in his red figure. These details tend generally to be minor, quite small and finely executed, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See  $ARV^2$  p. 60; for example, Oxford 516,  $ARV^2$  63, 92; fig. 112; Copenhagen 2700,  $ARV^2$  63, 93; fig. 113; Berlin F4220,  $ARV^2$  61, 76; Copenhagen 3877,  $ARV^2$  63, 87; fig. 114; Munich 2618,  $ARV^2$  61, 74; Berlin 2263,  $ARV^2$  62, 85; Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 100  $ARV^2$  60, 67; fig. 116.

are often linear items such as a bow string, a staff or a spear. The colour is also used consistently for the inscriptions on his vases. The small size of these components means that they would have been difficult and time consuming to reserve, and it is therefore possible that ease of execution was an important consideration underlying the continuing use of added red by this artist. Painting these sorts of details in red, instead of reserving them, would have been much faster and easier.

It is an interesting, although not especially surprising aspect of Oltos' black figure, that his use of added colour in this technique is quite different from his red figure. Instead of added red for fine details in the older technique, he tends to use it over larger areas. These are not vast expanses of added red by any means, but they are much more substantial than the spear or wreath which occur in this colour in his red figure. Instead his black figure features added red hair, beards and tails, as well as several examples of the alternation of black and added red garment folds.<sup>6</sup> (Figs. 119, 121 - 125) The colour is also used for some fairly minor decorative details (like a stripe on an archer's quiver<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 123)), as well as for more noticeable patterns on garments, both on its own and in conjunction with an incised cross to make a dotted cross pattern.

One of the ways Oltos uses red paint regularly in his black figure is to decorate alternate folds on several figures. He uses it, for example, on the running Hermes in the black figure tondo of Bloomington 80.73,8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>White kithara, red wreath, Florence 3B3,  $ARV^2$  55, 12; fig. 121; red beard, dots, alternate folds Altenburg 224  $ARV^2$  55, 17; fig. 122; red beard, hair, cap Leipzig T3371,  $ARV^2$  55, 16; fig. 119; red hair, beard, tail Munich 2604  $ARV^2$  56, 26; red hat, boots, alternate folds Bloomington 80.73,  $ARV^2$  55, 18 (once Castle Ashby); fig. 119; red hem, beard, wreath, dots, alternate folds Vatican 498  $ARV^2$  55, 15; fig. 124; white chiton, red beard, wreath, mantle stripe Munich 2581  $ARV^2$  55, 11; alternate red folds, Basel Ludwig 33  $ARV^2$  55, 20; fig. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Leipzig T3371 tondo,  $ARV^2$  55, 16; fig. 123.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>ARV^{2}$  55, 18 (once Castle Ashby); fig. 119.

a bilingual eye kylix already mentioned which features on its exterior nereids holding red dolphins. (Fig. 119) Another bilingual eye kylix features Poseidon in the tondo, and his mantle folds alternate red and black in colour. (Fig. 122) A third vase of the same type features a reveller (or Dionysos) holding a drinking horn, whose mantle has alternating red stripes and red dots as well. (Fig. 124) In addition, a fourth bilingual eye kylix depicts a trumpeter with alternate red folds on the skirt of his chitoniskos, and a fifth a komast with alternate red folds on his mantle. (Fig. 126)

The dating for these vases is potentially but indefinitely significant, because these examples are placed early by both Bruhn<sup>13</sup> and Beazley,<sup>14</sup> with the exception of the Bryn Mawr kylix, which is not included in Bruhn's book. Bruhn actually finds all of Oltos' attributed bilingual cups to be early (or at least the ones she knows about), while Beazley places most of them early, but not all. Munich 2604,<sup>15</sup> Ashmolean 515,<sup>16</sup> and London 1896.6-21.3<sup>17</sup> are not included with his group of early palmette - eye cups, but they are placed next to each other on the list, which might indicate some kinship between them. One question to ask about these five vases with alternating red and black folds is whether there are other characteristics besides the use of added colour which point to them being early.

Examination of both interior and exterior of these vases provides an affirmative answer. On the exterior, all have been decorated with a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Altenburg Lindenau Museum 224, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 17. fig. 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Vatican 498, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Bryn Mawr P2115, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1623, 23bis; fig. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Basel, Ludwig 33, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 20; fig. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Bruhn 1943 pp. 21-34.

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>ARV^2$  p. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Munich 2604, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Oxford 515, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 27; fig. 118.

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>ARV^2$  56, 23.

single figure between eyes, with the handles flanked by tightly closed palmettes, the leaves separated by only a thin line. This form of palmette is thought to be an early one, with the palmettes evolving towards a more open form, one where the leaves are more widely separated. On the vases of Oltos, however, this early palmette form is found combined with elements of a developed nature, as well as on earlier vases. Nevertheless, the simplicity and slight awkwardness of the exterior figures agrees with an early date for this vase.

As for the interior figures, it is very interesting that all five of them are in essentially the same pose, running to the right and looking behind them. The turn of the head provides a strong curve to the line of the body, especially in the Vatican and Altenburg cup tondos, which nicely echoes the curve of the tondo edge. Each figure holds something, which also helps to fill the space; ivy, a drinking horn, a dolphin, a staff and a trumpet. This pose is a simple and reasonably successful method of filling the tondo's round space. Oltos does not appear to be particularly concerned with innovative solutions to the problems presented by the round field of the tondo; instead, he has found a solution that works and repeats it. The simplicity of the position in terms of placement of arms and legs suggests that this pose may be early, as it utilizes the black figure standard of profile legs and a frontal torso.

What Oltos has done with the interior of these five vases is to elaborate on this pose with spreading garments and a few props. These additions conceal the basic simplicity of the pose and (more importantly) help to fill the circle. The tondos with Poseidon (Fig. 122), <sup>19</sup> Dionysos<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 124) and the trumpeter<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 127) all have the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Robertson 1992 p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Altenburg Lindenau 224, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 17; fig. 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Vatican 498, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

mantles of these figures swinging out behind them. Hermes' mantle<sup>22</sup> does not swing out, but instead is draped behind him, and fills in the space between his outflung arm and his legs. (Fig. 119) On this vase, though, the swinging drapery is not required as a filling element, because Hermes' back arm is lifted quite far from his body and has the same function. The reveller's back arm is also extended which broadens his figure to fit the circle better.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 126)

The drapery of the tondo figures is another indication of their earliness. Although Oltos draws it in sweeping folds and it hangs away from the figures, there is no feeling of volume in the fabric. The shapes of the folds themselves are competently executed and reasonably fluid in their outlines. As well, Oltos has the sophistication to draw them converging at certain point of the body, which is how they would appear if they were hanging naturally: at Hermes' wrist and at the cloak fastening at his neck, and at Dionysos' elbow. But the fabric is not drawn with any sense of volume or dimension at these points. It should be bunching, becoming thicker and standing away from the body slightly at these places, but there are no indications of this.

Oltos manages to depict this detail very effectively in some of his later vases such as the British Museum cup where Athena watches Herakles fighting Kyknos;<sup>24</sup> the mantle of an onlooker who stands between the goddess and the hero bunches at her shoulder and along her outstretched arm. (Fig. 128) Another cup in Munich shows Priam and Achilles;<sup>25</sup> Priam's garment bunches realistically at his back, as does Hermes' mantle over his outstretched arm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Bloomington 80.73, once Castle Ashby,  $ARV^2$  55, 18; fig. 119. <sup>23</sup>Basel, Ludwig 33,  $ARV^2$  55, 20; fig. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>London E8, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 88; fig. 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Munich 2618, ARV<sup>2</sup> 61, 74; Bruhn 1943 fig. 33.

On the five bilingual vases being discussed, then, the lack of this dimension of the fabric may be another indication that they are early, and Oltos has not yet developed his skills at realistic depiction to the level where he can include this detail. The garments on the characters on the red figure exteriors of these vases seem to agree with this; they are flat, not elaborated with folds, and conform closely to the contours of the body. They have no feeling of volume or substance either, and in fact, they are considerably less substantial than the drapery of the black figure tondos. These black figure tondos are more elaborately executed, and perhaps more competently too, than the exterior of the vases.

This tendency is related to the old problem, apparent on vases by a number of artists at approximately this time, of the bilingual kylix with the elaborate interior decoration and the very simple exterior decoration, often a single, simply posed figure. No demonstrable explanation for this dichotomy has yet been developed, although I am inclined to suspect a combination of questions of scale (the larger tondo field was easier to elaborate and the bigger figure could take more detail without becoming too complex) and ease of execution. If some of these artists had been trained in black figure they would have been more comfortable working in it, at least at an early stage in their careers. Another consideration is that red figures look quite realistic without the addition of much anatomical detail because of their colour, whereas the black figures are very flat and solid in their appearance if unincised.

By now it is reasonably well established that there are characteristics beyond the use of added colour which place these vases early in Oltos' career. There are several other bilingual eye cups attributed to Oltos which I have not yet specifically mentioned as part of my previous dating discussion, some of which are fragmentary and have

little preserved, and are therefore not particularly helpful in this kind of discussion. Of others the published illustrations are inadequate, but even so they may be mentioned in the following discussion because Bruhn describes them and indicates where added colour is used for certain details.<sup>26</sup>

## Added red in black figure

Oltos' use of added colour in his black figure is extensive and interesting. I have already specified five vases on which he applies red paint to alternating folds, a tendency which is often thought of as rather archaicizing. This practice is also found in the black figure work of other early, mainly red figure vase painters, such as the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos.<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 129) It is, however, not particularly common, and some significance should be given to the way Oltos uses colour in this place repeatedly, for it seems to indicate that he has some ties to traditional black figure decoration. Certainly he uses red this way more often than any other red figure artist I know of at this time. The practice in black figure, of decorating garments in this manner, actually works somewhat differently from the way Oltos uses it, for most of the history of the older technique.

In black figure garments were usually very flat and foldless, although occasionally a figure might wear a mantle with a single fold at the end. An alternative to incised or painted patterning was to incise widely spaced lines, thus defining the garments into bands, and apply the red paint to alternating bands. These were often placed diagonally across a mantle, and presumably represented folds in the garment, although the folds are not reflected on other parts on the garment where one might expect to see them, such as the hem. Folds in black figure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Bruhn 1943 gives a brief description of each vase she describes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Cambridge 37.14, ARV<sup>2</sup> 161,1; fig. 129.

stay simplistic like this (when they appear at all) and it is only in some of the later works of the Amasis Painter and Exekias that finer folds start to appear and become more realistic. It is in line with this later development of more realistic folds that Oltos' folds and his application of red paint to them stand.

This is really a problem in regard to the discussion of this particular use of colour, that although it has a long history of appearance in black figure, the way it is used by red figure artists is linked to how Exekias (as one example) was using it at about the time red figure appears. It is true that his use for alternating folds is probably linked to earlier practice, but the leap from red figure artists using it this way to the use on much earlier undeveloped folds in black figure is not necessarily justified.

Another place where Oltos frequently uses red on his black figure is to differentiate hair, including beards and tails. Like the alternating red folds, this practice extends far back into the black figure technique. For example, earlier artists use it on several cups (Figs. 130, 131),<sup>28</sup> where beards are painted this colour. The practice is not particularly unusual, and it reappears in use by different artists as black figure develops. Exekias and the Amasis Painter use it, for example; Exekias on one of his funerary plaques,<sup>29</sup> and the Amasis Painter on the satyrs on his siren eye cup<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 132) and on the cup with the stables of Augeas.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 133) Red painted hair and beards also continue in use in black figure after the appearance of red figure, appearing often in works of the Antimenes Painter (Figs. 134, 136),<sup>32</sup> and later too, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Louvre CA 576, ABV 63,3, by the Heidelberg Painter; fig. 130; Metropolitan Museum of New York 12.234.3, *ABV* 69,3, by the Painter of the Boston C.A.; fig. 131. <sup>29</sup>Berlin 1814, *ABV* 146, 22, Boardman 1974 fig. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Louvre F75, ABV 156, 81; fig. 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Schimmel Collection, Para 67; fig. 133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Brussels R291, ABV 270, 52; fig. 134; Arlesheim Schweizer Coll., ABV 269, 41, Boardman 1974 fig. 188; Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen 54, ABV 267, 20; fig. 136.

lekythoi by the Edinburgh Painter<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 135) and the Theseus Painter.<sup>34</sup> Oltos, therefore, is neither particularly backward looking nor forward looking in his application of red paint to hair and beards. Instead, he simply stands as part of a long line of vase painters who use added red in this way.

What is interesting about Oltos' use of added red is how much of it he uses in these black figure tondos, rather than where he uses it. He uses it for alternate folds and hair and beards as I have already said, but for other details as well. On Dionysos<sup>35</sup> this includes large dots on the god's chiton. (Fig. 122) On the almost identical figure of Poseidon,<sup>36</sup> the god's mantle has red dots on the black folds, a red line at the hem, and alternate red leaves on his wreath. (Fig. 124) Hermes<sup>37</sup> has a red brim on his cap and red tongues on his boots. (Fig. 119)

This is not the case with absolutely all of Oltos' black figure. The tondo archer in Leipzig,<sup>38</sup> for example, has red hair and beard, part of his cap, and a stripe at the edge of his quiver. (Fig. 123) This figure is largely preserved; only a section with the back of his head and most of his back and quiver is missing, so it is possible to be reasonably certain not too much more added colour was present in the tondo. Other tondos, such as the one of the bilingual eye kylix in Florence,<sup>39</sup> are too fragmentary to be certain about. (Fig. 121) Even so, it is clear that a significant proportion of the artist's black figure has a great deal of added colour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Yale 111, ABL 217, 19; fig. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>The blinding of Polyphemus, Louvre F342, ABL 252, 20, Boardman 1974 fig. 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Altenburg 224, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 17; fig. 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Vatican 498, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$ Bloomington 80.73 (once Castle Ashby)  $ARV^2$  55, 18; fig. 119.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$ Leipzig T3371,  $ARV^2$  55, 16; fig. 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Florence 3B3,  $ARV^2$  55, 12; fig. 121.

This characteristic is of interest because it contrasts so sharply with Oltos' red figure tendencies. He is very sparing indeed with the added colours in the new technique, using red for fine details, which do not make up a large part of the picture's area, but which could be more easily added with paint than reserved. This is true both of the exteriors of the bilingual kylixes (and I have already explained how these appear to be early) as well as the artist's later cups, which are much more sophisticated in composition as well as style.

Most of Oltos' bilingual eye cups appear to be early in his career, and it may well be the case that he stopped decorating these vases as his skill (and the popularity of red figure) increased. What these early vases seem to indicate, though, is that although Oltos stops doing black figure, and although his skill increases a great deal through the course of his career, his approach to the use of added red in red figure remains fairly consistent, and may indeed have been set from very early in his working life. He has differentiated between the two techniques in the way added colour is used, and there are only two red figure vases out of the whole attributed body on which added colour is used in a slightly more liberal manner. In contrast to his continuing use of added red in red figure, his use of white in this technique is infrequent and seems to be confined to a few of his early vases. Oltos maintains a traditional approach towards the old technique, but from the beginning his red figure is more progressive and forward looking in its sparing use of added colour. Oltos was a true red figure artist almost from the beginning of his career, at least in this aspect of the new style.

#### Use of added white

This artist also, as I said previously, uses added white, to a much smaller extent, and on fewer vases, but interestingly, in both red and black figure. Use of white in red figure is unusual, even in this early period, and it is important to examine the vases on which the artist uses this colour, first the black figure and then the red.

There are two appearances of white in Oltos' black figure; the first, the fragmentary tondo of a kylix in Florence.<sup>40</sup> What remains of this vase indicates that the tondo was decorated with a kitharode holding his instrument. (Fig. 121) On the remaining fragments are a bit of the musician's face and head, the upper part of his instrument, and his feet and the hem of his garment. The visible arm of the kithara, in front of the musician's face, is white. The second is another bilingual eye kylix tondo, this one in Munich.<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 125) This shows Dionysos (or a reveller with a drinking horn) running to the right and looking behind, in a familiar pose that resembles a number of other tondos by this artist. On this vase the white is used for the visible parts of the god's chiton, which appear above and below his mantle: one sleeve and the area of his chest, and the part covering his front leg, revealed because his stride is so wide that the mantle is riding up on the front leg. On this vase the white is used in conjunction with added red for beard, alternate leaves in the wreath, and a broad stripe near the top of the drinking horn. Probably there was also red used on the Florence fragments, but this is difficult to determine when so much is missing.

One red figured vase on which the artist has used white is another bilingual eye kylix in the Louvre;<sup>42</sup> the added white on this vase is on the exterior rather than the interior. (Fig. 137) On this vase the exterior decoration consists, on each side, of a siren between two eyes,

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$ Florence 3B3  $ARV^2$  55, 12; fig. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Munich 2581, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 11; fig. 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Louvre F127, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 14; fig. 137.

with the eyes in turn flanked by the palmettes on either side of the handles. These sirens wear wreaths, which, as is usual for Oltos, have been added with paint instead of being reserved. What is not so usual is that these wreaths alternate red leaves with white. The use of white paint in red figure is rare, not just within this artist's work or in early red figure, but generally. There is, however, another example of added white by Oltos in red figure, on the exterior of the Florence kylix, the tondo of which contains the black figure kitharode with his white armed instrument. (Fig. 121) On one side of the exterior of this vase, between the eyes and the palmettes, is a palm tree and a low altar. There is added white detail on the altar which is probably intended to represent incense.

To summarize, then, how Oltos uses added white colour: it is unusual in his red figure, even at an early stage, and both examples of its use are for rather minor details, very small and not at all noticeable. He uses white more often in his black figure, and it is apparent that this colour played a larger role in this technique than in his red figure.

In Oltos' black figure added red is used for important aspects of the decoration as opposed to the minor ones where white is applied, and red is used over much larger, more prominent areas as well. This dichotomy in the use of these two colours is similar to the difference between the artist's use of added red in his black and red figure. Oltos may have been experimenting when he added white to a few of his red figure vases, but this experimentation does not seem to have lasted long or been particularly extensive or bold.

# Garment patterning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Florence 3B3, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 55, 12; fig. 121. <sup>44</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 334.

Oltos' patterning is another aspect of his vase painting which is different between his red figure and his black figure. (See appendix 10 p. 332.) On the black figure, confined to the insides of his bilingual vases he uses just a few different motifs for overall patterning of garments and even fewer for trims. There are just three bilinguals which have no patterning on their black figure interiors.

In contrast with his rather basic repertoire of black figure motifs, in his red figure Oltos uses some more exotic ones as well as a much greater variety. There are four times as many motifs on his red figure vases and the red figure sides of his bilinguals compared to his black figure, of which half are used for trimming garments and several are applied as single motifs on the short flat skirts worn by a number of figures.

When the motifs are separated by type it becomes apparent that the difference between Oltos' red figure and black figure is not as great as it might first appear, particularly in comparison of the motifs he uses for overall patterning. His favourite motifs for red figure patterning are the same ones he uses for black figure, in a somewhat different order of preference, although the cross comes first in both. Overall motifs which do not appear in the black figure works examined, but are part of Oltos' red figure, include the swastika and pyramidal triple dot, both of which are somewhat more ornate than some of the other motifs he uses in both techniques, specifically the cross and the dot.

One aspect of this comparison which it is important to take note is the different sizes of the bodies of Oltos' red and black figure works. None of the vases attributed are strictly black figure; his bilinguals consist of the black figure inside of a cup decorated with red figure outside. The purely red figure vases examined outnumber the black figure by a factor of three times, and the difference is even greater when the outsides of the bilinguals are taken into account. This shifts the imbalance of Oltos' patterning, at least his overall patterning, from having its weight in red figure, to being significantly more frequent in black figure, even with the greater variety of motifs Oltos uses in the newer technique.

Recognizing this difference also goes some way towards compensating for the difference in band motifs between the two techniques, although it does not reverse the balance as it does with overall garment patterning. Oltos uses a considerably greater variety of motifs in bands for his red figure, even after adjustment for vase numbers. In fact some of these motifs are applied overall to a few garments, although still arranged in bands, a treatment which is not apparent on any of the black figure vases by this artist which were examined and which constitutes a large part of the difference between this aspect of the two techniques.

One red figure cup, for example, has two riders wearing flat ponchos, and these garments are decorated with alternating thick crenellated lines and rows of vertical dashes, with a great deal of empty space between them. <sup>45</sup> (Fig. 116) The Amazons on one vase by this artist are also clothed in an unusual way which is similar. Several Amazons on a red figure cup<sup>46</sup> wear their shirt and trouser suits decorated with repeated bands of thick vertical lines. (Fig. 138) These unusual garments make up a large part of the difference between Oltos' red figure and black figure, for he does not depict such innovatively patterned garments in the older technique.

Their unusual decoration would not transfer well into black figure, despite the flat quality these garments have. The thickened black

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 100, Villa Giulia and Florence 1B24, ARV<sup>2</sup> 60, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Oxford 1927.4065, ARV<sup>2</sup> 62, 77; fig. 135.

lines Oltos uses for their decoration stand out in strong contrast to the reserved red ground. In black figure incision of these motifs would create narrow lines which would be not so clearly visible against the black ground; using red or white for them, while more visible, would still leave an extensive black area if the bands were spaced as widely as in their red figure equivalent. This kind of widely spaced decoration is much more effective in red figure than in black.

Oltos' occasional use of single motifs is another unusual aspect of his red figure which appears on just one of his black figure vases. He uses several different motifs this way in red figure, including a simple Macedonian star, and a feline figure. This practice is cross, a extremely unusual in red figure, as well as in the black figure that immediately precedes its invention. It is somewhat more common in earlier black figure, the red figure equivalent of the rosette on the bottom. This appears on some early Attic vase painting, including Protoattic, with its interior incision, and the Ram Jug Painter's Aegisthus vase in Berlin. (Fig. 139) In black figure this motif is more logically transferred to clothed figures, placed in about the same position over the short flat skirts often worn by warriors. Lydos uses it, on the figure of Theseus fighting the Minotaur on a psykter in London.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 40) It is a rather old fashioned way of breaking up a flat black surface, which is why it is so odd to see this detail turning up more frequently in Oltos' red figure than it does in his black figure.

The one black figure example of this single motif in Oltos' black figure appears on a running warrior on a bilingual in Oxford. (Fig. 118) He runs to the right, looking back. His pose is made up of a frontal torso with profile legs, and his raised back arm supports his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>London B148, ABV 109, 29; fig. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Oxford 515, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 27; fig. 118.

shield which helps fill the tondo circle. In addition to the shield he wears a helmet, cuirass, greaves and a flat short skirt. The single motif, an incised cross with red dots in the corners, <sup>49</sup> is located in the centre of the skirt's rather assymmetrical area, in the same position as Oltos' red figure examples of this kind of decoration.

The factor of where Oltos is using this detail may play a part in its reappearance at this time. In the body of the examined vases, the large single motif appears on only one type of garment, a short tight skirt which Oltos for the most part depicts as flat. One aspect of his depiction of this detail is that on his eye cups with a single figure between the eyes the skirt is always flat, at least on vases I examined. Many of the garments of the same type among the vases with more figures on them are also flat, but when Oltos does depict this garment with folds, it seems to be on these more elaborately decorated vases rather than on the simpler ones. These vases are also for the most part where Oltos' most detailed depictions of voluminous drapery occurs; the correlation is unlikely to be accidental.

Also unlikely to be accidental is the artist's matching of these flat skirts with the single motifs. Functionally, Oltos seems to be using these in the same way as earlier black figure artists, to enliven a space that would otherwise be a rather plain expanse. He is using different motifs than the black figure artists, but the effect created is related to the reason why they did it too.

There are a few other unusual applications of motifs in Oltos' red figure. Most of the artist's fully draped figures wear plain garments, with no added decoration beyond the fine, closely spaced lines of the folds themselves. The patterns created by these lines are quite enough and require no further elaboration. There are some exceptions to this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Oxford 515, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 27,CVA Oxford 1 text to pl. 1.1.

tendency which seem to occur on vases which are later ones. The signed Tarquinia cup,<sup>50</sup> for example, features added decoration on the garments of Zeus and Aphrodite; Zeus' mantle has the dotted cross between folds and Aphrodite's has swastikas. (Fig. 140) Similarly the mantle of Briseis on a belly amphora in London<sup>51</sup> has both swastikas and dots. (Fig. 141) The use of the dotted cross and swastika in this position is particularly interesting because neither of these motifs continue into common use for decoration between folds; they are too large, and instead if anything at all is deemed necessary at a later period, artists tend to prefer dots or plain crosses, both of which can be very fine and small indeed, so that they do not detract from the delicacy of the folds of a garment.

Particularly on the Tarquinia cup, the difficulty of using too large a motif is apparent; on Zeus' shoulder, for example, Oltos has added two dotted crosses despite the fineness of the folds, and the result is disruption of the fold lines because the motif spreads across the surface of three folds instead of just one. (Fig. 140) A similar effect is apparent on Aphrodite's mantle.

One reason for the addition of these motifs may have been to create a contrast between the mantle and the finer fabric of the chiton as indicated by wavy lines of very dilute slip, but even so they are clumsily placed in some areas and the difficulty is mainly due to the size of the motifs. Their rather substantial appearance, however, made them ideal for use in formal, heavy black figure patterning. Oltos has clearly mastered the delicacy and sense of volume necessary to a realistic depiction of folds, but he has not taken the next step of working out what sorts of patterns go best with them. He chooses some rather old

 $<sup>^{50}</sup>$ Tarquinia RC6848,  $ARV^2$  60, 66; fig. 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>London E258, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 4; fig. 141.

fashioned motifs which are not as successful as others would be, and his use of these may be due to the beginning of his career at the start of the development of red figure.

I am reluctant to say that Oltos' use of black figure motifs in his later period means he must have been trained, and perhaps started work, in the old technique. Although that used to be one idea about his origins, (his initial, earliest works were strictly black figure vases which have been lost),<sup>52</sup> it has since become clear that this is not a necessary supposition. Oltos' bilingual vases seem to be quite early enough to be from the beginning of his career rather than one or two steps into it.

I do not think Oltos was using these motifs deliberately. Part of the credit must be given to the period in which he began working, which was a time of experimentation in the new technique and of change in the old one. Obviously when something new is in the process of developing there are going to be crossovers taking place, and that seems to be the most plausible view of these tendencies. In his skill at drawing details like folds, Oltos became very much a red figure artist, but some small influence from black figure, still dominant when he began decorating vases, lingers. And especially in his earliest works, but also in his later ones, we can see a bridging between black and red figure in his combination of certain elements from both.

## Treatment of poses and anatomical detail

Another element in Oltos' work which must be examined is his depiction of anatomy and anatomical detail, including the poses of his figures. These start out very simply and are considerably more realistic by late in the artist's career, but intermediate examples are somewhat lacking, especially with respect to anatomical detail. Oltos does not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Luce 1928 p. 439. "...the fact that he uses the mixed technique shows him to have originally worked in the black-figured style."

appear to have been especially interested in depicting this aspect of the human figure, for there is a very limited number of his vases on which a great deal of anatomical detail exists. This may be partly due to the peculiarities of which vases have survived, but I suspect not entirely. On his most complex vases Oltos seems to have a much greater interest in drapery and the patterns created by arranging it than in anatomical detail, and this may simply reflect his personal preferences for vase decoration.

The figures on Oltos' early vases are very basic in anatomy and pose, but from the beginning differences are apparent between the red figures on the cup exteriors and the black figures of the interiors. I will discuss first the two examples in the bilinguals examined of largely unclothed black figures. The reveller inside the bilingual eye cup now in Basel<sup>53</sup> wears only boots and a short mantle draped over his arms and behind his back, leaving his torso and legs uncovered. (Fig. 126) The detail on his body is quite extensive, especially on his legs. There are incised lines for neck and collarbone, pectoral muscles and their divide on his torso. On the parts of his arms which are uncovered, lines for biceps are visible on one arm as well as muscle lines in the other forearm. On both legs are lines for quadricep muscle, calf and shin as well as detailing of the knee cap and genitals. There are a pair of double curving lines on the visible buttock. Something to notice on this vase is the lack of detailing of the stomach muscles or thoracic arch, something that will become a particular favourite of the Pioneers.

The other largely unclothed black figure on Oltos' bilinguals is on another eye cup now in the Getty museum.<sup>54</sup> This figure has essentially the same anatomical details as the previous one examined. (Fig. 142)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Ludwig 33, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 20; fig. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Getty S.82.AE.49, ex Bareiss, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1623, 20bis; fig. 142.

There is slightly less detailing of the quadricep on the lifted leg of this runner, and also less detail on the visible portions of his arms, which are partially covered by the mantle draped over one shoulder and behind his back. Notice again that on this figure there is no detailing of the abdominal muscles. Both of these figures have a frontal torso and profile legs and Oltos is fudging the question of the twist at the waist by not including this detail.

Something to notice about Oltos' depiction of anatomical detail in his black figure is this apparent focus on including large amounts of detail on the legs of the figures whose anatomy he elaborates. Some of his red figure vases, like the cup decorated inside with Herakles, also have a great deal of anatomical detail in this area. When Psiax depicts anatomical detail in his black figure he also often focuses on the legs, and in fact Epiktetos does as well. Generally in their red figure, though, their focus in anatomical detail when they do show it is on a more overall approach including body muscles as well as the legs.

(I do see more use of innovative poses than anatomical detail in the red figure of these artists.) Not only do they show anatomical detail to a greater extent in black figure, but also in different places. This may be due to the different possibilities of the two techniques; abdominal muscles especially are best rendered with dilute slip, a subtlety that is impossible to reproduce in black figure. Another possible underlying factor is that the lines of leg muscles are easier to depict accurately than the more complicated details of other parts of the anatomy. A slightly misplaced line in black figure will be less jarring than in red, with the increased realism of the colour balance, so a minimum of anatomical detail will mean a minimum of possible complications.

For comparison we can start with one of the red figure revellers on the outside of the first cup in Basel. This little man is seen in a purely profile view. The only anatomical detail is the line of his neck, differentiating it from his raised arm. Even his genitals are hidden by his raised leg. There is no detail at all in his legs, where Oltos has particularly applied it on the unclothed black figure examples.

This figure is quite typical of the red figures on the outside of Oltos' bilingual eye cups. These, whether male or female, clothed or naked, have extremely little anatomical detail. Those shown with the frontal torso have the pectoral muscles outlined but little else.<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 143) On none of the red figure on the bilinguals examined is there any detail on arms or legs.

This initial difference, with so much more anatomical detail in the artist's black figure, might be attributable to where it appears on the cups. The tondo tends to be the flattest field on a cup as well as being larger than the area afforded by the outside of the cup, so perhaps it was more feasible for the artist to include more detail on this part of the vase, location being a major determinant rather than technique.

The next step is to compare amounts of anatomical detail on Oltos' red figure cup tondos with those on the two black figure tondos I have just described. Examination of these reveals very little difference in terms of the inclusion of any more anatomical detail than was visible on the outside of Oltos' bilingual vases. Figures on these vases, whether male or female, still have very little anatomical detail. The running

 $<sup>^{55}</sup>$ Vatican 34997, once Astarita 46, ARV  $^2$  55, 19; fig. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Some dimensions for some of Oltos' cups: Copenhagen 13407, red figure cup,  $ARV^2$  59, 57; height 12.5 cm, diameter of tondo 33.6 cm (CVA Copenhagen 8, text to plate 334.1, 335); Florence 81061, red figure cup,  $ARV^2$  64, 96 height 13.0cm, diameter of tondo 11.5cm (CVA Florence 3 text to pl. 74); Basel BS459, red figure cup, Para. 327, 50bis; height 12.8cm, diameter of bowl 31.6cm, diameter of tondo 12.8cm (CVA Basel 2 text to pl. 5, 6); Florence 3923, red figure kylix,  $ARV^2$  61, 72 height 12.0cm, diameter of bowl 33 cm, diameter of tondo 11.6cm (CVA Florence 3 text to pl. 3); Oxford 515, bilingual eye cup,  $ARV^2$  56, 27, height 13.2cm, diameter of bowl 32.5cm, diameter of tondo 10.0cm (CVA Oxford 1 text to pl. 1). Note that these figures for the height of each cup include the foot and the stem, so the height of the bowl and the actual height of the side of the bowl would of necessity be considerably less.

komast carrying a drinking horn inside the cup in Oxford (Fig. 118),<sup>57</sup> for example, is in a pose very similar to those of the two black figure runners in Basel and California.<sup>58</sup> (Figs. 126, 142) For anatomical detail on this figure there are the lines of his collarbones, his pectoral muscles, (but no nipples) and the line of his groin. There is no detail on his arms, legs or abdominal area.

The naked musician inside a red figure cup in Bologna<sup>59</sup> shares the same pose and lack of anatomical detail. (Fig. 144) On his body we see pectoral muscles with two lines above, but again no detail on the figure's legs or remaining arm. Other figures in different poses show slightly more detail, although still not as much as the black figure examples. The wholly profile figure inside Florence 46<sup>60</sup> has the line of the muscle under his arm included, as well as a short line on his back. (Fig. 145) So does another half naked figure on Munich 2618.<sup>61</sup> None of these examples, however, equal the detail on the unclothed black figure examples.

All these red figure examples (and there are many more by this artist) are in cup tondos like the black figure examples, but they still have little anatomical detail. Figures in the same location and different techniques still have different amounts of anatomical detail. Location and the size of the picture field are apparently not a significant factor affecting how much anatomical detail Oltos chooses to include; technique must be more important.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Oxford 516, ARV<sup>2</sup> 63, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Basel Ludwig 33,  $ARV^2$  55, 20; fig. 126; Getty S.82.AE.49  $ARV^2$  1623, 20bis; fig. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Bologna 361, ARV<sup>2</sup> 65, 113; fig .145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Florence 46, ARV<sup>2</sup> 64, 97; fig. 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Munich 2618, ARV<sup>2</sup> 61, 74.

These examples seem to indicate that from the beginning of his career the artist took quite a different approach to this aspect of the two techniques of vase decoration.

Rather than bringing early training into the question, I will suggest ease of execution an another possible reason, as I have done before for other artists. Perhaps Oltos was more comfortable with the black figure technique because it was easier to work in, and he therefore spent more time and effort on the black figure parts of different vases.

How a figure is posed is a partially separate issue from the way a figure's anatomical detail is shown. In Oltos' poses in his black figure, little imagination is apparent. The black figures on the vases I examined all appear to have been drawn with a frontal torso and profile legs. One possible exception is uncertain, because the line of his back is missing.<sup>62</sup> The red figure on the outside of these cups shows a little more variation, as some figures are depicted in a proper profile view,<sup>63</sup> as well as with frontal torso and profile legs.

Oltos' early vases are quite easy to pick out, and as I have said before, vases that are intermediate, especially with respect to anatomical detail, seem to be lacking. An examination of the poses of various figures, however, instead of anatomical detail, is considerably more helpful. These vases are mainly red figured, as though Oltos leaves black figure behind and begins working only in the new technique. Certainly the poses of the figures indicate a little progress towards realistic depictions, but not enough for a great length of time to be separating the two phases.

Both interior and exterior of a red figure kylix in Copenhagen<sup>64</sup> are good illustrations of the slight improvements that have taken place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Leipzig T3371, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 16; fig. 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>Louvre F126, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 13; Leningrad 5572.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Copenhagen National Museum 3877, ARV<sup>2</sup> 63, 87; fig. 114.

(Fig. 114) On one side of the vase Theseus chases the Minotaur, and strong black figure influence is evident in their poses. On the other side are Herakles and Kyknos, flanked, like Theseus and the Minotaur, by youths on horses. Most of Kyknos' upper body is missing, but that of Herakles is largely preserved. On it we can see that although the basic black figure pose is still in use, Oltos has added the refinement of a slight twist to the hero's upper body. Progress is also apparent in the torsos of the youths on horseback who flank the fighting pair. Although they are not yet executed in proper profile, the lines of the pectoral muscles as well as the contour of the chest have been altered to reflect a view which is closer to profile and much more realistic for a horseback rider than a frontal torso would be.

The red figure interior of the cup similarly reflects improved skill in anatomical depiction. The youth wears a wreath and carries a bath. There is a quality of increased realism in his slightly hunched back and the contour of his torso, which reflects the transition from groin to belly to chest in a slight offset of the contour. On this figure, as on those of the cup's exterior, there is minimal anatomical detail. This pose is repeated on several vases by Oltos, presumably because the bent figure is a fairly simple, effective method of filling the tondo's round field.

Similar progress is evident on another red figure cup in Berlin.<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 146) The interior of this cup is another example of the artist's favoured running right and looking back pose, which he also uses in black figure. In this case the youth carries a cushion, and little progress is evident in his pose, aside from the tilt of his collarbones.

In contrast with the basic nature of this figure, the cup's exterior appears to be quite sophisticated. On one side a young man is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Berlin Antikensammlungen F4220, ARV<sup>2</sup> 61, 76; fig. 146.

introducing himself to a centaur wearing a mantle. The man stands in a proper profile view, with the line of his neck extended slightly down his chest to help create this impression. The treatment of garments on this side also reflects improved skill; the centaur's garment bunches over his body, and the skirt folds of the departing female behind the man are fanned out towards her rear leg by the breadth of her stride.

The improved depiction of anatomy is particularly in evidence on the other side of the cup. Two satyrs are dancing energetically on either side of a female figure who holds a krotala. Despite the missing fragments on this side, progress is quite clearly evident in the body of the satyr on the left. His legs are in profile, his torso largely frontal, but the contour of his left side has been adjusted to reflect a not quite frontal view. On all these exterior figures, as well as on the youth on the interior, anatomical detail is kept to a minimum, mainly consisting of pectoral muscles and genital detail, but a greater interest in depicting drapery is now evident, especially on the figure of the centaur. These trends reflect the interests of the artist and can be traced to his developed work as well as his earlier vases.

## Treatment of garments

In black figure the garments which Oltos depicts are divided between flat and detailed folds based on the type of garment being shown. The garments of his black figure archer are flat, as is standard in red figure as well.<sup>66</sup> Otherwise his black figure chitons are flat, although with rather puffy looking hemlines, while his mantles have reasonably well drawn folds which are set off by the painting of alternate ones red.<sup>67</sup> (Figs. 122, 124) Chitoniskos skirts may be either

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Louvre F126, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Altenburg, Lindenau 224, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 17; fig. 122; Vatican, Greg. 498, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

flat or with folds; the bodices of these garments, when visible, are usually flat.<sup>68</sup> (Figs. 118, 127)

In quantitative terms there are just slightly fewer black figure garments with folds, about 15 percent less than flat garments. A number of the flat garments, however, are dominated by the folds on the diagonal mantles which are largely covering them.<sup>69</sup> (Figs. 124, 147) In fact this is generally the case with the full length flat chitons which the artist depicts various figures wearing several times.<sup>70</sup> (Figs. 122, 124) Sometimes this is also true of chitoniskoi<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 119) but more often the short flat garments are not concealed or offset by a mantle full of folds.<sup>72</sup> (Fig. 118) The larger areas of the full length garments may have required offsetting with the folds; this is particularly effective because Oltos usually uses red to enhance alternate folds, especially on mantles.

In examination of how Oltos disposes of his patterning on his black figure vases, a couple of considerations are of particular importance. First, all of the flat black figure garments on the vases I examined had patterning on them; secondly, none of these flat garments had an incised grid making a framework for this patterning. Although initially I thought that this grid was a critical part of black figure patterning, with further research it became clear that although it was a regular part of black figure, Exekias was the artist who made it especially common, and the Andokides Painter continued its use after him. Psiax does not use it in red or black figure, however, and it would now seem that Oltos does not either. He does always pattern these flat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>Flat skirts: Hannover 1966.84, *Para*. 327, 26bis; Oxford 515, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 56, 27; fig. 118; with folds,

Bryn Mawr P2115,  $ARV^2$  1623, 23bis; fig. 127; London 1896.6-21.3,  $ARV^2$  56, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Louvre F128,  $ARV^2$  58, 50; fig. 147; Vatican, Greg. 498,  $ARV^2$  55, 15; fig. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>Altenburg, Lindenau 224, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 55, 17; fig. 122; Vatican, Greg. 498, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Bloomington 80.73, once Castle Ashby,  $ARV^2$  55, 18; fig. 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Oxford 515, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 27; fig. 118; Hannover 1966.84, Para. 327, 26bis.

garments, but because these black areas need to be lightened, rather than because of any special links with black figure.

Oltos' consistent patterning of his flat black figure garments is interesting in comparison to his black figure garments with folds, since these he also usually patterns, painting alternate folds red as well. When he patterns the garments with folds, he consistently uses one motif, the incised cross, sometimes placing it only where the folds are widest if some of them are especially narrow. Once, on a mantle worn by Dionysos, he places fine red dots on the black folds that alternate with red. (Fig. 124) Both the dots and the crosses are fine motifs and well suited for application to folds. Occasional variation in patterning appears on Oltos' flat garments; on one he uses the dotted cross and the large red dot. (Fig. 122) But really there is generally little patterning variety in Oltos' black figure, despite its greater prominence compared to his red figure.

In terms of garment handling there are several notable differences between Oltos' red figure and his black figure. If we start just by comparing the red figure parts of the bilinguals with the black figure, as I have discussed above, several differences become apparent. In fact on the red figure garments of the bilinguals, the division between garments with folds and those without is the reverse of the black figure parts of these vases. In this case it is the flat garments that are slightly in the minority, about 80 percent of the number of garments with folds. So in this early red figure, which must of necessity be about the same time as the black figure, Oltos appears to be treating garments somewhat differently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Vatican, Greg. 498, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 15; fig. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>Altenburg, Lindenau 224, ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 17; fig. 122.

The difference in how Oltos treats garments on his bilinguals also extends to the numbers of garments he depicts. There are more than twice as many garments on the black figure parts of his bilinguals, than the red. (See appendix 10, p. 327.) The size of this difference, more than twice as many garments in black figure as red, is complicated by some other considerations. The first of these is that Oltos often depicts objects or animals on the red figure exteriors of the bilinguals, so the opportunities for showing garments on the figures in this position is reduced. This partly accounts for the size of the difference. The second consideration to take into account is that on these vases, on the red figure parts, Oltos depicts quite a large number of unclothed figures.

In fact on his bilinguals there are many more naked red figures than black. (See appendix 10, p. 327.) The difference is more than tenfold, with only two naked black figures. Even those two black figures have a little drapery, for each has a short mantle draped over their arms and behind them. Both of these garments are depicted with folds, which are alternately painted red and left black in Oltos' usual scheme. This difference is a much more definitive one than the smaller ones in how the artist treats garments between the two techniques.

The next question is how the black figure on Oltos' bilinguals compares to the rest of his red figure vases, which appear to be more developed stylistically than the red figure on his bilinguals. The number of these is just under three times that of the bilinguals, so the numbers must be adjusted. On the rest of Oltos' red figure vases, the difference we saw above on the red figure parts of his bilinguals is greatly increased. There are about three times as many garments with folds as completely flat ones, compared to an approximate 15 percent difference of more flat garments in Oltos' black figure. This is also a

great rise compared to the red figure on the bilinguals, where the difference was only 20 percent in favour of garments with folds. Even if one makes some allowance for the bilinguals on which Oltos shows objects or animals on the outside there is still a substantial difference.

Allowing for the difference in numbers of vases, the artist uses twice as many unclothed figures on his strictly red figure vases as compared to the red figure parts of his bilinguals. However, it is worth pointing out that while on the bilinguals there are generally only two red figures, one on each side between the eyes, there tend to be considerably more on Oltos' red figure vases, many of which are without the restrictive eyes. There are at least twice as many figures on the later vases as on the bilinguals, so this apparent increase is considerably less significant than it might initially appear.

In addition to these quantitative differences between Oltos' black and red figure garments, there are also qualitative ones in terms of which garments he depicts flat in the two techniques. In black figure the garments Oltos shows as being flat include the trouser suits of archers, as well as chitoniskos skirts and whole chitoniskoi. These all appear as flat in his red figure too, especially the trouser suits and chitoniskoi skirts.

The real difference between Oltos' red figure and his black figure in this respect is that in the older technique he shows full length chitons flat. This is an aspect of his black figure work which does not seem to carry over into the red figure with the same frequency. Very occasionally, in the newer technique Oltos does depict charioteers in a long flat garments (Fig. 148),<sup>75</sup> but this is more a reflection of what they actually wore than an old fashioned habit, for he does not seem to

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$ London E16,  $ARV^2$  61, 75; fig. 148; Berlin 2264,  $ARV^2$  60, 64.

show any other full length garments this way, whether on men or on women.

This analysis indicates that differences which are slight on Oltos' early vases, in how he depicts garments, become much more pronounced between his black figure and his more developed red figure. Garments on the more developed vases are depicted much more often with folds than on the earlier vases, both red figure and black figure. It is also worth pointing out the increased complexity of folds which is usual in Oltos' developed red figure as compared to his earlier vases. His developed skill is perhaps best exemplified by the complex and varied drapery on the Tarquinia cup. This vase shows the extent to which Oltos' skill at the depiction of drapery had developed compared to the drapery on earlier vases, which lacks the variety as well as the complexity of folds which later vases display. It appears that as the artist's skill in depicting folds increased, so did the frequency with which he drew them.

The signed Tarquinia cup depicts the gods feasting on Olympos and Dionysos mounting a chariot, perhaps to join the feast. (Fig. 140) The artistic focus on this cup is very much on the patterning and textural effects created by elaborate drapery. The only unclothed figures on the vase's exterior are Ganymede, and the two satyrs accompanying Dionysos. The wine bearer is drawn in a realistic profile view, and a comparison of the contour of his torso with that of the bath bearer on the Copenhagen cup<sup>77</sup> shows that the body's contour has become more realistic, even with allowances for the bent pose of the latter figure. (Fig. 113) Ganymede has slightly more anatomical detail

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>Corneto, Museo Civico 6848, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 60, 66; fig. 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Copenhagen 2700, ARV<sup>2</sup> 63, 93; fig. 113.

than usual for Oltos' red figure; the outline of his knee cap has been included in dilute slip.

From the variety and elaboration of the garments on this vase, especially on the side with the gods feasting on Olympos, it seems that this is where Oltos' artistic interests lie, rather than (as with the Pioneers) in the variation and realism of muscular detail and how it alters its appearance as the body moves. Oltos is exploiting the contrasts in texture created by the way garments fold around the body. For example, he contrasts the fluffy outline and loose sleeve creases of Zeus' chiton with the sharper folds of his mantle wrapped around his body. Another contrast is apparent in the smooth folds of Hestia's mantle over her legs as opposed to the way the ends bunch beneath her knees. This detailed, accurate depiction of drapery must require a great deal of observation and perhaps physical experimentation with arranging drapery, in order for the artist to reach an understanding of how it falls around the human body.

#### Realism in anatomical detail

This requirement for observation is something which Oltos has in common with the anatomical realism of the Pioneers, with whom some of his developed work is approximately contemporary. But although he shares the general red figure in interest in realism of drawing, he directs it toward patterning and drapery rather than anatomy. He was certainly aware of the development of an increase in anatomical detail, but he maintains his own interest in patterning and garments in preference to it.

Several vases by this artist demonstrate his awareness of the way vase painting started to change when the Pioneers began their experimentation. A red figure cup in Basel<sup>78</sup> is decorated outside with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Basel BS 459, *Para*. 327, 50bis; fig. 149.

warriors, all unclothed (with little anatomical detail) but for helmets, swords and shields. (Fig. 149) On one side of the vase three warriors are depicted; the one on the right leans back heavily with his leg extended to counterbalance him. The angle at which his shield is tilted is different from the other two warriors on this side of the vase. Their shields slant slightly away from the viewer at an angle that allows a small portion of their insides to be seen. The shield of the right warrior is slanted towards the viewer at about the same angle. Notice the lack of crests on these shields; Oltos may have been uncertain about how to show this detail on a shield at an unfamiliar angle. This positioning of the shields is different from the artist' usual frontal presentation (visible on the other side of the vase) and reflects a greater consciousness of space of the part of the artist; he treats the cup's surface as having depth.

Inside this vase is another warrior, also unclothed except for greaves, sword and shield, archer's cap and bow. He, too lacks much anatomical detail, but his pose is something new, especially for Oltos. One leg is turned so that we see it frontally; thus also the greave and the foot are presented in this way. The depiction is a successful one and Oltos has outlined the swell of the knee above the greave and extended the line of the warrior's thigh to help delineate his groin. We see this area in a three quarter view, bridging the transition to the torso, which is also shown in three quarter view. Oltos has included a slight swell over the warrior's stomach, as he is bending forward ever so slightly.

A kylix in the Vatican has Herakles depicted in its tondo.<sup>79</sup> (Fig. 150) The hero is at rest, legs together in a rather static pose, with his club held over his shoulder with one hand, the other hand outstretched. Oltos has included more anatomical detail than usual on this figure,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Vatican 502, ARV<sup>2</sup> 66, 126; fig. 150.

perhaps because it is a depiction of a hero famed for his exploits of strength. Muscles in both arms are evident, as are the hero's thigh muscles, and his knee caps have been lightly detailed, along with ankle and shin bones, and calf muscles bulging with strength. Notice the sophistication in the depiction of the calf muscles in relation to the hero's pose. He stands with one leg slightly forward, the other one back with knee slightly bent. His weight must be on his forward leg, and it is the calf muscle of this leg that bulges out under his weight, while the outline of the muscle on the back leg is not as full and rounded. This detail signals the sophistication of these anatomical details.

Herakles wears his trademark lion skin over his shoulders, and it is on the superb detailing of this pelt that the true artistry of the picture lies. They have been minutely covered with rows of tiny hair dots. The lion's jaw yawns wide around the hero's face and its mane stands out boldly from the surrounding hair dots in a masterpiece of detail. The anatomical details of the hero's arms and legs serve to enhance the overall realism and balance the depiction.

Clear evidence that Oltos was aware of and influenced in some aspects of his work by the Pioneers is visible on one of his vases in Copenhagen. (Fig. 116) This red figure kylix is decorated on the interior with an archer. He is bent over, drawing his bow. The key part of this vase for our purposes is his eyes, which are fringed with thick lashes executed in dilute slip, a characteristic which is particularly favoured by the Pioneers, and especially Phintias, even in his undeveloped work. He has more anatomical detail than usual for Oltos, including the lines of spine and shoulder blades as well as the muscles of of the lower back. Oltos is clearly comfortable with this pose, and the inclusion of these muscles may have been necessary because none of the

 $<sup>^{80}</sup>$ Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen 100,  $ARV^2$  60, 67; fig. 116.

conventional muscles (such as the pectorals or the groin line) can be included on a figure in this position.

Anatomical details on the outside of the cup are similarly sparing, but a late date is indicated by the foreshortening in the fallen fighter's arm and in the view of the tilted shield. He holds his shield in three quarter view so that we see his arm and the inside of the shield with its supporting cuff. Oltos has accordingly foreshortened the warrior's forearm, and we see only the outline of his fingers. The warrior on the far left of the vase has his shield at a similar angle with his forearm also foreshortened.

Oltos is clearly aware of the new developments which are taking place in vase painting around him, but he is selective about which ones he uses. He uses foreshortening but avoids extensive anatomical detail. He adopts dilute slip as well, but only where he chooses to use it; for garment textures, for example, but not for anatomical detail. He maintains the broad, shallow line for pectoral muscles, which is visible on his earliest vases, in use on his latest vases as well. These qualities are indications of a strong artistic personality who works on his own terms rather than following trends.

There is one vase attributed to Oltos on which a figure is depicted with a great deal of anatomical detail. This is a red figure eye cup in Boston,<sup>81</sup> with two warriors on the exterior between the eyes. (Fig. 151) One holds a crescent shaped shield and is on his toes, perhaps doing a Pyrrhic dance.<sup>82</sup> Although he is badly damaged by a fracture, he is well enough preserved to indicate that he is one of Oltos' standard, simple little eye cup warriors. The figure on the other side, however, is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>Boston 13.83,  $ARV^2$  57, 40; fig. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>Beazley,  $ARV^2$  p. 57.

an abrupt departure from the usual type of figure in this position, and indeed also a departure from red figure convention.

This figure is an archer drawing his bow. The first departure from the ordinary is in his shield, which he has set down and which leans against the outer ring of the eye on the right. The incorporation of the eye into the space and action of the figure next to it is extremely unusual; no other example is known to me. The pose of this figure continues the vase's unusual qualities; it is quite complex. The archer holds his bow at arms length with his left arm, drawing the string with his right. This arm is lifted above the left one and crosses it, held in such a way that the lower part of the archer's face is obscured and his elbow and the back of his forearm are seen from straight on, a most unusual position and point of view. The archer's legs are also crossed, with his left one back and bent, and the right leg extending forward in front of it and placed so that the leg is frontal. The complicated pose is extremely unusual for Oltos, who tends to keep to fairly simple positioning for his figures.

The unique nature of this figure continues in its anatomy, which is very detailed. The abdominal muscles have been neatly outlined in a complex design extending down to the genitals. Various details are rendered on the frontal leg, including the thigh muscle and the frontal outline of the greave. The lateral line of the archer's other greave is also visible on the back leg. The inclusion of this amount of anatomical detail is unusual enough for the artist, but even odder is the way this detail was rendered. It was originally added with relief line, which has since cracked off, leaving faint traces behind.<sup>83</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>Bruhn 1943 p. 35.

Beazley puts this cup in the artist's early middle period<sup>84</sup> and Cohen is surely correct in placing it with his latest bilingual eye cups. 85 Even among these developed vases it is exceptional in the complexity of the pose and the amount of anatomical detail. The use of relief line for these details suggests that this figure may have been an experiment by the artist, and the unusual nature of the figure among the artist's work certainly seems to support this. If the artist repeated the experiment, it took place on a vase or vases unknown to us; because there is only one example of such complexity in Oltos' oeuvre, it may be best to assume that he did not care enough for the results to repeat it.

These few cases were the only ones I found by Oltos with great amounts of anatomical detail or variations of exotic poses. interesting aspect of each of these vases is that they are special in more than one way. This cup with Herakles inside has not just the anatomical detail on his legs, but also the minutely detailed lionskin. The cup with the warrior leaning his shield against the eye has an unusual pose as well as anatomical detail. The vase with the archer who has eyelashes and back muscles inside, on the outside has shields seen from a new perspective. And finally, the cup in Basel has not just the interior warrior's frontal foot and twisted torso, but also three quarter view shields on the outside. We have these details both in cup tondos and on the smaller exterior of the cups, so Oltos is not limiting his depictions of these innovations to any one place on his cups, and when he sets out to decorate a special vase with these, he uses more than one of them.

There are enough examples of these innovative poses and details to indicate that Oltos could depict them if and when he chose. These are, however, a small part of his work and not a particularly consistent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>ARV<sup>2</sup> p. 57.
<sup>85</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 385 - 387.

one. It seems to me that detailed and often elaborate drapery is part of his vase decoration much more frequently, and therefore a more important part of it. Oltos' artistic interest seems to lie more in this direction than towards anatomical detail and exotic poses.

Oltos' beginnings are influenced by black figure in his poses to a greater degree than his patternings. Although his poses gradually become more realistic and sophisticated, he still uses certain black figure pattern elements in his fully developed red figure work. He enjoys patterns and textures, but on garments, rather than using them to face the problems of anatomical detail; and he appears to have had little interest in contorted poses to show off anatomical detail. He takes these aspects of depicting clothing in new directions from black figure, with patterns created by arrangement of drapery rather than being superimposed on it. Although Oltos' vase paintings are initially influenced by black figure in many ways, he has gone far past this by the end of his career, and moves away from the constraints of the older technique as his skill in the newer technique increases.

# Chapter 9: Epiktetos

Epiktetos is an important bilingual artist to whom over a hundred vases have been attributed. He is significant partly because of the volume of these attributions, and also because he is generally thought to have begun working shortly after the invention of red figure. He is one of the first generation of red figure artists, and as such, still has ties to black figure methods of vase decoration in some aspects of his work. Even in his early vases, however, he can be seen to be moving away from black figure. Some of the newer aspects of red figure are visible in his work in both techniques, apparently indicating the increasing dominance of the new technique and the new artistic focus on it. Despite the technical cross-over, however, there are still notable differences between Epiktetos's work in the two techniques, especially in his early work.

### Pose and anatomical detail

A cup in London, British Museum E3,<sup>2</sup> is thought to be an early work by Epiktetos.<sup>3</sup> The satyr on the outside, between two eyes, is running left while looking back. (Fig. 152) He holds a trumpet to his lips, and with his left arm carries a crescent shaped shield and a jug. The pose is an awkward one, because his legs are shown in a profile view, while his back appears from straight on. The impression this gives is that the artist has mistakenly put shoulder blades on what really should have been the satyr's chest. The line of the satyr's front leg is what creates this impression; it extends on a slant up from where it seems to join the body. This line seems to delineate the side of the groin, and yet above it are the lines of spine and shoulder blades. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>On Epiktetos, see ARV<sup>2</sup> 70 - 79, Para. 328 - 329, Add. II 166 - 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>British Museum E3,  $ARV^2$  70, 3; fig. 152.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ Beazley,  $ARV^{2}$  p. 70.

pose is thoroughly unsatisfactory, and the discontinuity is jarring to the person examining the vase.

Another interesting characteristic of this figure is the lack of anatomical detail. The spine and shoulder blades are both necessary to indicate the satyr's position, but there is no indication of any muscles on arms or legs, only the previously mentioned groin line, and the line of the satyr's buttock. This particular detail is a small touch of realism, at least, since the buttock attached to the satyr's forward leg should be pulled forward by his very long stride. But there are no indications of any muscle lines on arms or legs.

It is interesting that there is so little detail on this figure. I suspect it may be partly because of the earliness of this vase. It is also true that there is, if not a series, at least a number, of eye cups with a simple single running figure on the outside between the eyes at this time. Oltos and Pheidippos both do them, and so do a number of other artists. However, there are a number of reasons that on this vase the lack of anatomical detail may be at least partly due to its earliness and Epiktetos' inexperience.

First, the pose of the satyr is a classic black figure one. The combination of profile legs with frontal (or full view rear) torso is found throughout Attic black figure, beginning with the Nessos vase, which is among the earliest of Attic black figure works. Second is the awkwardness of the pose of the naked satyr; the artist does not seem to be confident about depicting anatomy. One of the reasons this pose worked so well for black figure artists was that there was no need to show any transition between torso and legs, because this area was usually covered by some form of clothing or left blank of musculature. Third (and perhaps most important) there are some fine details on other parts of the figure. This satyr has nicely curly locks of hair down his

back and his tail is delineated with some finely incised lines. There are also some fine slipped lines around his shield and on the jug he holds. The presence of these fine details appears to indicate that at this stage Epiktetos was capable of detail work, and therefore in the case of the satyr's anatomy was choosing not to include it. These other details also seem to indicate that it was not necessarily for reasons of scale that anatomical detail on the satyr was omitted. Epiktetos may, therefore, not have been comfortable or capable with anatomical detail in red figure, which must still have been new to him and also a generally new technique. Having said that, however, general opinion abou the quality of Epiktetos' work is that it is very high. Beazley said of him, "You cannot draw better, you can only draw differently",<sup>4</sup> and Boardman describes him as "the greatest draughtsman of early red figure".<sup>5</sup>

Epiktetos' apparently greater ease with anatomy in black figure can be seen in the interior of the cup. Within the reserved tondo is a youth on a prancing horse, holding two spears at his side. He wears a cloak which obscures his upper body, but the hand holding the spears is visible. The folds on his lap seem to indicate that the rider also wears a chitoniskos, but beneath it we can see his right leg. The leg shows quite a bit of anatomical detail, and in fact it shows more than was being used on some black figure vases which appear to have been decorated slightly before the advent of red figure.

These details consist of the line of the quadricep muscle, the kneecap, the calf muscle and two other incised lines paralleling it. This greater amount of anatomical detail seems to indicate that Epiktetos was more comfortable with this kind of detail in black figure. He may originally have been trained in this technique, or perhaps he worked in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Beazley 1918 p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Boardman 1975a p. 58.

it for a time before red figure appeared. I must admit there is no evidence for the latter; he seems to start off with bilinguals based on current evidence. Possibly, therefore, he was trained in black figure to a degree.

At the same time as Epiktetos was including more anatomical detail in his black figure tondos, however, he seems to have been doing it in a rather cursory manner. The rider's calf muscle lines seem to be rather sketchy and careless, and so is the hem decoration of his cloak, its folds where it wraps around its shoulders, and the fringe of his hair around his face. A good feature for direct comparison between the satyr and the rider is the wreath which each of them wears, both of which are executed in added red. The black figure horseman's wreath consists of rather blobby, oval leaves. The ones on the top left side of the wreath's band have all been run together. The satyr's wreath, on the other hand, seems to have been painted more carefully. The leaves have more shape to them and have been painted so that they remain separate. In terms of overall approach, the red figure part of this cup seems to have been done with more care and attention than the black figure.

This is not the only cup by Epiktetos on which this interesting combination of black figure detail and sketchiness is found. Another bilingual eye cup (in the Basel collection)<sup>6</sup> is placed by Cohen in her list of "bilingual eye-cups of mature standard type"<sup>7</sup> rather than being early as the previous cup was, but in fact the two seem to have the same type of foot, AY, and both have late hearts in the palmettes despite those on the Basel cup being closed.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 153) The eyes on the two cups have exactly the same shape, which despite the differences in colouring would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Basel BS 436,  $ARV^2$  1705, 6bis; fig. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 419.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$ See  $ARV^{2}$  p. 40; the late heart consists of black with a central reserved dot, bounded above by relief lines.

appear to place them at approximately the same time. The awkwardness of the hoplitodromos runner on the Basel cup seems to correlate with an earlier date for this vase.

Like the satyr on the London cup, the hoplitodromos has some fine details included, but none of them appear to be anatomical. The runner's helmet, for example, has its crest ending in a long, delicate tail. There is a satyr's head on his shield with fine tufts of hair sticking out from behind his ears (a nice touch) and a fringed beard. For anatomical detail, though, Epiktetos has included only the line of one buttock, with the other one just slightly visible behind it. The shield helps somewhat to conceal the lack of detail on the runner's body. It appears to be positioned for maximum concealment of this awkward figure.

This figure's pose is actually quite important to my early placement of the vase. It is off balance and looks extremely uncomfortable. The moment chosen for representation appears to be the beginning of the race. The runner has straightened from his starting crouch and steps forward with his left leg. His right arm is back, no doubt to balance the weight of the shield (both physically and artistically) and fill the space between the eyes, but from the point of view of physical realism this is incorrect placement.<sup>10</sup> The natural movement of the human body is to oppose arms and legs, so if the left leg is forward, the right arm should be forward as well.

This is one of the reasons why this figure looks so awkward. Another reason is the position of that front leg, which is extended unnaturally far forward and is also too far off the ground. The pose is neither realistic nor successful, and this, combined with the positioning of the shield for maximum concealment, seems to indicate a lack of ease

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>I think I can also see two faint knee lines in Cohen 1978 plate 98.1, but their paleness makes these uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Although not too uncommon; Pheidippos does this as well.

both with red figure and with certain positions of the human body. Epiktetos appear to have over-reached his abilities on the outside of this cup.

That, however, is not the case with the cup's interior decoration. In a reserved tondo a satyr runs to the right, head turned to look behind him. This figure is depicted with that classic black figure combination of frontal torso and profile legs. The transition between the two is masked by the white garment the satyr wears around his waist. This satyr has considerably more anatomical detail than the hoplitodromos on the outside of the cup, with triple lines incised on each calf, kneecap detail, and his quadriceps are incised as well. Pectoral muscles have been incised on his torso and there is another line indicating a bicep on his left arm, just visible beneath the animal skin he has tied over his shoulders. This is considerably more detail than is visible on the exterior hoplitodromos, who has no lines in his legs visible at all.

All this anatomical detail is executed in the same manner as that on the London cup; it is sketchy, and the incised lines vary in width. The lines appear to be quite carelessly placed, rather than considered, and the other incised details on this figure are executed in the same manner. The dotting of the satyr's animal skin is random and untidy, as are the hair fringes at the ends of the animal's paws, while the application of red to the satyr's bushy beard and eyebrow is not particularly careful either. Again, therefore, on this vase there is an odd juxtaposition. The artist has taken care with the red figure decoration on the outside of the cup, but there is little anatomical detail and the pose is awkward and stiff. On the black figure interior of the cup there is more detail but less care taken.

There are some other considerations which could be potential influences on this combination. First of all, the intended audience is one

possibility. Perhaps Epiktetos put more care into the outside decoration of these cups because the outside was visible to more people at a drinking party. These people, however, would have been seeing the cup from a distance, whereas the drinker would get a very close view of the interior tondo as he emptied the cup. The other problem with this possibility is that it does not explain why the artist put so much more detail on the black figure part of the cup. A second possibility is that two artists could have been involved, with one decorating the exterior and one doing the interior. Both of the cups, however, are signed only with egraphsen only by Epiktetos, which rather takes away from that idea.

A third and more serious possibility is that there were reasons of scale involved. The exterior decoration of these cups was necessarily limited in size by the height of the cup's sides. The cup tondo, on the other hand, was variable in size, so the artist could adjust it to a diameter with which he was comfortable working. Epiktetos might have found that the smaller figures on cup exteriors could not take as much detail as the larger tondo figure.

This explanation has its problems too. The main argument against it is the existence of a number of cups by Epiktetos which have greater detail and very complex compositions on the exterior decorations. One such cup has a naked man in a complex pose, squatting frontally between palmettes framed by eyes beside the handles.<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 154) As a single figure decoration it seems particularly well suited to comparison with the two cups I discussed previously. The man's torso is frontal, with pectoral muscles and nipples painted in. His legs are bent around him, one turned out in profile and the other frontal. One arm is extended, balancing a kylix,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Oberlin, Allen Art Museum 67.61, *Para*. 329, 14bis; fig. 154.

and the other holds a jug into which he is peering; perhaps he is running out of wine. This man's anatomy is depicted with restrained use of detail, but with more detail than the exterior figures on the other two cups. This, along with a number of cups by Epiktetos which have complex, group compositions, seems to indicate that scale was not necessarily the limiting factor for the artist.<sup>12</sup>

It is also true that all of these vases I have cited as being on a small scale and still complex are later than the first two cups I described. This is particularly apparent on the first cup, in the skill with which the man's anatomy is drawn. The eyes on this cup also have a later form, with the tear ducts curving smoothly from them, rather than being offset somewhat by a sharper curve. Because Epiktetos' skills change so much over time, it seems that the earliness of the first two cups I discussed must be a factor in their decoration and their details. They form something of a snapshot of Epiktetos' early work and permit deductions about his skills and interests at that time.

Whether or not Epiktetos was more comfortable with the demands of black figure, he seems to have been putting more effort and care into the red figure parts of his vases at an early period. How should we interpret this aspect of his early work? Apparently, even though he may not have been very well versed in the fine (and not so fine) points of red figure anatomy at this time, he was putting more care into his work in this technique. Even at what seems to have been an early stage in the appearance of red figure, some artists may have been aware that this was the main direction for the future of Attic vase decoration. Alternatively, they may have been more interested in red

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$ London 1929.11-11.1,  $ARV^2$  74, 35; fig. 159; London E35,  $ARV^2$  74, 38; Boardman 1975a fig. 73; London E38,  $ARV^2$  72, 16; fig. 161.

figure because it was new and because such good realism could be achieved in it.

### Garment patterning

Examination of Epiktetos' use of pure pattern in his red and black figure is somewhat hampered by the way he decorates many of the vases (and most of the cups) attributed to him. His habit of putting a single naked figure between eyes or palmettes does not exactly help an analysis of this subject, and it certainly reduces the pots on which the subject manner can be discussed in this regard. Happily, there are a number of vases on which compositions are slightly more complex, and even include patterned garments, so these at least provide material for discussion.

The only garment patterns, as opposed to animal hide patterns, which my research uncovered in Epiktetos' works were red figure in character, although they actually appear in his black figure work. (See appendix 11, p. 333.) This statement requires some explanation. In an earlier discussion of the Andokides Painter, I examined his use of patterns and found that he often used a grid pattern to decorate garments of his depictions of Athena. The flat surface which this grid both required and elaborated on was a common aspect of black figure, and indeed this grid decoration was ubiquitous in the old technique. In contrast with the flatness of garments in black figure, in the new technique elaborate folds appeared quite quickly. The complexity of these folds precluded any elaborate patterning of a garment, and instead artists used scattered motifs (dots, crosses, etc.) which were often aligned with and arranged between folds. When I refer to red figure patterns, then, these lightly scattered patterns, often between folds, are what I mean, and this is how Epiktetos uses pattern on cloth garments when he uses it at all.

In fact the distribution of Epiktetos' patterns is potentially as significant as the patterns he uses. The only vases examined on which there was any patterning beyond folds on garments were four bilingual eye cups and a single red figure plate.<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 155 - 158) The patterning itself was restricted to the garments of figures in the black figure tondos of each cup, and two of these vases seem to be early. One was designated so by Beazley<sup>14</sup> and the other (Geneva Market) has red palmette hearts, which have been designated as transitional between the early and mature patterns of eye cup decoration, and so between 520 - 515 BC.<sup>15</sup> The third bilingual eye cup has been designated "not early" by Beazley.<sup>16</sup>

It might be unwise to place great significance on the fact that most of these examples of patterning are black figure, and that on only one of the red figure vases for which I have obtained pictures does Epiktetos use clothing patterns, and those are in conjunction with and subordinate to animal pelt patterns. It is also true, however, that over one hundred vases have been signed by or attributed to this artist, so it is with some justification that one might expect to have a red figured vase or a later vase if Epiktetos had patterned any garments in red figure or continued decorating garments past his early work. A tentative conclusion that he did not often pattern his red figure garments, or use clothing patterns frequently after his early period or indeed at all, would seem to be justified.

Next I want to examine the four black figures on which Epiktetos does use scattered patterns. First is the eye cup in Berlin which Beazley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Berlin 2100,  $ARV^2$  71, 7; fig. 155; Geneva Market (Koutoulakis),  $ARV^2$  1623, 9bis; fig. 156; Florence 2B4,  $ARV^2$  71, 12; fig. 157; red figure, London E135,  $ARV^2$  78, 94; fig. 158.

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>ARV^{2}p$ , 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 403 - 404.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>ARV^2$  p. 70.

designated as being early.<sup>17</sup> The tondo of this cup is filled by a reveller, who is stationary except for one arm, with which he holds out a skyphos. (Fig. 155) He is naked except for a mantle which is draped over his arms and shoulders, and his pose is a simple one, with profile legs and an indeterminate torso. Epiktetos has foreshortened the reveller's distant shoulder slightly to give the impression that his torso is turned somewhat, without having to include or adapt pectoral muscles. The mantle's ends hang in zig-zag folds which are very flat, and thus probably quite early, both for the artist and for red figure.

The garment is decorated with added red edging, which helps accentuate the ends of the folds, in addition to the incised motifs. These motifs are distributed quite sparsely over the garment, appearing between and aligned with the incised lines of the folds. The main motif is a tiny cross, with a few short lines as well.

The second early vase, in the British Museum, <sup>18</sup> is slightly more elaborate than the other black figure patterning examples by this artist. The rider's cloak is decorated with large red dots over most of its area, which is mainly flat except for a few folds where the garment gathers around his shoulders. (Fig. 152) The same garment is decorated with a trim motif of incised vertical zig zags, and the cloak's hem is further elaborated with a broad red band with dots along the top edge.

The third vase to be discussed is also a bilingual eye cup, the Geneva market one.<sup>19</sup> The black figure tondo shows Hermes running forward, holding a caduceus. (Fig. 156) His mantle is swinging back in response to his forward motion and, like the last vase, it is decorated with (even more so) sparse incised crosses. Unlike the previous ones, these are not aligned with incised folds, because there do not appear to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Berlin 2100, ARV<sup>2</sup> 71, 7; ARV<sup>2</sup> p. 70; fig. 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>London E3 ARV<sup>2</sup> 70, 3; fig. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Geneva Market (Koutoulakis), ARV<sup>2</sup> 1623, 9bis; fig. 156.

be any incised folds. Instead the garment presents a rather flat black area, the movement of which helps fill the circle slightly.

The fourth vase, the bilingual eye cup in Florence,<sup>20</sup> features what appears from rather indistinct illustrations to be an incised cross, both between a few folds of the black figure warrior's short skirt and on the flatter area towards the back of the garment. (Fig. 157) The area decorated with the motif is small and the patterning is not an prominent part of the overall picture.

The fifth vase on which the artist uses garment patterning is a red figure plate in London. On this vase the vertical zig zag pattern is again used to trim a garment. (Fig. 158) The archer on whose clothing the pattern appears wears a flat, form fitting suit of trousers and tunic which are decorated with motifs indicating that they are made up of animal pelts, namely ovals and dots. The archer's trousers are also decorated with a non - animal motif, namely central bands of alternating opposed dots. Because of the nature of the archer's garment, being both foreign and made of animal hide, Epiktetos' use of the patterns on this figure is rather separate from the main body of the patterning I am examining. These trim patterns are subordinate to the artist's animal patterns on the archer's suit and not significant as a red figure use of pattern by the artist.

The seeming rarity of Epiktetos' use of this sort of patterning leads to the possibility that he was experimenting with it. Visually none of the uses appears to have been successful, and his abandonment of this method of decoration later may indicate that he was aware of this. He may have been attempting to lighten Hermes' appearance by adding ornament to the cloak, but for this to be successful a more elaborate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Florence 2B4, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 12; fig. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>London E135, ARV<sup>2</sup> 78, 93; fig. 158.

pattern in incision or added colour would be required. The cloak itself has too much movement for complex patterns to be added to it; in this aspect of its appearance it is under the influence of red figure. The greater realism possible in the new technique leads not only to more realistic poses for the human figure, but for drapery as well, and the greater realism leads on to more motion in the human figure.

The patterning of the mantle on the Berlin cup fails as well, and also because other aspects of that garment are close to red figure. (Fig. 155) The incised crosses are interspersed between fold lines, which is in itself not uncommon in red figure, and which does persist for a time in that technique. The problem is not with the incised crosses in themselves but with the close spacing of the incised fold lines, so that the crosses between them are distracting and disrupt the lines of the multiple folds. This is also the case on the Florence cup. (Fig. 157)

A solution to this is quite obvious, and appears just a little later in red figure as well as being found in several pieces of Epiktetos' work. It is to avoid any other patterning when the folds on a garment are closely spaced. This simplifies the picture and allows a visual focus on the elegant lines of the folds as well as their realism. Adding slipped patterns between more widely spaced folds continues in red figure, but is much less common after this first generation of red figure vase painters.

Epiktetos' occasional depictions of clothing patterns in black figure fail because his black figure is too close to red figure in certain ways. This is especially interesting in light of the way I earlier discussed his early red figure work, drawing the conclusion that it was strongly influenced by black figure, and that the artist seemed to be more at ease, although more careless, with his black figure works, at least initially. I suggested then that he might have been trained in black figure.

Given the results of this examination of how Epiktetos used patterns, I would like now to put forward another suggestion. Perhaps the greater detail in some of his black figure tondos can be attributed to another reason, such as ease of execution. This accords well with the more casual nature of all this added detail. Black figure could never attain the realism possible in red figure, and this quality may not have been expected of it, so it was possible to put more detail on it in a rather casual manner, without detracting too much from its appearance. In red figure, on the other hand, a poorly placed line would detract drastically from the realism of a figure, to a point where no detail would be preferable to poor detail. It would be much easier to use a few general anatomical details on a black figure picture than to put a great deal of care into placing those same details in red figure.

One point which this examination of Epiketetos' patterning has made clear is that the patterning is not important to his vase decoration in overall terms, but it is certainly used more often in his black figure than in his red, so he seems to be treating the two techniques of vase decoration differently in this respect. I should also point out, however, the great prominence he gives to animal pelt patterning on his vases, especially on his red figure. Where just five of the vases examined had garment patterning (four black figure, one red figure), 16 have various animal skin motifs on them, all red figure. Just one of these, the London plate, has both.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 158)

## Animal hide patterning

This difference indicates that animal hide patterns are a much more prominent part of Epiktetos' vase painting, especially his red

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>London E135, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 78, 93; fig. 158.

figure, than the patterning of garments. In fact there is more variety of motifs for animal skins than motifs of garments in the artist's work, as he uses about eight motifs for pelts as opposed to five for garments. These range from a simple dot, which may be very fine and closely spaced for hair points or somewhat larger, to hollow rings, to lovely large kidney shaped spots, which Epiktetos arranges in different ways and alters over the line of the animal's spine. Some of his animal patterns are very skilful and refined. Others, however, are somewhat less successful. On one vase in particular he decorates a red figure centaur with slipped rings that make the unfortunate animal appear to have been attacked by an octopus.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 159)

I do not believe that generally these animal skin patterns are a more important part of red figure than they are to black figure. Indeed, artists in the older technique frequently depicted fine animal skins, although with less variety of motifs than artists such as Epiktetos use. This greater variety seems to develop as part of the differences between red figure and black figure, especially the opposing colour balance and greater realism that are possible with the newer technique. The animal pelt patterns of Psiax are not nearly as varied as those of Epiktetos. Psiax uses mainly the very fine dot for hair points, and there are also a few examples of solid and incised ovals as well as a larger, wider spaced dot. The beautiful refinement and realistic variations which some of Epiktetos' hides display do not appear on earlier red figure vases; these are special either to the artist or to more developed red figure with its increased realism.

One of the reasons these hide patterns appear to be such a strong element on the vases of Epiktetos is because there is no other detailed patterning on his vases to offset them and reduce the impact they have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>London 1929.11 - 11.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 74, 35; fig. 159.

on the viewer of the vases. On black figure vases there tends to be more patterning on any given scene, so the visual impact of each example is lessened. In addition, and also from a visual point of view, his larger black motifs on a reserved ground are much more prominent than finer motifs, especially those such as black figure artists tended to use, such as incised dashes or fine red figure dots.

One more aspect of animal skin patterning which applies to Epiketetos and red figure artists generally, may also be related to its prominence. These hides are generally shown flat, with the occasional knot around the neck of Herakles or some other person wearing one. Some of these depictions provide quite a large, flat area for an artist to decorate. With increased complexity and richess of the folds that become standard on red figure garments, this kind of large flat area is something artists do not have to decorate other than on animal pelts. Their flatness serves as a foil to the volume and complexity of folds found on many red figure vases, and their bold patterning provides a contrast to the fine detail used to depict these folds.

## Added colour

As to Epiktetos' use of added colour, this is quite different from his red figure to his black. It is very prominent on some of his black figure vases, less so on others. The two black figure scenes on which it is most visible are the interiors of two of his bilingual eye cups. One of these is in London and already discussed for the patterning on the horseman's cloak.<sup>24</sup> The patterning on that garment consists of large, and rather sloppy, spots of red over a largely flat area. (Fig. 152) In addition there is a thick band of what appears to be the same colour immediately above the hem trim of the cloak, elaborated with dots also in red along its top surface. This band of colour, like the dots, is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>London E3, ARV<sup>2</sup> 71, 3; fig. 152.

uneven in application and looks rather sloppy. Other, less prominent areas of red in the scene include a garland worn by the rider and a red line elaborating the horse's mane.

The artist's bilingual eye cup in Basel has its tondo decorated with a running satyr.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 153) He wears an animal skin tied around his neck and, more importantly, a length of fabric tied about his waist. This garment has been painted wholly white with incised folds. The satyr's bushy beard and eyebrow have also been painted, in added red.<sup>26</sup> He does not appear to have been wearing a garland.

Both of these vases display exceptionally lavish applications of added red and white. Epiktetos' other bilinguals are rather more restrained. The black figure reveller on the interior of the cup in Berlin<sup>27</sup> has only a modicum of red; his small pointed beard is painted with that colour. (Fig. 155) The hem of the reveller's mantle has been decorated with a double line, of which the inner one is red, the outer one incised. The black figure Hermes inside the Kouloulakis cup<sup>28</sup> (ex Geneva market) wears a red cap, and his mantle is also edged in red. (Fig. 156) The tongues of his delightful boots are also painted that colour. Another reveller on a bilingual eye cup in Wurzburg<sup>29</sup> wears a red garland and a mantle edged in red. (Fig. 160) A warrior inside the bilingual eye cup in Florence has some red elaboration on his armour.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 157)

This survey of added colour in the black figure of Epiktetos shows that although it is a consistent part of his work in this technique, he uses it in varying amounts. Based on the interiors of his surviving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Basel BS436, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1705, 6bis; fig. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Cohen 1978 p. 422.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Berlin 2100, ARV<sup>2</sup> 71, 7; fig. 155.

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>ARV^2$  1623, 9bis; fig. 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Wurzburg 468, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 8; fig. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Florence 2B4, ARV<sup>2</sup> 71, 12; fig. 157.

bilinguals it appears that he uses it more often for small details than large ones, but both have a definite presence in his work, and even when using red for fine things such as garlands, Epiktetos will depict several such details on a single black figure scene.

This contrasts with the red figure vases and cup exteriors by the same artist. The only detail for which colour appears regularly is the red garlands worn by so many of Epiktetos' figures. Many of these vases have only this one detail added in colour.<sup>31</sup> (Figs. 154, 159)

As always, there are a few exceptions to this generalization, but few indeed. A satyr on the outside of the bilingual eye cup in London, <sup>32</sup> already cited for the patterning and colour in the interior black figure horseman, wears an added red wreath and his tail has also been painted this colour. (Fig. 152) The archer on one of Epiktetos' red figure plates in London has the bow he holds out behind him, as well as its string, painted in red.<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 158) A third exception is a red figure cup in the British Museum.<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 161) The interior of the cup has in red the flute player's wreath. The outside features red wreaths on the bald Egyptian priests being attacked, with a stream of red to indicate a blood issuing from the wound in the head of the priest whom Herakles has pinned, and another possible stream of red from the hero's lifted arm.

In the case of this last vase, the reason for Epiktetos' use of red is clear; this colour shows up both on reserved flesh and the black ground of the vase, which slip would not, and the red gives a much more accurate and dramatic impression of streaming blood than its reserved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Wreaths only: Oberlin 67.61, *Para*. 329, 14bis; fig. 154; Leningrad 14611,  $ARV^2$  75, 60; London 1929.11-11.1,  $ARV^2$  74, 35; fig. 159; London E35,  $ARV^2$  74, 38; Copenhagen 119,  $ARV^2$  75, 59; London E137,  $ARV^2$  78, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>London E3, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 3; fig. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>London E135, ARV<sup>2</sup> 78, 93; fig. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>London E38, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, 16; fig. 161.

equivalent, due to its deeper colour and the way it can be applied without the sharp edges reservation requires. The other exceptions are not so easily justified. A red tail on a satyr is quite usual in black figure, and Epiktetos may just have been experimenting with it. As for the archer's red bow, if it was applied over slip then perhaps the artist forgot it and then added it later, although the neatness of the archer's clenched hand makes this unlikely. It may have been too small an area to reserve.

No matter what the explanation for these unusual instances of Epiktetos' application of red (notice that white does not appear on any of the red figure vases I examined), the pattern of his general use in red figure, namely wreaths, is clear. Using red for just this one detail on his red figures is a clear decrease over his black figure, as described above, so Epiktetos is another red figure artist who differentiates between this aspect of his red figure and black figure vase decoration.

# Treatment of drapery

Another interesting aspect of the work of Epiktetos is his transference of certain aspects of red figure into black figure. I discussed earlier how, in black figure, garments were often rather flat in appearance and could be decorated with elaborate patterns because of this. An alternate method of depicting garments in black figure was to incise them with rather widely spaced lines and apply red paint to alternating bands defined by these lines. These were often (but not always) set diagonally across a garment, and seem to have represented folds in the fabric, although the folds are not reflected anywhere else on the garment, such as the hem, where one would expect to see them.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>See for example NY 56.11.1, *Para.* 66, the wedding procession lekythos by the Amasis Painter, Boardman 1974 fig. 77,1; London B209, *ABV* 144, 8 by Exekias, the colour on the chitoniskos of Memnon's squire, Boardman 1974 fig. 99; Vatican 350, *ABV* 140,1, by the Painter of the Vatican Mourner, Boardman 1974 fig. 134.

Bands of added red can also be hung vertically, presumably to show variations in fabric colour, but this is something separate from their diagonal draping as folds.

Epiktetos never uses this method of alternating colour in his black figure and instead of the broad banded folds evident in slightly earlier black figure, he keeps his folds black. He also spaces them much more closely than was generally done up to the time red figure appeared. Elaborate drapery is a hallmark of the new technique, although it does not appear immediately. Very rich, fine folds require skill in their depiction and it takes some time before red figure artists learn how to draw them realistically. Nevertheless, the way folds are shown does change quickly once red figure appears. They become more elaborate, and more closely spaced, although these qualities do not translate into three - dimensionality and sinuosity at the hemline immediately.

The red figure approach to folds is reflected on several of Epiktetos' black figure cup tondos. On the eye cup in Leningrad,<sup>36</sup> for example, the tondo is decorated with a black figure komast, who is running to the left and naked except for a short mantle, which hangs in neat, closely spaced folds over his extended arm. (Fig. 162) This particular example is especially significant because this vase is one which has been designated as early in Epiktetos' career.<sup>37</sup>

Also designated early by Beazley is another cup with a black figure tondo, this one in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> Like the komast in the Leningrad vase, this one seems to have been placed in a simple pose which is reminiscent of black figure. (Fig. 155) His mantle is longer than the other komast's, and the folds are more closely placed and elaborated further with the addition of incised decoration. The artist has added the

 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$ Leningrad 645,  $ARV^2$  71, 4; fig. 162.

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$ Beazley,  $ARV^2$  p. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Berlin 2100,  $ARV^2$  71, 7; fig. 155.

refinement of having the folds over the komast's extended arm bunch slightly, as they do over his shoulder. This has the effect of adding a feeling of substance and volume to the mantle, but this is not reflected by the folds as they appear at the edge of the garment, in a very flat manner. They have a sharpness to their corners and a straight quality to their lines of draping which betrays the artist's lack of expertise with them.

As a contrast, we will compare the folds on the previous two cups with another cup tondo, this one in Wurzburg.<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 160) Like the previous two, this one has been designated early by Beazley; nevertheless, it appears to be later than the other two. The folds on this reveller's mantle have a fluidity which the others lack; these curve as they reach the top of the reveller's shoulder and as they disappear around behind his back, adding a feeling for the figure's bodily contours beneath his drapery. The zig zag hemline has become slightly fuller and more rounded.

On this vase the appearance, as well as the spacing of the folds, has become red figure. The folds have another refinement, of being gathered up closely in the reveller's hand, and spreading as they fall from this bunching. This sort of gathering and spreading of folds goes along with the curves and fluidity of the incised lines as a red figure characteristic. It is something which does not appear in black figure until it develops in the new technique as well. I suspect that the greater realism possible in red figure was the impetus behind its development and that it transferred into black figure as a side - effect. It is not nearly as realistic in black figure, of course, because of the colour balance, which is the opposite of the way this would appear in the actual garments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Wurzburg 468, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 71, 8; fig. 160.

In addition to his developing depictions of folds, another aspect of Epiktetos' garments is worth pointing out. Specifically, this is his consistent depiction of folds. Animal skins aside, even his garments that have some flat areas are divided up into smaller parts. The black figure cloak of Hermes is shown in several areas, separated by the god's body.<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 153) An otherwise flat horseman's cloak is shown in a few folds where it gathers across his shoulders.<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 152) These are the only two garments with relatively extensive flat areas on the 51 vases of Epiktetos examined. Both are black figure and both show rather clumsy attempts at patterning. Considering that there is only one other instance of overall (black figure) garment patterning on the vases examined, and that with a much smaller flat area decorated, the correlation is unlikely to be coincidental.

I said earlier that Epiktetos did not appear to be taking different approaches between his black figure and his red figure. This is still true for the majority of his black figure; only these two pieces are anomalous in terms of flat areas. This is a less frequent occurrence than on the flat garments of Psiax; an additional difference is the partial flatness of the Epiktetan examples while those by Psiax are without folds or division of any kind.

Epiktetos' interest in folds, apparently from the beginning of his career, seems to reflect a red figure approach to vase decoration because of the concept of volume and dimensionality of fabric which is implicit in its arrangement into folds, as opposed to it being a flat area. In black figure, before the advent of red figure, garments were treated as a surface which could be decorated with various kinds of ornament instead. Epiktetos' folds start out looking flat because this treatment of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Arlesheim, Schweizer, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1705, 6bis; fig. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>London E3, ARV<sup>2</sup> 70, 3; fig. 152.

fabric is his starting point technically, even though his conception of garments is a different one. But his skills develop quickly and he soon moves away from where he began, not just in his treatment of folds, but also in anatomy. In his technique he begins where much of black figure leaves off, but even in his early work his approach to some aspects of vase painting is the new one made possible by the new technique.

## General conclusions

Before moving on to examine whether or not vase size affects complexity of garment patterning, it seems appropriate to summarise the main points which have arisen from the discussion thus far.

Although strong garment patterning is often cited as a black figure characteristic, in fact it does not appear in the earliest Attic black figure and only reaches what becomes standard usage with the third generation of artists after the appearance of this kind of vase decoration. Even then artists tend to have individual preferences as to which motifs they use. The Amasis Painter, for example, focuses on those that involve added colour; Exekias' most frequent motifs are those that involve incision.

The garment patterning of the Andokides Painter, who appears to be the earliest red figure artist of which we know, is more strongly linked to black figure than that of any other early red figure artist. The bilingual artists who seem to follow him, namely Psiax, Oltos and Epiktetos, handle the two techniques of vase decoration differently. They tend to use colour and patterning more often in black figure, while showing more clothed figures in that technique than in red figure, although their most elaborate arrangements of drapery as well as their most realistic representations of anatomical detail and complicated poses appear in red figure. Definite differentiation between red and black figure is appearing on their vases. This may or may not be interpreted

as evidence of initial black figure training, but certainly shows some consideration had gone in to the different possibilities of the two technical methods. Furthermore, by the time Epiktetos begins to work, garment patterning has declined from a strong presence to an almost non - existent one; this change occurs over a short time span and begins very early in the new technique.

# Chapter 10: Vase size and garment patterning complexity

As it has become evident that garment patterning decreases in frequency and variety with the earliest development of red figure, the question of where these artists actually use this patterning becomes an issue. The main problems are whether they apply it to their largest vases and on their largest picture fields, or if other factors are involved, and if the patterning is treated as something special to be used only occasionally, or applied with a uniform approach. To begin answering these questions, one of the most important considerations is the size of the vases. Often the specific measurements of the decorated panels, or the height of just the bowl of a cup, are not readily available; measurements generally refer to the height of an amphora or a whole cup. The attitude that the size of figures on a vase will for the most part be kept in proportion to the size of the vase is admittedly a generalization, but a necessary one for this discussion, and a reasonably justified one.

## The Andokides Painter

Examination of the vases of the Andokides Painter reveals that careful and complicated patterning of garments is standard on his amphorae, which seem to have been quite uniform in size. His gridded garments are packed full and his garments with folds usually have at least one motif, and often two. The necessary exceptions, of course, are the unclothed figures.

Almost all of the vases attributed to the Andokides Painter are amphorae; the smallest one for which I was able to obtain measurements is in the Louvre and decorated in Six's technique. This vase is 41 cm tall, as opposed to the other belly amphorae by the artist

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>ARV^{2}$  pp. 2 - 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Louvre F203 ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 13; fig. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Hoppin 1919a p. 38.

which range from 53.5 cm to 58.6 cm in height, so this vase is unusual in more than its decoration. The naked women swimming on one side are also an exceptional subject, with no garments to be patterned. (Fig. 163) The other side of the amphora is decorated with Amazons dressing; the decoration on garments and armour on this side of the vase are perfectly comparable to those on the artist's larger amphorae.

The artist has included folds on the short skirts worn by the figures, albeit rather flat folds, and placed several different motifs on the skirt and mantle of the right Amazon. The one on the left wears a skirt which is fluffy instead of having folds or patterning, like those on the red figure side of the Palermo cup. Comparison with the artist's larger amphora in Berlin reveals the same types of motifs and the same spacing on the similar garments worn by Apollo.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 84) The armour on the left Amazon is also decorated in the same manner as the cuirass on another larger vase in the Louvre, with bands of geometric motifs.<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 83)

One vase by the Andokides Painter which is considerably smaller than his amphorae is the bilingual eye cup in Palermo.<sup>8</sup> Its height, including the foot, is 20 cm; the height of the bowl appears from the illustrations to be slightly less than half that. Indeed, the garments on the red figure side of the vase do seem to be simpler than many of those on the Andokides Painter's amphorae; the skirts of the two warriors have fluffy edges but are unpatterned, and the trouser suit worn by the archer between the eyes is decorated with simple black spots. (Fig. 164)

 $<sup>^4</sup>$ Munich 2301,  $ARV^2$  4, 9; 53.5 cm tall, Simon 1976 p. 92; fig. 84; Louvre F204,  $ARV^2$  4, 11; 58.6 cm tall, Simon 1976 p. 93; fig. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>On the subject see von Bothmer 1957, pp. 153 - 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Berlin 2159 ARV<sup>2</sup> 3, 2, 57.5 cm tall, Hoppin 1919a p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Louvre G1,  $ARV^2$  3, 1, 58 cm tall, Hoppin 1919a p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Palermo V650, ARV<sup>2</sup> 5, 14; fig. 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Schneider 1889a p. 195 note 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Hoppin 1919a p. 36.

The black figure skirts on the other half of the vase are considerably more elaborate, with incised folds.

Comparison of these vases appears to indicate that garments on the Andokides Painter's smallest vase are less elaborately patterned than his larger vases, probably because it is exceptional among his vases and provides a considerably smaller picture field than he is used to in terms of height. Among his amphorae there is no apparent variation of this detail due to the size of the vase.

## Psiax

Psiax's garment patterns are considerably less varied than those of the Andokides Painter, in black figure as well as red.<sup>11</sup> He also differentiates between the two techniques in terms of which motifs he uses. Vase size, however, does not appear to be a particularly important factor in terms of how the garments on his vases are decorated.

In terms of picture field size, the smallest of Psiax's vases are his kylixes, a number of which are about 10 cm in height, <sup>12</sup> so that the height of the bowl on which figures are drawn will be about two thirds or half that. Although Psiax does decorated other types of cups such as mastoi, these have a higher area for figures because of their deeper bowl and lack of a stem. <sup>13</sup> (Fig. 165 - 167) On these smallest figures on the kylixes, the artist sometimes scatters motifs quite broadly between the folds which are wide enough to accommodate them, leaving plain the finest folds, but also sometimes leaving garments quite plain. <sup>14</sup> (Fig. 103) Indeed, the folds themselves can be quite elaborately arranged on these vases, although not to the same extent as those on the

SI

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>See appendices 8 and 9, pp. 324, 326.

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$ New York 14.145.1,  $ARV^2$  8, 9, 10.5 cm tall, bowl diameter 28.20 cm, Smith 1929 p. 9; Getty S.82.AE.24, once Bareiss, red figure kylix, vase height 10.4 cm, tondo diameter 8.8 cm, Mertens 1979 p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>New York 1975.11.6, black figure mastos, height restored 13.4cm, fig. 165; Swiss Private Coll., black figure mastos, height restored 12.2cm, fig. 166; Basel market black figure mastos, height restored 11.5cm, fig. 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Getty S.82.AE.24, once Bareiss, fig. 103.

artist's amphorae.<sup>15</sup> On flat garment surfaces the motifs are also spaced quite far apart, and often arranged in neat lines.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, there can be less garment patterning on some of Psiax's amphorae, probably because of the more elaborate drapery, which is a much more prominent part of Psiax's red figure than his black. The bilingual amphora in Madrid features some superb drapery with heavy falls of fine folds; the only patterning on the red figure side of the vase is the cross on the flat bodice and sleeves of Artemis.<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 102) The black figure side of the vase features less elaborate drapery and also more patterning to lighten it, both on flat areas and between folds. The chiton of Dionysos has red dots and incised crosses, on the flat torso as well as between the folds of the skirt, and the two maenads who accompany him both have scattered motifs on their bodices. A red figure amphora by the same artist, in Philadelphia, has, if anything, more elaborate drapery; even the flat areas on these figures are unpatterned.<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 94) Psiax uses the trims on these garments to accentuate the ends of the folds. These two are certainly among Psiax's largest vases.

Although there appears to be no direct correlation between garment patterning and vase size, for Psiax, there may instead be an indirect one via fold complexity. Although some of Psiax's smallest vases do have some complex folds, his most elaborate drapery appears on his largest vases, his amphorae; and these garments lack patterning, probably because the folds are so detailed. Instead of any correspondence being between patterning and size, instead it appears to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>A cup with elaborate folds: New York 14.146.1,  $ARV^2$  8, 9; fig. 95; but compare with Philadelphia 5399,  $ARV^2$  7, 3; fig. 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Black figure, Leningrad 381, alabastron, ABV 293, 12, fig. 106; red figure, Madrid 11008, amphora, ABV 294, 24;  $ARV^2$  7, 2; fig. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Madrid 11008, ABV 294, 24, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 2; vase height 61.2 cm, Bienkowski 1900 p. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Philadelphia 5399,  $ARV^2$  7, 3, vase height 61.6cm, panel with gods 21.7cm tall, 42.6cm wide; panel with horses, 22.6cm tall, 43.0cm wide; Bates 1905 p. 170; fig. 94.

be between folds and vase size; this change must be at least partly indicative of new red figure tendencies as well as the practices of Psiax himself.

#### Oltos

Like Psiax, some of Oltos' garments are particularly grand; unlike Psiax, for Oltos this seems to involve pattern motifs as well as elaborate folds, even though Oltos uses patterning on garments to a lesser extent than Psiax generally. (See appendix 10, p. 332.) Many of Oltos' vases have unpatterned garments on them; examination of my patterning tables by Oltos reveals that these are not limited to his cups, his smallest vases, but also appear on his larger vases as well. (See table 10) In fact, for Oltos' bilingual cups, it is often the case that the only patterning on the vase is on the black figure tondo, which can be a larger field than the exterior of the vase. In this case technique is more likely to be the important factor, rather than field size, and often Oltos uses objects between the eyes of these cups, which complicates the question.

Leaving aside these black figure examples of garment patterning, Oltos' most elaborate garments appear on two vases. The red figure cup in Tarquinia, which depicts an assembly of seated gods, includes an exceptional variety of motifs as well as elaborately wrapped garments with realistic folds.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 140) As I have already indicated, the great size of this vase is quite exceptional among Oltos' other cups, and this vase is special in a number of ways.<sup>20</sup>

Another vase on which Oltos has rather elaborate garment patterning is one of his amphorae, this one a version of the belly amphora.<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 141) The mantle of Briseis on one side of the vase is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Tarquinia RC 6848, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 60, 66; fig. 140. <sup>20</sup>See above, pp. 300 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>London E258, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 4; fig. 141.

decorated with swastikas and dots as well as being trimmed with a heavy crenellated line. Achilles, on the other side, wears a cuirass patterned with fine scales. Like the Tarquinia cup, this vase is exceptional in other ways as well. The depiction of just a single figure on each side is unusual this early in red figure, and so is the fact that neither of these figures stands on a ground line. The shape of the vase, as a type C amphora, is also unusual, as is the lack of subsidiary decoration on it. The whole vase has been slipped black and the handles reserved.

Both of these examples of elaborate patterning occur on vases that are larger than usual among Oltos' oeuvre; both are unusual in several ways. This indicates that instead of a simple link between size and pattern, for Oltos elaborate garment patterning is just one part of making a vase exceptional. This is quite a different attitude from the Andokides Painter, for whom more closely packed and varied decoration than this was a standard part of his vase decoration, and also different to Psiax, whose most elaborate garments are unpatterned.

## **Epiktetos**

Epiktetos uses less garment patterning than any other red figure artist whose vases I examined for this project. In fact, none of his red figures which I examined had any garment patterning at all. There were a number of patterned animal hides, but I have generally treated these as being separate from patterns on cloth garments. The few examples of garment patterning which I found in Epiktetos' black figure are casual, sketchy, and can in no way be classified as elaborate. Some of the artist's animal skin patterns are quite elaborate and carefully done, however, so I will examine where these occur. Animal pelt decoration, after all, is still a form of patterning.

In fact many of Epiktetos' animal skin patterns are over small areas and quite unexceptional. Some of the most elaborate of the rest do

appear on larger vases, or at least the largest field on the vase. One of the artist's red figure plates in London is decorated with an archer in a trouser suit which displays four different patterns in trims and material, all very neatly executed.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 158)

This figure is exceptional in the large areas patterned; other animal hides by the artist on cup tondos tend to be patterned over much smaller areas. A satyr inside a red figure cup in Berlin, for example, has a cheetah skin tied over his shoulders, so we see only a small area of it.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 168) The leopard skin over the arm of a running warrior inside a cup in Tarquinia has a leopard skin slung over one arm, partly covered by his shield;<sup>24</sup> we see only a small area of the tail and back legs of the pelt. (Fig. 169)

Epiktetos also uses these patterns on figures who are to be found in smaller fields. A red figure cup in Providence, Rhode Island, decorated with a Bacchic revel, has on the exterior a satyr and maenad both with skins tied around their necks; we see only the legs that are knotted and the inturned edges in a very narrow band.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 170) A maenad on the outside of a cup in the Louvre wears a pelt with spots and dots, which covers the torso of her body.<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 171)

Although these two examples of animal hide patterns are on smaller fields than those on the cup tondi, both occur within the context of the artist's more elaborate compositions. Both of these cups have a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>London E135,  $ARV^2$  78, 93; fig. 158, diameter 19.4 cm, Hoppin 1919a p. 314. The artist's cup appear to generally be about the same size. For example. Louvre G7,  $ARV^2$  78, 97, diameter 20.5 cm, CVA Louvre 10 text to pl. 12.2 - 6; Cabinet des Médailles 510,  $ARV^2$  78, 96, diameter 19.4 cm, Hoppin 1919a p. 324; New York 1981.11.10 (once Castle Ashby),  $ARV^2$  77, 92, diameter 18.8 cm, Hoppin 1919a p. 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Berlin 4514, ARV<sup>2</sup> 76, 78; fig. 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Tarquinia RC 191,  $ARV^2$  76, 73, red figure cup decorated inside only; fig. 169; cup height 11 cm, diameter 33 cm, Hoppin 1919a p. 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Providence 25.077,  $ARV^2$  73, 34, height as restored 13 cm, diameter of bowl 30 cm, diameter of tondo 17.8 cm, CVA Providence 1 text to pl. 14; fig. 170.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$ Louvre G6,  $ARV^2$  72, 21, diameter 31.5 cm, CVA Louvre 10 text to pl. 10, 2 - 9 and 11.1; fig. 171.

number of figures on them and are quite different from the plain figures on the artist's eye cups. The garments of the figures on both these vases are generally quite elaborate as well, with a variety of fold arrangements.

Although vase and field size do seem to play a part in where Epiktetos applies his pelt patterning, general complexity of the vase is also a factor. Certainly Epiktetos' eye cups do not display this patterning, although some of them are decorated with figures in unusual poses and considerable amounts of anatomical detail.

Evidently the Andokides Painter is the only artist among the first generation of red figure to continue using complex garment decoration as a standard part of his vases. The artists that follow him not only apply it much less often, but also use elaborate garment patterning as just part of vases that are special among their works in many ways. The vases of Psiax, especially, indicate that the creation of realistic folds with volume is of greater interest to some artists than the application of detailed patterning.

# Chapter 11: Changes in composition and arrangement of figures

The elements of composition and arrangement of figures are, like colour and patterning, very important to the appearance of a decorated vase, and may play a part in the changes that occur with the development of early red figure. In order to understand how and when this change occurs, it is necessary to start by examining earlier black figure artists and progress through them to early red figure.

## Lydos

On vases with frieze bands as opposed to panels, Lydos tends to depict processions; these can be quite crowded and overlarge areas of reserved space may be filled with small animals by the artist. His pictures are symmetrically composed even if they are not perfectly centred between the handles. On his vase in Florence one side depicts a couple reclining on a large couch with two revelling figures on either side, but the mass of the couch is not centred, being somewhat offset to the left instead. (Fig. 172) This may be a result of the artist not doing enough preliminary blocking out of the composition. On this vase, the animal friezes on the neck are also offset slightly; those below are more accurately centred, but probably by another artist. Some of Lydos' panels are off - centre in a similar way, but very symmetrical otherwise. (Figs. 174, 173)

To help fill some of his awkward gaps, on one vase the artist has used a bird on either side of a frontal pair of horses, and on the right side of the panel seems to have created a very fanciful, hyper - extended snake that divides a large red space in two.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 175) Another example of filling by the artist is a crane beneath the legs of a horse.<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 176)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Florence 70995, ABV 110, 32; fig. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Beazley, ABV p. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Munich 1681, ABV 108, 12; fig. 173; Berlin University, ABV 108, 15; fig. 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Harvard 1925.30.125, ABV 108, 9; fig. 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Louvre E804, ABV 108, 13; fig. 176.

Some of the artist's compositions with horses are less strictly symmetrical,<sup>6</sup> but still very balanced, with the front part of the horses taking up the equivalent of a human body. (Fig. 23) Because of Lydos' close spacing of figures, the vases can be very dark looking.

On the artist' column krater with a Dionysiac procession,<sup>7</sup> we again have a very symmetrical composition which is offset slightly to the left. (Fig. 15) Dionysos should be central; there are five figures in front of him and five behind. He stands still with feet together where the others are all shown with more movement and is somewhat isolated by this, but he is not quite at the centre of the vase. In addition, the figures in front of him are quite widely spaced, while those behind are crammed in, especially on the extreme left immediately before the handle. On this vase many branches, which are heavy with grapes and ivy leaves, fill in between figures.

In fact, even Lydos' most varied, complex compositions are still very symmetrical. On one oinochoe the main decorative band depicts a chariot group racing outwards on either side of a group with Herakles and Ares, standing over the fallen Kyknos, with Zeus between them raising a hand.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 27) The scene is not quite strictly symmetrical due to the presence of Athena, who is balanced by a charioteer instead of another onlooker. On this vase the labels attached to the figures have taken the place of little filling birds, and there is more space between the figures, so the band is not as overpoweringly heavy as the artist's earlier works. Beazley places this vase late.<sup>9</sup> This slight asymmetry is interesting because in terms of actually looking at the vase, this central group is symmetrical despite the fact that there is no equivalent to Athena on the right. The charioteer on this side takes up the same position as Athena does, while the charioteer on the left

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Berlin 1685 ABV 109, 24; fig. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>New York 31.11.11, *ABV* 108, 5; fig. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Berlin 1732, ABV 110, 37; fig. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>ABV p. 110.

is offset slightly in this direction, so he is not visible when one looks at the vase from its front, the side opposite the handle. Zeus does appear to have been placed immediately below the spout of the vase, so symmetry is obviously a consideration, but it is now a more sophisticated treatment that takes into account the shape of the vase and how it can be viewed.

Some of Lydos' smaller vases, such as his cups, do seem to have more space between the figures on them, perhaps because this way they were faster to execute, but occasionally some of these cups are quite crowded too.<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 177) The insides of the cups tend to be especially crowded; Lydos does not do much adaptation to the circular field when he does use human figures, but more often he uses birds, heads, or a few different abstract designs which are very well suited to the tondo.<sup>11</sup> (Figs. 178 - 182)

Lydos' plates, which provide a larger, flatter field than his cups, are usually decorated with human figures, and although most of these are fragmentary they seem usually to have had an exergue beneath to provide a flat platform for the figures to stand on; one vase has an exergue above as well as below the figures. 12 (Fig. 183) This may be filled with a checkerboard pattern (Figs. 183 - 184), 13 or with animals (Figs. 185 - 186), 14 as well as with a floral or vegetal design. 15 (Fig. 18) The human figures inside these fields are often upright with no variation in pose to fill or adapt to the circular field; if more of the circle needs to be filled, Lydos tucks in a short figure to one side. 16 (Fig. 18) Two possible examples of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Athens, Kerameikos; fig. 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Copenhagen 6585, ABV 115, 5, whirligig; Taranto 20273, ABV 112, 69; fig. 178, head; Taranto 20129, ABV 113, 70; fig. 179, swan; also Taranto 20137, ABV 112, 65; Taranto 4362, ABV 113, 72; fig. 180; Taranto 52130 ABV 112, 67; fig. 183, cock; Taranto 4363, ABV 113, 71; fig. 182, star.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Florence 102a ABV 111, 45; fig. 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Florence 102a ABV 111, 45; fig. 183; Florence 102c, ABV 111, 45; fig. 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Athens, Acr. 2424, ABV 111, 52; fig. 185, hares and foxes; Bonn 339, ABV 111, 51; fig. 186, just foxes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Athens MN 507, ABV 112, 56; fig. 186, opposed palmettes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Florence 101a, ABV 111, 47, Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 pl. 22.7; Athens MN 507, ABV 112, 56; fig. 18; Athens, Kerameikos 1909, Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 pl. 26.21, ABV 112, 55.

slight adaptation feature a figure in essentially the same pose, with knee and elbow outthrust to fill a slightly broader area.<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 186) For the most part, though, concessions made to the circular field are minimal; using a (sometimes very high) exergue helps make the space suitable to a row of upright figures, rather than the figures being adapted to the space. The plates also seem to have been quite crowded with figures, as is often the case on Lydos' larger vases, and consequently quite dark.

There is one possible exception to the generalization that Lydos puts upright figures in tondi without adapting poses, a plate which shows two running, winged youths in the knielauf pose. [18] (Fig. 26) The very great width of their stride, their arms extended forward and back, and their broad wings all combine to fill the circle effectively. But this is a case in which Lydos has taken an established pose which just happens to be effective in filling a round field, rather than creating something new for the circular area.

Despite the flat appearance of his pottery, one thing which Lydos does with some regularity, if not often, is overlap figures. For him this seems to be most common on his plates, and in battle scenes. It is not particularly effective at adding depth, however, for even the scenes with a considerable amount of overlap are still very flat in appearance.

#### The Amasis Painter

Like Lydos, the Amasis Painter's compositions are sometimes crowded and usually arranged symmetrically; unlike Lydos, he usually manages to put the central figure or group at the centre of the panel or band, rather than being offset to the left. The Amasis Painter does not add the little filling animals that Lydos uses; although he seems to like dogs, and uses them several times, these stand behind figures, partly hidden by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Bonn 339, ABV 111, 51; fig. 186; Athens MN, ABV 112, 57, Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 pl. 24.22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Harvard 1959.127, ABV 112, 54 (Ex Baltimore, Robinson); fig. 26.

their legs, rather than in gaps in the picture.<sup>19</sup> (Figs. 187 - 189) His vases do show these large gaps, but he opts not to fill them, and the dogs on his vases are more a part of the scene than Lydos' filling animals. Although he does not use animals as fillers the way Lydos does, he occasionally puts in a bird flying beside a rider or behind a horse, perhaps to indicate movement or speed.<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 190)

Like Lydos, the Amasis Painter's cups seem to have more space between the figures than his larger vases. Perhaps the outward swelling of the picture zone on vases of this shape is partly responsible for creating this effect. The slant means that if the figures drawn straight, they will be splayed away from one another. Also, the cups are decorated with friezes that run all the way around them, and there is more space on them for figures than on vases with panels.

Panels are a much more standard part of the Amasis Painter's vase decoration than that of Lydos; he uses friezes much less often than Lydos and seems somehow to be more at ease with the panels.

The Amasis Painter also uses some more complicated poses and interactions of figures than Lydos, especially his various figures with their arms around each other.<sup>21</sup> (Figs. 45, 46, 190) He also shows more imagination in the subjects he depicts; his satyrs tread wine, his women prepare wool, weave and fold cloth, and his mythical repertoire includes the stables of Poseidon.

The Amasis Painter occasionally overlaps the borders with his figures, not so much with heads, but at the sides. The tip of Herakles' bow, his elbow and the cap of his quiver extend into the narrow reserved area between the thin line outlining the panel and the black - slipped body on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Berlin 1688, *ABV* 150, 9; fig. 187; Berlin 1689, *ABV* 151, 10; fig. 188; Berlin 1691, *ABV* 151, 12; fig. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Philadelphia MS 4849, ABV 154, 50; fig. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Wurzburg 265, ABV 151, 22; fig. 51, two satyrs; Berlin 3210, ABV 151, 21; fig. 45, two pairs of satyrs and maenads; Cabinet des Médailles 222, ABV 152, 25; fig. 46, two maenads.

one vase (Fig. 65);<sup>22</sup> perhaps the Amasis Painter started his panels of vase decoration from the left side, being right handed. This is the case for such minor details that this artist does not seem to be deliberately breaking out of the space of the panel, but using it when necessary for details such as Athena's helmet crest (quite a standard one) or the tips of her spear and Poseidon's trident.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 191)

The Amasis Painter does decorate a number of cups, but he is not primarily a painter of this shape. One of the interesting aspects of his decoration of this shape is that unlike Lydos, he generally avoids decorating the tondos of the vases with any figural decoration. Instead, there is sometimes a reserved circle, with several glaze circles (usually two) and one or two dots.<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 192) Alternatively, the tondo area of the vase may be wholly slipped.<sup>25</sup> One exception in the Vatican has its tondo decorated with a beautiful gorgoneion, with a red tongue and white fangs and ears.<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 66) This motif is naturally circular and therefore does not require any adaptation to use in this position. Because so few of the Amasis Painter's cups display interior figural decoration, it is difficult to examine the question of how he handled the artistic demands made by the shape of the tondo. Having said that, his lack of figural decoration in this space tells us that he focussed on the outside of his cups.

#### The Princeton Painter

Like Lydos, the Princeton Painter's vases can be extremely crowded,<sup>27</sup> or much less so.<sup>28</sup> (Figs. 193, 194) Generally, though, the majority of his vases are crowded and confusingly arranged. He still uses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Louvre F30, ABV 152, 29; fig. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Oxford 1929.19, ABV 153, 38; fig. 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Louvre F75, *ABV* 156, 81; Mayence 88, *Para*. 67; New York, Schimmel Coll., *Para*. 67; Boston 10.651, *ABV* 157, 86; Oxford 1939.118, *ABV* 157, 89; Malibu 79.AE.197, fig. 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Louvre CA 2918, ABV 157, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Vatican 369, ABV 157, 87; fig. 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Princeton 169, ABV 298, 6; fig. 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Boulogne 4, ABV 298, 3; fig. 194.

some filling elements, such as a bird beneath the legs of horses (Fig. 195),<sup>29</sup> for example, but generally the fullness of his panels means that he avoids having overly large spaces to fill.

This artist's battle scenes are the only full scale ones by him with much motion in them, and even these tend to look rather static. He does not seem to depict the lively dancers of Lydos and the Amasis Painter. The smaller friezes on the shoulders of his vases tend to be better, as the figures in these have more movement and are also allowed more space between them. Like the Amasis Painter, the Princeton Painter decorates belly amphoras with panels and neck amphorae with vegetal tendril ornaments dividing the surface of the vase, which is otherwise reserved. Both tend to be quite crowded for the most part, and the panel amphorae, type B, appear more often in his work than the neck amphorae with the tendril decoration.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps because some of his compositions are so crowded, there seems to be less obvious emphasis on symmetricism, of figures on either side of a central element. There is usually a central figure with the same number of figures on either side of it, but the crowded and complicated nature of so many of the artist's scenes makes them less obviously symmetrical than those of Lydos, for example.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 196) Sometimes, too, the central element is two figures instead of just one.<sup>32</sup> (Figs. 197 - 199)

# Group E

Group E decorate both panel amphorae and neck amphorae with the lotus - palmette and tendril decoration beneath the handles separating the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Tarquinia 624, *Para*. 130, 15bis; fig. 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>The ratio in ABV pp. 297 - 299 is four neck amphorae to 15 type B amphorae.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>See, for example, New York 56.171.9, ABV 299, 15 (ex Hearst), fig. 196; Rhodes 1346, ABV 298, 7, CVA Rhodes 2 pl. 22.1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Geneva MF 154, ABV 299, 18; fig. 197, seated Zeus with miniature Athena standing on his lap; Basel BS 427, Para. 130, 14bis; fig. 198, central Athena with falling figure; Cambridge G59, ABV 298, 10; fig. 199.

two sides. They also decorate some amphorae with friezes as the main part of the ornamentation.<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 200) Vases by the group can occasionally be crowded and complicated enough to compare with the Princeton Painter (Fig. 77),<sup>34</sup> but usually they are simpler, with upright figures with little overlap between them.

The group usually arranges figures symmetrically within the picture field, arranged around a central figure, but several times the group depicts a quasi - three figure panel, which is quite different from the fuller ones I have described above;<sup>35</sup> these are mainly restricted to a single subject, Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, with their two bodies making a triangle at the centre of the panel and Athena and Iolaos filling out the scene. (Figs. 76, 202, 203)

Group E also seems to be innovative with respect to subject matter, once depicting Herakles and the Stymphalian Birds, and a quadriga with its team in three quarter view several times.<sup>36</sup> (Figs. 204, 205) One particularly popular subject with the group is Herakles attacking Geryon, one of whose heads, though helmeted, is facing away from the action and sagging as though it has been killed.<sup>37</sup> (Figs. 75, 206, 207) Despite the new spirit visible in the unusual subjects being depicted by the group, there is little of the happy revelry we saw so often on vases by Lydos and the Amasis Painter; the group's Dionysiac scenes tend to have a rather sober feel to them.<sup>38</sup> (Figs. 75, 208)

It is interesting to note that although Group E's Nemean Lion depictions, with the triangular element of Herakles and the lion at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Tarquinia RC 1061, Para. 56, 58bis; fig. 200; Munich 1471, ABV 137, 60, CVA Munich 7 pl. 346.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Copenhagen Chr. VIII 322, ABV 135, 33; fig. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Toronto 919.5.176, ABV 134, 11; fig. 76; Copenhagen 7068, ABV 134, 14; fig. 202; Munich 1394, ABV 135, 42; fig. 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>London B163, *ABV* 134, **28**; fig. 204; Louvre, Camp. 10659, *ABV* 135, **42**; fig. 205; Tarquinia RC 7170, *ABV* 134, 24, *CVA* Tarquinia 2 pl. 29.1, 4; Toronto 919.176, *ABV* 134, 11; fig. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Baden, Ros, *ABV* 133, 5; fig. 206; London B194, *ABV* 136, 56; fig. 207; Christchurch, 42/57, *Para*. 55, 7bis; fig. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Chiusi 1806, ABV 135, 32; fig. 208; Christchurch 42/57, Para. 55, 7bis; fig. 75.

centre, are not very crowded, a similar depiction of Theseus and the Minotaur is much more so.<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 209) The hero has forced the monster down on one knee and pulls the Minotaur in while leaning over him, creating a triangle similar to that found with the Nemean lion. Instead of a single figure on either side of this element there are two, making the panel appear much fuller. Indeed, this greater use of figures in the panel does seem to be more typical of the group than the smaller number, which are mainly limited to two main subjects, but at least we can see some new subjects appearing at this time.

As for the question of how Group E handles the circular field of a tondo, they appear to have restricted themselves to the decoration of larger vases, so this aspect of their work is difficult to discuss.

Group E does occasionally depict more than the minimum of anatomical detail. On one vase Iolaos is shown with incised stomach muscles as well as the usual pectoral and leg lines.<sup>40</sup> These are incised in strict profile, and barely visible, providing an odd combination with the frontal lines of his pectorals. The inclusion of these muscles is exceptional among the vases by the group which I examined, though; they are not a standard part of anatomy on the group's vases. Pectoral muscles, and thigh and calf muscles are normally the extent of it, perhaps because these are most compatible with profile or frontal views of the body.

## **Exekias**

The compositions of Exekias are another innovative aspect of his vase decoration. Some of these, to be sure, are simple and symmetrical, made up of vertical figures in plain poses. On an amphora in Berlin, for example, one side is decorated with four figures, two on either side of the central axis.<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 210) To further balance the scene Exekias has the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Munich 1397, ABV 134, 20; fig. 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Munich 2302, ABV 135, 47, CVA Munich 1 pl. 18.1, 19.1 - 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Berlin 1718, ABV 144, 5; fig. 210.

garments of the women on either side both patterned with an overall grid extending over both bodice and skirt. Another, a scene of Dionysos and Oinopoion in London, has only these two figures with the god's out - held kantharos at the centre of the scene.<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 69)

Both of these examples have few figures, with space between them, and both are the same type of vase, which may be significant. These neck amphorae are quite light in appearance generally, with spiralling vegetal decoration beneath the handles instead of panels, and they are very different from the artist's all black belly amphorae with a reserved panel. The integration of the figures with the overall appearance of the vase may be one reason Exekias tends to use few figures and space them generously on these particular vases. Another factor is that on several of these there is a much more innovative subject and composition on the other side on the vase, and apparently that released the artist to put in less innovative effort for what was essentially the back of the vase.

Although Exekias' panel amphorae are not all decorated with crowded, dark compositions, some of his most crowded vases are of this shape. One amphora in Orvieto is particularly full on both panels. In addition to a chariot and team of horses there are ten people standing in front of and behind the chariot and team.<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 211) This particular panel is not symmetrical, but it is well balanced. An armed warrior with a shield helps balance the massive bodies of the horses, and the central figure, who stands behind the animals, is a woman and painted white, which gives her added emphasis. Another panel amphora in Orvieto is also extremely crowded on both sides; again we have horses and chariots and eight additional figures.<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 212) On these complicated compositions it becomes clear how helpful Exekias' white horses are for lightening a vase.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>London B210, ABV 144, 7; fig. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Orvieto 77, ABV 144, 10; fig. 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Orvieto, Faina 187, ABV 145, 11; fig. 212.

The darkness of the panels helps unify the appearance of the vase as a whole.

Exekias' innovative subjects and compositions are generally symmetrical, or at least balanced. One amphora, once in the Ros collection, decorated with warriors and two horses of the team falling, may represent the death of Pedasos as described in the *Iliad*.<sup>45</sup> (Fig. 213) The falling horses are new to vase painting; Exekias has balanced the team with the chariot and figures in it, and placed more warriors at the centre of the panel, so that it essentially has three blocks of figures in it.

Others of Exekias' most innovative depictions use triangular compositions. These have appeared on earlier vases by other artists, but only in the depiction of Herakles wrestling with the Nemean lion. Exekias applies the shape to new subjects and uses other elements in the scene to reinforce it. In the panel with Achilles and Ajax gaming, for example, their bent bodies form one triangle, their spears another at the centre and two more, one with the body of each hero.<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 70)

The amphora in London with Achilles killing Penthesilea is also essentially triangular; the hero's body forms one side, and his spear and the Amazon's upraised arm make the other in addition to the ground line.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 69) These two figures are centred within the space on the body of the vase. The back of this vase, incidentally, is the quiet scene of Dionysos and Oinopoion mentioned above.

Having discussed all these examples of balance and symmetricism by the artist, it has to be said that there are some notable exceptions. The panel with the solitary figures of Ajax preparing his sword is one.<sup>48</sup> At the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> lliad 16, 466 - 478; fig. 213. ABV 147, 5. Beazley's original attribution was in the manner of Exekias; it was given to the master himself after being restored, in Bloesch, "Heilsame wasch", Wandlungen studien zur antiken und neueren kunst, 1975, pp. 84 - 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13; fig. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>London B210, ABV 144, 7; fig. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Boulogne 558, *ABV* 145, 18; fig. 214.

centre of this panel is the hero's face, exceptional for its furrowed brow; the mass of his body sits to the left of centre, with a palm tree behind it. (Fig. 214) The hero's shield, spear and helmet are on the right side of the picture. The assymmetrical arrangement of this particular panel helps evoke a response from someone who knows the story. The placement of the hero's face at the centre focuses attention on it as well as on the sword at which Ajax gazes so intensely. The empty space in front of him is a reminder of his solitude. In fact, the emptiness of the panel also plays a part; it is indicative of his isolation. Exekias' panels are generally fuller than this one.

Another notably imbalanced vase by Exekias is the one in Berlin cited above for its ordinary symmetrical composition on one side.<sup>49</sup> On the other side we see Ajax carrying the body of Achilles off the battlefield. (FIg. 210) This is not a subject which Exekias originated, but he does adapt it to make it his own.<sup>50</sup> He depicts the subject three times on two vases, so we can compare them. The one in Berlin is the earliest and also the least balanced of the three. At the centre of this representation is the sagging head of the dead Achilles, with the mass of his body and that of Ajax offset to the right. The darkness of the two bodies is only partially balanced by the woman on the left.

The other vase on which Exekias depicts this subject, on both sides, is the same shape as the one in Berlin, a neck amphora. The amphora in Munich, however, omits the figure of the woman and shows only the two heroes.<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 215) On this vase Achilles and Ajax are placed centrally between the spiralling tendrils. The solid appearance of the two men with all their armour is only partially offset by the empty space around them; it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Berlin 1718, *ABV* 144, 5; fig. 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>It appears as early as the late 8th century BC on Samos; see Moore 1980 p. 424.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Munich 1470, ABV 144, 6; fig. 215.

seems to me that this space isolates them as it did with the other figure of Ajax, and increases the poignancy of this moment out of time.

These examples of striking asymmetry are few within Exekias' work, and it seems that while many of his works are symmetrical, almost all of them are balanced; in some ways the ones that are only balanced are preferable; those that are strictly symmetrical tend to be rigid and sometimes rather uninteresting, not demanding a second look, while less symmetrical arrangements of figures are more lifelike.

Among all the amphorae decorated by Exekias one cup is preserved.<sup>52</sup> (Fig. 68) Exekias takes an unusual approach to its circular space, treating all of it as his field rather than limiting himself to a circle at its centre. Later bilingual artists will decorate plates and an occasional cup without the defining circle, but they still do not take over all the available space as Exekias does; instead there is a single elegant figure, or sometimes two, at the centre of the circle. It may be that at this stage in black figure the idea of figural decoration inside a cup is quite a new one, and not yet set into the standard form of a tondo, in which case Exekias himself may have been responsible for this innovation, as he seems to have been for so many other aspects of his vase decoration.

Although the main lines of Dionysos' cup are not aligned with the main axis of the cup as set out by the handles, within the round area the ship's mast marks the vertical centre, and the boat and sail are themselves centred within the cup. The upper line of the sail and lower edge of the boat's hull both echo the circle harmoniously. Bunches of grapes above balance the dolphins below the boat. Although there is no tondo, the circular area of the cup is defined by the black rim and the black band beneath it. The curving lines of the grape vines also echo the circle, as does the arrangement of the dolphins. Exekias has certainly taken the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Munich 2044, ABV 146, 21. fig. 68.

circular area of the cup into consideration in the composition, and because he has such a large area to fill and has exploited the added elements of dolphins and grapes, this vase is very different from the circular compositions that follow it. As usual, Exekias has gone his own way.<sup>53</sup>

## The Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter

Like Exekias, the Lysippides Painter decorates both belly amphorae with reserved panels and neck amphorae with reserved bodies. Unlike Exekias, he includes some dark and crowded scenes on the neck amphorae, although he also does lighter ones with fewer figures. One particularly full example on an amphora in London features a small divine assembly consisting of Athena in a chariot with a full team of horses, accompanied by Dionysos, Apollo and Hermes.<sup>54</sup> (Fig. 216) On another vase of the same shape there is a frontal depiction of a quadriga, with charioteer and warrior in the vehicle.<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 91) This is considerably less crowded than the divine assembly, but still quite dark; the large areas of the horses' bodies seem to have been unrelieved with added colour.

Symmetrical arrangement of the figures is a very strong element in many of the Lysippides Painter's compositions, especially those which do not seem to have been executed under outside influence. For example, on a depiction of the apotheosis of Herakles, which he repeats several times with variations, Dionysos, with painted beard and magnificent wreath, marks the centre of the composition, with two figures on either side of him.<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 42) One of these on the right is actually made up of the visible heads of two horses plus a small area of the body of Persephone, but the overlap with no space between makes them into a single figure in terms of balancing the picture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>On the composition of this vase, and the connection between interior and exterior decoration, see Moignard 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>London B211, ABV 256, 14; fig. 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>Munich 1575, ABV 256, 16; CVA Munich 8 pl. 363, 364; fig. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>New York 58.32, Para. 114, 10bis, MMBull 1961 p. 154 fig. 4.

An interesting and important aspect of the Lysippides Painter's compositions is the difference between those of which there is a red figure depiction of the same subject by the Andokides Painter, and the compositions on vases attributed to him that have no parallel in the bilinguals or in Exekias' known works. These latter scenes are competent, but quite ordinary, with the exception of his depictions of Herakles Kitharoedus.<sup>57</sup> The reverse of one depiction of Herakles with the kithara is a scene resembling Exekias' depiction of Kastor and Polydeukes with Leda, so perhaps we should see the subject on the obverse as coming from Exekias as well. It somehow strikes me as being more Andokidean in its intimacy, rather like the Andokides Painter's depiction of the hero reclining with Athena holding out a flower to him.<sup>58</sup>

The composition of one version of this scene, like the ones paralleled in red figure, is quite innovative and interesting. Herakles has his leg up on the bema as he plays. The sheer ordinary human quality of the gesture is part of what makes it so new; also different is the view of the lower part of the hero's leg, seen from behind. Before this there have been depictions of figures stepping up into chariots, but Herakles is not stepping onto the bema, only resting a leg on it. This particular scene is quite symmetrical with only two figures involved, but others are less so.

In fact the artist's other depiction of Herakles playing the kithara shows none of these refinements; it is, despite an unusual subject, quite ordinary.<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 217) The hero has one foot up on the platform, but his heel is lifted, making the motion one of stepping rather than resting. The hero's massive body is now closer to the centre of the composition, with Hermes sitting behind him and Athena in front. The charm of the other version is missing. The other side of this vase is quite close to Exekias'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Beazley 1951 p. 76 - 77 discusses this interesting subject.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Munich 1575, ABV 256, 16; fig. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Villa Giulia 24998, ABV 255, 9; fig. 217.

Kastor and Polydeukes, at least in its overall scheme. The central horse and youth behind it are still present, as is the woman behind the horse and the old man at its head. The small boy and dog, as well as the unclothed brother, are all missing. The Lysippides Painter's version of the scene may be more strictly symmetrical, but it is not nearly as charming as Exekias'.

As for the compositions by the Lysippides Painter that are paralleled by the red figure sides of the bilinguals, these too are watered down, their charm diluted with additional figures. The Andokides Painter's Dionysiac scene is echoed by the Lysippides Painter.<sup>60</sup> (Figs. 218 - 219) The central group in the red figure version, Dionysos with a woman holding a kithara, is moved further apart by the black figure artist, so that Dionysos is more isolated at the centre of the scene. Accordingly the Lysippides Painter adds a second satyr at the left of the panel, so that the composition is five figures instead of four.

The Lysippides Painter takes a similar approach to his version of Herakles reclining.<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 84) The red figure depiction includes only the hero and Athena; the vertical figure of the goddess at the foot of the couch is echoed by the tree visible at its head. In the black figure version Herakles is much smaller, no longer dominating the panel so splendidly. Behind Athena at the foot of the couch is Hermes, and the goddess extends only an empty hand to the hero instead of a blossom. A small boy stands at a pithos on a column at the head of the couch and the position of the tree is different. The additional figures in the black figure version dilute the charm of the homey interaction between goddess and hero.

Another vase is also a good example of the differences. The Andokides Painter's version of Herakles bending to pet Kerberos also has

 $<sup>^{60}</sup>$ Andokides Painter Bologna 151,  $ARV^2$  4, 10, ABV 255, 5; fig. 218; Lysippides Painter Louvre F204,  $ARV^2$  4, 11, ABV 254, 1; fig. 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Bilingual amphora, Munich 2301, ARV<sup>2</sup> 4, 9, ABV 255, 4; fig. 84.

Athena standing behind the hero.<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 219) The Lysippides Painter's panel leaves out Athena; Iolaos takes her place behind Herakles, and he is balanced by the crowned figure of Persephone standing beneath the triglyph and metope course of the entrance to the underworld.<sup>63</sup> (Fig. 220) The tree behind the hero is central instead of the hero, and Herakles himself bends lower in black figure, probably to balance the dog. The black figure version may be more symmetrical, but it is also less striking.

Perhaps it is unfair to the Lysippides Painter to assume that because the related scenes by the Andokides Painter are preferable, the black figure artist is the one doing the copying and alteration to suit his technique rather than the other way around. In the black figure Herakles and Kerberos scene, there are some nice touches which the red figure artist does not include; Herakles holds the chain back as though hiding it, and the front dog is lowering its paws and head to be petted. In fact, for this discussion what is most important is not who originated the compositions and made the changes, but the fact that there are such clear differences between the scenes in two different techniques. The black figures scenes have more figures in them as well as being more strictly symmetrical.

In contrast with many of the Lysippides Painter's own compositions, those of the Andokides Painter are invariably uncrowded and clear. The red figure artist gives each figure its own space, usually with only minimal or no overlap of outstretched limbs. Usually also there is a little empty space at the edge of each panel, which increases the spacious feeling of the panels. The red figure artist's characters tend to have a much more monumental appearance than those of most of the black figure artists whose vases I have examined.

<sup>62</sup>Louvre F204, ARV2 4, 11, ABV 254, 1; fig. 219.

<sup>63</sup> Moscow 70, ABV 255, 8; fig. 220.

Despite what I have said about the Lysippides Painter altering the Andokides Painter's compositions to make them more symmetrical, it is also the case that the Andokides Painter does some extremely symmetrical panels on his vases. Not all of his compositions are innovative ones. Two of his panel amphorae depicting the struggle of Herakles and Apollo for the tripod are very symmetrical. In one in New York the tripod is used as a central element (Fig. 82);64 on one in Berlin the two combatants make up a central group.65 (Fig. 78) The other side of the amphora in New York is a three figure composition, with a central Dionysos, a satyr behind him and a maenad in front. The reserved branches held by the god have added red leaves and lightly fill the empty space between the figures. In fact the Andokides Painter quite likes three and four figure compositions and uses them often; vases with more than four figures are not common for him. This small number of figures, the amount of space between them, and the open appearance that results are all quite different from what has gone before in black figure, although not so different from what Exekias has done.

#### **Psiax**

In his arrangement of figures, Psiax often seems to be aiming for balance rather than strict symmetry. This is visible in the floral decoration on some of his vases, as well as his figural decoration. For example, on one of his black figure mastoid cups, there is a single flower on each side with palmettes, tendrils and a lotus flower extending from beneath the handles to separate them. Although he uses blossoms on both sides of a figure on this vase, one points inward and is set quite high on its stem while the other points downward and is lower.<sup>66</sup> (Fig. 166)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>New York 63.11.6, *Para*. 1623, 2bis; fig. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Berlin 2159, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 3, 1; fig. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Swiss Private Coll., fig. 166.

Although this part of the vase's subsidiary decoration is balanced, it is not symmetrical, because the two sides are so different.

This aspect of Psiax' vase decoration also appears in his figure decoration. A sitting or fallen figure may be balanced by a standing one on the other side of the band of decoration.<sup>67</sup> (Fig. 95, 103) On the earlier black figure vases by other artists, a fallen figure would be placed at the centre of the composition rather than on one side of it, as were seated figure such as Zeus.

Another aspect of Psiax' composition is the number of figures he includes in his amphora panels. These are particularly good for comparison with earlier vase painters because the size and constraints are similar. Lydos often uses seven, six and five person compositions; the smallest number tends to occur in combination with horses or extended shields, elements that take up a considerable amount of space in the panel. The Amasis Painter uses five or four person compositions, and occasionally even three.<sup>68</sup> Five does appear to be the most common number on his amphorae, however. The artist does occasionally depict horses, chariots, and warriors with shields, but for him the five and four figure compositions are standard without the added filling of these elements.

Now Psiax uses five, four and even three figure compositions on his amphorae. In the lesser of these some additional space is taken up by extended arms, and lovely full drapery with detailed folds, but there is also space left between figures and very little overlap between them; each person stands quite separate from their neighbour, although they interact with gestures. Some of the three figure panels have other elements to help fill them; one is made up of a youth leading two horses, and another is filled by Dionysos reclining lengthwise on a couch.<sup>69</sup> (Figs. 94, 96)

 $<sup>^{67} \</sup>rm New \ York \ 14.146.1, \it ARV^2 \ 8, 9; fig. 95; Getty S.82.AE.49 (once Bareiss), fig. 103. <math display="inline">^{68} \rm Louvre \ F25, \it ABV \ 150, \ 4, \ Bothmer \ 1985 \ p. \ 97.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Philadelphia 5399, ARV<sup>2</sup> 7, 3; fig. 94; Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23, ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96.

Later on in red figure vase painting, of course, some artists will come to depict a large and elegant single figure on each side of the vase. The Berlin Painter is probably the artist who decorates his vase this way most often, but the Kleophrades Painter does it too and so do some lesser known artists. In fact there is even a vase by Oltos decorated this way.<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 141) The single figure only becomes feasible with the abandonment of panel borders for a ground line, but we are seeing the development of the use of fewer figures, each with its own space, and executed very elegantly, as red figure evolves.

Then, too, Psiax's iconography, especially of warriors, is different from that established in earlier black figure. Instead of standing facing each other, or running along with wide strides in a line, Psiax's warriors cringe backwards, bending one knee, or lean over a fallen enemy with sword drawn, or fall to one knee and look out at us.<sup>71</sup> (Figs. 95, 107) They are not as simple and cheerful as they used to be, but they are much more firmly rooted in the reality of battle.

Compositionally Psiax's black figure is only occasionally different from his red. Not all his black figure panels are crowded, but the crowded compositions are black figure.<sup>72</sup> (Fig. 96) In fact most of his black figure compositions are arranged with quite a bit of space between the figures, and little overlap of limbs, just as his red figure pieces are.

Interestingly, in several of the artist's black figure Dionysiac scenes, ivy branches are prominent and arranged in a manner which helps fill up otherwise empty space between figures.<sup>73</sup> (Figs. 102, 106, 109) This is an aspect of his black figure which does appear on any of the red figure vases which I examined; indeed, Dionysiac scenes are not common on these. One

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>London E258, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 4; fig. 141.

 $<sup>^{71}</sup>$ New York 14.146.1,  $ARV^2$  8, 9; fig. 95; Cleveland 76.89,  $ARV^2$  7, 7; fig. 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Munich 2302, ABV 294, 23, ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1; fig. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Madrid 11008, *ABV* 294, 24, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 7, 2; fig. 102; Poldi - Pezzoli 482, *ABV* 293, 15; fig. 109; Leningrad 381, alabastron, *ABV* 293, 12; fig. 106.

exception is the reclining Dionysos on a couch in Munich (Fig. 96),74 but the conception of this composition is very much red figure and in fact the Andokides Painter did something very similar with Herakles and Athena first. There is also a red figure alabastron by Psiax with a single maenad dancing on one side.<sup>75</sup> (Fig. 108) On his black figure vases, in contrast, there are approximately eight depictions of this subject, not including scenes of musicians or ordinary people dancing.

The application of this kind of filling ornament does not have as prominent a place in Psiax's red figure as in his black. There is a leafy branch visible in the red figure picture of Dionysos reclining, but it is not prominent, and neither does it occupy a particularly large or empty area of space. On the other side of that vase, which is black figure, Psiax has used the inscriptions of the names of the characters to enliven some of the larger spaces around the horses. The artist also uses inscriptions in a similar manner on some of his red figure compositions, but the small areas of the red letters on the black ground are not as visible as the black letters in black figure, and so are neither prominent nor effective as filling ornament. Indeed, it seems unlikely that they were intended that way. By this stage there are none of the little filling animals that we saw before on the vases of Lydos; they have gone from use long ago.

Psiax does not concern himself much with solving the problems created by a round space. He decorates few cups; some of these have tondi filled with plant patterns, which are easily arranged to fill the circle.<sup>76</sup> (Fig. 98) On a red figure cup he fills most of the tondo with an archer and a horse.<sup>77</sup> (Fig. 95) The archer's foot and the back feet of the horse are on the circular line of the tondo; both have the forward feet raised. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>Munich 2302, ARV<sup>2</sup> 6, 1, ABV 294, 23; fig. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>Carlsruhe 242,  $ARV^2$  7, 4; fig. 108. <sup>76</sup>Swiss Private Coll.,  $ARV^2$  7, 7; Munich 2587,  $ARV^2$  7, 8; fig. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>New York 14.146.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 8, 9; fig. 95.

archer wears a cap with a tall, elongated point that makes his body into a vertical element, while the body of the horse and his tail provide the horizontal element to fill the circle in the other direction. Although there is a considerable amount of empty space left over within the tondo, the combination of the two figures is a pleasing solution that does not require exotic poses of the figures.

Another cup decorated by the artist, this one black figure, borrows an innovation made by Exekias. Herakles, club raised, has one arm around the neck of one of the horses of Diomedes; the head and arm of a luckless groom hangs from the animal's mouth.<sup>78</sup> (Fig. 97) The two are not confined by a tondo line, but stand in a bowl painted coral red. Rather than leaving them to float, as Exekias did with his ship of Dionysos, Psiax has thoughtfully provided a ground line, which is at an angle relative to the horizontal of the handles of the cup.

Psiax has taken a similar approach to the decoration of his black figure plates.<sup>79</sup> (Figs. 221 - 223) He provides the single figures in most of these with a flat ground line, and widens their poses to help fill the space. One hoplite raises his trumpet upwards; an archer extends his to the left at a downward slant; a warrior takes a broad step, shield held far forward and spear back. These actions help keep the figures from being overwhelmingly vertical, as the horse's body does on the coral red cup, but at the same time there is no special modification to make them suit the circle; Psiax has selected the poses that are most suitable to the space instead. In any case, the lack of a tondo line around these creates a less definitely circular field to be filled, despite the shape of the plates.

Although the ground line used by Psiax is similar to the exergue we saw on the cup tondos of Lydos, it is being used in a much more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Leningrad (once Odessa), *ABV* 294, 22; fig. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>London B589, *ABV* 294, 17; fig. 221; Berlin 2099, *ABV* 294, 18; London B590, *ABV* 294, 19; fig. 222; London B591, *ABV* 294, 20; fig. 223; Meggen, Kappeli *ABV* 294, 21.

sophisticated manner. Psiax's ground lines are not anchored to the edges of a tondo, and neither has the artist found it necessary to fill in the area beneath the lines, as Lydos does. Instead of rows of rather rigidly vertical figures of varying height, arranged to accord with the edge of the circle, Psiax takes a much more relaxed, open approach, not filling the circle completely, but posing his figures in a balanced way. These differences reveal the extent to which vase painting has changed in the intervening years.

## **Epiktetos**

Epiktetos is mainly a cup painter, and though these are often bilingual, many are eye cups or palmette eye cups. The artist tends to decorate these on the outside with a single figure or an object between the eyes, so the question of how his compositions are put together is somewhat problematic for these vases. Other of his cups are decorated inside only, and these I will come to below; happily for this discussion, there are some cups that are decorated outside with more complex compositions, as well as a few larger vases, including a calyx krater.

Although some of his multi - figure compositions are quite symmetrical, in general Epiktetos appears to opt for a balanced presentation instead. One example of this is on a red figure cup in the Vatican,<sup>80</sup> which is decorated on one side with a scene of a chariot being harnessed for Herakles and Athena. (Fig. 224) The horses and the figure standing behind them are at the centre of the scene; the figure holding the halter and stepping towards the horses is balanced by Herakles, who is also moving in a very broad stride. Behind the chariot and holding the reins is Athena; behind her stands another horse. On the right side of the frieze Athena and the horse behind her are balanced by another horse with a

<sup>80</sup> Vatican 506, ARV<sup>2</sup> 73, 27; fig. 224.

groom standing in front of it. The composition is not strictly symmetrical, but it is balanced and pleasing.

Another such cup, in Berlin,<sup>81</sup> has five figures arranged on one side. (Fig. 225) At the centre is a flute player, who accompanies several athletes involved in different activities. In front of the flute player is a discobolus; he holds the discus up behind his face and his legs are only slightly separated. To the right of the discus thrower is a boxer with his fists raised in front of him. Behind the central figure a third athlete prepares to throw the javelin; he is running wildly, with his legs far apart and the javelin raised. Left of him stands another flute player. The wide stride of the athlete with the javelin makes the band asymmetrical; the figure who matches him, the discus thrower, is much more vertical and stationary.

A third cup by the artist, this one in London,<sup>82</sup> is decorated with a symposium scene. (Fig. 161) The centre of this scene is marked by a youth who serves the reclining men on two couches. He does not stand directly behind the couches, but in front of the foot of one of them; they are not placed symmetrically. In terms of balance, we have the central youth and the torsos of the two reclining men, one on either side. Then, on the left, stands a flute player, in front of the foot of one of the couches. She is balanced by a third couch on the right, seen from the end instead of the side, on which a third man holds out his kylix to be filled.

Having described these examples of balance without strict symmetry by Epiktetos, I should point out that some of his other vases are more symmetrical. The other side of the cup with the symposium scene is decorated with Herakles wreaking violence on the priests of Busiris.<sup>83</sup> The central group consists of Herakles, club raised, bending over a bleeding priest whom he has forced down on the altar; the priest flings his arms up

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>Berlin F2262, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, 15; fig. 225.

<sup>82</sup>London E38, ARV<sup>2</sup> 72, 16; fig. 162.

<sup>83</sup>Boardman 1975a fig. 75.1.

and completes the triangle of the group. On either side of these two are two priests, both sets running away (quite sensibly under the circumstances) and looking back. Each has their arms raised in slightly different positions, but their strides and the main silhouette of each figure are the same.

A skyphos by this artist also shows a rather symmetrical arrangement.84 The central element here is a large column krater with a youth on either side of it. (Fig. 226) Both are down on one knee with the other leg in front of them, and both bend towards the krater. The one on the right is shown with his torso in a slightly more frontal view than the one on the left, but they are still in almost the same position.

A red figure calyx krater,85 which is the largest known vase by Epiktetos, also seems to have its decoration quite symmetrically arranged, although all the figures but one have large areas missing and so the exact nature of their poses is unclear. (Fig. 227) On one side there are three figures with quite a bit of space between them. A central Dionysos (although his head is missing, he holds a drinking horn and an ivy branch which allow identification) is approached on each side by a female figure; the one in front of him holds out an oinochoe, the one behind simply has her arm extended. On the other side of the vase the subject is apparently a komos; parts of four male figures survive, and all of them seem to be dancing vigorously.

This calyx krater is unusual in the small number of figures on it, especially for its large size compared to the much smaller height of Epiktetos' cups. In addition, the figures on both side of the vase all have quite a bit of space between them. This is also different from the artist's cup - friezes, which are often tangled and full of activity (Figs. 160,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>Oxford 520, ARV<sup>2</sup> 76, 84; fig. 226.
<sup>85</sup>Villa Giulia, ARV<sup>2</sup> 77, 90; fig. 227.

228),<sup>86</sup> and if not, usually have figures overlapping each other and standing in front of and behind various objects.<sup>87</sup> (Fig. 161, 224) It may be that being accustomed to more compact, defined fields to decorate, Epiktetos chose to take a different approach with this larger vessel. Interestingly, on this vase, he has adopted the generous spacing that is quite usual for Psiax. Beazley saw "resemblances to Psiax" in the drawing,<sup>88</sup> so perhaps this vase is a result of Psiax influencing Epiktetos in some manner.<sup>89</sup> Certainly it is exceptional within his works.

As for the question of whether Epiktetos handles his black and red figure differently in terms of composition, for this we must turn to the tondos of his cups, since that is where his black figure is to be found. Epiktetos adapts his pictures to the circular field in several different ways, and these have been described in various ways. Kraiker, for example, divides them into dynamic designs, composed with regard to the line of the circle, and static, which are arranged horizontally and vertically. Hill points out three aspects of the artist's circular compositions which make them successful. These include arranging his figures to align with the frame, depicting actions which may reasonably be completed within the space of the circle, and using the circle as a ground line "in such a way that it seems to be a reasonable boundary line".91

Van der Grinten set out four different "schemes of composition"<sup>92</sup> which were generally used for cup tondos, and these he based on geometry. They do not all apply to the cup tondos in the period under discussion here, and tend to be unnecessarily complicated. His "regular pentagon" scheme,

<sup>86</sup>London 1929.11-11.1, ARV<sup>2</sup> 74, 35; fig. 160; London E35, ARV<sup>2</sup> 74, 38; fig. 228.

<sup>87</sup> Vatican 506, ARV<sup>2</sup> 73, 27; fig. 224; London E38, ARV<sup>2</sup> 73, 16; fig. 161.

 $<sup>88</sup>ARV^2$  p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>The vase is signed by Epiktetos as poietes. The illustrations I obtained were rather dark and undetailed, making it impractical for me to evaluate this possibility.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>Kraiker 1929 pp. 160, 164 - 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>Hill 1938 pp. 26 - 29.

<sup>92</sup>van der Grinten 1966 p. 13.

for example, is based on the idea that "important details of the scene coincide or are parallel with sides or diagonals of a regular pentagon inscribed in the circle of the medallion." But in fact this is an artificial category and the elements conforming to the lines of the pentagon vary a great deal; the only consistent one is the ground line of any particular tondo.

My approach is somewhat different to these and I find four different ways in which Epiktetos fills his circles in red figure. The first of these is to take a figure or pair of figures and pose them with arms and legs outstretched to broaden what is essentially a vertical element. Psiax takes the same approach on several of his black figure plates. One good example by Epiktetos is the red figure plate in London which is decorated with a running archer.<sup>94</sup> (Fig. 158) The archer's body fills the circle vertically while his outflung arms and legs break up the rest of the space.

The second way, which is a variation of the first, is to pose the figures as described above with the addition of other elements that echo the line of the circle. Because the addition of these curving lines results in a substantially different appearance from the tondos that do not have them, I class this method of dealing with the round field separately from the first one. The London cup with flute player and dancer inside takes this approach.<sup>95</sup> The outthrust elbow of the dancer and the raised hand in which she holds the krotala fill the space, while the line of the flute player's shoulders and the mantle draped over them, as well as the curving line of the dancer's leopard skin, all echo the circle.<sup>96</sup> (Fig. 161)

Another example of this arrangement, with just a single figure, is the red figure kylix in Ferrara.<sup>97</sup> (Fig. 229) The komast inside this cup is

<sup>93</sup>van der Grinten 1966 p. 13.

<sup>94</sup>London E135, ARV<sup>2</sup> 78, 93; fig. 158.

<sup>95</sup>London E38, ARV<sup>2</sup> 72, 16; fig. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>Hill points this out, Hill 1938 p. 27.

<sup>97</sup> Ferrara, Schifanoia 270, ARV<sup>2</sup> 75, 55; fig. 229.

running in a wide stride like the archer, one arm in front of him and the other behind. In one outstretched arm, the long drinking horn he holds has been curved to match the circle; the line of his back arm and the oinochoe he holds echo the circle on that side.

Epiktetos' third way of handling the circular space is to combine a standing figure to fill the space vertically with an animal or a bending person to fill it horizontally. Psiax also does this. A red figure plate of Epiktetos in London is decorated with a warrior standing behind a horse. (Fig. 230) Another example of this on a plate has a flute player standing with an older man behind him bending over. (Fig. 231) On this plate the line of the skyphos the man is reaching for echoes the line of the circle, but the horizontal and vertical elements are the most important for filling the space, and much more prominent than this curve, so I do not put the vase into a separate class.

The most intrinsically red figure way Epiktetos copes with filling the circle is to bend his figures over. In this position the line of their back and usually at least one arm echoes the circle, and by bending the space is also filled horizontally as well as the figure being represented on a larger scale than those the artist depicts upright. Arranging the bent figure with one arm behind also helps to fill the space. One example inside a cup has the Minotaur bending to pick up a rock.<sup>100</sup> (Fig. 232) The circle here is echoed by the lines of his back, neck and head and also the back arm. Another variation on the theme is a satyr, reclining back on a pillow, lifting an amphora to his mouth to drink.<sup>101</sup> (Fig. 233) The seam of the pillow and line of his back follow the circle, and so do the surface of the amphora and placement of his feet. He sits on quite a thick line, but this

<sup>98</sup>London E136, ARV<sup>2</sup> 78, 94; fig. 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>London E137, ARV<sup>2</sup> 78, 95; fig. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup>Athens, Akr. 68, ARV<sup>2</sup> 75, 62; fig. 232.

 $<sup>^{101}</sup>$ Baltimore, Johns Hopkins,  $ARV^2$  75, 56; fig. 233.

too is bent slightly to follow the circle by his weight, and his tail falls down below it to fill the space.

What makes this way of filling a circle red figure is the ease it implies in depicting the human figure in a position which is (for vase painting) an unusual one. Indeed, Epiktetos' depiction of the Minotaur this way is one of his few anatomically detailed representations, and it is a very good one, with the muscles having been adjusted for the twist in the animal's torso.

This is the only method of filling a tondo that Epiktetos does not use in his black figure. He uses the horizontal and vertical element combination for the rider and horse inside a bilingual cup.<sup>102</sup> (Fig. 152) In this scene the line of the horse's tail, his neck and front legs all echo the circle. A variation of this, which appears in his black figure but not in his red, is to allow a single animal to make up the vertical and horizontal elements without the addition of another figure. He shows a stag, for example, with its head raised and tilted back, so that its neck and head make up a vertical element and the ears and antlers fill the space above the animal's back.<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 234)

In black figure Epiktetos also uses the single figure with limbs flung out to fill the circle. A bilingual eye cup in Basle has a running satyr in the tondo.<sup>104</sup> (Fig. 153) He runs in a very wide stride indeed, with one foot up the curve of the circle, with one arm in front and one behind, and a drinking horn in each hand. The curve of his front arm echoes the line of the circle.

Although Epiktetos uses most of the same methods to fill a tondo in black figure as in red, the one he does not use in the older technique is the only one that involves a more complicated pose and realistic representation

 $<sup>^{102}</sup>$ London E3,  $ARV^2$  70, 3; fig. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>Orvieto, Faina 97, ARV<sup>2</sup> 70, 1; fig. 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>Basel BS 436, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1705, 6bis (once Arlesheim, Schweizer), fig. 153.

of the body. The bent, curving pose would be considerably less successful in the flat representations of black figure, and it seems that Epiktetos was aware of this fact.

#### Oltos

Like Epiktetos, Oltos is mainly a cup painter; of these, just less than half are eye cups, and the rest are without eyes. In addition to these many cups there are a few vases of other shapes attributed to the artist, including skyphoi, amphorae, a stamnos, and a psykter. These are vastly outnumbered by the cups, however. In fact the cups without eyes can be subdivided again. Some of them have palmette decoration beside the handles as well as beneath them. Although these palmettes do not extend as far into the body of the cup as the eyes do, they nevertheless significantly lessen the space available for decoration, and Oltos has developed a fairly standard kind of composition to deal with this space.

The artist's eye cups have generally been placed early in his career by Beazley, so I will discuss these briefly first before going on to Oltos' more complicated cups.<sup>105</sup> The space between the eyes is almost always filled by a single figure. The poses of these vary depending on the amount of space available between the eyes. On the bilingual eye cup in Bryn Mawr, for example, the space is wide, so Oltos draws a warrior leaping forward with a very wide stride.<sup>106</sup> (Fig. 127) On another cup in Bonn a wide space is filled by a horse with a man standing behind it.<sup>107</sup> (Fig. 120) This is an unusual example of more than one figure on an eye cup exterior. Generally, though, the space is narrower and adequately filled by a figure with arms outstretched to broaden it; the figure can be shown moving or in a more stationary pose.<sup>108</sup> (Figs. 119, 235)

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$ Beazley,  $ARV^2$  pp. 54 - 57.

<sup>106</sup>Brvn Mawr P2155, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1623, 23bis; fig. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>Bonn 464.24, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 31; fig. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup>Dancers: Hanover 1966.84, Para. 325, 26 bis; fig. 235; nereids, Bloomington 80.73 (once Castle Ashby),  $ARV^2$  55, 18; fig. 119; stationary athlete, Providence 25.076,  $ARV^2$  57, 44, Luce 1928 figs. 1 -

The artist's cups with the palmettes beside the handles are a step up from these single figures in terms of compositional complexity. The greater amount of space between the palmettes allows for the inclusion of more figures, and Oltos' usual way of filling the space is three figures. Often one of these, especially the central one, is elongated, such as a horse or team, a komast holding his mantle out behind him to fill space, or a reclining figure. (Figs. 113, 128, 236) Often they also have a significant amount of space between the figures, and although the people on the vases are interacting, there seems to be little overlap.

Sometimes these three figure compositions can be very symmetrical indeed. One example in Copenhagen shows a maenad flanked on each side by a satyr making the same gesture, and, on the other side of the vase, a fallen warrior whose crest marks the centre, with identical centaurs on either side. (Fig. 237) Sometimes, though, they are emphatically not symmetrical, although still reasonably balanced.

One such vase has a scene of a horse with a satyr on either side of him.<sup>111</sup> (Fig. 147) The body of the animal is not centred; the satyr behind him takes up a quite a bit of space, for he takes a big stride forward and both arms are outstretched, while the satyr in front of the animal holds out a wine skin and appears to be pushed up against an invisible edge despite the empty space at his back. Another off centre composition shows two warriors taking broad strides to the right, while the third, who faces them, is pushed back towards the palmette.<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 149) Although symmetry can be a consideration on these cups, it does not have to be an overriding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>Horse: Louvre F128,  $ARV^2$  58, 50; fig. 128; horse and drapery (opposite sides) Florence 81061,  $ARV^2$  64, 96; fig. 236; team of horses with chariot, Florence 3923,  $ARV^2$  61, 72, CVA Florence 3 pl. 73; warriors with shields held out, Basel BS 459, Para. 327, 50bis; fig. 149; reclining figure, Copenhagen 2700,  $ARV^2$  63, 93; fig. 113.

 $<sup>^{110}</sup>$ Copenhagen 13407,  $ARV^2$  59, 57; fig. 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>Louvre F128, ARV<sup>2</sup> 58, 50; fig. 147.

<sup>112</sup> Basel BS 459, Para. 327, 50bis; fig. 149.

one, and I suspect that Oltos may have done these two particular examples off centre because he wanted to experiment with the poses of the pushed back figures; the satyr with the wine skin, for example, has quite a bit of anatomical detail visible in his stomach muscles.

Oltos' most elaborate compositions of all come on some of his cups with little subsidiary decoration beyond palmettes. These compositions are much fuller than the ones described above, with less space between the figures, and are much more imaginative in subject matter as well. The artist seems to have been focussing more creative energy on these particular vases.

On one such vase in the Ashmolean, for example, Oltos has depicted Antiope being carried off.<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 138) Theseus carries her in his arms and is rushing towards a waiting chariot while the Amazon looks back and gestures. The scene continues on the other side of the handles, as a warrior sounds a trumpet and Amazons rush up on horseback. The side with Antiope actually being carried off is not very symmetrical; although the body of the charioteer is over the stem of the vase marking the centre of the scene, there is a disproportionate number of figures on the right as compared to the left. The other side of the vase is more symmetrical, with a horseback Amazon on either side of a warrior, and another warrior at each end. In fact this vase is rather exceptional in its asymmetry; most of Oltos' more elaborate cups are composed in a more balanced way.

The most elaborate cup of all by this artist, in Tarquinia, shows the gods feasting on one side and Dionysos stepping into a chariot on the other, presumably to attend the gathering.<sup>113</sup> (Fig. 140) The assembly scene is a quiet, orderly one arranged with perfect symmetry. Ganymede is at the centre of the scene, with three seated gods on either side of him. Each of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>Oxford 1927.4065, ARV<sup>2</sup> 62, 77; fig. 138.

<sup>113</sup>Tarquinia RC 6848, ARV<sup>2</sup> 60, 66; fig. 140

the divine figures is holding something and they are individualized by attribute as well as labels. On the extreme right Aphrodite and Ares look back towards the Dionysiac procession. This is not symmetrical like the assembly is, emphasizing the contrast between the orderly gods and riotous Dionysiac scene, which includes maenads brandishing animals and satyrs piping.

The Tarquinia cup is the most elaborate by Oltos. It is exceptional not just in the clever contrast of compositions, but also in the detailed and realistic drapery (which is patterned for extra richness) and other details such as the variety of head dresses worn by the goddesses, the different types of stools and chairs, and the varying objects each holds. In fact these cups with very little subsidiary decoration generally have much more complicated compositions with more figures, and much greater detail in all sorts of ways, than the artist's eye cups or palmette cups.

In fact size also appears to be an occasional factor in the complexity of these cups. The Tarquinia cup has a height of 22.5 cm and a diameter of 52 cm.<sup>115</sup> In contrast with these dimensions, the plainer cups by Oltos have considerably smaller dimensions, especially in the diameter of the bowl. A cup in Florence, for example, is 12 cm tall with a diameter of 33 cm;<sup>116</sup> another is Paris is 14 cm tall and 32 cm in diameter.<sup>117</sup> With the Tarquinia cup, therefore, Oltos had considerably more room for all of this detail and elaboration.

There are some other vases by Oltos which I would class as being particularly elaborate in their decoration. A cup in Berlin with complex scenes on both sides has a diameter of 38 cm.<sup>118</sup> The one in Oxford depicting Theseus carrying off Antiope is a similar size, 32.8 cm in

<sup>115</sup>CVA Tarquinia 1 text to pl. 2 and 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup>Florence 3923, ARV<sup>2</sup> 61, 72, CVA Florence 3 text to pl. 73.

 $<sup>^{117}</sup>$ Louvre F128,  $ARV^2$  58, 50, CVA Louvre 10 text to pl. 3.3 - 6.

<sup>118</sup>Berlin 2264, ARV<sup>2</sup> 62, 77, Bruhn 1943 figs. 5 - 7; Bruhn 1943 p. 11.

diameter.<sup>119</sup> Size is apparently not a consistently important factor in terms of which cups were specially decorated. The Tarquinia cup is an exception in size as well as its very detailed decoration.

I should also point out that not all of Oltos' cups with handle palmettes only are decorated in his grand style. There are some which, despite their lack of filling ornamentation, are still quite simply decorated. One such cup is in Copenhagen, decorated with Herakles and Kyknos on one side and Theseus and the Minotaur on the other. 120 (Fig. 114) On each side the central group in flanked by pairs of horses. Despite this larger number of figures, this vase is not part of the artist's grand style because of its lack of detail. There is little anatomical detail on any of the figures and on Herakles' lion skin only the mane is dotted. There is also little detail in the few garments worn. Another cup in Berlin is similar.<sup>121</sup> (Fig. 115) A four figure composition on one side, of Herakles battling the Amazons, shares the lack of detail with the exception of the spotted suit worn by one of the Amazons. The other side is an equally undetailed depiction of the hero's chariot. Although these vases have slightly fewer figures than those in the grand style, it seems to me that a more important difference is the absence of fine or elaborate folds of drapery or many details at all.

All of these observations seem to indicate that Oltos has two distinctly different ways of decorating his vases.<sup>122</sup> His everyday style is pleasing but quite simple and features little detail. His grand style, in contrast, features varied and innovative compositions and subjects which can be shown in very rich, realistic detail. The division between the two is quite a clear one for the most part.<sup>123</sup>

 $<sup>^{119}</sup>$ Oxford 1927.4065,  $ARV^2$  62, 77, Bruhn 1943 p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>Copenhagen 3877, ARV<sup>2</sup> 63, 87; fig. 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup>Berlin 2263, ARV<sup>2</sup> 62, 85; fig. 115.

<sup>122</sup>The idea of a grand style by this artist was first suggested to me by Dr. E.A. Moignard.

<sup>123</sup> Bruhn 1943 hints at this when she refers to the artist's "great work", p. 16.

As for his decoration of the circular tondos inside these cups, there is little difference in this between the two techniques of vase painting. His favourite pose in both is a running one, with a figure taking a wide stride. Often, also, both arms are outstretched, sometimes with one bent sharply at the elbow, the other somewhat straighter but still bent slightly. Occasionally some element on these figures echoes the circle to some degree, but this is a much less prominent part of Oltos' cup tondos than those of Epiktetos, and somehow strikes me as being accidental rather than deliberate. On the Bloomington cup, for example, the line of Hermes' arm to his elbow and the hem of his mantle are both gently curved, but somehow not an obvious echo of the circle.<sup>124</sup> (Fig. 119)

Oltos' almost constant use of various props also help a great deal in filling the circular space in red figure as in black. These are quite often long and thin; his warriors, for example, carry spears or swords in addition to their shields. (Fig. 235) He also includes trumpets (Fig. 127), 126 a stretched sling, 127 and once, for Poseidon, a trident and a fish. 128 (Fig. 237) These sorts of objects are quite effective in breaking up large areas of space.

Another way in which Oltos tries to fill his cup tondi is with figures who bend over slightly. This is related to the way Epiktetos shows bent figures to fill the same space. Although those of Epiktetos are bent more deeply, and seem to be more successfully depicted, the idea behind the pose is the same. Unfortunately, some of the figures Oltos shows in this way have very rounded shoulders and look rather hunchbacked.<sup>129</sup> (Figs. 114,

 $<sup>^{124}</sup>$ Bloomington 80.73, once Castle Ashby,  $ARV^2$  55, 18; fig. 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup>Sword, Hanover 1966.84, *Para.* 325, 26bis; fig. 235; spear, Oxford 515, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 56, 27; *CVA* Oxford 1 pl. 1.1.

 $<sup>^{126}</sup>$ Bryn Mawr P - 2155,  $ARV^2$  1023, 23bis; fig. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup>London 1896.6 - 21.3, ARV<sup>2</sup> 56, 25, Walters 1921 p. 118 fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup>Copenhagen 13407, ARV<sup>2</sup> 59, 57; fig. 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup>Copenhagen 3877,  $ARV^2$  63, 87; fig. 114; Munich 2606,  $ARV^2$  64, 102; fig. 238; less hunchbacked, Berlin 2263,  $ARV^2$  62, 85; fig. 34; Munich 2618,  $ARV^2$  61, 74; fig. 238.

115, 238) Epiktetos does seem to be more at ease depicting the human body this way.

Among the larger vases decorated by Oltos are two psykters. Both of these are decorated in frieze style. On the one in New York is a scene of athletes with their trainer.<sup>129</sup> (Fig. 239) They have a thick ground line to stand on and seem to be shown in fairly simple poses and spaced quite far apart. The other psykter, one of my favourite vases, is decorated with a circle of warriors riding dolphins and singing, "on a dolphin".<sup>130</sup> (Fig. 240) Their ground line is higher, and probably represents the line to which the psykter would be visible when filled with wine and set in a krater. On these figures too there is little overlap, although they are placed much more closely together than the athletes.

In decorative terms Oltos treats his Nikosthenic amphorae as very complex eye cups. Instead of eyes the edges of the scenes are delineated by palmettes, and between each is a unified group of figures. One shows the centaur Chiron with the infant Achilles sitting on his hand.<sup>131</sup> (Fig. 241) Another depicts a maenad being harassed by a satyr.<sup>132</sup> Although there are two figures technically, the satyr is on his knees, partly hidden by the maenad, and a much smaller figure due to the maenad's voluminous drapery; the effect is of a single figure instead. Oltos' stamnos is treated in a similar manner, with Herakles and Acheloos intertwined.<sup>133</sup>

On his belly amphorae Oltos dispensed with the palmettes and slipped the vase black, reserving only the edges of the handles.<sup>134</sup> (Fig. 141) Here we have just a single figure on each side, but the amount of detail on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup>New York 10.210.18, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 7,; fig. 239.

<sup>130</sup>Epi delphinos; Kings Point, Schimmell Coll., ARV<sup>2</sup> 1622, 7bis; fig. 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup>Louvre G3, ARV<sup>2</sup> 53, 1; fig. 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup>Louvre G2, ARV<sup>2</sup> 53, 2, Bruhn 1943 fig. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup>London E437, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 5, Boardman 1975a fig. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup>London E258, ARV<sup>2</sup> 54, 4; fig. 141.

garments of Briseis as well as Achilles' armour puts these figures in the grand style.

Oltos seems to have been little interested in defining and decorating panels, probably due to his focus on cups, where this kind of decoration was not particularly practical. Even on the cups where he does use a number of figures that would be practical in a panel, he often spaces them out so that they still constitute a procession. Although some of his compositions are symmetrical, his more detailed, complicated ones are often less so. He is not innovative when it comes to decorating his tondi; most of these follow a single, simple type.

### **Conclusions**

Although red figure and black figure can be quite different compositionally, this shift appears first in the vases of Exekias, despite his work being largely before the appearance of the new technique. He is comfortable putting just two, or even one, figures in a panel or between handles of his neck amphorae, although some of his compositions are extremely crowded. The Andokides Painter and Psiax continue to give individual figures plenty of space around them. Oltos and Epiktetos continue this practice; Oltos even decorates one vase with just a single figure on each side of an otherwise black vase. These two artists, however, also decorate some vases with more complicated scenes, especially battles and Dionysiac revels. The improved realism of the new technique means that these are no longer dark or difficult to decipher.

Artistically the few figures of Exekias create different effects than those of red figure artists. His Ajax carrying the body of Achilles is isolated by its solitude; his Achilles and Ajax allows superb decoration of their garments. In red figure the space given to figures spotlights them and their realistic qualities. Although some of Exekias' compositions are symmetrical, many of his most interesting ones are not, and this too is a

departure from previous black figure. The movement away from strictly symmetrical compositions to ones that are simply balanced, and occasionally obviously not balanced, is not an overwhelming one that takes over vase painting completely. It does allow artists more freedom, however, and has a much stronger presence in red figure than it does in black figure before Exekias. It has taken Athenian artists a long time to separate themselves from the rigidity of Geometric and Corinthian pottery and allow themselves more freedom, and Exekias seems to have been instrumental in the process.

# Chapter 12: Conclusion

Although discussion of garment patterning in Athenian pottery has been limited to brief and general mentions in previous literature, detailed examination of both black and red figured pottery reveals that general opinion on how it changes in early red figure is correct. The patterning of garments is much more frequent and intense in black figure than it is in red. In addition, general opinion about the decrease in use of added colour as red figure develops is also accurate; this becomes a much less important part of the new technique than it was of the old one.

Despite garment patterning becoming an intrinsic and essential part of Attic black figure, it is important to note that it does not appear on the vases which are generally accepted to be the very earliest examples of this type. Garments on these vases are generally either left plain black or painted completely red without any extra adornment. Although garment patterning appears on vases decorated by the second generation of artists working in Attic black figure, it is only on the vases produced by the artists who follow them, such as Kleitias and the C Painter, that methods of patterning reach the higher levels of complexity that become quite standard.

The earliest Attic black figure does not have any garment patterning; it appears with the second generations of artists such as the Gorgon Painter and Sophilos. The use of trims and overall decoration both appear at about the same time, and the earliest overall decoration differs from what becomes standard for black figure. The more standard decoration appears in the third generation, with artists such as Kleitias and the C Painter.

Lydos is in the fourth generation, and he has strong favourites in the motifs he uses. He has a preference for incised motifs and uses a greater

variety of these, but he also uses substantial amounts of added colour over unusually large areas. His use of scales over large areas may reflect Corinthian influence, for it is better established and seems to have appeared earlier in vases decorated in this style. Lydos is generally old fashioned in other ways as well, and his focus on trims on garments is part of this. He uses grids to decorate garment infrequently and often on vases which are unusual in other ways.

The Princeton Painter uses a much smaller variety of trim motifs than Lydos and is much less focused on trim decorations generally. He still uses substantial amounts of added red, but tends not to paint whole garments red as Lydos does; those that he does paint completely red are of a small area. Neither does he use grids or scales to decorate whole garments; he is not particularly interested in elaborate or careful incision, and it tends to be slightly careless in execution.

The Euphiletos Painter uses motifs of added colour as well as incision and seems to have no particular preference between the two; he does use simple incised motifs more often than elaborate ones, however. Grids are infrequent on his vases; he uses incised folds instead, and sometimes paints alternate folds red. The motifs he favours are well suited to placement between folds by their fairly small size, which fits with his chronological position at about the time red figure appears.

The Lysippides Painter prefers incised motifs to those executed by added colour; the distance between his preferred motifs and those he uses less often is not as great as for some other artists. He uses grids much more often than these other artists, but also scatters motifs without the framework of a grid as well as placing them between folds or leaving folds plain. He uses added colour in much the same places as other black figure artists, although rarely for whole garments. The general trend on his vases

seems to be towards less added colour than earlier black figure artists have used, perhaps due to his proximity to red figure.

The Lysippides Painter and the Euphiletos Painter both start work well after Group E, but both share the focus on incised motifs, the Lysippides Painter particularly strongly. Exekias, beginning work after Lydos, the Amasis Painter, and Group E, is not unique in his interest in incised motifs, but the numbers of garments he decorates with grids as well as the complexity and density of much of his ornamentation are unique among the black figure artists I studied. The inclination towards incision shared by the Lysippides Painter and the Euphiletos Painter may be a reflection of Exekian influence. Although some aspects of Exekias' work may proceed from Group E, his unique patterning is not one of them.

The Amasis Painter's use of outline on a number of female figures on different vases is somewhat problematic; the details on these vases do not give clues as to whether these figures foreshadow the appearance of red figure or post-date it. However, the fact that all but one of these figures appear in a Dionysiac context may indicate that the outline technique was still rather unorthodox, and that therefore these examples predate red figure. Nevertheless, the Amasis Painter's work is rather old fashioned, and so his outline figures may be a reflection of some earlier vases with outline females even though they appear not too long before red figure does.

The Amasis Painter's very strong preference for dots and the dot rosette appears to be part of his general predilection for added colour. His use of this becomes more flexible in his middle period as compared to his earlier vases, and at the time he also seems to use slightly more added colour, perhaps because he tends to paint larger areas of garments red or white at this time On later vases he goes back to stripes and dots instead, perhaps because folds were becoming both more common and more

realistic on garments at this time, and these were not consistent with garments painted all one colour.

Exekias and the Amasis Painter are both quite exceptional in their patterning practices. Exekias' elaborate patterns have been recognised as unique in Athenian vase painting for a long time. Now this study of how other black figure artists use patterning reveals that there are other aspects of his patterning in which he is unique among black figure artists, namely his frequent use of incised motifs as well as his constant use of grid patterning to decorate garments. Both of these factors play an important part in creating the dense, complicated patterning which is one of the very special elements of his vase painting. The Amasis Painter is also very different from other artists, but in the opposite direction from Exekias; namely, in his lack of gridded garments and his infrequent use of incised motifs, he is also separate from the general practices of black figure.

Exekias and the Amasis Painter are very different in patterning despite the chronological overlap of their careers. Where the Amasis Painter prefers added colour, Exekias is very focused on incised motifs, and uses more elaborate motifs than the Amasis Painter as well as a substantially greater variety of them. Exekias also depicts many gridded garments, many more than the Amasis Painter, and is much more concerned with patterning and pure ornamentation. He often uses colour to complement his incision and uses it much less often over large areas of garments than the Amasis Painter. One exception, a wholly red chlamys worn by Kastor on a vase depicting him with Polydeukes, may be a deliberate reference to the hero's military associations in Sparta. Exekias' applications of colour over large areas like horses or certain garments often help clarify a vase painting by their placement. The heavy patterning Exekias favours is not compatible with elaborate folds on garments, because it requires a flat surface, but there are a few figures which indicate that he was aware of developments in drapery depiction which were occurring towards the end of his career.

Like Exekias, Group E prefers incised motifs over those involving added colour, and this separates them from other black figure artists who use many more motifs with added colour, namely Lydos and the Princeton Painter, but is more comparable with the Euphiletos Painter and Lysippides Painter, both of whom are thought to begin work some years after Group E finishes. Despite the connections between Exekias and Group E, and Beazley's description of the group as "the soil from which the art of Exekias springs", it appears that his distinctive patterning is an aspect of his art which Exekias has not taken from Group E. The two use some motifs which are the same, but Exekias uses overall patterning much more often than Group E, and also displays different preferences, in addition to using a much greater variety of motifs as his favourites. One aspect of their patterning which is different from some of the other black figure artists whose work I examined is the large number of motifs both use, but this appears to be the main link between them.

The Andokides Painter's red figure displays a number of general ways in which it resembles black figure as well as some specific details. Many of these are unique among red figure artists; some of them are shared. His general tendencies include his extensive use of added red, his use of incision, and his application of undilute slip. Some of these appear to have been applied unconsciously, others deliberately. His anatomical detail also appears to be rather tentative on certain vases, especially in comparison with others which seem to be later. His depiction of women, especially on his early vases, is like the Amasis Painter's in his lack of alterations to reflect the female form; later on, though, they do begin to look more feminine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Beazley 1932 p. 4.

Many of the patterns the Andokides Painter uses to decorate garments appear to have been transferred from incision in black figure to execution in slip for red figure. The linear ones are particularly suitable to this. Interestingly, his garments appear to be something of a bridging element between red and black figure. Some of them have intense, close patterns and a flat appearance; others have some initially clumsy attempts at folds with scattered decoration between them. Some garments, in fact, have both on separate parts, an apparent blending of black figure practice with red figure possibility.

The Andokides Painter is the only red figure artist among those examined who uses grids to decorate garments, as well as heavy patterning. He appears to be the first and last red figure artist to do so. This is another aspect of his work which puts him closer to black figure than any other early red figure artists, and more evidence that he may be the creator of the new technique.

Because artistic preferences in terms of patterning motifs seem to be such an individual aspect of the works of these artists, especially Exekias, it seems possible that comparing this aspect of their work may help answer questions about the existence of relationships between certain artists. That a connection exists between Exekias and the Andokides Painter has been evident from similarities in subject matter as well as drawing. These two artists, however, use very different motifs as well as having different frequency of use.

Despite the ongoing problem of the identity of the Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter, a question which will probably never be conclusively answered, a comparison of their patterning practices points to the existence of two artists rather than one. Although they use the same number of motifs, they have different preferences, and each uses motifs which the other does not. The Andokides Painter prefers motifs which are

smaller and simpler than the Lysippides Painter's favourites, such as dots, the dotted cross and the pyramidal triple dot, as opposed to rings, spirals, and crosses. These finer motifs are better suited to use between folds, whereas the Lysippides Painter's preferred motifs are ideal for use in gridded decoration. The Andokides Painter also uses more motifs which require careful brushwork to create, and these are also better adapted to red figure than black, as they are much more prominent and visible in the newer technique than the old one due to their execution in black on a light ground.

One unusual aspect of the vase decoration of Psiax, another early artist, which may have some relevance to the question of how red figure moves away from black figure, is his application of incision. Like the Andokides Painter, he uses it to contour the black hair of figures and separate it from the black ground of the vase. He is thought to have started work after the Andokides Painter, so his continuation of this practice indicates some links with black figure.

More unexpected is Psiax's application of incision for other details, including folds of drapery and the anatomical details of two horses. An examination of Psiax's red figure indicates that he was apparently not using the incision as a direct substitute for slip, nor was he transferring incision directly from black figure. Instead he seems to have been experimenting with it, something he did in other ways as well, for he also decorates a cup with the bowl painted coral, and vases in white ground and Six's technique.

In his black figure Psiax uses red and white in much the same way as black figure artists do before the appearance of the new technique. In particular, he applies white paint to a number of garments, which tend to be chitoniskoi or long chitons which are partly hidden by other garments or by horses. In earlier black figure white often appears over larger areas of garments which are not so strategically concealed.

He uses added colour differently in red figure, where it appears less often than in his black figure as well as for details which are more minor. White appears rarely and for the smallest of objects, such as a kylix and a double flute. The Andokides Painter appears to use red for details much more often than Psiax does and also for more varied details.

Psiax uses a much smaller number of motifs than any of the black figure artists examined earlier, and these he always makes very small in his black figure, whether or not they are between folds. There is not a single grid on any of the black figure vases I examined. He uses about the same number of motifs in his red figure, but the motifs themselves are different even though some of them appear to be equally well suited to both techniques of pottery decoration. The patterning appears considerably less often in his red figure compared to his black, despite his use of about the same numbers of motifs. He also treats garments differently in the two techniques; occasionally in his black figure flat garments appear, but these are not visible in his red figure. It is also true that there are some sophisticated depictions of drapery on vases of both types. Psiax's showiest, most complicated poses appear on his red figure vases, although for the most part these tend to be simpler; Psiax appears to be more interested in representing complicated drapery than anatomical detail.

Oltos uses red paint in his red figure mainly for linear details, with just a few exceptions. His consistent use of colour this way throughout his career seems to indicate that ease of execution is an important reason for it. In black figure he uses red for larger details as well as decorating garments. A number of vases on which alternating folds are painted red appear to be early, and his liberal use of the colour in black figure makes a strong contrast to the fine, occasional details for which he uses it in red figure. He uses added white in both techniques as well; it is rare in his red figure and more prominent in his black.

There is some difference between the motifs Oltos uses in the two different techniques; he uses a greater variety of motifs in red figure although his favourites are the same for both. In spite of this, the patterning of garments is more frequent in his black figure than his red. His unusual use of single motifs on flat areas such as chitoniskos skirts is more frequent in red figure and appears just once in black, although it is more at home in the older technique. His most elaborate depictions of folds are superbly executed but his use of over - large motifs between very fine folds detracts from their realism.

Oltos depicts slightly more garments with folds in red figure than black on his bilinguals. In black figure he consistently patterns his flat garments, but never with a grid, although the motifs he uses can be arranged quite regularly. He also, on his bilinguals, tends to depict more garments in black figure than red. In the newer technique he depicts many more unclothed figures, at least on the bilinguals. On the rest of Oltos' red figure vases the discrepancy between flat garments and those with folds is even greater; there are three times as many with folds compared to only a twenty percent difference on the red figure sides of the bilinguals. His developed red figure also displays much more complex drapery than the earlier vases.

In fact Oltos seems to be more interested in the depiction of varied drapery than in complex anatomical detail. A number of vases indicate that he was aware of development in details such as foreshortening, as well as the work of the Pioneers, but he implements them only rarely, while he depicts complicated drapery more often.

Epiktetos also displays differences in his handling of red figure and black figure. He includes more anatomical detail on the black figure sides of his bilinguals, although in a rather sketchy manner. The red figure people on the bilingual vases have much less anatomical detail as well as being rather awkwardly posed. Even so, the red figure people are much more carefully executed.

Epiktetos employs patterns in addition to folds on only five of the vases examined. Only one of these is red figure, and that is a flat, foreign archer's suit which requires patterning for its lack of folds, and indeed is a type of garment which is always patterned. The black figure examples are clumsy and not especially successful in helping to lighten the garments.

Another way in which Epiktetos differentiates between red figure and black is in his application of added colour. Some of his black figure scenes are enhanced with lavish applications, others are more restrained. Both small details and larger areas are executed with colour, although the details appear more often. The only detail in red figure for which Epiktetos regularly uses added colour is the garland. Exceptions include small touches such as a red bow and a satyr's tail. No white paint appears on any of the red figure vases examined.

Epiktetos tends to take a red figure approach to his depictions of folds even in black figure; he depicts fine, closely spaced folds and does not add any red to them. They tend to be fluid and realistically executed. There are few garments with extensive flat areas in his vase painting.

Another question which arises when it becomes apparent that frequency of garment patterning decreases in early red figure is whether or not any other factors, such as vase size, affect where patterning is exploited by artists. The Andokides Painter's smallest vase, for example, has the least complex patterning of all his vases examined, probably at least partly because it is a cup where his other vases are amphorae, which present a larger field as well as a flatter one.

There is actually less patterning on some of Psiax's larger vases as compared to his smaller ones, but his most detailed and varied draperies are on his largest vases, the amphorae. These probably lack patterning

because the folds are so complicated, and the correlation instead appears to be between vase size and folds, with patterning a subsidiary element.

Unlike Psiax, some of Oltos' most elaborate depictions of folds also include patterning, in some cases overly large and therefore clumsy motifs. Often on Oltos' bilinguals the only patterning is on the black figure tondo, probably due to technique as well as field size. The two vases on which the most elaborate garment patterning by Oltos appears are both large but they are also exceptional in more ways than just the application of patterning.

Epiktetos' most elaborate patterns occur on animal hides, and these occur on larger fields such as cup tondos as well as the smaller area on the exterior of the cups. Those on the outside of cups, however, appear in conjunction with more complicated compositions, with many figures as opposed to the single figures on his eye cups.

The elements of composition and arrangement of figures, like colour and patterning, seem to change in early red figure. To sort out the change it is also necessary to examine black figure vase painters, in order to develop an understanding of the elements which change. Lydos, for example, arranges his pictures symmetrically, but he does not always centre them on the vase. His compositions tend to be crowded and he uses filling elements such as birds to reduce gaps. On his plates he uses short figures to fill the circular field rather than adapting poses of the figures.

The Amasis Painter also tends to use symmetrical compositions, but more often he also centres them on the vase panel, instead of offsetting them to the left slightly. He only rarely uses filling elements and his figures interact to a greater extent than those of Lydos, as well as being posed in a more complicated manner. He solves the problems of tondos by avoiding figural decoration inside them. The Princeton Painter's panels tend to be crowded and confusing, and often rather static, with the

exceptions of his battle scenes and the shoulder friezes on his vases, for these latter have more space between the figures and also more movement.

Group E decorate vases with both friezes and panels, and these too are very symmetrical. Their subjects are innovative, but their Dionysiac scenes lack the liveliness apparent in those of some other artists.

Some of Exekias' compositions are especially spacious; one neck amphora is decorated with only two figures on each side. Others are extremely crowded and complicated, but for the most part balance is an important factor in his compositions. On a few vases he produces some very unbalanced decoration and these tend to be exceptional in their subject matter as well. His single cup has no tondo inside, nor a ground line, but various elements echo the circle; this is very different both from what preceded it in terms of decoration in a circular format, and also different from much of what follows it.

Red figure compositions can be very different from their black figure predecessors. An examination of how black figure artists compose vase panels reveals that Exekias is exceptional among them; even though some of his compositions are very crowded, he is also comfortable using a single figure on one side of a vase, allowing empty space around it. He appears also to have been responsible for the move away from strict symmetry that had been a dominating element in black figure vase painting. His eye cup with the ship of Dionysos suspended inside also introduces the idea of composing for a circle, where earlier black figure artists had used exergues and figures of different heights to fill the space, or avoided the problem altogether with gorgoneia and designs of rings and glaze dots. Although it is the red figure artists who follow him who perfect circular compositions, by exploiting the increased realism available to them, Exekias is responsible for the beginning of the movement.

The Lysippides Painter decorates some vases with exceptional compositions and others in a very ordinary way. These generally tend to be quite symmetrical, but in a less rigid way than earlier black figure vases. Some of his panels echo very similar red figure compositions by the Andokides Painter, but generally are slightly different.

While some of the Lysippides Painter's compositions are crowded, the Andokides Painter's always seem to be uncrowded, spacious and clear. Even so, they can be very symmetrical. Vases with more than four figures are unusual in his work, and the openness of his vase panels is quite different from much of earlier black figure.

Balance as opposed to symmetry is the most important factor on Psiax's vases. Like the Andokides Painter, he uses fewer figures than most black figure artists tend to, with some three figure panels. Psiax's most crowded compositions are black figure, and in several black figure Dionysiac scenes he has employed leafy branches to fill empty space, a convention which is not as prominent in red figure generally. When he has to fill a round space, he uses poses and props to broaden a figure.

Balance again is important on Epiktetos' vases; especially on the cups decorated with multi - figure compositions. He adapts to the circular field of a tondo filling the circle in four different ways; these involve variations in pose and the use of props. The only one of these which does not also appear in his black figure is the single bent figure, which relies on a complicated pose and realistic depiction of the body, a kind of realism which is not as feasible in black figure as in red.

Oltos regularly uses three figure compositions to help fill the areas between palmettes on some of his cups; he accomplishes this by elongating the central one. His more elaborate compositions can be very sophisticated indeed, and some of these are very detailed, other much less so. To fill tondos he tends to use a combination of pose, such as a wide stride, and

elongated props; occasionally he also depicts bent figures, in much the same way Epiktetos does, but these are much less successful than the other artist's depictions.

Although the tables of patterns reveal that black figure artists have individual preferences when it comes to how often they use motifs, they also reveal that many motifs are shared by most of the artists. Despite individual preferences, general trends are apparent in these same numbers. Earlier artists such as Lydos and the Princeton Painter display a balance between incision and added colour in terms of the motifs they favour. The Amasis Painter starts work at about the same time Lydos does, but shows a much greater interest in the use of motifs involving added colour. Group E, on the other hand, starts work at about the same time as these two, but prefers incised motifs.

After the Andokides Painter, the pattern motifs used by early red figure artists change dramatically in type as well as frequency, and a decline is visible through the works of artists who appear to be successively later. Psiax, Oltos and Epiktetos each use patterns on garments less often, until with Epiktetos the abandonment of patterning is almost complete, and it appears on just a few of his black figure cup tondos. Epiktetos also uses very few motifs compared to these slightly earlier artists. The tables of patterning, for the first time, allow a detailed examination of exactly how patterning changes as red figure begins to develop.

In addition to these changes in patterning, what has become apparent is that early red figure artists who decorate bilingual vases treat the two techniques of vase decoration differently. The motifs they use in black figure tend to be different from those on red figure garments. As well as patterning more black figure garments (in fact Epiktetos patterns only garments represented in this technique), these artists also tend to represent

black figures as being clothed more often, whereas red figures are more often naked.

These early red figure artists are handling the two techniques of vase painting separately, responding to the different requirements and possibilities of each. The lingering use of elements such as added colour in red figure is therefore not necessarily an indication of any particular links with the older technique, but may be mainly due to small objects being easier to paint than to reserve. The consistent differentiation between red and black figure demonstrates that no matter what their origins were, these artists quickly began treating the two techniques differently.

#### Appendix 1: Summary of garment patterning by Lydos (based on table 1)

Overall motifs

dot rosette 40 red dots 17 cross with v's 17 scales 9

Total: 4 motifs

Motifs for both

meander 6 squares 6 rings 5 plain grid 4

Total: 4 motifs

Total number of motifs: 22

Wholly gridded garments: 9 Garments with gridded stripes: 6

Vases included in counts: 55 Vases examined but not in counts: 24

Total vases examined: 79

**Band** motifs

herringbone 52 fine white dots 26 vertical zig zags 20 incised dots 15 guilloche 15

interlocking v's 14

cross 11 crescents 7 horizontal zig zag line 8 wavy vertical line 6 wavy horizontal line 6

dotted cross 1 crossed square 1

Total: 14 motifs

#### Appendix 2: Summary of garment patterning by the Princeton Painter (based on table 2)

Overall motifs

dot rosette 32 dot 13 incised cross 7 scales 6 diagonal grid 2

Total: 5 motifs

Total of different motifs: 10

Partially gridded garments: 9 Wholly gridded garments: 0

Vases in counts: 16 Vases examined: 19 **Band** motifs

fine dot 52 vertical zig zag 7 dash 4 guilloche 1 diagonal lines 1

Total: 5 motifs

# Appendix 3: Summary of garment patterning by the Euphiletos Painter (based on table 3)

**Band** motifs Overall motifs dots 15 fine dots 6 incised cross 11 guilloche 5 rings 10 crescents 2 groups of dots 6 hook 2 dot rosette 6 diamonds 1 dotted cross 6 zig zag line 1 cross with v's 2 curly cross 2 Total: 6 motifs

Total: 9 motifs

Total different motifs: 15 (three variations on dots)

Wholly gridded garments: 0 Partially gridded garments: 3

Vases examined: 21 Vases in counts: 19

# Appendix 4: Summary of garment patterning by the Lysippides Painter (based on table 4)

Overall motifs

rings 12
plain cross 8
spiral 7
dot rosette 6
dots 4
swastika 4
six petal flower 4
dotted cross 2
petal cross 2
dot square 2
incised square 2
incised ovals 2
meander 1

Band/trim motifs

wavy line 16 spiral line 7 dots 6 crenellated line 4 zig zag line 4 ring 2 meander 2

Total: 7 motifs

Total: 14 motifs

cross with v 1

Total different motifs: 19

Wholly gridded garments: 16

Gridded stripes: 3

Vases examined and in counts: 27

#### Appendix 5: Summary of garment patterning by the Amasis Painter (based on table 5)

Overall motifs

(Various dots 104) dot rosette 76 large red dot 51 cross 40 medium red dot 39 dotted cross 20 pyramidal triple dot 14 vertical wavy lines 13 fine red dot 11 cross with v's 7 spiral 4 colour lines 3 medium white dots 3

**Band** motifs

incised dot/dash 196 fine white dot 63 vertical zig zag 37 horizontal zig zag 20 interlocking v's 13 rings 10 horizontal wavy line 1 herringbone 1

Total: 8 motifs

**Total**: 14 motifs (four dot variations)

Overall total of motifs: 22 (five variations on dots)

Overall grids: 4 Gridded stripes: 6

crescent 1 incised cross 1

Vases in counts: 73

Vases examined but not in counts: 25

Total vases examined: 98

#### Appendix 6: Summary of garment patterning by Group E (based on table 6)

#### Overall motifs

scales 18
cross 13
dot rosette 7
cross with v's
dotted cross 3
red dot 3
diagonal grid 3
meander 3
pyramidal triple dot 2
incised square 2
dot circle 1
boxed s 1

Total: 12 motifs

Total different motifs: 25

Number of grids: 8

Vases included in counts: 42

#### **Band motifs**

incised dash 29
incised dot 26
fine white dot 26
horizontal zig zag 13
vertical zig zag 11
herringbone 9
spiral 6
ring 6
slash 3
crescent 2
arrow 1
horizontal wavy line 1
crenellated line 1

Total: 13 motifs

#### Appendix 7: Summary of garment patterning by Exekias (based on table 7)

#### Overall motifs

ring 23
dot ring 16
meander 14
cross with v's 14
square 10
cross 9
red dots 7
dotted cross 5
incised v 4
scales 3
Macedonian star 3
petal cross 3

Total: 12

Total different motifs: 21

Number of grids: 49

Vases examined: 20

#### **Band** motifs

horizontal zig zag line 38 fine white dot 36 meander 30 vertical zig zags 15 spiral 5 wavy line 3 ring 2 interlocking zig zag 2 crescents 2 oval chain 1 square 1

Total: 12

#### Appendix 8: Summary of garment patterning by the Andokides Painter (based on table 8)

#### Overall motifs

dot 28
dotted cross 21
pyramidal triple dot 10
plain cross 5
meander 3
swastika 2
\*Maltese cross 2
dot rosette 2
black square 2
geometric bands 2
animal bands 1
dotted ring 1

**Band** motifs

dot 21 spiky line 8 rectangle 8 vertical zig zag 6 thick line with rectangular projections 5 crenellated line 3 meander 1 zig zag line 1 oval 1

Total: 10 motifs

Total: 13 motifs

black ovals 1

Vases examined: 17. Number of grids: 8

\*This is not the true Maltese cross with the eight points for the countries of the Knights of St. John, but it shares the same basic shape with the arms of the cross thickening towards the ends.

# Appendix 8A: Chronological patterning by the Andokides Painter

#### Early motifs

dotted cross 10
pyramidal triple dot 8
plain dot 4
cross 4
swastika 3
meanader 2
Maltese cross 2
black square1
geometric bands 1

**Total**: 9 motifs. Vases examined: 6 Number of grids: 3

#### Transitional motifs

dots 10
dotted cross 6
pyramidal triple dot 2
dot rosette 2
Maltese cross 2
animal band 1
geometric band 1
black squares 1
dotted ring 1
cross 1
meander 1

**Total**: 11 motifs. Vases examined: 4 Number of grids: 2

#### Mature motifs

plain dot 8 dotted cross 5

**Total**: 2 motifs Vases examined: 6 Number of grids:3

The division of the Andokides Painter's vases into three periods is based on the chronology presented in Cohen 1978.

#### Appendix 9: Summary of garment patterning by Psiax (based on table 9)

#### Black figure

Overall motifs

incised cross 25 fine red dot 9

med red dot 1

incised dot 1 dotted cross 1

incised dot cluster 1 wavy vertical line 1

Total: 8 motifs

Vases examined: 15 wholly black figure

2 bilinguals

Patterned garments: 43 Flat patterned gaments: 18

Garments patterned between folds: 11

Garments patterned with folds and flat areas: 4

#### Red figure

Overall motifs

pyramidal triple dot 7

dotted cross 2

dot 2

six dot rosette 1

cross 1

Band motifs

**Band** motifs

incised dot 1

hook 1

spiral 1

rectangles 4

dots 2

diamonds 1

crenellated line 1

short horizontal lines 1

Total: 5 motifs

Total: 5 motifs

Total different motifs: 9

Red figure vases examined: 9

Patterned garments: 13 Flat patterned garments: 3

Garments patterned between folds: 10

#### Appendix 10: Summary of garment patterning by Oltos (based on table 10)

#### Black figure

Overall motifs

incised cross 11 dotted cross 2 large dot 1

medium dot 1

Total: 4 motifs

Red Figure

Overall motifs

cross 7 dot 4 dotted cross 4 pyramidal triple dot 3 swastika 2

Total: 5 motifs

Single motifs

feline figure 3

cross 3

Macedonian star 1

Total: 2 motifs

Vases examined: 17 bilinguals (black figure cup tondos, red figure

exteriors)

44 wholly red figure

Bilinguals with no red figure patterning: 12 Bilinguals with no black figure patterning: 3

Red figure vases with no patterning: 25

Garments on bilinguals: 22 black figure

9 red figure

Unclothed figures on bilinguals: 2 black figure

22 red figure

**Band** motifs

vertical zig zag 1 horizontal zig zag 1

Total: 2 motifs

Band motifs

crenellated line 7 vertical dash 5 fine dots 4 alternate opposed dot 3 horizontal zig zog 2

horizontal zig zag 2 dash 1

Jasii I

vertical zig zag 1

Total: 7 motifs

#### Appendix 11: Summary of garment patterning by Epiktetos (based on table 11)

#### **Black Figure**

Overall motifs

incised cross 2 large dots 1

dotted cross 1

Total: 3 motifs

Vases examined: 51

Vases with no garment patterning: 46

Vases with garment patterning: 5 Vases with animal pelt patterns: 16

No red figure garment patterning appeared on the works of Epiketetos which were examined.

Trim motifs

vertical zig zags 2

dots 1

Total: 2 motifs

## Appendix 12: Pattern motifs

atternate opposed dots • • • •
animal band
arrow \( - \langle - \lang
black oval
black square
boxed s
crenellated line NAMA
crescents ((((((
cross +
cross with v's $\frac{1}{2}$
curly cross
diagonal grid
: :
diamond 🔷
dot circle/ring
dot rosette :
dot square :
dotted cross
dotted ring 0/0/0/0/
dotted square
feline figure
geometric band
grid
guilloche (see spiral line)
herringbone \\\\\\
hook CCCC
horizontal zig zag line

incised dot cluster
incised oval
incised square
incised v V
interlocking v's
interlocking zig zag
Macedonian star
Maltese cross
meander
oval chain oval
petal cross
pyramidal triple dot
rectangle
ring O
scales
six dot rosette
six petal flower
slash /////
spiky line
spiral (5)
spiral line
squares $\square$
swastika F
thick line with rectangular projections
vertical zig zags \$\$\\ \\ \\
wavy horizontal line
wavy vertical line

### **Abbreviations**

The following abbreviations for books and periodicals are used throughout the text and in the bibliography.

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AB	Art Bulletin
ABS	J.D. Beazley, Attic Black - Figure: a Sketch,
	Proceedings of the British Academy vol. 14, London,
ABL	1928.
ADL	C.H.E. Haspels, <i>Attic Black - Figured Lekythoi</i> , École Français d'Athènes fasc. 4, Paris, 1936.
ABV	J.D. Beazley, Attic Black - Figure Vase
ADV	Painters, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
Add. II	Thomas Carpenter, Beazley Addenda: Additional
7144. 11	references to ABV, ARV <sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena (second
	edition). Oxford: University Press 1989.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AK	Antike Kunst
$\overline{AM}$	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
	Instituts: Athenische Abteilung
Ant Class	L'Antiquité Classique
$ARV^2$	J.D. Beazley, Attic Red - Figure Vase Painters,
	second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
A W	Antike Welt
Bareiss	Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection,
	Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983.
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
Be Jb	Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Bull MFA	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Bull Mus Hongr	Bulletin des Musées Hongrois
CR	Classical Review
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
EAA	Enciclopedia della Arte Antica e Orientale
GMJ	Getty Museum Journal
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JWG	Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
Marb Jb	Marburger Jahrbuch
MM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
<b></b>	

Instituts: Madrider Abteilung

MM Bull Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New

York

MM Studies Metropolitan Museum Studies

Mü Jb Münchener Jahrbuch

ÖJh Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen

Instituts in Wien

Para. J.D. Beazley, Paralipomena: Additions to

Attic Black - Figure Vase Painters and Attic Red - Figure Vase Painters (second edition), Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1971.

PBSR Papers of the British School in Rome

Rev Arch Revue Archéologique

RM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen

Instituts: Römische Abteilung

#### **Bibliography**

- "Acquisitions: Antiquities". GMJ 14, 1986 pp. 179 200.
- Åkerstrom, Åke 1954. "Untersuchungen über die figürlichen terrakottafriese aus Etrurien und Latium". *Opuscula Romana* pp. 216 217.
- Allen, Tabitha 1986. "Perlstein's fragment". Connoisseur's World 216, pp. 30 32.
- Amyx, D.A. 1988a. Corinthian vase painting of the archaic period vol. I: catalogue. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1988b. Corinthian vase painting of the archaic period vol.

  II: commentary: the study of Corinthian vases. Berkeley:

  University of California Press.
- ----- 1988c. Corinthian vase painting of the archaic period vol. III: indexes, concordances, and plates. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arias, P.E., Hirmer, Max and Shefton, Brian 1962. A history of Greek vase painting. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bakalakis, G. 1936. "Un torse archaïque d'Apollon Citharède à Délos". *BCH* 60, p. 63.
- Barbieri, Gabriella and Durand, Jean Louis 1985. "Con il bue a spalla". *Bollettino d'Arte* 29 pp. 1 4.
- Barker, Albert W. 1922. "Domestic costumes of the Athenian Woman in the fifth and fourth centures B.C.". AJA 26, pp. 410 425.
- Bates, William N. 1905. "A signed amphora of Meno". AJA 9, pp. 170 181.
- ----- ed. 1912. "Archaeological discussions: Summaries of original articles chiefly in current publications; Greek vases in Ferrara". AJA 16, p. 271.
- Bazant, Jan 1982. "The case of symbolism in Classical Greek art". *Eirene* 18 pp. 21-33.
- ----- 1984. "On satyrs, maenads, Athenians and vases". Eirene 21, pp. 41-47.
- Beazley, J.D. 1913a. "A note on the painter of the vases signed Euergides". *JHS* 33, pp. 347 355.
- ------ 1913b."Review of 'Vases grecs et italo grecs du musée archaeologique de Madrid'. Par. G. Leroux". JHS33, pp. 142 143.
- ----- 1918. Attic red figured vases in American museums. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- ----- 1927a. "Aryballos". BSA 29, pp. 287 315.
- ----- 1927b. "The Antimenes Painter". JHS 47 pp. 63 92.
- ----- and Payne, H.G.G. 1929a. "Attic black figured fragments from Naucratis". *JHS* 49, pp. 253 279.
- ----- 1928. Attic Black Figure: a sketch. Proceedings of the British Academy 14, London.

- ----- 1929b. "Notes on the vases in Castle Ashby". *PBSR* 11, pp. 1 - 29. ----- 1929c. "Some inscriptions on vases - II". AJA 33 pp. 361 -367. "Amasea". JHS 51, pp. 256 - 285. ----- 1931a. ----- 1931b. "Disjecta membra". JHS 51, pp. 39 - 56. ----- 1931c. "Review of 'New aspects of the Menon Painter' by H.R.W. Smith". JHS 51 pp. 119 - 120. ----- 1932. "Groups of mid - sixth - century black - figure". *BSA* 32 pp. 1 - 22. ----- 1933a. Campana fragments in Florence. Oxford University Press. ----- 1933b. "Review of 'Corpus vasorum antiquorum: United States of America 2, Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design 1'. By S.B. Luce". JHS 53, pp. 3310 - 312. ----- 1935. "Some inscriptions on vases - III". AJA 39, pp. 475 -488. "Panathenaica". AJA 17 pp. 441 - 465. ----- 1943. ----- 1944. Potter and painter in ancient Athens. Oxford: Proceedings of the British Academy vol. 30. ----- 1950. "Some inscriptions on Vases: V". AJA 54 pp. 310 -322. ----- 1951. The development of Attic black - figure. Berkeley: University of California Press. ----- 1956. Attic Black - Figure Vase Painters. Oxford: Clarendon Press. ----- 1963. Attic Red - Figure Vase Painters (second edition). Oxford: Clarendon Press. ----- 1971. Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black - Figure Vase Painters and Attic Red - Figure Vase Painters (second edition). Oxford: Clarendon Press. ----- 1986. The development of Attic black - figure. (Revised edition.) Berkeley: University of California Press. Bélis, Anne 1986. "La phorbéia". BCH 110, pp. 205 - 218. Benson, J.L. 1989. Earlier Corinthian workshops: a study of Corinthian geometric and protogeometric styles. Allard Pierson Series: Scripta minora vol. 1. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Bieber, Margarete 1977. Griechische kleidung. Reprint of 1928 edition. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Bienkowski, P.v. 1900. "Zwei Attische amphoren in Madrid". *OJh* 3 pp. 62 72.
- Birchall, Ann 1972. "A new acquisition: an early Attic bowl with stand, signed by Sophilos". *The British Museum Quarterly* 36 pp. 107 109.

Blatter, Rolf 1987. "Der Heidelberg - Maler und sein verhaltnis zum Amasis - Maler". A W 18, p. 57. ----- 1989. "Eine werk des Amasis - Malers". A W p. 57. Bloesch, Hansjorg 1943. Antike kunst in der Schweiz. Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. ----- 1951. "Stout and slender in the late archaic period". JHS 71 pp. 29 - 39. ----- 1975. "Heilsame wasche". Wandlungen studien zur antiken und neueren kunst, ed. Ernst Homann, pp. 84 - 89. Bayern: Stiftland Verlag. Boardman, John 1955a. "A name for the Cerberus Painter?". JHS 75, pp. 154 - 155. ----- 1955b. "Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis". BSA 50 pp. 51 - 56. ----- 1958. "The Amasis Painter". JHS 78, pp. 1-3. ----- 1972. "Herakles, Peisistratos and sons". Rev Arch. 65, pp. 57 - 72. ----- 1974. Athenian black figure vases. London: Thames and Hudson. ----- 1975a. Athenian red figure vases: the archaic period. London: Thames and Hudson. ----- 1975b. "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis". JHS 95 pp. 1 - 12. ----- 1978a. "Exekias". AJA 82 pp. 11 - 21. ----- 1978b. Greek sculpture: the Archaic period: a handbook. London: Thames and Hudson. ----- 1978c. "Herakles, Delphi and Kleisthenes of Sikyon". Rev Arch 71 pp. 227 - 233. ----- 1984. "Signae tabula priscae artis". JHS 104 pp. 161 -163. ----- 1987. "Silver is white". Rev Arch. 78 pp. 279 - 295. ----- 1989. "Herakles, Peisistratos and the unconvinced". JHS 109 pp. 158 - 159. Boehmer, Rainer Michael 1973. "Phrygische prunktgewander des 8. jahrunderts v. Chr. herkunft und export". AA pp. 149 - 172. Bonfante, Larissa 1989. "Nudity as a costume in Classical art". AJA 93 pp. 543 - 570. Bothmer, Dietrich von 1955. "Two Oltos vases in New York". AJA 59 pp. 157 - 158. ----- 1960. "New vases by the Amasis Painter". A K 3, pp. 71 - 80. ----- 1962. "Painted Greek vases". MMBull 21:1 pp. 1 ------ 1965. "Andokides the potter and the Andokides Painter". MMBull 24, pp. 201 - 212.

1968. "An amphora by Exekias". Bulletin des
Musées Hongrois 31 pp. 17 - 25.
1971. "Three vases by the Amasis Painter". MM 12
pp. 123 - 130.
1975. "Review of 'John Boardman, Athenian black
figure vases: a handbook'". AB 57, pp. 120 - 122.
1977. "The struggle for the tripod". Festschrift
fur Frank Brommer, eds. Ursula Hockmann and Antjie Krug, pp.
51 - 63. Mainz am Rheim: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
1980. "The Affecter amphora". JWG 38, pp. 94
- 107.
ed. 1985. The Amasis Painter and his world.
Malibu: the J. Paul Getty Museum.
Boulter, Cedric G. 1953. "Review of 'The development of Attic black -
figure, by J.D. Beazley". Phoenix 7 pp. 91 - 92.
1975. "Review of 'Athenian black figure vases, by
John Boardman'". <i>AJA</i> 79, 1975, pp. 99 - 100.
1977. "Review of 'Athenian red figure vases: the
archaic period, by John Boardman". AJA 81, 1977, p. 212.
1981. "The study of Greek vases". AJA 85 pp. 105 -
106.
Brommer, Frank 1937. "Die Ruckfuhrung des Hephaistos". Jdl 52,
pp. 1948 - 219.
1961. "Die geburt der Athena". Jahrbuch des Romische
- Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 8 pp. 66 - 83.
Broneer, Oscar 1937. "A calyx - krater by Exekias". <i>Hesperia</i> 6 pp.
469 - 486.
1956. "The north slope krater, new fragments". Hesperia
25 pp. 345 - 349.
1968. "Recent discoveries on the north slope of the
Acropolis in Athens". AJA 42 pp. 161 - 164.
Bruhn, Ada 1943. Oltos and early red figure vase painting.
Copenhagen: NYT Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck.
Bruneau, Philippe 1963. "Hephaistos a dos d'ane". BCH 87, pp. 509 -
516.
Buchholz, Hans - Gunter 1984. "Eine Attisch schwarzfigurige kanne im
Cyprus Museum, Nikosia". A A 1984 pp. 556 - 564.
* *
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, March 1957, pp. 168 - 169.
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan. 1961, p. 154.
Burn, Lucilla and Glynn, Ruth 1982. Beazley addenda: additional
1
University Press.
1987. "Review of 'T.H. Carpenter: Dionysian imagery in
archaic Greek art. Its development in black figure vase
painting'". CR 37, pp. 268 - 269.

- Buschor, Ernst 1915. "Skythes und Epilykos". Jdl 30, pp. 36-40.
- London: Chatto and Windus.

  ----- 1921. *Greek vase painting*. Trans. G.C. Richards.
- Byvanck, A.W. 1947. "Notes archéologiques: III. l'ordre des vases des Andocides". *Mnemosyne* 13, pp. 237 238.
- Cahn, Herbert A. 1962. "Exekiasfragmente". A K 5 pp. 77 80.
- Callipolitis Feytmans, Denise 1974. Les plâts Attiques à figures noirs. Travaux et memoirs des anciens membres etrangers de l'école et de divers savants fasc. 19. École Français d'Athens.
- Canciani, Fulvio 1978. "Lydos, der sklave?". AK 21 pp. 17 22.
- Carpenter, Thomas 1986. Dionysian imagery in archaic Greek art: its development in black figure vase painting. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Painter and his world: vase painting in sixth century B.C. Athens'". JHS 108, p. 169.
- ------ 1989. Beazley addenda: additional references to ABV,  $ARV^2$ , and Paralipomena. (second edition). Oxford University Press.
- Charbonneaux, Jean, Martin, R. and Villard, F. 1971. Archaic Greek art 620 480 BC. Trans. J. Emmons, R. Allen. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Chase G.H. 1946. "Two sixth century Attic vases". Bull MFA 46, pp. 45 50.
- Christie's Auction Catalogue 1975. Greek and Etruscan vases from Nostell Priory. Wednesday, April 30.
- Christie's Auction Catalogue 1983. *Tribal Art and Antiquities*. Wednesday, May 11.
- Clark, Andrew J. 1981. "The earliest known chous by the Amasis Painter". MM Journal 15, pp. 35 51.
- Cohen, Beth 1978. Attic bilingual vases and their painters. New York: Garland Publishing.
- ------ 1989. "Oddities of very early red figure and a new fragment at the Getty". *Greek vases at the Getty Museum vol. 4; Occasional papers on antiquities vol. 5*, pp. 83 92. Malibu: the J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Cook, R.M. 1948. "Amasiß mepoiesen". JHS 68, p. 148.
- ----- 1957a. "Review of 'J.D. Beazley: Attic black figure vase painters". CR 71 pp. 49 50.
- ----- 1957b. "Review of 'Semni Karouzou: the Amasis Painter". CR 71 pp. 271 272.
- ----- 1971. "Epoiesen' on Greek vases". JHS 91, pp. 137 138.------ 1972. Greek painted pottery (second edition). London:
  Methuen and Co.
- -----1987a. "Artful crafts: a commentary". *JHS* 107, pp. 169 171.

----- 1987b. "Pots and Pisistratan propaganda". JHS 107, pp. 167 -169. Corbett, P.E. 1965. "Preliminary sketch in Greek vase painting". JHS 85, pp. 16 - 28. Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Belgium 2, Brussels 2. Belgique: Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire). F. Mayence and V. Verhoogen. ----- Canada 1, Toronto 1. Canada: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: Attic black - figure and related wares. J.W. Hayes, 1981. ----- Denmark 3, Copenhagen (National Museum) 3. Danemark: Copenhague: Musée Nationale (Collection des Antiquites Classiques). C. Blinkenberg and K.F. Johansen. -----. Denmark 8, Copenhagen (National Museum) 8. Denmark: Copenhague: Musée National (Collection des Antiquites Classiques). K. Friis Johansen. ----- France 4, Louvre 3. France: Musée du Louvre. E. Pottier. ----- France 5, Louvre 4. France: Musée du Louvre. E. Pottier. ----- France 9, Louvre 6. France: Musée du Louvre. E. Pottier. ----- France 10, Bibliotheque National (Cabinet des Médailles) 2. France: Paris - Bibliothèque National (Cabinet des Médailles). S. Lambrine and M. Flot. ------ France 15, Paris, Petit Palais unique. France: Palais des Beaux - Arts de la ville de Paris (Petit Palais): Collection Dutuit. N. Plaoutine. -----. France 17, Louvre 10. France: Musee du Louvre. François Villard. ----- France 18, Louvre 11. France: Musée du Louvre. François Villard sous la direction d'Alfred Merlin. ----- Germany 3, Munich 1. Deutschland: München, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst (band 1). Reinhard -----. Germany 11, Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck)1. Deutschland: Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck) band 1. Frank Brommer. -----. Germany 12, Munich 4. Deutschland: Munchen, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst band 4. Reinhard Lullies. ----- Germany 32, Munich 7. Deutschland: Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst band 7. Erika Kunze -Gotte. -----. Germany 34, Hannover 1. Deutschland: Hannover, Kestner - Museum band 1. Anna - Barbara Follman.

Germany 37, Munich 8. Deutschland:	
München, Antikensammlungen ehmals Museum Antiker	
Kleinkunst band 8. Erika Kunze - Gotte.	
Germany 45, Berlin 5. Deutschland: Berlin	
Antikenmuseum ehmals Antiquarium band 5. Heide Mommesen	
<u> </u>	11.
Germany 47, Tubingen 3. Deutschland:	
Tubingen, Antikensammlung des Archaeologischen Instituts der	•
Universitat band 3. Johanes Burow.	
Germany 48, Munich 9. Deutschland:	
Munchen Antikensammlungen ehmals Museum Antiker	
Kleinkunst band 9. Erika Kunze - Gotte.	
Great Britain 1, London 1. Great Britain:	
British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)	
A.H. Smith.	
Great Britain 3, Oxford 1. Great Britain:	
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.	
Great Britain 4, London 3. Great Britain:	
British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)	•
H.B. Walters.	
Great Britain 5, London 4. Great Britain:	
British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)	
H.B. Walters.	
Great Britain 6, Cambridge 1. Great Britain	n:
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Winifred Lamb.	
Great Britain 8, London 6. Great Britain:	
British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)	
H.B. Walters.	•
Great Britain 11, Cambridge 2. Great Britain	in
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Winifred Lamb.	
Great Britain 18, Glasgow 1. Great Britain:	
the Glasgow collections. Elizabeth Moignard.	7
Italy 1, Villa Giulia 1. Italia: Museo Naziona	રાલ
di Villa Giulia in Roma. G.Q. Giglioli.	
Italy 10, Rhodes 2. Italia: Museo Archeologic	co
della Spedale dei Cavalieri di Rodi. Giulio Iacopi.	
Italy 20, Naples 1. Italia: Museo Nazionale di	i
Napole. A. Adriani.	
Italy 25, Tarquinia 1. Italia: Museo Nazionale	,
Tarquinienze. Giulio Iacopi.	
Italy 26, Tarquinia 2. Italia: Museo Nazionzale	,
	-
Tarquinienze. Giulio Iacopi.	
Italy 30, Florence 3. Italia: Museo Archeologic	CO
di Frienze. Anna Magi.	
Italy 35, Taranto 3. Italia: Museo Nazionale di	į
Taranto, Ciro Drago.	

- -----. Italy 41, Orvieto, Faina 1. Italia: Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto. L. Vlad Borrelli. ------ Italy 49, Chiusi 1. *Italia: Chiusi - Museo* Archeologico Nazionale. A. Rastrelli. -----. The Netherlands 4, Leiden 1. The Netherlands: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden fasc. 1. M.F. Johgkhees -Vos. -----. New Zealand 1. New Zealand. J.R. Green. -----. Switzerland 2, Zurich 1. Schweiz: Zurich, Offentliche Sammlungen. Hans Peter Isler. ----- Switzerland 3, Geneva 2. Suisse: Genève: Musée d'art et d'histoire. Christiane Dunant and Lilly Kahil. ----- Switzerland 4, Basel 1. Schweiz: Basel, Antikenmuseum. Jean - Paul Descoeudres. ----- Switzerland 6, Basel 2. Schweiz: Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig. Vera Slehoferova. ------. United States 2, Providence 1. Providence: Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design fasc. 1. Stephen Bleeker Luce. -----. United States 6, Robinson 2. The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Maryland, fasc. 2. David Moore Robinson with Sarah Elizabeth Freeman. -----. United States 14, Boston 1. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Attic black - figured amphorae. Herbert Hoffmann with Dietrich von Bothmer and Penelope Truitt. ------. United States 16, New York 4. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Attic black - figured neck amphorae. Mary B. Moore and Dietrich von Bothmer. ------ United States 18, Los Angeles 1. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Pamela Packard and Paul A. Clement. Crawford, J.S. 1969. "The figure on the tondo of the Michigan State University kylix". AJA 73 pp. 72 - 73. Diepolder, Hans 1962. "Eine neuerwerbung der Münchener Antikensammlungen". AK 5 p. 76. Dugas, C. 1932. "Note sur l'origine d'Amasis et de quelques peintres de vases". Mélanges Gustave Glotz, pp. 335 - 340. Paris: Les presses universitaires de France. Dunbabin, T.J. 1937. "Εχθρη παλαιν". ABSA 37 pp. 83 - 91. Eckstein, Felix, 1956. "Athletenhauben". RM 63, pp. 90 - 95. Edwards, Mark W. 1960. "Representation of maenads on archaic red figure vases". JHS 80 pp. 78 - 87. "Editorial Comment". AJA 36, 1932, pp. 92 - 97. Eisman, Michael M. 1981. "Review of 'Attic bilingual vases and their
- Elderkin, Kate 1928. "Buttons and their uses on Greek garments". *AJA* 32, pp. 333 345.

painters, by Beth Cohen". AJA 85 pp. 502 - 503.

- Ferrari, Gloria 1986. "Eye cup". Rev Arch. pp. 5 20.
- Finkenstaedt, Elizabeth 1968. "A red figure kylix by Oltos at Mount Holyoke College". AJA 72, pp.
- Fossey, C. 1891. "Scènes de chasse sur des vases Grecs inedits". *Rev Arch*. 18, pp. 361 371.
- Francis, E.D. and Vickers, Michael 1983. "Signa priscae artis: Eretria and Siphnos". *JHS* 103 pp. 49 67.
- Fraser, A.D. 1935. "The panoply of the Ethiopian warrior". AJA 39, pp. 35 43.
- ----- 1937. "Review of 'Attic black -figured lekythoi. By C.H. Emilie Haspels.". Classical Weekly 41, pp.65 66.
- Frontisi Ducroux, Françoise 1979. "In the mirror of the mask". A city of images: iconography and society in ancient Greece pp. 151 165.
- Gardiner, E. Norman 1903. "Notes on the Greek foot race". *JHS* 23, pp. 261 291.
- ----- 1905. "Wrestling". *JHS* 25 pp. 14 31.
- Gardner, Percy 1904. "Vases added to the Ashmolean Museum". JHS 24 pp. 292 316.
- Gill, David W.J. and Vickers, Michael 1989. "Pots and kettles". *Rev Arch*. pp. 297 303.
- Graham, J.W. 1957. "Skythes reunited". Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archaeology 26 pp. 14 16.
- "Greek vases in the recent accessions room". *MMBull* Jan. 1961 pp. 152 155.
- Greek vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection. 1983. Malibu: the J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Greifenhagen, Adolf 1935, "Attische schwarzfigurige vasen in Akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn". AA pp. 409 494.
- ----- 1961. "Lekythos des Kerberosmalers". *Ber. Jb.* pp. 117 133.
- Grinten, E. F. van der 1966. On the compositions of the medallions in the interiors of Greek black and red figured kylixes.

  Akadamie van wetenschappen, afd. letterkunde nieuwe reeks deel 72 no. 2. Amsterdam: verhandlingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse.
- Guarducci, Margherita 1980. "Dioniso primaverile ad Atene: riflessioni sul vaso di Lydos nel Museo del Villa Giulia". *Numismatica e Antichita Classiche* 9 pp. 37 62.
- Gullenberg, Elsa and Åstrom, Paul 1970. The thread of Ariadne: a study of ancient Greek dress. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology vol. 21. Goteberg: Paul Åstroms Forlag.
- Hammond, N.G.L. and Scullard, H.H. 1970, eds. *The Oxford Classical dictionary (second edition)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1957. "Narration in Greek art". AJA 61, pp. 71ff.

- Hartwig, P. 1891a. "Herakles and Eurytos and a battlescene upon some fragments of a cylix in the National Museum at Palermo". JHS 12, pp. 334 - 349. ----- 1891b. "Zwei schalenbilder des Epiktet". JdI 6, pp. 250 -257. ----- 1892. "Zu dem Epiktetische silen auf der kline". JdI 7 p. 118. ----- 1893. "Die heraufholung des Kerberos auf rotfiguren schalen". JdI 8, pp. 157 - 173. Haspels, C.H.E. 1936. Attic Black - Figured Lekythoi. École Français d'Athènes fasc. 4. Paris. Hauser, Friedrich 1895. "Vasenfunde in München". JdI 10, pp. 151 ------ 1896. "Eine sammlung vol stilprobem Griechischer keramik. JdI 11, pp. 177 - 197. Hermary, Antoine 1978. "Images de l'apothéose des Dioscures". BCH 102 pp. 51 - 76. Herodotus. Herodotus II. Trans. A.D. Godley, Loeb Editions. London: Heinemann, 1922. Herrmann, W. 1967. "Verschollene vasen". Wissenschaft Zeitschrift der Universitat Rostock 7/8 pp. 455 - 460. Hill, D.K. 1938. "Epiktetos and his circular designs". JWG 1, pp. 24 - 32. ----- 1940?. "Castel Campanile and its pottery". JWG 3 pp. 111 ------ 1947. "The technique of Greek metal vases and its bearing on vase forms in metal and pottery". AJA 51, pp. 248 - 256. ----- 1974. "Chariots of early Greece". *Hesperia* 43 pp. 441 - 446. Hoffmann, Herbert 1980. "Zur bedeutungsstruktur Griechischer vasenbilder". Hephaistos 2 pp. 129 - 154. Homer. The Iliad. Trans. Richard Lattimore, 1961. Chicago: University Press. Hoppin, Joseph Clark 1895. "A kylix by the artist Psiax". AJA 10, pp. 485 - 493. ------ 1919a. A handbook of Attic red - figured vases: signed by or attributed to the various masters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ------ 1919b. A handbook of Attic red - figured vases: signed by or attributed to the various masters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Harvard University
- Houssay, Henri 1912. "L'axe du médaillon interieur dans les coupes Grecques". Rev Arch 14 pp. 60 83.
- Houston, Mary G. 1947. Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine costume and decoration. London: Adam and Charles Black.

Press.

- Hurwit, Jeffrey 1977. "Image and form in Greek art". AJA 81 pp. 1 30.
- Jacobsthal, Paul 1937. "The Nekyia krater in New York". MM Studies 5 pp. 117 145.
- ----- 1956. Greek pins and their connexions with Europe and Asia. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Johnson, F.P. 1957. "Review of 'John Beazley, Attic Black Figure Vase Painters". AB 39 p. 147.
- Johnston, Alan1976. "Review of 'Boardman (J.): Athenian black figure vases: a handbook". JHS 96, pp. 247 250.
- ----- 1977. "Review of 'Noble (J.V.): the techniques of painted Attic pottery. 2nd ed.". JHS 97 pp. 224 225.
- Karo, George 1899. "Notes on Amasis and Ionic black figured pottery". *JHS* 19, pp. 137 164.
- Κατουzου, Semni 1931. " $\Lambda \in \kappa \upsilon \theta$ ος του Αμασι στο Εθνικο Μουσειο". ΑΜ 56 pp. 98 111.
- Museum at Athens". AJA 42, pp. 495 505.
- ----- 1956. *The Amasis Painter*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Karydi, Eleni 1963. "Schwarzfigurige lutrophoren im Kerameikos". *AM* 78 pp. 90 103.
- Kenner Hedwig 1933. "Amphora im stil des Oltos". *OJh* 28, pp. 41 51.
- Keuls, Eva C. 1985. The reign of the phallus. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kilmer, Martin 1982. "Genital phobia and depilation". *JHS* 103 pp. 104 112.
- King, Cynthia 1974. "Review of 'R.M. Cook, *Greek painted pottery*". *The Classical World* 67, pp. 403 404.
- Kleinbauer, W. Eugene 1964. "The Dionysos Painter and the 'Corintho Attic' problem". AJA 68 pp. 355 370.
- Knauer, Elfriede R. 1965. *Die Berliner Andokides vase*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam.
- Korshak, Yvonne 1987. Frontal faces in Attic vase painting of the Archaic period. Chicago: Ares Publishers Inc.
- Kraiker, Wilhelm 1929. "Epiktetos: eine studie zur archaischen Attischen malerei". *JdI* 44, pp. 141 197.
- ----- 1930. "ΦΕΙΔΙΓΟΣ ΕΓΡΔΟΕ". AM 55, pp. 167 180. ----- 1934a. "Eine lekythos des Amasis im Kerameikos".
- *AM* 49, pp. 19 24. ----- 1944. "Eine prothesis schale im Kerameikos". *AM* 59,
- pp. 1 18.
- Kurtz, D.C. 1975. "The man eating horses of Diomedes in poetry and painting". JHS 95, pp. 171 172.

- ----- 1981. "Review of 'Warren Moon, Louise Berge: Greek vase painting in Mid Western collections". CR 31, pp. 264 265.
- Langlotz, Ernst 1920. Zur zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen plastik. Leipzig: Verlag E.A. Seeman.
- of original. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- ----- 1962. "Beobachtungen an einem kopf in Kyrene". *AM* 77 pp. 111 120.
- Legakis, Brian 1983. "A lekythos signed by Amasis". AK 26, pp. 73 76.
- Littauer, Mary Aiken 1968. "A 19th and 20th dynasty heroic motif on Attic black figured vases?". AJA 72 pp. 150 152.
- Luce, Stephen Bleecker 1922. "Herakles and the old man of the sea". AJA 26 pp. 174 - 192.
- ----- 1925. "Nicosthenes: his activity and affiliations". *AJA* 29, pp. 38 52.
- ----- 1928. "Two kylikes in Providence". *AJA* 32, pp. 435 446.
- ------ 1930. "Studies of the exploits of Herakles on vases: II. The theft of the Delphic tripod". AJA 34, pp. 313 333.
- Lullies, R. 1947. "Attisch schwarzfigurige keramik aus dem Kerameikos". *JdI* 61 pp. 55 75.

  MacDowell, Douglas 1986. *Spartan law*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Mackay, E. Anne 1978. "New evidence on a lost work by Exekias". JHS 98 pp. 161 - 162.
- ----- 1979. "The return of the Dioscuri". AJA 83 pp. 474 476.
- MacSweeney, Alix 1968. "A red figured cup by Epiktetos and Pamphaios". Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College 25, pp. 104 113.
- Malkina, Katharina 1927. "Vasen im stile des Exekias und des Amasis in der Hermitage". *JdI* 42, pp. 158 171.
- Martens, Didier 1989. "L'illusionnisme spatial dans la peinture Grecque des VII<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siecles: essai de typologie". *L'Antiquite Classique* 58, pp. 17 31.
- Marwitz, Herbert 1960. "Zur Griechischen vasentechnik". OJh 45 pp. 207 263.
- ----- 1961. "Zur einheit des Andokidesmalers". *OJh* 46, pp. 73 104.
- Mayo, Margaret Ellen 1985. "Tradition and imagination: five centures of Greek ceramic art". *Apollo* 286:122, pp. 428 435.
- McNally Sheila 1978. "The maenad in early Greek art". *Arethusa* 11, pp. 101 135.
- Mertens, J.R. 1979. "Some new vases by Psiax". AK 22 pp. 22 37.

Mitchell, H. 1964. Sparta. Cambridge: University Press. Moignard, Elizabeth 1989. "Review of 'James Veach Noble: the techniques of painted Attic pottery (revised edition)". CR 39 pp. 412. ------ 1996. "Portrait of a loser". Classical Association *News* 14 pp. 1 - 4. ------ 1997. "Masks". Classical Association News 16, forthcoming. Moon, Warren G. and Berge, Louise, 1979. Greek vase painting in mid - western collections. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicage. Moore, Mary B. 1968. "Horses by Exekias". AJA 72 pp. 257 - 368. ----- 1979. "Lydos and the gigantomachy". AJA 83 pp. 79 -99. ----- 1980. "Exekias and Telemonian Ajax". AJA 84 pp. 417 ----- 1982. "The death of Pedasos". AJA 86 pp. 578 - 581. ----- 1986a. "Athena and Herakles on Exekias' calyx krater". AJA 90, pp. 35 - 39. ----- 1986b. "Exekias and the harnessing of a chariot team". AK 29 pp. 107 - 114. Morris, Sarah P. 1980. "Review of 'The Amasis Painter and his world: vase - painting in sixth century B.C. Athens by Dietrich von Bothmer". AJA 80, pp. 360 - 361. Neeft, C.W. 1991. Addenda et Corrigenda to D.A. Amyx, Corinthian vase painting in the archaic period. Allard Pierson Series, Scripta Minora vol. 3. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum. Neutsch, Bernhard 1949. "Exekias: ein meister der Griechischen vasenmalerei". Marb Jb 15, pp. 43 - 72. Norton, Richard 1896. "Andokides". AJA 11:1, pp. 1 - 41. Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world. Malibu: the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987. Paribeni, E. 1958a. "Andokides". EAA vol. 1 pp. 356 - 357. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1958b. "Andokides, Pittore di". EAA vol. 1 pp. 357 - 359. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1959. "Cerbero, Pittore di". EAA vol. 2 p. 508. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1960. "Epiktetos". *EAA* vol. 3 pp. 370 - 372. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1963a. "Oltos". *EAA* vol. 5 pp. 670 - 672. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1963b. "Paseas". *EAA* vol. 5 p. 983. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. ----- 1965. "Psiax". EAA vol. 6 pp. 533 - 534. Roma: Instituto

della Enciclopedia Italiana.

- ----- 1966. "Skythes". *EAA* vol. 7, p. 371. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.
- Parke, H.W. and Boardman, John 1957. "The struggle for the tripod and the first Sacred War". JHS 77, pp. 276 282.
- Pausanias. *Guide to Greece*. Trans. Peter Levi, 1971. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Payne, Humfry 1931. Necrocorinthia: a study of Corinthian art in the Archaic period. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Payne, Humfry 1933. *Prokorinthische vasenmalerei*. Bilder Griechischer Vasen heft. 7, eds. J.D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal. Berlin: Verlag Heinrich Keller.
- Pease, Mary Zelia 1935. "The pottery from the north slope of the Acropolis". *Hesperia* 4, pp. 214 302.
- J.D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal". AJA 47 pp. 496 497.
- Pedley, John Griffiths 1970. "The Friedlander hydria". Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 74 pp. 45 53.
- Pfuhl, Ernst 1923. Malerei und zeichnung der Griechen. Munich: F. Bruckmann A.G.
- Philippaki, Barbara 1953. "Review of 'The development of Attic black figure, by J.D. Beazley". AJA 57 pp. 143 144.
- Plutarch. Lives. Trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 1914, Loeb Edition. London: William Heinemann.
- Pottier E. 1893. "Documents céramiques du Musée du Louvre (I)". BCH 17, pp. 423 444.
- ----- "Epilykos: Etude de céramique Grecque". Monuments et Memoires Publiés par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres vol. 9 pp. 135 178. Fondation Eugene Piot.
- ----- "Note compleméntaire sur Epilykos". Monuments et Memoires Publies par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles - Lettres vol. 10 pp. 49 - 54. Fondation Eugene Piot.
- Poursat, Jean Claude 1968. "Les representations de la danse armée dans la céramique Attique". *BCH* 92 pp. 550 615.
- Prag, A.J.N.W. 1989. "Review of 'Boardman (J.): Athenian red figure vases: the archaic period. A handbook.". JHS 109 pp. 224 225.
- Raeck, Wulf 1984. "Zur erzählweise archaischer und klassischer mythenbilder". *JdI* 99 1984 pp. 1 25.
- Rasmussen, Tom 1991. "Corinth and the Orientalising phenomenon". Looking at Greek vases pp. 57 - 78. Eds. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey. Cambridge: University Press.
- ----- and Spivey, Nigel, eds, 1991. Looking at Greek vases. Cambridge: University Press.
- Reisch, Emil 1890. "Vasen in Corneto". RM 5 pp. 313 344.
- Richards, G.C. 1893. "Selected vase fragments from the acropolis of Athens: 1". JHS 13.

eds. J.D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal. Leipzig: Verlag Heinrich Keller. Schauenberg, Konrad 1961. "Eine neue amphora des Andokidesmalers". JdI 76 pp. 48 - 71. ----- 1962a. "Eine neue Sianaschale". A A pp. 645 -*77*6. ------ 1963. "Eine neue amphora des Efeumalers". AA pp. 404 - 430. ----- 1964. "Neue amphoren des Amasismalers". JdI 79 pp. 109 - 141. ----- 1965. "Ein psykter aus dem umkreis des Andokidesmalers". JdI 80 pp. 76 - 104. Schefold, Karl 1962. "Gestaltungen des unsichtbaren auf fruhklassischen vasen". AM 77 pp. 130 - 139. Schneider, Arthur 1889a. "Andokides". JdI 4 pp. 195 - 207. ----- 1889b. "Zu den Attischen kleinmeistern". RM 4 pp. 153 - 165. Schweitzer, Bernhard 1929. "Die entwicklung der bildform in der Attischen kunst von 540 bis 490". JdI 44 pp. 104 - 131. Shapiro, H. A. 1980. "Hippokrates son of Anaxileos". Hesperia 49 pp. 289 - 293. ----- 1981a. "Courtship scenes in Attic vase - painting". AJA 85 pp. 133 - 143. ----- 1982b. "Exekias, Ajax and Salamis: a further note". AJA 85, pp. 173 - 175. ----- 1984. "Herakles and Kyknos". AJA 88 pp. 23 - 529. ----- 1990. "Old and new heroes: narrative, composition and subject in Attic black - figure". Classical Antiquity 9 pp. 114 -148. Sichtermann, Helmut 1956. "Hyakinthos". JdI 71 pp. 92 - 123. Simon, Erika 1976. Die Griechische vasen. Munich: Hirmer Verlag. "Sklaverei". AW 9, 1978, p. 49 ff. Smith, H.R.W. 1929. New aspects of the Menon Painter. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 1:1. Berkeley: University of California Press. ----- 1944. "The Hearst hydria: An Attic footnote to Corinthian history". University of Claifornia Publications in Classical Archaeology 1:10, pp. 241 - 277. -----. 1945. "From furthest West". AJA 49 pp. 465 -Smith, J. Moyr 1882. Ancient Greek female costume. London:

Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.

pp. 79 - 113.

Sparkes, B.A. 1975. "Illustrating Aristophanes". *JHS* 95 pp. 122 - 135. Stähler, Klaus P. 1971. "Exekias bemalte und töpferte mich". *ÖJh* 49

Rumpf, Andreas 1937. Sakonides. Bilder Griechischer Vasen heft. II.

- Stucchi, S. 1958. "Amasis, Pittore di". *EAA* vol. 1, pp. 298 300. Roma: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.
- Technau, Werner 1936. *Exekias*. Bilder Griechischer Vasen heft. 9. Eds. J.D. Beazley, Paul Jacobsthal. Leipzig: Verlag Heinrich Keller.
- ----- 1938. "Schwarzfigurige vasen der Sammlung Conte Faina in Orvieto". *RM* 53 p. 101 ff.
- Thompson, Homer 1955. "Activities in the Athenian agora: 1954". Hesperia 24 pp. 51 - 71.
- Tiverios, Michael A. 1976. Ο Λυδος και το εργο του.. Athens. "Tombe a inhumazione". Clara Rhodos 3 p. 264 ff.
- Uggieri, Stella Patitucci 1975. "Una nuova anfora del Gruppo E in una collezione Ticenese". *Numismatica e Antichite Classiche* 4 pp. 55 72.
- Ure, A.D. 1922. "A black figure fragment in the Dorset Museum". JHS 42, pp. 192 - 197.
- ----- 1937. "Review of 'Attic Black Figured Lekythoi. By C.H. Emilie Haspels". JHS 57 pp. 263 265.
- Vanderpool, Eugene 1939. "An alabastron by the Amasis Painter". Hesperia 8 pp. 247 - 266.
- ----- 1946. "Black figured pottery from the Athenian agora". Hesperia 15 pp. 120 137.
- ----- 1956. "Review of 'Attic Black Figure Vase Painters, by J.D. Beazley". AJA 60 pp. 304 306.
- ------ 1957. "Review of '*The Amasis Painter*, by Semni Karouzou'". *AJA* 61, 57, pp. 207 208.
- Vickers, Michael 1974. "Two more rattling cups?". AJA 78 pp. 429 430.
- ----- 1985. "Artful crafts: the influence of metalwork on Athenian painted pottery". JHS 105 pp. 108 128.
- ----- 1988. *Greek Vases*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Vogt, Joseph 1978. "Die sklaverei im antiken Griechenland". A W 9 p. 49 ff.
- Wace, A.J.B. 1948. "Weaving or embroidery?". AJA 52 pp. 51 55.
- Wade Gery, H.T. 1951. "Miltiades". JHS 71 pp. 212 221.
- Walters, H.B. 1909. "Hischylos". JHS 29, pp. 102 119.
- ----- 1921. "Red figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum". *JHS* 41 pp. 117 150.
- Walton, Alice 1907. "An unpublished amphora and eye cylix signed by Amasis in the Boston Museum". AJA 11 pp. 150 159.
- Watrous, Livingston Vance 1982. "The sculptural program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi". AJA 86 pp. 159 172.
- Webster, T.B.L. 1932. "Attic vase painting during the Persian Wars". *Greece and Rome* 1, pp. 137 142.
- ----- 1929. "Tondo composition in archaic and classical Greek art". *JHS* 59 pp. 103 123.

- ----- 1953. "Review of 'J.D. Beazley: The development of Attic black figure". CR 67 p. 128.
- ----- 1972. Potter and patron in classical Athens. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.
- Weege, F. 1916. "Etruskische gräber mit gemalden in Corneto". *JdI* 31 pp. 105 168.
- Weizsäcker, P. 1902. "Zu zwei Berliner vasen". JdI 17 pp. 53 59.
- Wiencke, Matthew I. 1954. "An epic theme in Greek art". AJA 58 pp. 285 306.
- Williams, Dyfri 1991. "Vase painting in fifth century Athens I: the invention of the red figure technique and the race between vase painting and free painting". Looking at Greek vases, eds. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey, pp. 103 118. Cambridge: University Press.
- Publications. 1985. *Greek vases*. London: British Museum
- Williams, R.T. 1957. "Notes on some Attic black figure vases with ship representations". *JHS* 77 pp. 315 316.
- Winter, Friedrich 1892. "Die henkelpalmette auf Attischen schalen". JdI 7 pp. 105 - 117.
- Woodford, Susan and Loudon, Margaret, 1980. "Two Trojan themes: the iconography of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles and of Aeneas carrying Anchises in black figure vase painting". AJA 84 pp. 25 40.
- ----- 1982. "Achilles and Ajax playing a game". *JHS* 102 pp. 173 185.
- in Greek art: its development in black figure vase painting'". *JHS* 107, p. 258.
- Wrede, Walther 1916. "Kriegers ausfahrt in der archaisch Griechischen kunst". AM 41 pp. 221 374.
- Xenophon. Scripta Minora. Trans. E.C. Marchand, 1946, Loeb Edition. London: William Heinemann.

### **BLANK**

**BLANK** 

## Table 1: Garment patterning by Lydos

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Florence 70995 neck amphora	early	interlocking V's	hem and edge trims on 6 garments	broad bands
<i>ABV</i> 110, 32		herringbone	trims on 6 garments	at hems and neck to sleeve
Rumpf 1937 pl. 2, 3 Tiverios		squares	trims on 2 garments	in single line with grid
1976 pl. 22 - 23; fig. 172		fine grid diagonal	trim on 1 garment	very fine
11g. 172		dot rosettes (large)	mantles of 2 figures	vertical lines widely spaced flat surface
Paris Louvre E868	early	red dots	mantles (2)	on diagonal black folds
neck amphora ABV 110, 30 Tiverios 1976 pl. 3		herringbone	hem of 1 fig.	·
Louvre 10634 neck	early	red dots	mantle of Dionysos mantle of man	on black folds bet. diag. folds
amphora ABV 110, 31 Tiverios 1976 pl. 10, 11a		herringbone	mantle trim maenad's hem mantle and chiton trim of Dionysos	single line
		zig zag line	chiton hem of Dionysos	single line
		incised rings	mantle trim	single line
Berlin 1685 type B amphora ABV	early	white dots	neck, sleeve, waist and hem trim of warrior mantle trim	single line
109, 24 Rumpf 1937 pl. 15d, 16;		guilloche	mantle trim trim of 2 skirts	single line with line of dots on either side

fig. 23		incised cross	bodice and skirt of peplos	diagonal grid
		incised dots	waist trim on 2 peploi	single line in band
		diagonal grid	underpart of bodice and central skirt stripe	very fine grid with nothing in the squares
		dot rosette	mantle of woman	flat surface vertical lines
		dotted scales	skirt and bodice of 2 women	flat surface
		red dots	mantle of woman	flat surface vertical lines
		cross with V's?	skirt of woman	in grid flat surface
Louvre F29	early	dotted scales	peplos skirts of 2 females	flat surface
type B amphora ABV 109, 21 Beazley 1986 pl. 33.2-3 Tiverios 1976 pl. 1b, 17b; fig. 24		single meanders	chitoniskos of warrior-skirt and hem	
		wavy lines	chitons of 2 men chitoniskos of warrior	fine, closely spaced textural effect
		red dots	mantle	vertical lines close spacing
Taranto 65 type B amphora ABV		herringbone	trims of 8 garments necks and hems	single line in band
109, 26 Rumpf 1937 pl. 25 Beazley 1986		large rings	garment of man	unusually large, incised in vertical and horizontal lines over flat garment
pl. 37.4-5		dot rosette	mantles of 4 onlookers mantle of Deianeira	between folds 2 motifs each flat area

Nicosia C440 type B amphora ABV 109, 28 Rumpf 1937 pl. 26a, 27b		No garment patterning is used on this vase but all figures in both courting scenes are unclothed.			
Naples 81292 type B amphora ABV 109, 23 CVA Naples 1 pl. 6	No garment patter	ning is visible on either	side.		
Cabinet des Medailles 206 type B amphora	dot rosettes	mantle of onlooker cloth on ground	widely spaced vertical lines flat surface between folds		
ABV 109, 27 Beazley 1932 pl. 10	red dots	mantle of onlooker	between broad folds, widely spaced, in horizontal and vertical lines		
	herringbone	mantle trim of 2 onlookers	single line in band		
Basle Kambli type B amph frags. ABV 109, 25	vertical zig zags of 2 women	mantle trim of woman garment trims mantle trim of man	single line in band		
Tiverios 1976 pl. 24-25a	rings with diagonal lines	mantle trim of woman	single line in band		
	dot rosettes?	mantle of women chiton of onlooker peplos of woman	flat black surfaces		
Florence	red dots	bodice of Athena			
Panathenaic ABV	white dots	Athena's hem	single line		

110, 33 Tiverios		herringbone?	Athena's hem	below dots
1976 pl. 66b, 67		•	s visible but the surface	below dols
p 00 <b>0</b> , 0.		is badly rubbed.		
Chicago Univ. Panath. amphora fragment		meander	chitoniskos of warrior	vertical lines flat surface larger motif as hem trim
ABV 110, 34 Beazley 1943 fig. 1		dotted scales	peplos skirt of woman	flat surface
		1.		. 1 1.
Munich 1681 hydria <i>ABV</i>	very early	zig zag line	mantle hem trims of 2 figures	single line in band
108, 12 Rumpf 1937		dot rosette	mantles of 2 men	on black folds vertical lines
pl. 7d Beazley 1986 pl. 40.2-3		crescents?	mantle hem	very short section single line
Tiverios 1976 pl. 2; fig. 173	3	wavy vertical lines	chiton of left figure	textural effect
Berlin Univ. 86 hydria	early	rings	mantle trim of onlooker	single line in band
ABV 108, 15 Rumpf 1937 pl. 7b; fig. 174		zig zag line	mantle trim of onlooker	single line in band
Louvre E804 hydria signed ABV 108, 13 Rumpf 1937 pl. 12b Beazley 1986 pl. 41, 1-2; fig. 176	very early	wavy line	mantle border on 3 figures	single line in band
		herringbone	garment trim on 2 figures	single line in band
		zig zag line	mantle trim on 1 female	single line in band
		vertical zig zags	mantle trim on 1 female	single line in band
Villa Giulia		zig zag line	garment trims	single line

M430 hydria ABV 108, 14 Rumpf 1937 pl. 13a, 15a-c Tiverios 1976 pl. 21a-b	No other patterning are largely covered	of 2 warriors and fallen fig. is visible but the warrioby shields.	in band ors
Athens Kerameikos hydria Para. 45 Tiverios 1976 pl. 29a-b	red dots youth herringbone	chlamys of between folds chlamys trim mantle trims of 2 men	single line single line single ine in band
Gottingen and Cabinet des Medailles hydria fragments ABV 109, 19 Beazley 1986 pl. 38.4, 6		3 figures, neck and hem and hem atterning is in evidence.	
Berlin late 1732 oinochoe shape I			•
ABV 110, 37 Rumpf 1937	guilloche	trim of 2 chitons garment hem of Athena	
pl. 29-31; fig. 27	cross with V's	bodice and ependytes of Athena nebrys? of warrior	in grid on both, alt. with black squares in grid alt. with squares
	squares	nebrys? of warrior	in grid alt. with cross with V's
	interlocking V's	ependytes hem trim of Athena chitoniskos hem trim of Herakles	in bands
	herringbone	neck trim on 2 chitons waist trim	single line in bands

## of Athena

·	incised dots	mantle hem trim	
London B148	dot rosette	garment on ground	single line
psykter ABV 109, 29		long mantles of 2 onlookers	horizontal lines between broad black
Karo 1899 pl. 6; fig. 40		short mantle	folds scatter, med. spacing vertical lines
		Dionysos	med. spacing
	interlocking V's	mantle neck trim of onlooker	broad band
	herringbone	hem trim of 3 onlookers	single line
		chiton hem of Dionysos	flanked by white dots
	crescents	neck trim of onlooker	single line
		peplos hem of maenad	single line
	white dots	skirt trim at waist and hem of Theseus	in single line
		neck, sleeve and hem of maenad	flanking crescents at hem
		chiton neck and mantle trim of Dionysos	single lines
Athens Acr. 607 dinos fragments	cross with V's	3 skirts	in grid alternating with dot rosette in 2
signed ABV 107,1	dot rosette	2 skirts	in grid alt. with cross with V's
Rumpf 1937 pl. 18-20		skirt	in grid alt. with meander
Moore 1979		skirt	between folds
fig. 1, 2; fig. 28	meander	skirt	in grid, alt. squares with dot rosettes
		garment hem	single line

## in band

	squares	garment neck trim	single line in band
	guilloche	garment trim trim of 3 skirts	single line in band
	interlocking V's	chiton hem trim	wide band
	diagonal grid wavy lines	skirt	lines in one direction treble incised
	cross with V's	skirt	in single line of squares alt. with black squares, a line of guilloche on either side
New York	crescents	hem trim on	single line
31.11.11 column		2 garments	in band
krater ABV 108, 5 Rumpf 1937	herringbone	neck trim of Dionysos maenad's skirt hem	single line in band
pl. 21-23 Richter 1932	interlocking V's	hem trim on 2 garments	broad band
figs. 1,2, 4,5; fig. 15	guilloche	hem trim on 2 garments	single line in band
	red dots	mantle of Hephaistos	lines aligned with folds, close spaced
London 1948.10-15.1 column krater ABV	dot rosette	mantles of 3 figures	2 on black folds; 2 in vertical lines on flat areas
108,8 Beazley 1986 pl. 35.3-4 Tiverios	large red dots	mantles of 2 figures	1 on black folds,1 in lines on flat area
1976 pl. 8-9	vertical zig zags	mantle hems of 5 figs	single lines in bands
-	herringbone	mantle trim	
Harvard 1925.30.125	guilloche? one warrior	neck trim of	in band

column krater ABV 108, 9 Rumpf 1937 pl. 12c; fig. 175			
Taranto 4412	herringbone	hem trim of maenad	single line in band
Siana cup (overlap) ABV 113, 74 Tiverios 1976 pl. 12	vertical zig zag lines	hem trim of maenad	in band
Taranto 52130 Siana cup	crescents	chitoniskos hem of warrior	
(overlap) ABV	incised cross	chitoniskos of warrior	
112, 67 Tiverios 1976 pl. 13; fig. 182	Other trims are visible to distinguish the exa	e but not clearly enough act motifs.	h
Heraklion 217	rings	hem of maenad	single line in band
(ex Giamalakis) Siana cup (overlap) ABV 173, 71bis Tiverios 1976 pl. 14b - 17a	vertical zig zags	hems of 3 maenads	single line in band
Taranto 20274 Siana cup (overlap) Para. 46 Tiverios 1976 pl. 36b & d	No garment patterning most of the figures a and judges).	ng is visible, because re naked (runners	
Taranto 20129 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 113, 70 CVA Taranto 3	No garment patterning hoplites are almost or by their shields.	ng is visible but the ompletely covered	

pl. 20; fig. 179

pi. 20, 11g. 179			
Taranto 20137 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 112, 65	dot rosette	chitons of 3 onlookers mantle of goddess	wide scatter flat surfaces
CVA Taranto 3 pl. 22, 23	white dots	neck band of Athena hem trim of Herakles neck band of goddess hem trim of god	single line two lines flanking band single line two lines flanking band
	herringbone	neck band of goddess neck trim of man	single line above dots single line
	scales	skirt of Athena	flat surface
	incised cross	hem trim of god and Herakles	single line between lines of dots
Taranto 4362 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 113, 72 CVA Taranto 3 pl. 18.1-2; fig. 180	No garment patte figures are unclot	rning is visible but most hed runners.	of the
Taranto 4363 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 113, 71 CVA Taranto 3 pl. 17; fig. 181	No patterning is v a few folds.	isible on garments other	than
Taranto 20273 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 112, 69 CVA Taranto 3	No garment patte are covered by th	rning is visible but the ho	oplites

pl. 19.3-4; fig. 178			
Taranto 4492 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 113, 73 CVA Taranto 3 pl. 19.1-2	No garment patterning the figures are naked	ng is visible but most of I runners.	
Copenhagen 6585 Siana cup (overlap) ABV 115, 5 CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 113.4	dot rosettes	garments of all 3 onlookers	wide scatter 3 motifs above and 3 below red stripes of mantles
Basel H. Cahn Siana cup ABV 113, 78 Tiverios 1976 pl. 78a	No garment patterning photograph is rather		
Athens Kerameikos cup ABV 113, 81 Kraiker 1934 pl. 1-3	incised cross and skirts of	peplos bodices horizontal and 2 women mantles of 3 men garment of corpse	closely spaced vertical lines small motifs, very closely spaced, lines aligned with neckline
	cross with V's	skirt of woman mantles of 5 men	large motifs vertical lines
	incised dots	peplos hem 9 mantles trim peplos waist trim	offset double lines
	dots (red?)	4 mantles	diagonal lines
Oxford Ashmolean 1966.768	white dots	cloak trim of runner mantle trim	

little master (band) cup frags.			of onlooker	
ABV 113, 80 Tiverios	C	dotted cross	cloak of runner	between folds
1976 pl. 47b-c		vertical zig zags?	mantle trims of onlooker	between lines of dots
Athens Acropolis I 2410		cross with V's	skirt	flat surface in grid
plate fragment ABV		herringbone	skirt trim Athena's bodice trim, neck and	single band flanked by white dots
111, 50 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974		white dots	waist skirt trim 3 hems	single line on either side of main band
pl. 23; fig. 29			skirt trim of Herakles	single line
		wavy line	skirt trim at hem	single line
		cross in square	chitoniskos trim	flanked by dots flanked by dots
		scales	skirt of Athena	flat garment
Athens AP 2087 plate	,	incised square	chitoniskos skirt hem	in grid in single band
fragment ABV 112, 53		guilloche	chitoniskos skirt hem	
Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 24.22; fig. 17		wavy lines	on both chitoniskoi	vertical, fine, textural effect
Athens AP 295 plate fragment ABV 111, 48 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.1	c. 550	herringbone	neck and sleeve trim	single band across neck and down arm
		white dots	neck trim of both figures herringbone;	one line on either side of
			normigoone,	single line on other figure
Bonn 339 plate		herringbone	sleeve trims of Amazon and Herakles	single lines

fragments  ABV  111, 51  Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 24.15; fig. 186	dotted scales	bodice of Amazon	
Athens Acr. 2424 plate frags	herringbone	warrior's skirt hem	single line flanked by white dots
frags.  ABV 111, 52 Callipolitis-	squares	warrior's skirt hem white dots	single line in grid
Feytmans 1974		winte dots	flanking
pl. 22.13; fig. 185	white dots	warriors' skirt hems of main bands	single lines on either side
Harvard 1959.127 plate ABV 112, 54 Robinson 1930 fig. 1.4	incised crescents	wings of front figure	upper area flat surface in lines aligned with edge of wings
Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 pl. 25.19 fig. 26			
Florence Va. 102b	diagonal grid	neck and hem trim of male	very fine in band
plate frags. ABV	vertical zig zag lines	neck and waist trims of 2 bodices	single lines
111, 46 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.3; fig. 30	cross with V's	central band of skirt	in unusual double grid; two vertical lines of motifs
	interlocking V's	skirt hem	broad band
,	dotted scales	skirt	flat surface
	guilloche	skirt hem trim	broad band
Florence V101a plate frags. ABV 111, 47	No garment patternin all naked.	ng is visible; figures are	

Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 22.7			
Athens Ker. 1909 plate frags. ABV 112, 55 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 26.21 Tiverios 1976 pl. 24a; fig. 16	red dots	diagonal mantle	on black stripe
Athens 507 plate <i>ABV</i> 112, 56	herringbone	neck and hem trim on one chiton, hem on another	single lines flanked by white dots
Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl.26.30;	guilloche	hem trim of woman's skirt	single line flanked by white dots
fig. 18	white dots	single lines	flanking trims on 3 garments
	dot rosette	mantle of woman	flat surface, vertical lines
	wavy vertical lines	white chiton	fine, textural effect?
Athens Vlasto 35	interlocking V's	mantle hem trim	wide band
plaque ABV	guilloche	mantle hem trim	wide band
113, 84 Rumpf 1937	vertical zig zags	trim of 3 mantles	singe line in band
pl. 14 Beazley 1986 pl. 19	white dots	trim of 2 mantles	single line above and below zig zag bands
Athens Acropolis 2187 pyxis fragments	dot rosettes	mantles of 2 women; chiton of man	large motifs flat surfaces

ABV 111, 44 Roebuck 1940 fig. 11 Tiverios 1976 pl. 74b		herringbone	mantle trim	
Athens P13127 shoulder lekythos	c. 550- 560 BC	cross with V's	chiton	flat surface vertical line down centre
fragments <i>ABV</i>		rings	chiton hem trim	single line in band
111, 42 Vanderpool 1946 pl. 19.2		incised dots	peplos neck and waist trim	single line in band
Taranto 1793 lekythos ABV 111, 38 Tiverios 1976 pl. 11b		No garment patternin because both figures	·	
Taranto 1792 lekythos ABV 111, 39 Tiverios 1976 pl. 14a		dot rosettes (large)	mantle of woman chitoniskos skirt of warrior	vertical lines small, flat surface area
Riehen Kuhn Coll. lekythos ABV 111, 41 Tiverios 1976 pl. 65a		No garment patternir illustration is unclear		

The fragments that follow have been included in my lists for the sake of completeness, and to show that I have examined them and they do not upset my ideas, but they are omitted from my counts of how many vases I have looked at as well as the pattern counts because they are of too small an area to be indicative of the patterns over a whole vase. I have also omitted a number of new vases attributed to Lydos by Tiverios from these lists, because I cannot read his Greek text and therefore have no way to evaluate the attributions, and could not find a single review of his book to evaluate the general scholarly opinion of it.

Athens

No garment patterning is visible but the

Acr. 2402 plate frags. ABV 111, 49 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 27.20		fragments are almost plate's border with or parts of the figures.		<del>,</del>
Florence 102d		scales	skirt	
plate frag. ABV		spiral	skirt hem	in band
111, 46 Tiverios 1976		interlocking V's	skirt hem	in band
pl. 71c		This is a very small f areas of three figures		the feet
Athens P13426 kothon fragments ABV 111, 43 Vanderpool 1946 pl. 22.8	mid sixth century	No garment patternir fragments are very si		ne
Athens R107 kylix frag. ABV 113, 77 Tiverios 1976 pl. 74c		No garment patterning shows only the head	ng is visible. The and shoulders of	fragment a man.
Florence kylix frag. ABV 113, 79 Tiverios 1976 pl. 76a.		No garment patterning of the bodies of anim		
Athens 1492 kylix frag. ABV 113, 82 Tiverios 1976 pl. 79c		No garment patterning small fragment show shoulders of two wrongs	s only the head a	

Athens Agora AP866 (R108) kylix frags. ABV 112, 66 Tiverios 1976 pl. 80b			Amazon's hem trim tterning is visible but the small areas of 3 figure	
Athens AP 587 lekythos fragment ABV 111, 40 Pease 1935 fig. 19.126	ca. 550 BC	interlocking V's  No other patterning is small.	chiton neck border is visible but the fragme	broad band
Athens Kerameikos 1673 loutrophoros frags.		dots figure dot rosette	hem of one in band mantle of man	single line
ABV 110, 35 Karydi 1963 beil. 40.1 Tiverios 1976 pl. 74c		No other patterning fragments are few ar	is visible but the nd mainly show animals	between folds
Villa Giulia 42045 hydria ABV 108, 17 Tiverios 1976 pl. 70c			ng is visible but the surf worn and the photograp	
Athens Kerameikos hydria? fragment ABV 109, 20 Lullies 1947 pl. 18.6	53	No garment patterni fragment shows only	ng is visible but the y parts of 2 heads.	
Athens Kerameikos dinos	early	meander of Herakles	chitoniskos	
ABV		red and white	Amazon's skin	

107, 2 Tiverios 1976 pl. 75a&c	dots	garment (very unusual)	
Salonica 8.25 krater fragment ABV 108, 10 Tiverios 1976 pl. 70b		terning is visible, but the sister only a man's head and sh	
Naples Astarita krater frag. ABV 684 (112, 57bis) Tiverios 1976 pl. 75b	red dots (large)	woman's mantle	diagonal lines, closely spaced
Athens 631 krater frags. ABV 108, 6 Tiverios 1976 pl. 77a-b	herringbone spiral	neck trims of 2 gars. mantle trim	single lines in bands single line
Athens Mus. Arch 697 krater frag. ABV 108, 7 Tiverios 1976 pl. 81c		terning is visible but the sa very small part of a ma	n's
Barcelona 4486 krater frag. ABV 108, 11 Tiverios 1976 pl. 98c		tterning is visible for the frats of two heads.	agment
Eleusis early amphora frag.  ABV 109, 22		tterning is visible. The frag	

Tiverios 1976 pl. 73c				
Athens Mus. Arch. 802a frag. ABV 112, 60 Tiverios 1976 pl. 81b		No garment patterning is visible on this small fragment with the heads and necks of two horses.		
Athens Mus. Arch. 802b frag. ABV 112, 59 Tiverios 1976 pl. 81d		ing is visible but the ield and horse's head	only.	
Florence V 102a plate	interlocking V's	sleeve trim	wide band	
frags ABV 111, 45 Callipolitis- Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.2; fig. 183	herringbone	garment hem	single line	
Florence 102c ABV 111, 45 Callipolitis - Feytmans 1974 pl. 21.5; fig. 184	No patterning is vis checkerboard filled	sible; the fragment sho	ows part of a	

	Ta	ıble	2:		
Garment	patterning	by	the	Princeton	<b>Painter</b>

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Basel BS 427 type B amphora		dot rosettes	chitoniskos bodice of left warrior chitoniskos	single line flat area in lines
Para. 130, 14bis CVA Basel 1			skirt of arming warrior long mantle of onlooker	flat area diagonal lines, flat
pl. 27.3-4;			area	
fig. 198		dotted scales	ependytes of Athena	central band, flat
		guilloche	skirt hem of Athena	single line in band
		dots	hem trim of 4 warriors mantle trim of 2 onlookers skirt hem of woman waist trim of arming warrior	single lines
•		diagonal grid	chitoniskos skirt of arming warrior	broad band very fine grid
Geneva 154 type B	550 - 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	dot rosettes	mantle of Apollo (both sides)	single vertical line; broad
amphora ABV 299, 18 CVA Geneva 2 pl. 48.1-4; fig. 197	Geneva 2 p. 17		peplos skirt of goddess	spacing single line, vertical, on
			mantles of Zeus and the figure behind chiton of Zeus	black stripes broad spaced diagonal lines over flat area
		fine dots	garment trim on all 6 figs. skirt of goddess	single lines in bands narrow band, central, vertical, single line
		incised cross	ependytes of Athena	diagonal lines flat surface

		scales	peplos skirt	flat garment central band
		vertical zig zag lines	peplos hem trim of 3 goddesses	single bands
Naples Sant. 144 type B amphora ABV 298, 13	560 - 540 BC <i>CVA</i> Naples 1 p. 3	dot rosette	mantles of 3 onlookers garments of 3 onlookers chitoniskos skirt of warrior	broad spaced on black folds flat areas
CVA Naples 1 pl. 1.5-6; fig. 33		white dots	chitoniskos hem of Herakles hem of female	single lines
		vertical zig zags	hem of Deianeira	single line
Rhodes 1346 type B amphora ABV 298, 7 CVA Rhodes 2 pl. 22; fig. 32		dots	peplos trim at waist, bust chitoniskos skirt and neck trim of warriors peplos trims at hems, neck and ependytes	single lines in bands
11g. 32		vertical zig zag lines	chitoniskos skirt trim of warrior	single band
		cross incised	ependytes peplos skirt	in grid, central band to knee in diag. grid,
				whole skirt, flat area
		dot rosette	mantle of charioteer	on black folds
Munich 1378 type B amphora ABV 299, 17 CVA	ca. 540 BC CVA Munich 1 p. 13	dot rosette	mantle of bearded man short mantle of bearded man long mantle of bearded man	between broad folds between folds a few motifs between broad folds
Munich 1 pl. 10.3, 12.6-7		dots	peplos trim of female at waist chiton hem of onlooker chiton neck trims	single lines in bands

			of 2 onlookers hem of short mantle	
Tarquinia 624 type B		white dots	chitoniskos trim of rider	single lines at neck, sleeve, and hem
amphora Para. 130, 15bis CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.1, 3; figs. 30, 105		dot rosettes	chlamys of youth himatia of 2 women mantle of man	on black folds broad spacing very widely spaced
figs. 30, 195		incised dots	mantle and chiton trim of man himation trim of woman chlamys trim of youth	band trim in single line of dots
Bonn 45 type B amphora ABV 299, 16		dot rosette	garment of Cassandra chitoniskos skirt of warrior	on central black fold of skirt between folds
Greifenhagen 1935 fig. 12-13 Wiencke 1954 pl. 57.8	·	incised dots skirt hem	Cassandra's in band chitoniskoi skirt hems of 3 warriors	single line
New York 56.171.9 type B	ca. 540 BC <i>MMB</i> March 1957	scales	chitoniskos skirt of warrior	flat surface
amphora ABV 299, 15 Littauer 1968 pl. 62.4 MMB March 1957 pl. 169.1 Smith 1945 fig. 1.3, 2.2, 3.1; fig. 196	p. 169	incised dots	chitoniskoi hems of 3 warriors	
Cambridge G59 type B amphora	third quarter sixth century	upright zig zags	chitoniskos waist trim of warrior	in short band

ABV 298, 10 CVA Cambridge 1 pl. 14.1; fig. 199	CVA Cambridge 1 p. 21	dots incised chiton trim	himation trim of man carrying body of man behind horses	single line
Princeton 168		dot rosettes	mantle of Zeus	along single fold
type B amphora ABV 299, 19		scales	chitoniskos of winged figure	central band of skirt; flat surface
Boardman 1974 fig. 138		incised dots	chiton trim of Zeus chitoniskoi of winged figs	neck and hem trim bands hems, neck and sleeve bands
Brussels R279		dot rosettes	mantles of 3 figures	on black folds
type B amphora ABV 299, 20 CVA		dots?	chiton of onlooker	single line aligned with back
Brussels 2 pl. 16.5		incised dashes	hem trims of 4 figures	single line in band
Villa Giulia 910 type B amphora ABV 298,9 CVA Villa Giulia pl. 2.1, 3		dots	chitoniskos skirt of charioteer mantle of seated figure mantle hem trim	horizontal lines, flat surface single line in band
London B212 neck amphora ABV 297,1 CVA London 4		dots	chitoniskos skirt of warrior wings of young man chitoniskos bodice of young man peplos bodices	in grid, flat surface black areas, flat
pl. 50.1, 51 Boardman 1974 fig. 140		dots incised	of 2 goddesses mantle of charioteer mantle hem of	lines, flat single lines in black folds
			Apollo chitoniskos hem of winged youth	
		dot rosette	chiton of running man mantle of	broad spacing, scatter between black

			Apollo chiton of Poseidon	folds flat surface
		dotted scales	chitoniskos skirt of warrior	
		cross	banner of lyre peplos skirts of 2 goddesses peplos skirt of woman	between folds in grid on flat surface in grid, flat surface
		wavy line	peplos hem of goddess	in band
New York 53.11.1 Panath.	ca. 550- 540 BC	dot rosettes	ependytes of Athena	vertical lines on black stripes
amphora <i>ABV</i> 298, 5 <i>CVA</i> Met. Mus. 4 pl. 13; fig. 34		red dots (med)	mantle of seated man short mantle ependytes of woman	lines follow shape of folds single lines follow folds single vertical line on each black stripe
		dotted scales	peplos skirt of Athena	whole skirt
		dots incised	waist and neck trim, peplos of Athena ependytes and peplos trim of 2 woman mantle and chiton trim of flute player	single lines in bands
		diagonal grid	ependytes trim of Athena	narrow band
		wavy line	mantle and chiton trim of seated man chitoniskos trim of onlooker	single line in band
Basel Ka 411 olpe <i>ABV</i> 299, 25		red dots (large)	diagonal mantle of second youth	curving lines; flat surface, broad spaces

CVA Basel 1 pl. 26.3-5,		diagonal lines	mantle hem trim	single band
New York 23.160.92 hydria		white dots	chitoniskos hem trim of warrior	single line
frags. ABV 299, 24 Schauenberg 1962 fig. 18		vertical zig zag lines	chitoniskos hem trim	in band
The following		ncluded in counts beca	use of the poor illustrat	
Boulogne 4 neck amphora ABV unusual)		dot	skirt of Athena	in diagonal grid with wavy lines (very
298, 3 Beazley				flat surface
1932 pl. 9; fig. 194	No other patte	erning is visible but the	illustrations are dim.	
Louvre F217 neck amphora ABV 298, 2 CVA Louvre 4 pl. 40.1,3; 41.1	No garment p small.	atterning is visible but	the illustrations are	

Table 3:						
Garment	patterning	by	the	<b>Euphiletos</b>	Painter	

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Tarquinia 627 Panath.		incised cross	ependytes of Athena	in diagonal grid, flat, to knee only
amphora Para. 142, 12bis		bodice of Athena	•	
CVA Tarquinia 1 pl. 16.2, 17.2;		dot rosette	ependytes of Athena mantles of 2 trainers	between folds between folds
fig. 36		guilloche	ependytes hem peplos hem	single line in band
		white dots	hems of peplos and ependytes	single line
		rings	neck and waist trim of Athena	single line
New York 14.130.12 Panath.	ca. 530 BC Bothmer 1985	dots	inside of Athena's skirt	between folds
amphora ABV 322, 6 Bothmer 1985 fig. 14	p. 28	cross with V's	skirt of Athena	betwen folds very fine motifs
Boston 99.520 Panath.	530 - 520 BC <i>CVA</i>	diamonds incised	ependytes of Athena	central band in diagonal grid; flat
amphora ABV 322,7	Boston 1 p. 40	white dots	interstices of diamonds	
CVA Boston 1 pl. 55; figs. 37, 44		red dots	inside of peplos skirt	visible below front hem
London B134 Panath. amphora ABV 322, 1 CVA Brit. Mus. 1 pl. 2.2 Beazley 1986		dots (red?)	skirt of Athena	fine dots between folds

pl. 93.2-3				
Munich 1453 Panath. amphora ABV 322, 4 Boardman 1974 fig. 198		No patterning visib	ole but runners are not cl	othed.
Leiden PC8 Panath.	ca. 530 BC CVA	red dots	Athena's bodice inside of skirt	not visible in ills.
amphora ABV	Leiden 1 p. 36	dotted cross	ependytes and skirt of Athena	between folds
322, 2 CVA Leiden 1 pl. 44-45 Beazley 1986 pl. 93.4		guilloche	skirt of Athena	central vertical band visible below ependytes
London B137 Panath. amphora ABV 322, 12 CVA London 1 pl. 4.1		No garment pattern	ning is visible on Athena	
London B201		dot rosettes	mantle of Apollo	between folds
type A amphora ABV		cross with V's	garment of woman	
323, 22 CVA Brit. Mus. 3 pl. 40.1		dots	chitoniskos skirt	
Villa Giulia 933 neck amphora ABV 323, 17 CVA Villa Giulia 1 pl. 6.1-3		No garment patter		
Berlin 1872	ca. 520 BC		mantle of woman in	scatter, med. spacing, flat

neck amphora ABV 322, 15 CVA	CVA Berlin 5 p. 37		chariot garment of woman facing kithara player	surface vertical line med. spacing flat surface
Berlin 5 pl. 23.2, 25, 28.1, fig. D		ning	neck and hem trim of kithara player neck trim of woman facing mantle hem trim of bride hem of Dionysos	single line in bands
		vertical hook	skirt hem of woman	single line in band
		crescents	neck trim of Dionysos	single line in band
Baltimore 48.14 neck amphora ABV 323, 20 Hill, JWG 118, fig. 9		rings	woman's mantle hem	single line in band
Toronto 929.22.8 type A amphora	ca. 520- 510 BC <i>CVA</i> Toronto 1	triple white dots	drapery of Athena, Apollo, and Hermes	between folds
ABV 323, 23 CVA Toronto 1	p. 4	white dots (groups)	drapery of Athena, Hermes and Dionysos	between folds
pl. 5		incised cross	ependytes of Athena flat area	diagonal lines broad spacing
London B300 hydria ABV 324, 39 CVA Brit Mus. 6 pl. 74.1, 75.1 Boardman 1974 fig. 222		red dots	ependytes of both maenads chiton of Dionysos	flat surface flat surface beneath mantle
Cabinet des Médailles 254		incised cross	mantles of Herakles and god in chariot	on black folds wide spacing

hydria <i>ABV</i> 324, 38 <i>CVA</i> Bib. Nat. 2 pl. 58.3, 4, 8; 59.1-5; fig. 35	guilloche	mantle trim of Herakles and god in chariot	single bands
	white dots	mantle of Hermes	single line on each side of guilloche trim
	dotted cross?	skirt of Athena	central fold only, medium spacing, in vertical line
Louvre F290 hydria ABV 324, 37	rings	ependytes of Athena skirt hem neck trim	in grid; flat surface single line in band
CVA Louvre 6 pl. 69.6-7; fig. 38	incised cross	bodice of Athena cloak of right hero	scatter closely spaced single line, broad spaced
	petal cross	cloak of left hero	one large motif in each area
	1-4-		
	dots .	cloak of right hero cloak trims and bands on both	scatter single lines in bands
	crescents	right hero cloak trims and	single lines
Louvre F292 hydria Para 142		right hero cloak trims and bands on both cloak trim	single lines in bands single line in bands alternating with dots between the
F292	crescents	right hero cloak trims and bands on both cloak trim and bands	single lines in bands single line in bands alternating with dots
F292 hydria Para. 142 CVA Louvre 6 pl. 70.2-4	crescents incised cross	right hero cloak trims and bands on both  cloak trim and bands  chlamys and chitoniskos of Hermes  chlamys and chitoniskos	single lines in bands single line in bands alternating with dots between the broader of some very
F292 hydria Para. 142 CVA Louvre 6 pl. 70.2-4 Copenhagen Chr. VIII 809 hydria	crescents incised cross red dots	right hero cloak trims and bands on both  cloak trim and bands  chlamys and chitoniskos of Hermes  chlamys and chitoniskos of Hermes  skirt of goddess behind horses mantle of	single lines in bands single line in bands alternating with dots between the broader of some very fluid folds between broadest folds between
F292 hydria Para. 142 CVA Louvre 6 pl. 70.2-4	crescents incised cross red dots incised cross	right hero cloak trims and bands on both  cloak trim and bands  chlamys and chitoniskos of Hermes  chlamys and chitoniskos of Hermes  skirt of goddess behind horses mantle of charioteer  neck trims of	single lines in bands single line in bands alternating with dots between the broader of some very fluid folds between broadest folds between folds single lines

ABV		woman	
324, 28 CVA Tubingen 3 pl. 15.1-2, 16.1-3, fig. 9	horizontal hooks	warrior's hem trim	single line in band
	crescents	neck and hem trim of old man	single line in band
	dots	hem trim of right woman	single line in band
Nicosia C433	curly cross	cloaks of both heroes	one motif in each section
oinochoe ABV 325, 41 Buchholz 1984 fig. 1a-c, 3	rings	cloak hem trims and dividing bands	single lines in bands
	zig zag line	cloak trim of left hero	single line in band
The following vases are not i			
Mytilene frags. column krater? ABV 323, 25 Lamb 1932 pl. 24.5, 10, 14	No patterning is visib few and small.	le but the fragments are	·
<u></u>			

Table 4:					
Garment	patterning	by	the	Lysippides	<b>Painter</b>

		- F		
VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
London B193 bil. type A amphora		concentric incised V's	cloak of hero	fills the areas delineated in sections
ABV 254, 3 ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 8 Marwitz		interlocking meander	cloak of hero	dividing bands and trim
1963 fig. 56 Cohen		wavy line	cloak of hero	dividing bands and trim
1978 pl. 16, 1; fig. 90		6 petal flower	cloak of hero	in areas sectioned by bands
		dots?	chitoniskos skirt of hero	in grid, flat surface
		rings?	chitoniskos skirt of hero	in grid, flat surface
Boston 99.538 bil. typ A amphora ABV 255, 6 ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 12 Marwitz 1963 fig. 60; fig. 8	9	dots	chitoniskos of Herakles	closely spaced and between folds
Boston 01.8037 bil. type A	530- 520 BC	ring	chitoniskos skirt of hero	in grid, flat surface
amphora  ABV  254, 2  ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 7  1974		6 petal flower	cloaks of heroes	alt. red and white petals in areas delineated
fig. 2.2; figs. 79, 88		wavy line	cloak hems and divisions chitoniskos skirt	single line in bands
Munich 2301 bil. type A amphora		wavy line	chitoniskos mantle trim of Hermes	single line in band
ABV 255, 4		petal cross	mantle of	between alt.

ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 9 Simon 1976 pl. 86, 88;	guilloche	Herakles  peplos hem of	folds, medium spacing single band
figs. 43, 84 Villa Giulia	 rings	Athena skirt of Athena	central stripe in grid
24998 type A amphora <i>ABV</i> 255, 9 Cohen 1978	crenellated line	skirt hem of Athena skirt hem of female mantle trim of youth	single line within each band
pl. 2.2, 3.1 Hermary 1978 fig. 8; fig. 217	zig zag line?	chitoniskos hem of Herakles	single band
New York 53. 82	crenellated line	ependytes hem of Athena	single band
type A amphora Para. 114, 10bis Cohen	guilloche?	peplos of onlooker	single vertical line at centre of bodice and skirt
1978 pl. 3.2, 5.2 MMB 1961 p. 154 fig. 4; fig. 42	dots	bodice hem trim	single band
Oxford 1965.100 type A amphora ABV 255, 10 Cohen 1978 pl. 3.3	No garment patterning illustration is small.	g is visible but the	
Bologna 151 bil. type A	spiral	skirt of Athena	alternating with cross with wedges
amphora ABV 255, 4 ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 10	cross with wedges	skirt of Athena	in grid
Cohen 1978 pl. 14.1; fig. 218	guilloche	trim band on skirt at mid calf level	single band
Louvre F204	dot rosette	mantle of Dionysos	on black folds wide spaced

bil. type A amphora ABV 254, 1 ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 11 Cohen 1978 pl. 15.2; figs. 83, 219	swastika	mantle of woman peplos skirt of woman	on black folds wide spaced scattered, broad spaced flat area
Moscow 70 type A amphora ABV	dot rosette	mantles of 2 female figures and figure behind chariot	few, widely spaced, between folds
255, 8 Cohen 1978 pl. 18.1-3; fig. 220	wavy line	garment hems of 3 female figs	single line in bands
Oxford 208 neck amphora ABV 256, 15 Cohen 1978 pl. 17.2	rings	skirt of maenad	in grid on flat surface
New York market	zig zag line	chitoniskos hem trim	broad band
Cohen 1978 pl. 20.1-2	No other patterning,	but some fluid folds.	
Paris, Rothschild	rings	skirt of Athena	in grid, flat surface
type B amphora ABV 255, 12 Marwitz 1963 fig. 43 Cohen 1978 pl. 14, 2	wavy line cross?	skirt hem trim cloth hanging on wall	single line between folds
Munich 1575 neck	ring	chitoniskos hem trim of warrior	in grid, flat surface
amphora ABV 256, 16	cross?	bodice of Athena	vertical lines

CVA Munich 8 pl. 363.1, 364, 367.1,		wavy line	chitoniskos hem of Herakles, neck trim of Athena	single line in band
fig. A1 Boardman 1974 fig. 165; fig. 91		zig zag lines	chiton of charioteer	closely spaced textural effect?
London B211 neck amphora ABV		rings	chitoniskos skirt of Ajax peplos skirt of Athena	double incised grid, flat in grid flat flat
256, 14		dotted cross	mantle of	alternating in
CVA Brit. Mus. 4 pl. 49.3 Marwitz		petal cross	Apollo mantle of Apollo	vertical lines with petal cross
1963 figs. 57-58, 65-68; fig. 216		zig zag line	chitoniskos skirt hems of Ajax and Achilles	single lines in bands
·		cross incised	chitoniskos skirt of Achilles	horizontal lines
		guilloche	mantle trim of Achilles and Dionysos	single lines
Munich 1478 neck	ca. 525 BC	swastika	mantle of Dionysos	between folds
amphora ABV 255, 13		wavy line	mantle trim of Dionysos	single line in band
CVA Munich 7 pl. 356.2, 357.1-2, 358.1-2, fig. A5; fig. 39		dotted cross	chitoniskos skirt of Herakles	between folds
Zurich ETH 7 neck		rings	peplos skirt of Athena	in grid, central band only
amphora ABV 256, 17 CVA		red dots	peplos skirt of Athena	single vertical line down each black stripe
Zurich 1 pl. 12.1-2, 13.1-4, 15.4 Marwitz		white dots	peplos skirt of Athena	single line down each side of central band and 2 lines at

1963 fig. 44, 45, 46, 69; fig. 41			hem
	dot squares	mantle of old man mantle of female onlooker	very few, just between folds, widely spaced
	wavy line	chitoniskos hem of Iolaos	single band
		peplos hem of onlooker	single band
London B492 oinochoe ABV 256, 19 Boardman 1974 fig. 166	petal cross	bodice and skirt of Athena	diagonal lines, medium spacing, some alternation of motifs with cross
	cross	bodice and skirt of Athena	
	rings	chitoniskos hem of Herakles	single line with dots above and below
	white dots	chitoniskos hem of Herakles	one line above and one below rings
London B302 hydria ABV 261, 40 Beazley 1986 pl. 81.1	red dots	mantle of	alternating
	swastikas	Dionysos mantle of Dionysos	motifs between folds on upper part of mantle, swastikas only on lower part
	guilloche	maenad's garment trim	hem band
	cross?	bodice of goddess	vertical lines widely spaced
Louvre F294 hydria ABV 256, 18 CVA Louvre 6 pl. 70.5-6 Cohen 1978 pl. 4.1-3	rings	peplos skirt of Athena	in grid, flat surface
	zig zag lines	chiton of Apollo	closely spaced textural effect?
			nin ala lina
Cohen 1978 pl. 4.1-3	wavy line	mantle trim of Dionysos	single line over arm
Cohen 1978 pl. 4.1-3	wavy line rings?		_

Hoek Coll. kylix			alaint hann a f	grid, flat surface
Cohen 1978 pl. 7.3, 9.1		white dots	skirt hem of Athena	single line near hem
Brussels A3645 type A cup <i>Para</i> . 114, 21bis Cohen 1978 pl. 9. 2-3, 10. 1		ring	skirt of one woman and skirt and bodice of another	in grid over flat surfaces
London B426 type A cup ABV 256. 20 Cohen 1978 pl. 11.1-2, 12.1-3, 13.1		cross	chitoniskos skirt of warrior	in grid
	guilloche	chitoniskos neck trim of warrior	single band	
		There are hints of other patterns visible on the vase but nothing definite due to small photos.		
Munich 2080 type A cup ABV 256, 22 Cohen	square	peplos of woman peplos of	alternating with the meander in a grid; flat	
		meander	woman	surface
1978 pl. 13. 2-3		cross?	skirt of Athena chitoniskos	between folds medium spaces between folds
		of Apollo	medium spaces	
Cambridge ca. 525 37.12 BC type A cup ABV 257, 23 CVA Cambridge 2 pl. 4.1, 8.1, 9.4		dot rosettes	chiton of Dionysos	large and few
	white dots	himation border of Dionysos, breast and hem	two lines at each part of trim	
	chitoniskos hem of Herakles	single line above band		
	guilloche	chitoniskos hem of Herakles	band dec.	
Centre Island, NY Bothmer Coll. fragment		squares meanders	skirt of Athena	alternating in grid with meanders; flat area

Cohen 1978 pl. 8.1 
Palermo incised ovals suits of two archers bilingual eye cup ABV 256, 21  $ARV^2$  5, 14 Schneider 1889 pl. 4; fig. 164

Table 5:					
Garment	patterning	by	the	<b>Amasis</b>	Painter

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Athens Akropolis 2535	very early Beazley	crosses (incised)	woman's skirt	horizontal lines flat surface
miniature plaque ABV 157, 91 Vanderpool 1939 p. 250 fig 8	1956a p. 157.	fine white dots	skirt hem trim	single line in band
A 41				
Athens Agora P12628 alabastron ABV 155,	very early Beazley 1956a p. 155	dot rosettes	mantles of four onlookers	vertical lines flat surface
Vanderpool 1939 p. 248-250		crosses (incised)	peplos skirt of winged female	horizontal lines flat surface
F. 2 vs 20 s		fine white dots	trims on five garments	single line in band
		incised dot	trims on four garments	single lines in band
NY Met	early	dot rosettes	mantles of	vertical lines
62.11.11 aryballos <i>Para.</i> 66	middle Bothmer 1985		onlookers (four)	on black stripes of mantles
Bothmer 1985 p. 194 - 195	p. 195	incised dots and dashes	trims on six mantles	single lines in bands
Tubingen University 7434 shoulder	"one of earliest vases" Bothmer	large dots red	mantles of two onlooker	two lines of dots to cover flat area
lekythos Para. 66 Bothmer 1985 pp. 168 - 9; fig. 60	1985 p. 168	incised dots	trims on two mantles	single lines in bands
Paris Louvre F192	one of artist's very	wavy line white	mantle of bystander	vertical line down front panel

shoulder lekythos ABV 154, 52 Bothmer 1985 p. 174 - 175; fig. 59	earliest Bothmer 1985 p. 174			
Paris Louvre Cp 10520 shoulder lekythos Bothmer 1985 p. 176 - 177	among the earliest Bothmer 1985 p. 176		patterning is visible of decorated with two li	
Paris Louvre E718 shoulder lekythos ABV 154, 53 Bothmer 1985 p. 180 - 181	very early Beazley 1956 p. 154		patterning is visible of decorated with two s	
Philadelphia University 4849 shoulder lekythos ABV 154, 50 Bothmer	very early Beazley 1956a p. 154	medium red dots	chiton of onlooker  mantle of runner	single vertical line down chiton - flat area horizontal line across shoulders
1960 pl. 4, 4 - 6 Bothmer 1985		thick wavy line white	chiton of onlooker	vertical line down front of chiton - flat
pp. 170 - 1; fig. 190		pyramidal triple dot	chitoniskos of winged youth chiton of onlooker	scattered over flat garment vertical line flat surface
		red dots large	chitoniskos of winged youth	scattered over flat garment
		incised dot	hem trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Leningrad 2635 shoulder	very early Beazley 1956a	alternating large dot rosettes and	mantle of onlooker	vertically arranged one rosette followed

lekythos ABV 154, 56 Bothmer 1960 pl. 5, 1-3	p. 154	large red dots vertical lines	chiton of onlooker	by two dots on flat surface fine, closely spaced, textural
Centre Is. NY Coll. Bothmer shoulder lekythos ABV 154, 55 Bothmer 1960 pl. 5, 4-5	very early Beazley 1956a p. 154	No garment patterns	visible.	
Paris Louvre F71 shoulder lekythos ABV 154, 49 Bothmer	early Beazley 1956a p. 154	dots incised	peplos skirt of Artemis	central black stripe of skirt and broad band at hem broad band at hem of onlooker
1985 p. 172		fine white dots	peplos trim of Artemis mantle trims of bystander	single line in band single line in band
		step pattern (white)	hem of right onlooker	broad band
Athens Kanellopoulos shoulder lekythos Para. 66 Bothmer 1960 pl. 6, 2-5 Bothmer 1985 fig. 38	late in early period Bothmer 1960 p. 73	red dots large	diagonal mantle of seated youth scatter over chitoniskos of winged youth	flat surface diagonal lines flat surface
London Brit. Mus. B548	early middle Bothmer	dots incised	peplos bodice of Artemis	horizontal lines
shoulder lekythos ABV	1985 p. 188	guilloche - spiral	peplos skirt of Artemis	single vertical line, a central band
154, 58 Bothmer		incised dash	hem of Apollo	single line, band
1985 pp. 188 - 189	9	vertical lines	chiton of Apollo	fine, close spaced, textural

Montclair, New Jersey Dusenbery shoulder lekythos ABV 155, 59	early middle ca. 540 Bothmer	dot rosettes medium red dots	chiton of seated figure	flat garment
	1985	incised dot	mantle trim	single line in band
Bothmer 1971 pl. 26 Bothmer 1985 pp. 190 - 191		fine white dot	mantle trim	single line in band
NY Met. 56.11.1 shoulder lekythos Para. 66 Bothmer	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 183	incised fine dots	trims on 8 garments (vase body) and 8 garments (vase shoulder)	single lines in bands
1960 pl. 7, 1-3 Bothmer 1989 pp. 64, 182 -		dot rosette	mantle of best man mantle of man in front of first mules	vertical line over flat surface
		large dots (red)	diagonal mantle of second cart driver	flat surface lines follow top edge of mantle
		incised cross	garment of woman holding garland skirt of woman behind mules	horizontal lines over flat surface horizontal lines
			two skirts and one bodice on vase shoulder	vertical lines on the skirts, horizon. on the bodice
		pyramidal triple dot	mantle of flute player	alternate stripes
		dotted cross	skirt of woman behind the mules	scatter, flat surface
NY Met. 31.11.10 shoulder lekythos	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 186	red dots medium	mantle of seated woman skirt of woman	horizontal lines closely spaced alt. with dotted cross
<i>ABV</i> 154, 57 Karouzou 1956	p. 133		skirt of woman holding scales cloth folded	horizontal lines closely spaced alt. dot rosettes
pl. 43, 44.1 Bothmer 1985 pp. 185 - 187	7	dotted cross	peplos skirts of two spinners	single vertical line of motifs in black stripes flanking central

				one
		interlocking v's	peplos skirt hems of five figures	band dec.
		incised dot	trims on five garments (vase body) and five on shoulder	
		incised cross	four peplos skirts and four bodices (eight garments on body); two skirts and two bodices (four) on shoulder	vertical lines on skirts, horiz. lines on bodices
		dot rosettes	cloth being folded	alt. red dots horizontal lines
		vertical zig zag	hems of two figures (shoulder)	single line in band
Warsaw Nat. Mus 198552 shoulder lekythos Para. 66 Bothmer 1985		white dots medium	mantle of running youth chiton and mantle of standing figure	diagonal line on top edge scatter over chiton; diagonal line along one fold of mantle
fig. 39		dot rosette	chiton top of winged man	single rosette flat area
		large red dots	mantle of standing man	scatter over black stripe
		medium red dot	mantle of running youth	on black stripe over extended arm
		fine dot white	garment hems of winged fig.	single line in band
		herringbone (white)	hem of winged man	single line in band
Copenhagen 14067 Deianeira lekythos	middle Bothmer 1985	large dots (red)	chitons of both figures	visible beneath mantles on flat surfaces
Para. 66 lekythos Bothmer 1960	p. 192	incised dot/ dash	trims on three garments	single lines in bands

pl. 6, 1 Bothmer 1985 pp. 192 - 3

pp. 1>2 3				
Athens Nat. Mus 404 Deianeira	late middle Bothmer 1985	dot rosettes	mantle of Helen	between folds alternating motifs
lekythos ABV 155, 62 Bothmer	p. 192	dotted cross	peplos of Helen	scatter over skirt
1985 fig. 101		large red dot	mantle of Helen mantle of man	between folds
		pyramidal triple dot	mantle of man	
		vertical zig zag	skirt and neck trims of Helen	in band
Rome Villa Giulia subDeianeira lekythos ABV 155, 63 Bothmer		dot rosettes	mantle of flute player fabric on wall chiton of onlooker	single diagonal stripe vertical line close scatter with dots
1985 fig. 94		large red dot	chiton of onlooker	close scatter with rosettes
		incised dot	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
Paris	 late	medium	peplos bodice	
Louvre F70 mastoid	middle Bothmer 1985	red dots	of woman with lip cup	
ABV 156, 76 Bothmer 1985	p. 198	guilloche spiral	peplos trims of women with lip cup and lyre	vertical line central band
p. 198 - 199.		dots incised	peplos skirt of woman with lip cup	dotted lines on either side of guilloche line
		dot rosettes	mantle of youth with oinochoe peplos skirt of woman with lyre	two vertical lines at front and back of skirt
			peplos bodice of woman with cup	

		dotted cross	peplos skirt of woman with lyre	vertical line at centre of skirt
		white dots fine	peplos trim of woman with lyre mantle hem of youth with oinochoe	single line at hem and sleeve single line near hem
Paris Louvre A479 cup skyphos ABV 156, 80 Bothmer 1985 pp. 201 - 203; fig. 54	middle period ca 540 BC  Bothmer 1985 p. 201	All the figures (the courting c are naked.		
Louvre CA 2918 lip cup ABV 157, 85 Vanderpool 1939	very early Bothmer 1985 p. 212	dot rosette	mantles of four onlookers  trims on five garments	horizontal lines of three rosettes flat area single lines in bands
p. 253 fig. 11 Bothmer 1985 p. 213		fine white dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Malibu Getty 79.AE 197 band cup Bothmer 1985 pp. 204- 205; fig. 192		dot rosettes fine white dots	chiton of one Greek  trims on three garments	Not visible in illustrations. Listed in use of added colour. single lines in bands
Berlin F1795 band cup ABV 156, 83 Bothmer 1985 fig. 110a-b	early middle 550- 540 Bothmer 1985 p. 208	incised dots	trims on three garments	fine, close space, textural single lines in bands
Madrid Coll.	early middle	dot rosette	mantle	very large motifs flat surface

Gomez- Moreno band cup Bothmer 1971 pl. 24 Bothmer 1985 fig. 108a-b	ca 550 - 540 BC Bothmer 1985 p. 208			
Louvre F75 band cup ABV 156, 81 Vanderpool	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 211	crosses (incised)	skirt of first dancer bodices of second dancer and Ariadne skirt of third maenad	broad spaced horizontal lines flat surface on black stripes
1939 p. 253 fig. 10 Bothmer 1985 pp. 210 - 211		fine white dots	skirt hems (three) skirt hems of warriors (two)	band dec single lines
fig. 132		incised dot	two skirt hems	single lines in band
		vertical lines	chiton of Dionysos	fine, close spaced textural
Mayence Univer.	very early Bothmer	vertical wavy line	chiton of man	fine, close spaced, textural
Univer. 88 type A cup <i>Para.</i> 67		vertical wavy line medium red dot	chiton of man diagonal mantle	
Univer. 88 type A cup Para. 67 Bothmer 1985 pp. 215 - 6;	Bothmer 1985			textural diagonal lines
Univer. 88 type A cup <i>Para.</i> 67 Bothmer 1985	Bothmer 1985	medium red dot	diagonal mantle	diagonal lines flat surface on black folds
Univer. 88 type A cup Para. 67 Bothmer 1985 pp. 215 - 6;	Bothmer 1985 p. 215 middle Bothmer 1985 p. 219	medium red dot	diagonal mantle  mantle  mantle  hems of both	diagonal lines flat surface on black folds flat surface single lines
Univer. 88 type A cup Para. 67 Bothmer 1985 pp. 215 - 6; fig. 61  Kings Point, NY. Coll Schimmel type A cup Para. 67 Bothmer 1985 pp. 217 - 219	Bothmer 1985 p. 215 middle Bothmer 1985 p. 219	medium red dot large red dot fine white dot large	mantle mantle mantle hems of both winged youths  skirt of first stable boy mantle of right onlooker garment of man under handle mantle of right onlooker on side B tunics of two archers	textural diagonal lines flat surface on black folds flat surface single lines in bands medium scatter scatter with

			stable mantle of man under handle	
		incised dots	trims on eight garments	single lines in bands
		vertical zig zag	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
		wavy line	single neck trim	single line in band
Ashmolean 1939.118 cup type B	late Bothmer 1985	pyramidal triple dot	komast with aryballos	
ABV 157, 89 Bothmer 1985	p. 227	white dots	chiton hem and mantle folds of komast mantle hem	single lines
p. 228			and folds	Single inies
		dot rosettes red dots large	mantle of komast with oinochoe	on single black fold
Boston Mus 10.651 cup type A ABV 157, 86 Bothmer 1985 pp. 221 - 222 fig. 57	late Bothmer 1985 p. 222	None of the figures or	n this vase are clothed.	
Vatican Mus Greg Etr.369 type A	later than Boston 01.8026, 27	dot rosettes large red dots	two mantles	close scatter
cup ABV 157, 87	ca 520 BC Bothmer 1985	incised crosses	skirt of woman	diagonal lines
Bothmer 1985 pp. 223 - 225 fig. 66	p. 225 ;	fine white dots	skirt and mantle trims	single lines in bands
London Brit Mus B52 olpe	early middle Bothmer 1985	large red dots dot rosettes	garments of all three figures	medium scatter alternating dots and rosettes
ABV 153, 31 Bothmer	p. 139	white dots	chitoniskos of hunter	line across shoulders
1985		incised dash/	trims on four	single lines

p. 138		dot	garments	in bands
Paris Louvre F30 olpe	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 141	red dots medium	chiton of Poseidon chitoniskos of Hermes	wide spaced with rosettes vertical lines medium spacing
ABV 152, 29 Bothmer 1985 p. 140 - 141;		dot rosettes	chitoniskos of Hermes chiton of Poseidon	wide spaced wide spaced
fig. 65		crosses with V's	garment of Athena	vertical lines medium spacing
		incised dots	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
		fine white dots	hem of Herakles	single lines in bands
London Brit Mus B471 olpe	late middle Bothmer 1985	med red dots dot rosettes	chitoniskoi of Perseus and onlooker	sequence of two dots then single rosette
<i>ABV</i> 153, 3	p. 151	fine white dots	Gorgon's chitoniskos	line across chest band dec
Bothmer 1985 p. 65, 150		vertical zig zag band	chitoniskos hems of Perseus and the Gorgon	band dec
		incised dots	trims on Perseus, the Gorgon and onlooker	single lines in bands
Wurzburg Wagner Mus 332	late middle Bothmer	dot rosettes	chiton of left onlooker	med scatter with dots
olpe <i>ABV</i> 151, 30	1985 p. 144	dotted cross	peplos of woman	on black stripes flanking red one
Bothmer 1985 p. 143		red dots medium	mantle of right youth chiton of left onlooker	vertical line down black fold scatter with dot rosettes
,		incised dot	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
Oxford Ashmolean 1929.19 olpe fragments	late middle Bothmer 1985 p. 146	large red dots	chiton of left youth chiton of Poseidon	broad scatter
ABV 153, 38 Bothmer	ρ. 140	incised cross	garment skirt of Athena	on black stripes in diagonal lines

1985 p. 145		incised dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
NY Met. 59.11.17 trefoil mouth	late Bothmer 1960 p. 80	cross with V's	undergarment of woman	close scatter over flat surface
noun olpe <i>Para.</i> 66 Bothmer 1960 pl. 8, 1 - 3	μ. ου	large dots red	mantle of man facing woman short mantle of youth behind man	one fold of complex garment over central area, flat surface
рі. 6, 1 - 3		dot rosettes	short mantle of youth	over central area, flat surface with large dots
		incised dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
		fine white dot	trim on one mantle	single line in band
Wurzburg Wagner Mus L333 olpe	late Bothmer 1985 p. 153	pyramidal triple dot	himation of flute player	top stripe and bottom stripe only
ABV 153, 36 Bothmer	р. 133	white crosses	himation of right man	one fold only
1985 p. 153		incised dot	trims on both mantles	single lines in bands
Athens Agora P24673		medium red dots	mantles of men on kline (two)	on black folds medium scatter
olpe fragment ABV		dot rosette	mantle of man on kline	on black folds medium scatter with red dots
714, 31bis Bothmer 1985 fig. 117			skirt of youth at head of kline	medium scatter flat surface
New York	ca. 560	incised dash	trims on two	single lines
1978.11.22 chous Clark 1981 figs. 1-4, 24 Bothmer 1985 p. 154	Bothmer 1985 p. 154		garments	in bands
Bristol Mus.		large red dots and	chitons of figures	medium scatter alternating dots

H803 chous <i>ABV</i> 153, 44		dot rosettes incised dot	flanking the hunter chiton trim	and rosettes single line
Bothmer 1985 fig. 84				in band
Orvieto, Faina 1001 chous		medium dots red	mantle of man at head of goat	diagonal lines to match broad fold lines
ABV 153, 43 Clark 1980		white dots (fine)	mantle trims of lyre player	single line along top diagonal edge
p. 40, figs. 10-11 Bothmer		incised dash	mantle trim of lyre player	single line in band
1985 fig. 118		dot rosette	mantle of lyre player	widely spaced small motifs
Louvre F37 chous ABV 153,	early middle Bothmer	dotted cross?	peplos skirt of Athena	scatter over flat surface
41 Clark p. 158 1980 p. 40	1985	fine white dot	trims of Iolaos garment trim of Athena	single lines in bands
figs 12 - 14 Bothmer 1985 pp. 34 - 35		incised dot	hem trims of Iolaos trims of Athena	single lines in bands
Oxford Ashmolean 1965.122 chous ABV 154,	very late middle period Bothmer 1985	med. dots and dot rosettes alternating	chiton of flute player mantle of dancer with ivy branch	close scatter flat surface between folds
ABV 134, 45 Clark 1980 p. 42 pl. 20 - 23 Beazley 1931 pl. VIII	p. 161	crosses (incised)	chiton skirt of flute player	diagonal lines flat surface
		t		C. 1.
London Brit. Mus B524	early middle Bothmer	wavy vertical lines	two chitons	fine lines, textural
oinochoe I ABV 154, 47 Bothmer	1985 p. 165	interlocking zig zag band	chiton hem of right onlooker	band dec
1985 p. 163		incised dot	trims on two garments	single line in band
Vatican Mus. Greg.	very late	dotted cross	peplos bodice of woman	medium scatter

Etr. 17771 oinochoe I <i>ABV</i> 154, 48 Bothmer 1985 p. 166; fig. 67	Bothmer 1985 p. 167	dot rosette red dots medium	mantle of lyre player  mantle of woman mantle of lyre player	on black folds alternating motifs single lines on black folds on black folds alt. motifs
		pyramidal triple dot	mantle of lyre player mantle of seated man mantle of right onlooker	single line on black folds single lines on black folds alternating with red
		incised dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Berlin F1690 B amphora ABV 151,	early?	large red dots	garment of central figure mantle of fourth figure	vertical line on black stripe diagonal lines to match folds
Bothmer 1985 fig. 58		thick wavy line	mantle of fourth figure	diagonal lines at centre of folds
ng. 36		incised dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
NY Met 06.1021.69 B amphora <i>ABV</i> 150, 2 Bothmer 1985		dot rosettes	mantles of 2 framing onlookers mantle of onlooker?	vertical lines on black stripes
pp. 71 - 72		cross with V's	peplos bodice of woman	scatter over flat surface with plain cross
		incised cross	peplos bodice	scatter with cross with V's
			peplos skirt	central stripe, in grid
		fine white dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
		zig zag line	two hem trims	single lines
		interlocking v's	neck trim	broad band
		vertical zig zag	neck trim (two)	broad band
		incised dot	trim on one garment	single line in band

Para 65	late early Bothmer 1985 p. 74	large red dots	chiton of Dionysos mantle of right onlooker	scatter over flat surface central fold scatter
Bothmer 1985 p. 63,		incised dot/dash	trims on all garments (13)	single lines in bands
74-75; fig. 54		wavy vertical line	chiton of Dionysos	fine, close spaced, textural
Glyptothek	early middle	red dots medium	chitoniskos of central rider	two lines on flat surface
B amphora	Bothmer 1985	dot rosette	chiton of Dionysos	scatter
Para. 65 Bothmer 1985 p. 62, 79 - 80	p. 80	incised dot	trims on six garments	single lines in bands
79 - 80		incised ring	trims on three chitoniskoi of riders	single lines in bands
NY Met 56.171.10 B amphora ABV 150, 3	early middle Bothmer 1985	dot rosettes	mantles of framing onlookers both sides chitoniskos	on black stripes
Bothmer 1985			of warrior	•
p. 86 - 87		fine white dots	warrior's chitoniskos trim skirt hem of onlooker	band dec. single line
		large red dots	chitoniskos of warrior	line across shoulders
		incised dots	warrior's hem trims on two more garments	single lines in bands
		zig zag line	hem trim (one)	single line in band
Wurzburg University L265 L282 A amphora ABV 151, 22 Bothmer 1985 p. 6, 113 - 115; fig. 51	middle middle Bothmer 1985 p. 116	incised dots	peplos skirts of 4 dancers in band above the wine making satyrs	central or two side stripes of all women

Britain Priv. Coll. (ex Riehen, Hoek Coll.)	middle Bothmer 1960	incised crescents	Helen's peplos bodice	horizontal lines, flat area
amph. B <i>Para</i> . 65	p. 80	crosses with V's	Helen's peplos skirt	vertical lines flat area
Bothmer 1960 pl. 9, 10.1 - 2 Bothmer 1985		fine white dots	Helen's skirt hem skirt hems of warrior and Menelaeus	band dec single lines
fig. 43a-b		incised dots	Menelaeus's chiton skirt hem	band dec
			skirt hem of both warriors trims on four other garments	band dec
		vertical zig zags	skirt hem of Menelaeus	band dec
		dot rosettes large red dots	chiton of left onlooker	broad spaced vertical line over flat part of garment
			mantle of right onlooker	broad scatter flat area
		pyramidal triple dot	right warrior's skirt	broad scatter flat area
Berlin 1688 B amph.	middle ca 540 BC Bothmer	medium red dots	mantle of left onlooker	close spaced diagonal lines
ABV 150, 1	1985 p. 91	interlocking zig zag	Hermes mantle hems (twice) and chitoniskos hem chitoniskos hem of fourth figure	band dec
		dotted cross	Athena's peplos bodice	in grid
		fine white dots	trims on six garments	single lines in bands
		incised dots	trims on garments	seven single lines in bands
Louvre F36 B amph ABV	middle Bothmer 1985	crosses (incised)	skirt of first maenad garment of	horizontal lines flanking red central band

150, 6 Schauenberg 1964	p. 82		second maenad	flanked by red stripes
p. 113 Fig. 4;		dotted cross	peplos skirt of Athena	flat, central stripe
fig. 53		small dots (red)	mantle of Dionysos (diagonal)	diagonal lines to match wrapping close spaced flat surface
			chiton of Dionysos	scatter over flat surface
		pyramidal triple dot	chiton of Dionysos	scatter over flat surface
		interlocking zig zag	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
		dot rosettes	chitoniskos of Ares	flat, scatter
		incised dots	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
		horizontal zig zag line	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Louvre F26 B amph ABV 150, 5	middle Bothmer 1985	large dots (red)	chitoniskos of winged youth	broad spaced flat surface
Schauenberg 1964 pp. 115 - 117 Abb.6-7 Bothmer	p. 96		chiton of central male garment of right onlooker	scatter over flat area on single fold
1985 pp. 94 - 95		dot rosette	garment of onlooker	broad scatter with dots
		dotted cross	garment of right onlooker	on single fold with dots
		fine white dots	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
		incised dots	trims on six garments	single lines in bands
		vertical zig zags	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Basel L19 B amph Para. 65	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 85	incised cross	peplos skirt of woman	central stripe horizontal lines flat area
Schauenberg 1964		dot rosettes	short mantle of	on black stripes

p. 120-121 Abb 9-10			onlooker	
Bothmer 1985		fine white dots	mantle trim of seated man	single line in band
pp. 83 - 84; fig. 62		incised dot	mantle trim of seated man trims on four garments	single lines in bands
		horizontal zig zag line	skirt hem of woman	single line in band
Copenhagen Nat Mus 14347 B amphora ABV 151, 13	medium late middle Bothmer 1985 p. 101	mantle of red dots	broad scatter first figure mantle of third figure peplos of Athena	on black folds vertical lines on black stripes
Bothmer 1985 p. 99		incised cross?	mantle of second figure peplos skirt of Athena	diagonal grid central stripe diagonal grid central stripe
		incised rings	skirt hem of Athena	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	chiton hem	single line in band
	·	vertical zig zags	mantle trim	single line in band
		incised dot	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
Munich Glyptothek 1383	late middle Bothmer	dotted cross	peplos bodice of Helen	closely spaced scatter
B amphora 1985 ABV p. 10 150, 7 Bothmer 1985 pp. 102 - 103;	1985 p. 103	incised cross	peplos bodice and hem of Helen	band dec
	;	white cross	peplos skirt of Helen	on black stripes
fig. 52		dot rosettes	chitoniskos of Menelaos	
		fine white dots	trim of warrior's garment	single line in band
		incised dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
		vertical zig zags	neck trim of Helen and	single lines in bands

			mantle trim of Dionysos	
Geneva I4 ABV 150, 8 B amphora	late middle Bothmer	interlocking zig zag	mantle of Dionysos	hem trim band
Schauenberg 1964	1985 p. 106	horizontal zig zag line	chiton of Dionysos	hem band trim
p. 115 Abb 5 Bothmer	р. 100	Lig Zug inic	neck trim of onlooker	band dec.
1985 p. 105 - 106; fig. 63		dotted cross medium red dots	chiton of onlooker	between folds
116. 00		fine white dots	garment trim of rider	single lines in bands
		incised dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
Louvre F25 B amph ABV 150, 4 Schauenberg 1964 p. 139	late middle Bothmer 1985 p. 98	dot rosettes	chiton of Dionysos chitoniskos of Hermes chiton of Poseidon	vertical lines flat area
Bothmer 1985 p. 97		large red dot	chiton of Dionysos chitoniskos of Hermes chiton of Poseidon peplos skirt of Athena	vertical lines flat area scatter  vertical lines on black stripes
		dotted cross	peplos skirt and bodice of Athena	scatter over flat area
		fine dots (white)	peplos hem of Athena	single line
		incised crosses	peplos skirt of Athena	central stripe
		interlocking zig zag	chitoniskos hem of Hermes	band dec
Basel L20 B amph Para. 65		dot rosette	garments of four onlookers	vertical lines on black stripes
Schauenberg 1964 p. 110-111		fine white dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
Abb 1-3 Bothmer		horizontal zig zag line	trims on four garments	single lines in bands

1985 p. 89		incised dots	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
Berlin 1691 B amphora		dots (red) medium	chiton of left figure	vertical lines
ABV 151, 12 Schauenberg 1964		dotted cross	peplos skirt of Athena	central stripe only
p. 127 fig. 14; fig. 189		incised dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
Orvieto Faina 40 B amph		medium dots (red)	mantle of left onlooker	vertical line over extended arm
ABV 151, 14 Schauenberg 1964			chitoniskos of Herakles skirt of Athena	horizontal lines flat surface vertical line
p. 133 Abb. 18 Bothmer			chitoniskos of Hermes mantle of Zeus	on black stripe broad scatter flat area flat surface
1985 figs. 60a-c		crosses	peplos skirts of winged Artemis and Athena	central stripe
		incised dot	trims on six garments	single lines in band
		interlocking v's	hem trim of Herakles	single line in band
		wavy vertical lines	chiton of Zeus	close spaced, fine, textural
Berlin 1689 B amphora		incised dash	trims on 7 garments	
ABV 151, 10 Karouzou 1956		large red dots	mantle	widely spaced diagonal lines
pl. 8.2 - 3; fig. 188		wavy vertical lines	2 garments	textural
London Brit. Mus. B191 ovoid neck amphora	early middle Bothmer 1985 p. 124	red dots medium?	chitoniskos of rider chlamys of right onlooker	Not visible in illustrations but listed in use of added colour.
ABV 152, 24 Bothmer	p. 12-	dot rosette	mantle of Poseidon	
1985		incised rings	trim on one	single line

p. 122 - 123			mantle	in band
Basel Samm. Ludwig BS 497	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 121	guilloche band	peplos skirt of winged Artemis	vertical line on central black stripe
special neck amphora Para, 66	p. 121	interlocking zig zag	peplos hem trim	band dec
Bothmer 1985 p. 119 - 121		fine red dots	peplos skirt of winged Artemis	diagonal lines on central black stripe
		dot rosettes	mantle of right onlooker	on black folds
		pyramidal triple dot	chitons of trainers on the neck (three)	broad spaced
		incised dots	trim on mantle (one) trims on three garments	single line in band double lines broad bands
Berlin 3210 special A amphora		dotted cross	peplos skirts (two)	central band in grid
ABV 151, 21 Beazley 1986 pl. 54.1, 55.1	•	vertical zig zag	ependytes trims (two) and skirt trim	in bands
pr. <i>3</i> 4.1, <i>33</i> .1		rings	skirt hems (2) mantle of Dionysos chiton of Dionysos mantle trim neck trim	single lines in bands
		incised dot	trims on four garments	in bands
		fine red dot	mantle of Dionysos	closely spaced diagonal lies
		incised cross	skirt of maenad	central band
		medium red dot	chiton of Dionysos	widely spaced in lines
Paris Médailles 222 neck amph	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 128	fine red dots	peplos skirt of Athena chiton of	fine, horizontal lines on front stripe alternating
ABV 152, 25 Bothmer 1985			Poseidon	vertical lines of wide and close spaced dots in alt. stripes
pp. 125 - 127 fig. 46	<b>,</b>		chiton of Dionysos	vertical lines in alternate

			bodice of back maenad peplos skirt of front maenad chiton of archer on shoulder	pleats close spaced vertical lines of fine dots fine, close spaced vertical lines Not visible in illustrations.
		dotted cross	peplos skirt of Athena peplos skirt of maenad	central stripe in grid in grid
		incised cross	girdle area of Athena's peplos	in diagonal grid
		incised dots	neck trim of one maenad	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	hems of Athena and Poseidon hem of maenad	single lines in bands
		vertical zig zag	neck trim of Athena mantle trim of Poseidon hem of Maenad mantle and chiton trims of Dionysos	single lines in bands
Boston Mus. 01.8026 neck amph ABV 152,	"among the latest" Bothmer 1985	cross with V's alternating with red and black squares	peplos skirt of Athena	in a grid
26 Bothmer	p. 132	white dots	peplos hem trim	single line
1985 p. 130 - 31; fig. 55		dot rosettes	chitons of two Dionysoi (under handles)	
		fine red dots	chitoniskos skirt of first warrior	fine dots, close spaced
		cross with V's	cuirass of first warrior	single motifs
		vertical zig zags	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
		incised rings	trim on mantle	single line in band
		horizontal zig	skirt hem trim	single line

		zag line		in band
		incised dash	trims on two	single lines in bands
Boston very 01.8027 neck amph	late	vertical zig zag	trims on four garments	single lines in bands
ABV 152, 27 Walton	Beazley 1986 p. 54	incised dot	trims on two garments	single lines in bands
1907 pl. 12-13; fig. 56		dot rosettes	garment of Hermes chiton of Phoenix	between wavy fold lines
		red dots	chiton of Phoenix	between wavy fold lines
		cross with V's alternating with red squares and black squares	garment of Thetis	flat, in grid
The following poor illustration	g vases and fra ons or incomp	igments have been exan bleteness.	nined but not included in	n my counts because of
Cyrene Mus 81.40 fragment Bothmer 1985		dot rosettes	mantle of onlooker	vertical line flat surface
fig. 42				
Bonn Univer. 504	No p	eatterns visible on the fe	w remaining fragments	
A amphora fragments ABV 151, 20 Bothmer				
1005				
1985 fig 44a-b				

fig. 61			
NY Met 1984.313.2 type A amphora fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 109	No garment patterning visi fragment.	ible on this small	
Kavala Museum 983 type B	incised cross	maenad's peplos skirt, central stripe	on black stripes
amphora fragments	white dots	peplos trim	single line
Para. 65 Bothmer 1985 fig. 70; fig. 49	cross with V's	peplos bodice maenad's peplos skirt, central stripe	on black stripes
Athens Akropolis 1882 oinochoe fragment ABV 153, 39 Bothmer 1985 fig. 96.	pyramidal triple dot	chiton of flute player - on shoulder	only one motif visible on fragment
Basel Cahn Coll 814 type B amphora fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 108	No garment patterning is v fragment.	visible on this very small	
NY Met 18096/60 aryballos Bothmer 1971 pl. 27	No patterning visililustrations are po		
Athens Kerameikos lekythos ABV 155, 61 Kraiker 1934 pl. IV	fine dots  Further evaluation is imposurface wear.	garment of right onlooker	vertical line over arm holding spear

~		
tп	O	31
11	<b>K</b> .	11

fig. II				
NY Met 1985.11.2 type B	late Bothmer 1985	zig zag line dot rosettes	chiton hem	band dec
amphora fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 108	p. 108	incised dot	mantle trim	single line in band
Berlin Staat. F1692 B amphora fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 93	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 93	incised dot	peplos neck trim	single line in band
Oxford Ashmolean G137.52 chous fragment ABV 154, 46 Bothmer 1985 p. 159	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 159	No garment patternin fragment.	g is visible on single sn	nall
NY Met. 1984.313.1 band cup fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 208	early middle ca. 550 - 540 BC Bothmer 1985 p. 208	large red dots	mantle of boy	vertical line flat black surface
NY Met 1985.53 B amphora fragment Bothmer 1985 p. 76	late early Bothmer 1985 p. 76	No patterns are visibl	e. The fragment is too	small.
Boston Mus. 86.616 neck and mouth of lidded vase ABV 155, 65 Bothmer 1985 p. 118	middle Bothmer 1985 p. 118	No garment patterns visible on the two partially preserved figures on the fragment.		vo partially

Vatican, Mus. Etr. Greg. 17743 amphora Bothmer 1985 p. 77	ca 560-No gar 550 BC early Bothmer 1985 p. 78	ment patterns visible b fragmentary and muc		
Bellinzona Priv. Coll. type B Amphora	middle dots (r Bothmer 1960 p. 80	ed?) chiton of Diony Patterning on other fi		rface
Bothmer 1960 pl 11, 1-2	p. 60		s due to chips and flake	es.
Krakow Czart- oryski Mus. bandcup ABV 156, 84 Bothmer 1971 taf 25	early middle Bothmer 1985 p. 208	No patterning visible	due to fuzzy illustratio	n.
Tel Aviv Haaretz 90458 90558 band cup frags Para. 67 Bothmer 1960 pl 3, 1-2		dot rosettes  ner patterning is visible ragmentary and the illus		in vertical lines on a flat surface
Lausanne Embiricos Coll.	ca 550 BC Bothmer 1985	incised cross?	peplos skirt of in grid woman	i
neck amph ABV 152, 23 Bothmer 1985 fig. 56a-b	p. 72	Other patterns are visito distinguish their ex	ble but not clearly eno act shape.	ugh
NY Met 1985.57 amphora type A frags. Bothmer	early middle Bothmer 1985 p. 110	incised crosses	peploi of two dancers above main panel peplos bodice on main panel	central strips on both skirts hem trim on one central stripe only
1985 p. 110;		cross with V's incised dashes	peplos bodice of second maenad	

6: - 40				
fig. 48		vertical zig zag	mantle trim of Dionysos	single line in band
		incised dot	trims on three garments	single lines in bands
Athens Nat. Mus Act. 2510		checkerboard	peplos skirt of Athena	front and back bands
plaque frags. ABV 157, 92		double opposed linked spirals		central band
Bothmer 1985 fig. 104		single spirals		narrow bands flanking central one
		crenellated line		band below intense patterns
Florence Mus. Etr. 3971	middle?	dot rosettes	chiton of Poseidon	a few over flat area below mantle
chous <i>ABV</i> 153, 42			chlamys of man with dog	
Clark 1980 p. 41 figs 15 - 17		dotted cross?	peplos of Athena	scatter over flat area below mantle
Aegina Aphaia Sanct.	middle ca 540 BC Bothmer	scales	skirt of Athena	two lateral panels
tripod pyxis Bothmer	1985 p. 238	dot rosettes red dots	chiton of Tyndareus	medium scatter
1985 p. 236 - 237		vertical zig zag	skirt hem of Athena	single line in band
		incised dot	garment trims of Zeus and Kyknos	single lines in bands
Samos	No g	arments patterning or g	garments are visible on	

Samos Museum amphora frags ABV 151, 18 Bothmer 1985 p. 109 fig. 67; fig. 50. No garments patterning or garments are visible on these small fragments.

	Table 6:	
Garment	patterning b	y Group E

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Munich 1471 neck	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	incised dashes	mantle trims of 4 judges	single lines in bands
amphora	Munich 7 p. 51		mantle trims of 4 onlookers	single lines in bands
CVA Munich 7 pl. 346.1-3,		pyramidal triple dot	mantles of 2 onlookers	single line in band
347.1-3; fig. 201		white cross	mantle of bearded man	
Oxford 1965.135 neck amphora		incised dashes	garment trims of Athena - neck, waist, hem	single line in band
ABV 137, 59 Boardman			mantle of onlooker	single line in band
fig. 94 Bothmer 1985 fig. 80	white dots	mantles of 2 onlookers	below line of dashes on short mantle	
Paris Louvre		cross with V's	skirt of Geryon	in grid
F53 type B		cross	skirt of Geryon	in grid
amphora ABV 136, 49		incised rings	skirt and neck trim of Geryon	single line in band
CVA Louvre 2		spiral	chitoniskos trims of Herakles	single line in band
pl. 19, 20 Beazley 1986 pl. 61.1, 3-6		incised dot	Herakles' sleeve trim	single line in band
pr. 01.1, 3-0		scales	skirt of warrior in chariot	
·		агтоw	Geryon's skirt trim	single line in band
Baden Ros type B amphora		incised dashes	chitoniskos skirt trim of Herakles	single line in band
ABV 133, 5 Bloesch			chitoniskos skirt trim of Geryon	single line in band

1943 pl. 14 - 17; fig. 206		incised cross	skirt of Geryon	flat surface in lines
		white dots	mantle of fallen man	single line
Munich 1396 type B	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	incised dashes	peplos trims of woman	single line in band
amphora ABV 135, 39	Munich 1 p. 23		mantle trim of man in chariot	single line in band
CVA Munich 1 pl. 30.1, 31.1, 28.4		vertical zig zag	neck trim of woman at head of horses	single line in band
Munich 1397 type B amphora	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i> Munich 1	incised dots	peplos trims on 2 female onlookers	single line in band
ABV 134, 20 CVA	p. 23		sleeve trim of Theseus	single line in band
Munich 1 pl. 30.2, 31.2 fig. 209	·,	zig zag line	hem trim of Theseus	single line in band
Munich 1394	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	incised dash	peplos waist trim of Ariadne	single line in band
type B amphora ABV 135, 42 CVA Munich 1 pl. 26.4, 29.2 fig. 203	Munich 1 p. 21		Dionysos' mantle hem trim	single line in band
Munich 1382 type B	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	incised dash	neck trims of Zeus and Apollo	single lines in bands
amphora ABV 135, 47	Munich 1 p. 16		neck, ependytes trims of Eleithyia	single line in band
CVA Munich 1			peplos trim of onlooker	single line in band
pl. 18.1, 19.1-2		zig zag line	peplos of Eileithyia	single line in band
Munich 1380 type B amphora	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i> Munich 1	incised dash	garment trims of female onlooker	single line in band
ABV 135, 34	p. 15		skirt hem of Ajax	single line in band

CVA				
Munich 1 pl. 14.1, 15.1 - 3			Athena's neck and waist trim	single line in band
15.1 - 5		dotted cross	Ajax's skirt alt. with red dots	in grid
		red dots	Ajax's skirt alt. with dotted cross	in grid
		large diagonal meander	Athena's ependytes trim band	very broad
		dot rosettes	Athena's skirt	on alternate stripes
		vertical zig zags	Athena's skirt hem	single line in band
Adolphseck type B amphora	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	incised dots	neck trim of charioteer	single line in band
ABV 686, 40bis CVA Schloss Fasanerie 1 pl. 4.1-2, 9.2		Approximate panel is missi	ly one third to one half ong.	of each
Brussels R289 type B amphora ABV 133, 3 CVA Brussels 2 pl. 16.4	No pa	tterning is visible on ei	ther side of the vase.	
Copenhagen 109 type B amphora ABV 135, 33 CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 101.2; fig. 77		incised dots	skirt hem of charioteer	single line in band
Copenhagen 7068 type B amphora ABV 134, 14		No garment patternir figures are unclothed		

CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 102.1; fig. 202

Paris Louvre F55 type B amphora ABV 133, 4 CVA Louvre 3 pl. 15.6, 9		incised cross	warrior's chitoniskos skirt	
Paris Louvre F32 type B		dot rosette	mantle of onlooker	single vertical line on black fold
amphora ABV 135,43 CVA			mantle of Zeus	single vertical line on black fold
Louvre 3 pl. 14.8,		white dots	neck trim of Zeus	single line in band
15.2, 16.3			neck trim of onlooker	single line in band
		incised dash	neck trim of Eileithyia	single line in band
		incised cross	mantle of Ariadne	vertical lines betwe. folds
Boston 00.330 type B	ca. 540 BC <i>CVA</i>	dotted scales	skirts of Ares and Apollo	flat, small areas
amphora ABV 135, 45	Boston 1 p. 4		skirt of Eileithyia	flat, small area
CVA Boston 1 pl. 5 Brommer 1961 pl. 24; fig. 73		herringbone	ependytes trim of Eileithyia	single lines in bands
			chiton trim of Zeus	single line in bands
		crescents	waist and hem trims of Eileithyia	single line in bands
		incised dots	peplos hem of Athena	single line in band
			skirt hem of Ares	single line in band

			mantle trims of Apollo and Hermes	single lines in bands
			neck trim of Eileithyia	single line in band
		slashes	neck trim of Zeus	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	skirt trim of Ares	single line in band
			mantle trim of Apollo	single line in band
		ring	mantle trim of Hermes	single line in band
Los Angeles	oo 540	dot rosette	mantle of Helen	
50.14.2 type B amphora	ca. 540 BC CVA	dot circles	mantle of first woman	
ABV 133, 7 CVA	LA 1 p. 4	incised dash	skirt hem of first woman	
LA 1 pl. 3			mantle and skirt hems of Helen	
			hems of Menelaus and first warrior	
	•	white dots	skirt hem of both warriors	
		dotted scales	skirt of first woman	
Toronto 919.5.176 type B amphora ABV 134, 11 CVA Toronto 1 pl. 2; fig. 76	ca. 540 BC CVA Toronto 1 p. 2	incised dash	neck, waist and ependytes trims of female	single line in bands
Christchurch 42/57		incised cross	front panel of Geryon's skirt lines	horizontal
type B amphora Para. 55, 7bis		scales	back panel of Geryon's skirt	
CVA New Zealand pl. 6;		white dots	hem trim of front panel	single line in band

fig. 75		hem of Eurytion	
		neck and hem trims of chiton of Dionysos	single lines in bands
	herringbone	neck and hem trims of chiton of Dionysos	in bands above white dots
New York 56.171.11	herringbone	skirt hem of Geryon	single line in band
ABV 133, 2 (ex Hearst)	white dot	skirt hem of Geryon	below herringbone
MM Bull. 1957 p. 169		neck trims of Geryon	
		neck trim of Eurytion	
		hem trims of Herakles	
	dotted cross?	torso of Eurytion	diagonal lines
New York 56.171.12 type B amphora ABV 134, 22 (ex Hearst) Bothmer 1962 fig. 2; fig. 74	incised dots	peplos neck and waist trims of 2 women	single line in band
Tarquinia 621	dotted scales	skirt of dep. warrior	
type B amphora ABV	rings?	trim of woman's skirt	single line in band
133, 10 CVA Tarquinia	incised dots	warrior's skirt hem	between lines of dots
1 pl. 15.	white dots	warrior's skirt hem	
	horizontal zig zag line	mantle trim of woman w/horses	single line in band
		skirt hems of Herakles and Geryon	single line in band

		incised cross	chitoniskos of Eurytion	in horiz. and vert. lines
Tarquinia RC 7170		incised dot	peplos trims on 2 women	
type B amphora ABV 134, 24 CVA Tarquinia 2 pl. 29.1, 4		white dots	peplos trims on 2 women	
Chiusi 1806	ca. 540 BC CVA	incised dash	mantle hem of Dionysos	single line in band
type B amphora ABV 135, 32 CVA Chiusi 1 pl. 14, 15; fig. 208	Chiusi 1 p. 14		skirt hem of warrior	single line in band
London B163 type B		incised dots	hem of Herakles	above white dots
amphora ABV		white dots	hem of Herakles	single line
134, 28 <i>CVA</i> Brit. Mus.		dot rosette	mantles of both women	horiz. and vert. lines
3 pl. 29.1; fig. 204		incised dash	mantle and peplos trims of both women	
London B147 type B	ca. 560 BC <i>CVA</i>	dotted scales	skirt of warrior in chariot	flat surface
amphora ABV	Brit. Mus. 3 p. 10		skirt of Hera	
135, 44 <i>CVA</i> Brit. Mus.	<i>э</i> р. 10		bodice of Eileithyia	
3 pl. 24.1			central stripe of Athena's skirt	
		cross with V's	chiton of Zeus	diagonal lines
		boxed S	skirt of Eileithyia	alt. with blank squares in grid
		spiral	hem of Zeus	single line in band
			stripe on lyre banner	

		mantle trim of Apollo?	single line in band
	vertical zig zags	neck trim of Eileithyia	single line in band
		mantle trim of Zeus	single line in band
	vertical line	chiton of Apollo	textural effect
	rings	neck trim of Hera	single line in band
		mantle trim of Zeus	single line in band
	incised dots	hem trim of warrior in chariot	single line in band
		mantle trim of Poseidon	single line in band
Rome Gugliemi type B amphora ABV 135, 40 Beazley 1932 fig. 1.	No garment patterning of the vase illustrated the tripod scene are under th		
Vienna 3596 type B amphora Para. 56, 48bis Brommer 1961 taf. 26	diagonal grid	skirt of Athena	flat surface no motifs in squares
	herringbone	mantle trim of Hermes	single line in band
Glasgow Burrell 19.159 type B amphora ABV 134, 23 CVA Glasgow 1 pl. 12.2 - 2	incised dot	mantle hem trim of Theseus	single line in band
	red dots	mantle of onlooker	large, single lines between folds
	incised dash	neck trim of onlooker	single line in band
	cross	bodice of	in grid alt. with

			woman's skirt	diagonal grid		
		incised square	woman's bodice	in grid alt. with cross		
		crenellated line	neck trim of woman	single line in band		
Wurzburg 244 type B amphora ABV 135, 36 Langlotz 1968 pl. 79		garment patterning is visible on this vase due to ect matter rather than poor illustration.				
MFA B 60.23 M type B	ca. 540 BC	dotted scales	bottom strip of bodice of goddess	flat surface		
	Mayo 1985 p. 30		back of Ares' skirt	flat surface		
		herringbone	skirt hem of goddess	single line in band		
			neck trim of Zeus	single line in band		
		wavy line	mantle trim of Zeus	single line in band		
		spiral	ependytes trim of goddess	single line in band		
		slash	neck trim of goddess	single line in band		
			skirt hem of Ares	single line in band		
		diagonal grid	skirt hem of Zeus	broad band no motif in squares		
		incised cross	mantle trim of Hermes			
		incised dots	garment trim of Eileithyia	single line in band		
			mantle hem of Hermes	single line in band		
Rome Conservator type B	i	diagonal grid	bodice of Athena	fine grid, no motifs in squares		

amphora ABV 134, 19 Keuls 1985 fig. 11		large red dots	Athena's skirt	between fine folds
New York 56.171.13 type B amphora ABV 136, 50 (ex Hearst) Bothmer 1985 fig. 18	ca. 540- 530 BC Bothmer 1985 p. 31	No patterning is visible on the chitoniskos of the warrior beyond pairs of lines at neck and skirt hem.		
Berlin 1699 type A amphora ABV 136, 53 Brommer 1961 pl. 25; Technau 1936		dotted cross	skirt of Eileithyia	in grid
		vertical zig zags	waist trim of Eileithyia	single line in band
		scales	waist trim of Theseus	
			bodice of Eileithyia	
pl. 30.		white dots	peplos trims of 3 onlookers	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	peplos trim of onlooker	single line in band
Tarquinia 1550		incised dash	rider's skirt hem	single line in band
type A amphora ABV 137, 63 CVA Tarquinia		herringbone	mantle hem trim of onlooker	single line in band
2 pl. 23.1, 4				
London B194 type A		scales	front panel of Geryon's skirt	
amphora ABV 136, 56 CVA Brit. Mus. 1 pl. 37.1; fig. 207		incised squares	back panel of Geryon's skirt	in grid
		white dots	skirt trim of Herakles	single line in band
London		incised cross	mantle of Priam	diagonal lines

B205			
type A amphora <i>ABV</i>		ependytes hem of Hecuba	single line in band
136, 55 CVA	white dots	mantle hem of Priam	single lines
Brit. Mus. 1 pl. 43.2		skirt hem of Neoptolemos	
		chitoniskos skirt hem of Theseus	
	incised dots	trims on peploi of both women	single lines in bands
Berlin 1698 type A	cross with v's	skirt of Athena	in alternate squares in grid
amphora ABV 136, 54	vertical zig zags	skirt hem of onlooker	single line in band
Technau 1936 pl. 31		skirt hem of Theseus	single line in band
·		Athena's skirt hem	single line in band
		cloak of Ajax	single line in band
	rings	mantle trim of Kassandra	single line in band
	horizontal zig zag line	sleeve trim of Theseus	single line in band
		cloak of Ajax	single line in band
		skirt hem of onlooker	single line in band
	spiral	skirt hem of onlooker	single line in band
	diagonal meander	bodice and skirt of onlooker	broad vertical band
	meander	skirt of onlooker	in alternate squares of grid
	dotted scales	bodice of onlooker	
	incised dots	neck trim of	single line

			2 onlookers	in band
Tarquinia RC1061	incised dot	mantle hem of man	single line in band	
Panathenaic amphora Para. 56, 58bis CVA Tarquinia 2 pl. 26; fig, 20	0	herringbone	garment trims at hem and waist	single line in band
Naples 112852	540 - 520 BC	incised cross	skirt of Athena	vertical lines
Panath. amphora ABV 133, 6 CVA Naples 1 pl. 4.1, 2	CVA Naples 1 p. 4	incised dash	Athena's skirt hem	single line in band
Louvre Camp. 10659 hydria ABV 138, 69 CVA Louvre 11 pl. 141; fig. 205	ca. 540 - 530 BC <i>CVA</i> Louvre 11 p. 114	vertical lines	chitoniskos of charioteer	textural effect

The vases which follow have been omitted from my counts because the illustrations are poor or because they are extremely fragmentary and not enough remains to give a reasonable idea of the whole of a scene.

Athens 1682	incised squares	skirt of mourner	in diag. grid
loutrophoros frags. ABV	horizontal wavy line	skirt trim of 2 mourners	single lines in bands
137, 66 Karydi 1963	incised dots	skirt trim of mourner	single line in band
pl. 41 - 43		mantle trim of onlooker in tripod band	single line in band
Wurzburg 245 type B amphora	white dots	skirt hems of Herakles and Geryon	single line in band
ABV 133, 1 Langlotz	No other patterning is	waist trim of female clearly visible on this	single line vase

1968 p. 79		due to poor ill	due to poor illustrations.		
Wurzburg 247 type B amphora ABV 134, 17 Langlotz 1968			warrior's skirt ent trims are visible, but i h to distinguish which m	not	
pl. 67, 84 Wurzburg 248 type B amphora ABV 134, 18 Langlotz 1968 pl. 80, 84			woman's skirt garment trims are visible ough to distinguish whic	e, but	
Wurzburg 251 type B amphora ABV 135, 35 Langlotz 1968 pl. 79			warrior's skirt trim re available but not clearl which motifs have been t	y enough	
Wurzburg 250 type B		spiral	mantle trims of Zeus and Dionysos		
amphora <i>ABV</i> 136, 48 Langlotz 1968 pl. 71.		grid Other trims as to distinguish	skirt of goddess re visible but not clearly e	diagonal, lower part only enough	
Yale 1983.22 type B amphora ABV 135, 46 (ex Nostell) Christies'	ca. 540 BC	vertical lines	chiton of charioteer chiton of Apollo	textural effect textural effect	
Catalogue 11.05.83 p. 63, back co 30/4/75 pl. 22.	Eile: uncl	ithyai but the exa	ct motifs used are		

	Table 7:		
Garment	patterning	by	Exekias

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Boulogne 558 type B amphora ABV 145, 18 Beazley 1951 pl. 32.1; fig. 214	early Moore 1968 p. 367	No garment patterns with the suicide of Aj		
Berlin 1720 neck amph ABV 143, 1 Technau 1936	early Beazley 1986 p. 59	incised squares meander	peplos of Athena Athena's skirt hem	in grid; alt. ones in bodice with red outline band dec
pl 1-2		rings	warrior's tunic	in grid
		incised dash	Athena's waist trim	single line in band
Faina 77 M	middle Moore 1968	incised rings	peplos bodice and skirt of seven figs	flat in grid
amphora ABV 144, 10	p. 367	single meander	peplos bodice and skirt	flat in grid
Technau 1936 pl. 7 - 8;		meanders	mantle hem band (twice)	flat band
fig. 211			peplos hem trims (twice)	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	garment trims (five)	single line in band
		incised dash	garment trims (six)	single line in band
		fine white dots	garment trims (twice)	single line in band
Budapest Museum 50.189 type A amphora	middle Bothmer 1968 p. 21	dot ring	garment of woman at head of horses	small between folds on black folds alt.

Bothmer 1968 figs. 8-13; fig. 71			garment of maenad	with red small, between
				folds 
NY Met 17.230.14	middle Moore	meander	peplos skirt and bodice	flat in grid
neck amph ABV 144, 3	1968 p. 367		ependytes hem	single line in band
Technau 1938 pl. 4		white dot circles	mantle	broadly spaced between folds
		incised squares	peplos bodice	flat, grid
		crosses with Vs	peplos skirt	in vertical rows but no grid vis.
		swastika	Apollo's mantle	between folds
		incised crosses	boy's mantle	between folds
		·	Apollo's mantle	between folds with swastika
		fine white dots	trim on 3 garments	single line in band
		vertical zig zags	trims on 2 garments	single line in band
		horizontal zig zag line	trim on 1 garment	single line in band
		wavy line	trims on 2 garments	single line in band
Louvre F206 type A amphora ABV 145, 12 Technau 1936 pl. 22	middle Moore 1968 p. 367	No patterning this vase.	g of garments is visible	on
Berlin Staatliche F1811-26		incised square		in grid

			peplos	
two plaques ABV 146, 22 Technau 1936		meander	trims on 6 peploi plus 1 mantle	single line in band
pl. 14-15 Beazley 1951 pl. 75.1, 76			mantle of seated woman	between folds with dotted cross and cross with V's
		dotted cross	mantle of seated woman	between folds with cross with v's and meander
			mantle of standing woman	on one fold with cross with v's
		cross with v's	mantle of seated woman	between folds with meander and dotted cross
			mantle of standing woman	on single fold with dotted cross
		petal cross	skirt of seated woman	single large motif on flat area
	·	horizonal zig zag line	trims on 4 mantles and 4 peploi	single line in band
			chiton of child	single line in band
		vertical zig zag lines	trim on 1 chiton	in band
		wavy line	trim on 1 chiton	in band
		fine white dots	trims on 4 peploi and 5 mantles	single line in band
Vatican 344 type A	ca 540 - 530 BC Arias	incised square	peplos of Leda	in grid alt. with meander
amphora 1962	1962 p. 303	meander	peplos of Leda	in grid alt. with square
Arias 1962 62, 63 XVII;		Macedonian stars with vees crosses with v's	cloaks of board game playing heroes	closely spaced in areasfig.
, ,		swastikas		separated

crosses spirals single meanders spiral swastikas rings		by ornament bands
diagonal meander chain meander chain spiral chain interlocking zig zags dotted grid line	cloaks	edging and bands of cloaks
squares in grid double diamond diagonal meander plain meander zig zag lines	chest armour of heroes*	

\*These patterns are not included in my counts because I am limiting them to clothing. I include them just to show how ornate this particular side of the vase is.

	J	· · · ·		
Munich 2044 type A cup	ca 535 BC Arias 1962	cross with V's	mantle of Dionysos	diagonal rows
ABV 146, 21 Arias	p. 202	dotted scales	skirt of central flat right warrior	garment
1962 XVI, 59		dot rings	skirts of 2 warriors	on black folds
Beazley 1986 pl. 68;			mantle of warrior	on black folds
fig. 68		meander	cloak of warrior	in grid
		incised ring	skirt of warrior	in grid
		incised cross	skirt of fallen warrior	between folds
		vertical zig zags	trim on 1 garment	single line in band
		fine white dots	trims on 4 garments	
Philadelphia 3442 type A		meander	chitoniskos of Memnon	border at skirt hem
amphora ABV			cloak trim	in band
145, 14 Beazley			skirt of Achilles	in grid alt. with flowers

1951				
pl. 30			skirt hem of Antilochos	in band
		cross with V's	cloak of Achilles	tight scatter on flat area with double meander and star
		double meander	cloak of Achilles	scatter on flat area with cross with v's and star
		Macedonian star	cloak of Achilles	scatter on flat area with double meander and cross w/v's
		four petal flower	skirt of Achilles	alternating in grid with meander
		vertical zig zags	skirt border	broad band
		incised crescents	skirt of Antilochos	flat in grid
Formerly Baden, Ros B amphora ABV 147, 5 Moore 1982 pl. 76 fig. 1; fig. 213		No garments are visit shields.	ble as bodies are all cov	ered with
London Brit Mus	ca 530 BC Arias	red dots	mantle of Dionysos	between folds
B210 1962 neck amph p. 203 ABV 144, 7 Arias 1962		oval chain	mantle of Dionysos	border over arm
		cross with V's	chitoniskos of Penthesilea	flat in grid
64 - 65 XVIII; fig. 69		spiral band	neck, hem and armhole	chain trim
Athens Agora AP 1044 kalyx krater	very late Broneer 1956 p. 347	petal cross	mantle of Apollo	between folds with swastika, incised dot, incised V
$\overrightarrow{ABV}$			mantle of	between folds

145, 19 Broneer 1937		Hermes	with red cross and swastika
figs. 1-10 Moore 1986	dotted cross	mantle of Artemis	between folds
pl. 2; fig. 72	swastika	mantle of Apollo	between folds with petal cross, incised dot, incised V
		mantle of Hermes	between folds with red cross, petal cross
		garment of Poseidon	scattered between folds with cross with v's, incised v's
		warrior's skirt	scatter on flat surface with incised cross
	incised dot	mantle of Apollo	between folds with swastika, petal cross, incised V
	incised V	mantle of Apollo	between folds. with swastika, dotted cross, incised dot
		garment of Poseidon	between folds with swastika and cross w/ v's
	red cross	mantle of Hermes	between folds with swastika, petal cross
	cross with v's	garment of Poseidon	scattered between folds with swastika, incised v's
		peplos of goddess	alt. with meander
	meander	Apollo's chiton trim	band dec
		Hermes' chiton trim - neck	band dec
		garment of	in grid

Artemis' neck trim single line in band skirt hem of Diomedes band dec Diomedes spiral mantle trim of Apollo line warrior's skirt hem trim incised cross warrior's skirt hem trim scatter on flat area with swastika fine purple dots Apollo's chiton in rows skirt of Diomedes flat surface purple dots Hermes' chiton between folds incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad peplos trims of other maenad peplos trims of other maenad peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos hem band dec orescents woman in grid in grid incised rings woman's skirt in grid woman in grid incised rings woman's skirt in grid amphora incised rings cloak of warrior folds folds folds pl. 11 - 13 plotonysos folds mantle of on black folds			Artemis	
spiral mantle trim of Apollo line  warrior's skirt band dec hem trim  incised cross warrior's skirt scatter on flat area with swastika  fine purple dots Apollo's chiton in rows  skirt of Diomedes flat surface  purple dots Hermes' chiton between folds  incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad  vertical peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad  vertical peplos skirt band dec hem dec  squares incised neck band of peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised bodice of flat orescents woman in grid  incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of warrior folds  ABV dot rings cloak of mantle of on black flats, 5 p. 11  Technau 1984  fig. 5 p. 11  Dionysos folds  mantle of on black folds  mantle of on black folds  mantle of on black  folds  mantle of on black				
of Apollo line  warrior's skirt band dec  warrior's skirt scatter on  flat area  with swastika  fine purple dots Apollo's chiton in rows  skirt of vertical lines  plomedes purple dots Hermes' chiton between  folds  incised rings peplos skirt and  trim of headless  maenad   vertical  peplos trims o f  other maenad in band dec   vertical  peplos skirt band dec  peplos of  whole maenad   part meanders peplos of  whole maenad   part meanders peplos hem band dec   Orvieto  Faina 78  amphora   ABV  dot rings cloak of  incised rings woman's skirt in grid   ABV  dot rings cloak of  warrior folds   ABV  flat, grid  flat  in grid  in band  flat  in grid  in grid  in grid  in grid   amphora   ABV  dot rings cloak of  warrior folds  flat  in grid  mantle of  on black  flotds   mantle of  poseidon folds  mantle of  poseidon folds  mantle of  on black  folds  mantle of  poseidon folds  mantle of  on black  folds  poseidon folds  mantle of  on black  folds  mantle of  on black  folds  mantle of  poseidon folds  mantle of  on black  folds				band dec
hem trim  incised cross warrior's skirt scatter on flat area with swastika  fine purple dots Apollo's chiton in rows  skirt of Diomedes flat surface  purple dots Hermes' chiton between folds  incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad peplos trims o f other maenad  vertical zig zag lines peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  orvieto part meanders peplos hem band dec  orvieto incised podice of flat orescents woman in grid maphora  incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black flat, 9 warrior folds  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11  Technau 1936 mantle of on black folds		spiral		
fine purple dots  fine purple dots  Apollo's chiton  in rows  skirt of Diomedes  purple dots  Hermes' chiton  between folds  incised rings  peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad  vertical zig zag lines  peplos skirt hem dec  squares incised  part meanders  peplos of whole maenad  part meanders  peplos of whole maenad  part meanders  peplos of whole maenad  part meanders  peplos skirt in grid  ABV  dot rings  dot rings  dot rings  dot rings  cloak of on black folds  Raeck  1844  Raeck  1984  fig. 5 p. 11  Technau  1936  mantle of on black  flat on black  folds  mantle of on black  folds				band dec
skirt of Diomedes Flat surface  purple dots Hermes' chiton between folds  incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad  vertical zig zag lines peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised peplos hem band dec  incised bodice of flat peplos amphora peplos hem band dec  orvieto incised bodice of flat in grid mantle of on black folds  ABV dot rings cloak of on black mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13  mantle of on black poseidon folds		incised cross	warrior's skirt	flat area
Diomedes flat surface  purple dots Hermes' chiton between folds  incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad  peplos trims o f other maenad  vertical peplos skirt band dec hem dec  squares incised neck band of peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised peplos hem band dec  orvieto incised woman in grid amphora  incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black fig. 5 p. 11  Technau  1936 mantle of on black  purple dots  Hermes' chiton between folds  flat, grid  flat, grid  flat, grid  flat, grid  flat, grid  flat other maenad  peplos skirt band dec  band dec  band dec  flat  in grid  flat  in grid  folds  mantle of on black		fine purple dots	Apollo's chiton	in rows
incised rings peplos skirt and trim of headless maenad peplos trims of other maenad peplos trims of other maenad peplos skirt band dec peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos hem band dec peplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos hem band dec peplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos hem band dec peplos of geplos of whole maenad part meanders peplos hem band dec peplos hem				
vertical peplos trims o f in band other maenad  vertical peplos skirt band dec peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  orvieto incised bodice of flat period in grid amphora  incised rings woman in grid  amphora  woman in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of warrior folds  144, 9  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black 1984 mantle of on black 1984 mantle of on black 1986 mantle of on black 1936 pl. 11 - 13  rin band on band dec  ba		purple dots	Hermes' chiton	
other maenad  vertical peplos skirt band dec peplos of hem dec  squares incised neck band of peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised bodice of flat crescents woman in grid amphora  incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black warrior folds  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11  Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13  other maenad  band dec  Band dec  Faina 78 crescents woman in grid  woman's skirt in grid  on black folds  mantle of on black folds  mantle of on black poseidon folds  mantle of on black poseidon folds  mantle of on black poseidon folds  mantle of on black		incised rings	trim of headless	flat, grid
zig zag lines hem dec  squares incised neck band of peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised bodice of flat Faina 78 crescents woman in grid amphora incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black 144, 9 warrior folds Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11 Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13  poseidon folds  mantle of on black Poseidon folds  mantle of on black poseidon folds			peplos trims o f other maenad	in band
peplos of whole maenad  part meanders peplos hem band dec  Orvieto incised crescents woman in grid amphora incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black 144, 9 warrior folds  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11  Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13  peplos of whole maenad  band dec  tolak of flat flat or grid  on black on black folds  mantle of on black folds  mantle of on black folds  mantle of on black folds				band dec
Orvieto incised bodice of flat Faina 78 crescents woman in grid amphora incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black 144, 9 warrior folds Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11 Dionysos folds Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13 Poseidon folds  mantle of on black Poseidon folds		squares incised	peplos of	band dec
Faina 78 amphora in grid incised rings woman in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black 144, 9 warrior folds  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11  Technau 1936 pl. 11 - 13 mantle of on black poseidon folds  mantle of on black poseidon folds		part meanders	peplos hem	band dec
incised rings woman's skirt in grid  ABV dot rings cloak of on black 144, 9 warrior folds  Raeck 1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11 Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13  poseidon folds  mantle of on black mantle of on black poseidon folds	Faina 78			
144, 9 Raeck 1984 fig. 5 p. 11 Technau 1936 pl. 11 - 13  warrior folds mantle of on black poseidon folds  mantle of on black on black on black on black	amphora .	incised rings	woman's skirt	in grid
1984 mantle of on black fig. 5 p. 11 Technau 1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13 Poseidon folds  mantle of on black on black	144, 9	dot rings		
1936 mantle of on black pl. 11 - 13 Poseidon folds mantle of on black	1984 fig. 5 p. 11			
	1936			

		short mantle on onlooker	between folds
	dotted cross	chiton of Herakles	broad scatter
		mantle of Zeus	thickly scattered with plain cross
	plain cross	mantle of Zeus	thickly scattered with dotted cross
	meander	peplos of Athena	flat in grid
		trims on 1 garment	single line in band
	horizontal zig zag line	trims on 7 garments	single line in band
	vertical zig zag lines	trims on 2 garments	single line in band
	incised dash	trims on 5 garments	single line in band
	fine white dots	trims on 8 garments	single line in band
London Brit Mus B209 neck amph ABV 144, 8 Fraser 1935 pl. VII,a	incised rings	chitoniskos skirt of left attendant	flat in grid
	horizontal zig zag line	skirt hem of Achilles	single line in band
Orvieto Faina 187 amphora ABV 145, 11 Technau 1936	cross with V's	mantle of Dionysos chiton of Iolaos	between folds with dot rings close scatter with swastika, incised dash
pl. 9 - 10; fig. 212		garment of Poseidon	with plain cross, swastika
		mantle of man behind horses	between folds
	dot rings	mantle of	between folds

	Dionysos	with cross w/v's
	mantle of charioteer	between folds
	chiton & mantle of man behind horses	scatter with red dots
	mantle of man before horses	on black folds
swastika	chiton of Iolaos	close scatter with dash, cross with v's
	garment of Poseidon	with plain cross, cross with v's
	mantle of man behind horses	with incised v, cross with v's
incised v	chiton of Iolaos	close scatter with swastika, cross with v's
	mantle of man behind horses	with swastika, cross with v's
plain cross	garment of Poseidon	with swastika. cross with v's
incised squares	peplos of onlooker	flat in grid
squares with interior crosses	peplos skirt	flat in grid
meander	skirt trim (2 skirts)	single line in band
	mantle trim of Iolaos	single line in band
	peplos skirt and bodice	in grid
	trim of man behind horses	single line in band
scale pattern	neck and knee band of peplos	broad bands
incised ring	one skirt, one bodice	in grid
red dots	chiton of man	

		behind horses	
	dotted crescents	skirt hem of Athena	single line in band
		neck trim of female	single line in band
	vertical zig zag lines	armhole trim of Athena	single line in band
		trims of Hermes, Iolaos, and man behind horses	single line in band
	horizontal zig zag lines	mantle trims of Poseidon, Hermes 2 male onlookers	single line in band
		waist trims on 2 females	single line in band
		ependytes hem trim	single line in band
		trims on man behind horses	single ine in band
·	fine white dots	mantle trims of Poseidon, charioteer	single lines in band
		peplos trims of Athena, 2 females	single lines in band
		trims of Herakles, Iolaos, onlookers (2), man behind horses	single lines in band
Berlin 1718 neck amph ABV 144, 5 Woodford	rings	bodice and skirt of female onlooker	flat in grid
& Loudon 1980 pl. 3, 4 Technau 1936 pl. 3a-b; fig. 210		skirts of Ajax and Achilles	flat, grid
	horizontal zig zag line	skirt hems of Ajax and Achilles	band dec
		peplos trims of women (three)	single line in band
	meanders	peplos bodice and skirt	flat, grid
	incised squares	peplos skirt and bodice	flat, grid

		vertical zig zag lines	peplos trims (two)	single line in band
Munich 1470 neck		rings	Achilles' cloak (twice)	flat, grid
amphora ABV 144, 6		hooks	cloak trim	band dec
Technau 1936 fig. 215		dots	garment of Achilles	between folds
			cloak of Ajax	between folds
		meander	skirt of Ajax	flat, grid
			skirt hems of Ajax and Achilles	straight band
Boston 89.273 neck		scales	bodice of woman behind charioteer	flat surface
amphora ABV 144, 4		incised rings	peploi of 2 women	flat, in grid
Beazley 1986 pl. 71		incised dashes	peplos sleeve and neck trim	band dec
		dot rings	mantle of man petting horse	broadly scattered between folds
		horizontal zig zag line	trims on two garments	single line in band
The following va			t not in my counts due	to small size or
Cahn 300 Ca	urly ahn 952	dotted cross	garment of man behind horse	flat in grid
Amphora 19 frags. p. 79 Para. 60, 1bis	932		garment of man at horse's head	scatter flat area
Cahn 1962 pl. 31		red dots	garment of man at horse's head	scatter flat area
			chitoniskos of charioteer	in grid
Leipzig		meander band	cut out edge	band dec

T355a-c amph frags (four) ABV 145, 15 Mackay 1978 pl. IVa		meander band No other patterns	of Boeotian shield tip of cloak found. Too few pieces.	band dec
Cambridge U 114 amph frags (two) Mackay 1978 pl IVb	P No p	patterns found. Too fo	ew pieces.	
Lund Universifragment ABV 145,	5.	dot rings	mantle of Theseus	scatter between folds
Beazley 1986 pl 68, 3		No other garment this small fragmer	patterning is visible on nt.	
Enserune fragments Boardman 1978 p. 14 ill. 1	No p	patterns visible. Too	few fragments.	
Philadelphia 4873 amphora ABV 145,	late Beazley 1986 p. 63	Macedonian stars and other motifs (not clear)	skirt of rider	between folds
16 Beazley 1986 pl. 69, 3-4	Illus	incised motifs (not clear) trations are unclear.	trousers and skirt of archer	foreign and flat
Cahn Coll. H802 amph frags Moore 1986b pl. 19	Frag	ments are too small a esentative of patterning	and too few to be	

Table 8:
Garment patterning by the Andokides Painter

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Berlin 2159 red figure belly amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 3, 1 Boardman 1975a	earliest by artist Bothmer 1965 p. 212	dotted cross pyramidal triple dot	Apollo's mantle torso of Apollo's short chiton Athena's aegis and its sleeve chiton of woman	between folds scattered no folds broad scatter broad scatter
fig. 3 Cohen 1978 pl. 25.3, 26; fig. 78		single dot	behind Apollo Apollo's	between
6			skirt	folds; very widely spaced
		pyramidal triple dot and dotted cross	upper part of Athena's chiton	random scatter
	·	pyramidal triple dot and heavy swastikas	Athena's chiton skirt to knees	linear set and closely spaced
		dotted cross	long mantle of woman behind Apollo	between and aligned with folds
		dotted cross (possible)	skirt of Herakles' chitoniskos	between folds
		dotted cross (possible)	long mantle of trainer	between and aligned with folds
NY 63.11.6 red figure belly	early Bothmer 1965	black squares set into grid	maenad's chitoniskos	no folds
amphora  ARV <sup>2</sup> 1617, 6bis; Boardman 1975 fig. 6	p. 212	pyramidal triple dot	Dionysos' chiton	between wavy fold lines in a linear way
Bothmer 1965 fig. 2, 4, 11, 16; fig. 82		dot?	mantles of Athena and Apollo	between folds

		cross?	mantle of Artemis	between folds
Louvre G1 red figure belly amphora $ARV^2$	early Bothmer 1965 p. 212	alternating large dots and dotted cross	chiton of lyre player	between folds
3, 2 Cohen 1978		large cross	banner from lyre	very closely spaced - a jumble
pl. 27. 1 - 3 Marwitz 1961 fig. 49 - 51;		triple pyramidal dot	long mantle of onlooker	wide spaced between folds
fig. 81		triple pyramidal dot alt. with thick maltese cross	long mantle of man facing the lyre player	between folds and sometimes over them
		bands of geometric pattern	peplos skirt of Athena	flat and densely placed
		crosses?	short skirt of Herakles mantle of Athena mantle of R onlooker	between folds
Leipzig T635 red figure belly amphora	middle Bothmer 1965 p. 212	alternating dotted cross and single meander	skirt of Athena	set within straight aligned grid
ARV <sup>2</sup> 3, 3 Marwitz 1961 figs. 39 - 40		large dots	very long mantle	aligned between broad folds
Orvieto Faina 64 rf belly amphora	middle Bothmer 1965 p. 212	large dot rosettes	Amazon behind shield	scattered medium spacing
ARV <sup>2</sup> 3, 5 Cohen 1978 pl. 32.3 Boardman 1975a	•	alternating bands of animals and geometrics	short dress of fallen Amazon by Herakles	much variety quite closely set; foreign
fig. 9.1; fig. 80		black squares within grid	top of peplos of Athena	set flat and within grid

		alternating black squares with dotted cross and dotted ring	skirt of Athena	within grid
		large dots	Ionic mantle of Athena	within folds
		small dots	near hem of Athena's skirt	within folds
Boston 01.8037 bil. belly amphora	middle Bothmer 1965 p. 212	dots in added colour	black skirt of Achilles	lines aligned with edge of garment
ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 7 ABV 254, 2 Boardman 1975a		variety of motifs: dot, dotted cross, Maltese cross	cloaks of Ajax and Achilles pattern	in lines, broad spaced areas of
fig. 2; figs. 79, 88			•	divided by crenellated lines
		small dots dotted cross	mantle over arms of Ajax and Achilles	between folds
London B193 bil. belly amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 8 ABV 254, 3	late - middle Bothmer 1965 p. 212	dots in grid squares with dotted diagon. corners	skirt of Athena	set within grid
Marwitz 1961 fig. 70; fig. 90	p. 212	alternating dot and dotted cross	upper part of Athena's garment	within grid squares
Louvre F204 bil. belly amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 11	late Bothmer 1965 p. 212	alternating large dots, dotted cross	skirt of Athena	grid on upper part of skirt
ABV 254, 1 Marwitz 1961 fig. 55 Cohen 1978. pl. 19.1 Boardman 1974 fig. 162; figs. 83, 219	F. 2.2	small dot	lower part Athena's skirt chiton sleeve and bodice visible below aegis	within fine folds, lower part of skirt
Munich 2301 bil. belly amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 9 ABV 255, 4	very late Bothmer 1965 p. 212	alternating large dots and dotted cross	mantle of Herakles	between and sometimes overlapping folds

Cohen 1978 pl. 33.5, 34.1 Boardman 1974 fig. 161; fig. 84	alternating small dots and dotted cross in grid	garment of Athena	set in grid, flat; plain folds fall from knee
Swiss Private coll.  ARV <sup>2</sup> 3, 4	alternating thick cross and dots?	mantle of flute player	within folds, wide spaced
Schauenberg 1961 fig. 1, 2 Cohen	small swastikas	mantle of standing onlooker	wide spaced, within folds
1978 pl. 27.1,2	dotted cross?	mantle of seated onlooker	closely set within folds
	alternating swastikas and single meanders	skirt of Athena	flat in grid
Orvieto  RF amphora fragments	alternating dotted cross and single meander	peplos skirt of Athena	within grid
Hauser 1889 figs. 22A - B	dotted cross	lower part of peplos skirt	flat and broad scatter
Bologna 151 bil belly amphora  ARV <sup>2</sup>	dot rosettes around large cores	mantle of Dionysos	between and over folds
4, 10 Cohen 1978	dots	chiton of Dionysos	within folds
pl. 15.1; fig. 218	alternating cross and meander	skirt of female	within grid
	alternating dots and dotted cross	mantle of female	within folds
Louvre F203 wg belly amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 13 Cohen 1978 pl. 29.1-2; figs. 87, 163	dotted cross ?	mantle and skirt of the man at horse's head	within folds
Taranto and	dotted cross	mantle of	within folds

Reggio frgs <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> 3, 6  Cohen 1978  pl. 33.1 - 4		reclining man and onlooker	
Boston 99.538 bil amphora ARV <sup>2</sup> 4, 12 Cohen 1978 pl. 25.1 - 2; fig. 89	alternating dots and dotted cross	chitoniskos of Herakles	between folds
Budapest 51.28 eye cup	pyramidal triple dot	chiton skirt of female	broad spaced within folds
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1617, 15 Boardman 1975a fig. 5	dot	upper part of chiton sakkos of	close spaced along sleeve edges and neckline tight rows
	dot and pyramidal triple dot	female cloth on the wall above reveller	aligned with hat edge alternating between folds
Palermo V650 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 5, 14 ABV 255, 7 Schneider 1889 pl. 4; fig. 164	black solid ovals	suit of archer	flat garment

## Table 9: Garment patterns by Psiax

			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Getty S.82.AE.24 rf cup Mertens 1979 pl. 11		pyramidal triple dot	mantles on three figs plus tondo	within folds
Bareiss 1983 p. 30; fig. 103		fine six dot rosette	upper part of chiton of female	broadly scattered in flat area
NY 14.146.1 ARV <sup>2</sup> 8, 9 rf cup Mertens 1979		pyramidal triple dot	short skirt of fallen warrior	tight scatter within folds
pl. 12 Richter 1934 fig. 2; fig. 95		dot	short tunic with sleeves tondo archer	possible hair points; flat and foreign
Cleveland 76.89 <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> 7, 7		fine dots pyramidal triple dot	lyre banner warrior's cloak	between folds with triple dot
rf eye cup Mertens 1979		solid rectangles	mantle trim of lyre player	single line in band
pl. 13.1,2,4,6 Moon and Berge 1979 pp. 104 - 105; fig. 107		black diamonds black dots	warrior's cloak trim	single lines in bands
Munich 2587 rf eye cup ARV2 7, 8 Smith 1929 p. 3 Hauser 1895 pl. 4; fig. 98		pyramidal triple dot	mantle of left figure	flat surface widely spaced
Berlin		vertical wavy line	chiton	close spaced
1897 bf hydria		-		textural
<i>ABÝ</i> 293, 8 Beazley		incised cross	short mantle	between fine folds
1951 pl. 36.2;			garments of four warriors	scattered over flat surface

fig. 100	incised dot	loincloth	between fine folds
Madrid 11008 <i>ABV</i> 294, 24	dotted cross	chiton of Artemis	on flat areas bodice and sleeves
ARV <sup>2</sup> 7, 2 bil amphora EAA fig. 617 Boardman 1975a figs 14.1 - 2	incised cross and added red dot	chiton of Dionysos (bf)	very little visible broad spread in flat areas
Bienkowski 1900 figs. 8-9	incised cross	chiton (bf) of right woman	uneven over flat area
Cohen 1978 pl. 43.1-2,	added red do	chiton (bf) of left woman	uneven over flat area
44.1-3; fig. 102	very fine dot	garment of Ares	small area between folds
	quotation ma dashes	ark animal skin of Artemis-hair?	flat area
	alternating da rectangles	ark neck trim of Artemis	triple line
Munich 2302 ABV 294, 23 ARV <sup>2</sup> 6, 1	incised crosses	chlamys of Hermes (bf)	within folds and broad spaced
bil amphora Boardman 1975a fig. 11 Cohen 1978 pl. 40,41, 42.2 Shapiro 1980 pl. 76 CVA Munich 4 pl. 153-4;	black slipped crosses	mantle of Dionysos	within folds both narrow and broad
	dots (red?)	bf lionskin of Herakles	in lines closely spaced
fig. 96			
London 1980.10-20.1 bf neck amphora ABV 293, 7 Richter 1941 fig. 6; fig. 101	medium red dots with dotted cross	chiton of Dionysos	flat garment linear motif placement
	No garment patterning ap	pears on any of the ga	rments on this vase.

bf neck amphora

ABV 293, 6 CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 101.1a-c

Brescia bf A amphora  ABV 292, 1 Paribeni	red dots	chiton and mantle of Athena	within folds and over flat areas in diag. lines
EAA 6 fig. 616 Arias and Hirmer 1962 pl. 66-68, XIX, XX; fig. 99	incised cross	mantle of horseman and onlooker on other side chiton and mantle of Athena	within folds with dots disposed as above
	dotted scale	quiver of Herakles	flat surface carefully incised
	incised dot	boot tops of both horsemen garment trim of Athena	animal skin? single line in band
	incised hook	neck trim of woman	single line in band
Philadelphia 5399 rf amphora	opposed alt. rectangles	mantle trim of Leto	broad band
$ARV^{\overline{2}}$ 7, 3	dots	mantle trim of man with horses	single line in band
Bates 1905 pl. 6, 7;	very fine dots	boot tops of man	in rows hair points
fig. 94			
Odessa rf alabastron	solid ovals	tunic and trousers	
Odessa rf alabastron  ARV <sup>2</sup> 7, 5 Boardman 1975 fig. 12 Richter	solid ovals  opposed solid squares alt. with rows of short horizontal lines		flat surface
Odessa rf alabastron  ARV <sup>2</sup> 7, 5 Boardman 1975 fig. 12	opposed solid squares alt. with rows of short horizontal lines crenellated line with dots	or archer trousers of	flat surface in lines central vertical

ARV <sup>2</sup> 7, 4 rf alabastron Richter 1934 fig. 3 Cohen 1978 pl. 39.1-2; fig. 108	dots	athlete animal skin of maenad	narrowest vertical lines medium spacing
Leningrad 381 ABV 293, 12 BF alabastron Richter 1941 figs. 7-9; fig. 106	small incised cross	garment of female bodice of female chiton of Dionysos	broad spaced diagonal lines flat area in lines flat area in lines
Jameson bf lekythos ABV 293, 11 Richter 1941	incised dot ring or cluster	garment of woman with krotala (L)	no folds motifs more closely spaced on torso
figs. 10-11; fig. 105	incised cross	chiton of flute player, onlooker, woman with sprig and R krotala pl.	on flat areas in lines
Berlin 2099 ABV 294, 18 bf plate	incised crosses	warrior's skirt	between folds but only the broad ones
Walters 1909 pl. 10; fig. 104	dotted scales	shield of warrior	neatly incised around crest
Brit. Mus. B591 ABV 294, 20	incised ovals	shirt of archer	flat area, in lines
bf plate Smith 1929	incised crosses	trousers of archer	flat surface, in lines
pl. 4; fig. 223	spiral	trousers of archer	vertical band down centre
London B590 bf plate ABV 294, 19 Walters 1909	dots (red?)	skirt of trumpeter	between widest folds only

pl. 11, 2; fig. 222			
London B589 bf plate ABV 294, 17 Walters 1909 pl. 11,1; fig. 221	No garment pat or mantle of Di		he chiton or
Leningrad Hermitage bf cup ABV 294, 22 Richter 1934 fig. 8 Boardman 1974 fig. 170.1, 2; fig. 97	incised cross	chitoniskos of bf Perseus skirt of Herakles nebrys of Perseus (bf) lion skin of Herakles	
New York 1975.11.6 bf mastos Mertens 1979 pl. 9, 1-4; fig. 165	added colour dots	mantles and garments of females on both sides (four gars)	between folds widely spaced
Basel mkt. bf mastos Mertens 1979 pl. 9.5-6; fig. 167	No garment patterning is vis visible is a small part of a sh		nent is
Geneva priv. coll. bf skyphos Mertens 1979 pl. 10.5-6; fig. 166	No garment patterning appea	ars on the single cloth	ed figure.
Milan Poldi- Pezzoli 482 bf kyathos ABV	incised cross	mantle of Dionysos bodice of maenad garment of maenad	flat area in lines flat area in lines flat garment in lines

293, 15 Richter 1941 figs. 1-5; fig. 1 09 The following vases have been excluded from the counts due to incompleteness. flat surface pyramidal cloak of triple dot warrior Leningrad triple dot 98B no folds  $ARV^2$  8, 10 cup frags Cohen 1978 pl.38, 3 Herakles is unclothed. London B234 bf amphora ABV292, 3 Gardiner 1905 fig. 14; fig. 110 Wurzburg No patterning is clearly visible. The illustrations are small. 436 bf kyathos ABV294, 16 Boardman 1974 fig. 171.1, 2 Langlotz 1932 pl. 118

	Table 10:		
Garment	patterning	by	Oltos

			· *	
VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Florence 3B3 ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 12 bil eye cup Cohen 1978 pl. 70. 1 - 2; fig. 121	early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 54	incised cross	garment of lyre player (bf)	visible on back below front hem
Louvre F126 ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 13 bil eye cup	early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 54	incised ovals	shirt of bf archer	flat and foreign
Cohen 1978 pl. 71.1-3		incised cross	trousers of bf archer	horizontal lines flat garment
		vertical zig zags	shirt trim	single line in band
		zig zag lines	shirt cuffs and trouser cuffs	single lines in bands
Vatican 34997  ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 19 bil eye cup Cohen 1978 pl. 83.1-2 Ferrari 1986 fig. 5; fig. 143	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	incised cross	chitoniskos of bf trumpeter	diagonal lines flat garment
Altenburg Lindenau Mus. 224 ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 17 bil eye cup Bruhn 1943 fig. 10, 12; fig. 122	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	alternating dotted cross and large added red dot	chiton of bf Poseidon in	arranged in lines on a flat garment
Louvre F127ter bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 54, 9 Cohen 1978 pl. 68.1-3	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	There is no garm (Interior largely i	ent patterning on th missing.)	nis vase.
Vatican Mus.	early	small added	mantle of bf	on black

Etr. Greg. 498  ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 15  bil eye cup	<i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 54	red dots	Dionysos	folds alt. with red
Bruhn 1943 figs. 13 - 15; fig. 124		fine incised crosses	chiton of bf Dionysos	on flat garment in lines that follow hem and sleeve
		single dots, pyramidal triple dot	short chiton of trumpeter	motifs align with lines of back and chest
		cross	skirt of hoplitodromos	in lines on flat surface
Bloomington 80.73 bil eye cup $ARV^2$	early $ABV$ p. 55 $ARV^2$	single feline figure	short skirts of both Nereids	flat skirt
55, 18 Boardman 1975 fig. 61 Beazley 1929 pl. 5;	p. 54	alternating opposed dots	hem trim of skirt of Nereid	in band
fig. 119		incised cross	chiton of bf Hermes	med. spacing flat gar., scatter
Louvre F127 bil eye cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 14 Cohen 1978 pl. 73.2-3; fig. 137	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	There are no garn depicts two siren	nents on the exterios.	r, which
Basel Lu 33 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 20 Cohen 1978 pl. 81.1-2; fig. 126	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	No garment patte	rning appears on th	is vase.
Munich 2581 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 11	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	No garment patte	erning appears on th	is vase.

Cohen 1978 pl. 69.3; fig. 125				
Bryn Mawr P-2115 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 1623, 21bis Ferrari 1986 figs. 1-4; fig. 127	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	incised cross	garment of bf trumpeter, bodice and skirt	vertical lines on flat surface and between only broadest folds
London 1896.6-21.3	middle/ late ARV <sup>2</sup>	incised cross	tunic of bf slinger	between folds
bil eye cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 56, 25  Walters 1921 fig. 1	p. 54	No garments are s decorated with a r	shown on the externule and a nose.	ior, which is
Oxford 515	not early	dotted cross	skirt of bf warrior	single motif flat surface
bil eye cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 56, 27  CVA  Oxford 1 pl. 1.1, 5.1-2; fig. 118	<i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 54	The two exterior a	athletes are uncloth	ed.
Hannover 1966.84 bil eye cup		incised cross	garment of bf warrior (I)	in lines medium spaced flat surface
Para. 327, 26bis CVA Hannover 1 pl. 31.1, 32.1, 33.1-3, fig. 6; fig. 235		Neither of the red their garments.	figures have any p	atterning on
Getty S.82.AE.49 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 1621, 55.20bis Bareiss 1983 p. 40; fig. 142	ca. 520 BC Bareiss 1983 p. 40	There is no garme of the cup. The fg largely naked.	ent patterning on the gure wears a short r	e interior nantle but is
Leningrad 5572		incised ovals		flat suit
bil eye cup Cohen		Exterior dancers	are unclothed.	

pl. 72.1-3

Louvre F128 bil cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 58, 50 CVA Louvre 10 pl. 3, 3-6; 4.1; fig. 147	middle ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 58	incised cross fine dots tilde squiggles	mantle of bf Poseidon mane of rf lion	between only widest folds hair points
Leipzig T3371 ARV <sup>2</sup> 55, 16 bil cup Bruhn 1943 fig. 9, 11; fig. 123	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	fine crosses incised	shirt, trousers of bf archer	horizontal lines flat garment
Once Arlesheim, Schweizer rf eye cup $ARV^2$ 57, 42 Boardman 1975 fig. 64 Cohen 1978 pl. 84.1-3	early middle ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 57	No garment patter figure is clothed.	rning is visible, bu	t only one
Boston 1383 ARV <sup>2</sup> 57, 40 RF eye cup Bruhn 1943 fig. 16 - 18; fig. 151	early middle ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 57	two X's on exterior warrior dash	short, tight, flat skirt skirt hem trim	at top of skirt just below waist single line in band
Vatican Astarita 47 rf eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 57, 39 Cohen 1978 pl. 85.1-2	early middle <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 57			
Brit. Mus. E16  ARV <sup>2</sup> 61, 75  rf eye cup  Bruhn figs.  40 - 41;	developed style, middle and later $ARV^2$	dots	trousers of archer on exterior	flat garment

fig. 148	p. 60			
Copenhagen 3877 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 63, 87 Bruhn 1943 figs. 26-28; fig. 114	developed ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No garment patte	rns appear on this	vase.
Munich 2606 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 64, 102 Bruhn 1943 fig. 29-30; fig. 238	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No garment patte	rning appears on I	or A.
Copenhagen 2700 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 63, 93 Bruhn 1943 figs. 20-22; fig. 113	developed  ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No garment patterning other than folds appears on any garment.		
Berlin F4220 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 61, 71 Bruhn 1943 figs. 23-25; fig. 146	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No garment patte on any garment.	rning other than fo	olds appears
Rome Torlonia  rf cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 59, 56 Hoppin 1919 p. 171	early middle ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 58	There are no patt	erned garments on	this vase.
Tarquinia Museo Civico RC 6848 RF cup	dev style middle - late ARV <sup>2</sup>	dotted cross	mantle of seated Zeus	within and over folds
ARV <sup>2</sup> 60, 66 Bruhn 1943 figs. 1 - 4.	p. 60	swastika	mantle of Aphrodite	within folds and over
CVA Tarquinia 1		cross	mantle of Hermes and	within folds and prob.

pl. 2-3			figure behind	over too
Arias and Hirmer 1962 pl. 100-104;		pyramidal triple dot plain dot	chiton of Hebe	alternating between folds and flat area
fig. 140		quotation mark dashes	interior warrior's animal skin	in lines flat surface
		dots	maenad's leopard skin	in lines flat surface
Munich 2618 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 61, 74 Bruhn 1943 figs. 33, 36	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No garment patter	rning appears on I c	ог А.
Florence Va. 46 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 64, 97 Bruhn 1943 fig. 35; fig. 145	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	The figure on I is	unclothed.	
Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 100; Villa Giulia; Florence 1B24 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 60, 67 Bruhn 1943 figs. 37, 42-43;	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	crenellated line vertical dashes	poncho of both riders (two)	alternating lines flat surface
fig. 116				
	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	dotted cross dots	skirt of warrior trims on 2 skirts	flat area single lines in bands

figs. 46-47 Schefold 1962 pl. 37.1-2				
Copenhagen 13407 rf cup		cross	skirt of warrior	flat surface scatter
ARV <sup>2</sup> 59, 57 Boardman 1975 fig. 59 CVA Copenhagen 8 pl. 334.1, 335; fig. 237		vertical zig zag	skirt hem trim of warrior	single line in band
Oxford 516 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 63, 92 Bruhn 1943 fig. 19 CVA Oxford 1 pl. 1.2, 5.3-4; fig. 112	developed ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 60	No patterning is vase, a long man	visible on the single tle.	garment on this
Brit. Mus. E8  ARV <sup>2</sup> 63, 88  rf cup  Bruhn 1943  fig. 44-45;	develop. style, middle and late $ARV^2$	dotted cross	short tight skirt of warrior with knotted fringe	random scatter over flat area
fig. 128	p. 60	crenellated line with dots	warrior's hem	single line i n band
		kidney shaped dots (threes)	warrior's animal skin	flat area
Ashmolean 1927.4065 ARV <sup>2</sup> 62, 77 RF cup Watrous 1982 pl. 20 figs. 15 - 16; fig. 138	develop. style ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 60	repeated lines of short vertical lines	Amazons' pants and sleeved tunics on three Amazons	flat and form fitting garments
Bologna 361  ARV <sup>2</sup> 65, 113  rf cup Boardman 1975 fig. 62;	late and coarse ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 65	single feline figure	short tight skirt of female	flat skirt over bum

fig	144	
fig.	144	

fig. 144				
Berlin 2264  ARV <sup>2</sup> 60, 64  rf cup  Bruhn 1943  figs. 5-7	develop. style. middle and late ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 60	small crosses crenellated line alternating opposed dots	short skirts of 3 warriors hem trims of 2 warriors skirt hem trim of warrior	random scatter over flat areas single lines in bands on flat skirts double line in band
London E40 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 59, 54 Hoppin 1919 p. 154	early/ middle <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 58	dots alternate opposed dots medium dots	skirt of Amazon skirt hem leopardskin of maenad	scatter, flat area in band
Florence 3923 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 61, 72 CVA Florence 3 pl. 73	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	There are garmer this vase.	nts but no patterning	g on
Florence 81601 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 64, 96 CVA Florence 3 pl. 74; fig. 236	developed <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 60	Garments but no	patterning on this v	/ase
Chicago 1967.115.64 Florence rf kylix frags.	ca. 515- 510 BC Moon and Berge 1979 p. 135		pears on any of the of which have vario	
Moon and Berge 1979 pp. 134 - 135				
Basel 459 rf cup Para. 327 50bis Boardman 1975 fig. 63		garment patterning are all unclothed.	g on this vase; the fi	gures,

CVA Basel 2 pl. 5.1-3, 6.1-4, 32.3,7; 38.5; fig. 2.1; fig. 149				
Berlin Antiquarium 2263	developed style, middle	slipped ovals (solid)	exterior archer's skirt	flat and foreign
ARV <sup>2</sup> 62, 85 palmette cup	and later $ARV^2$	single dotted cross	short tight skirt	charioteer's flat area
Bruhn 1943 fig. 31 - 32; fig. 115	p. 60.	crenellated line	warrior's skirt hem	single line in band
		single large cross	short skirt of warrior	flat area
Providence 25.067 palmette	early  ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 57	pyramidal triple dot	loincloth of youth with wineskin	
eye cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 57, 44  Luce 1929  figs. 1-4		There are no other	r garments on the v	ase.
Vatican 502 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 66, 126 Bruhn 1943 fig. 50; fig. 150	still early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 66	very fine dots	lion skin of Herakles	very close spaced in lines
Munich 2624 rf cup dec inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 66, 132 Cohen 1978 pl. 90.3	not early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 66	Interior Minotaur	is unclothed.	
Mt. Holyoke College rf cup dec. inside only Para. 328 Finkenstaedt 1968 pl. 129; fig. 117		No garment patte garment.	rning is visible on t	he woman's

 Parma, Reale	middle/ late	No patterning	on woman's garments.
rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 66, 131 Bruhn 1943 fig. 48	<i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 66		
Ferrara Schifanoia 269 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 66, 128 Bruhn 1943 fig. 52	middle/ late ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 66	No patterning the stool.	appears on the garment draped o
Getty S.82.AE.18 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 1623, 125bis Bareiss 1983 p. 41	ca. 510 BC Bareiss 1983 p. 41	The interior sabut is unclother	tyr holds a wineskin strategically
London E437 rf stamnos ARV <sup>2</sup> 54, 5 Boardman 1975 fig. 54		garment on th	beyond folds is visible on the one vase, the maenad's.
Kings Point Schimmel rf psykter ARV <sup>2</sup> 1622, 7bis Boardman 1975 fig. 58; fig. 240			is visible on the garments of the g the dolphins.
Louvre G2 Nicosthenic amphora		dots	leopardskin of in lines maenad
$ARV^2$		No other patterning appears on any of the garments on this vase.	

Bothmer 1943 fig. 54 Arias and Hirmer 1962 pl. 99				
Louvre G3  ARV <sup>2</sup> 53, 1  Nikosthenic amphora  Boardman	early among this shape $ARV^2$ p. 53	Macedonian star single motif	short flat tight skirt of nereid on neck	flat skirt as before
fig. 56 Simon 1976 pl. 91;	p. 33	dot	skirt hem of nereid	single line in band
fig. 241		fine dots	skin of animal	hair points in lines
Brit. Mus. E258 ARV <sup>2</sup> 54, 4 type C amph.		dots and swastikas	mantle of Briseis	between and over folds of mantle
Boardman 1975 fig. 57 Hoppin 1919 p. 249; fig. 141		crenellated line	Briseis' mantle and chiton trims	single lines in bands
New York 10.210.18 psykter ARV <sup>2</sup> 54, 7 Bothmer 1955 pl. 47 figs 2-3; fig. 239	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 66	No patterning be	tween the folds of t	he trainer's mantle.
The following va	ses are too in	complete to be incl	uded in my counts,	but I have
Florence 1B32 palmette eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 58, 47 Kurtz 1975 pl. 18d	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 57	•	erning is visible on s es is largely missing	
Florence 2B11 rf cup frags ARV <sup>2</sup> 54, 8	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 54	The satyr on this missing.	vase is unclothed,	but much is

Cohen 1978 pl. 71.4

pl. 71.4		
Berlin 2313 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 67, 139 Bruhn 1943 fig. 49	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 67	No garment patterning is visible, but Athena is much restored.
Bonn 464.24 eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 56, 31 Kraiker 1930 pl. 53.3; fig. 120	No garmer	nts are visible on the one side of the vase examined.

	Table 1	1:	
Garment	patterns	by	<b>Epiktetos</b>

VASE	DATE	PATTERN	GARMENT	CONTEXT
Villa Giulia calyx krater ARV <sup>2</sup> 77, 90 Cohen 1978 pl. 91.1,2; fig. 227	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	No garment patter folds.	rning is visible betw	een some fine
Odessa 26338 kantharos frags. ARV <sup>2</sup> 77, 87 Cohen 1978 pl. 93.2 Hoppin 1919 p. 321	early  ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	vertical incised lines Garments on this no patterning betw	vase have some ver	horizontal rows animal skin ry fine folds but
London E139 skyphos ARV <sup>2</sup> 77, 86 Robertson 1976 fig. 16-17		f Dionysos are unpare unclothed.	atterned but extreme	ely elaborate;
Oxford 520 cup skyphos ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 84 Gardner 1904 no. 520; fig. 226	latish ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	The figures on the	is vase are all unclo	thed.
Brit. Mus E135 ARV <sup>2</sup> 78, 94 RF plate Boardman 1975 fig. 77; fig. 158	early. ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	outlined ovals and dots vertical zig zags alt. opposed dots	archer's shirt and pants shirt trim band down centre of trouser leg	form fitting single line in band

London E136 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 78, 94 Hill 1938 fig. 7; fig. 230	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	No patterning be	tween folds of wa	arrior's cloak.
Cab Méd 509 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 77, 91 Hoppin 1919 p. 324	early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 77	Satyr is unclothe	d.	
London E137 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 78, 95 Boardman 1975 fig. 78; fig. 231	early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 77	One reveller is un the mantle of the		e is no patterning on
Cab.Méd. 510 rf plate  ARV <sup>2</sup> 78, 96 Hoppin 1919 p. 324	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	quotation mark lines There is no patte mantle slung ove	wine skin rning on the singl er a stick.	flat surface e garment, the
New York 1981.11.10 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 77, 92 Beazley 1929 p. 4.4	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 77	There is no patte	erning on youth's	short mantle.
Louvre G7 rf plate ARV <sup>2</sup> 78, 97 Hoppin 1919 p. 330	There is no is unclothe	patterning on the r	nantle of the train	er, and the youth
Berlin 2100 ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 7	early ARV <sup>2</sup>	incised cross	mantle of bf reveller	within fine folds, widely

bil eye cup Cohen 1978 pl. 96.1 Walters 1909 pl. 9; fig. 155	p. 70			spaced
Brit. Mus. E3  ARV <sup>2</sup> 70, 3  bil eye cup  Cohen 1978  pl. 98. 2 - 3	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	large dots vertical zig zag	mantle of bf horseman mantle trims bf horseman	big dots on flat space single line in band
Hoppin 1919 p. 308; fig. 152		Exterior satyrs are		
Koutoulakis Coll. (Ex Geneva mkt) bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 1621, 9bis Cohen 1978 pl. 92.1; fig. 156		incised crosses	mantle of bf Hermes	between incised folds
Florence 2B4  ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 12  bil eye cup  Cohen 1978  pl. 101.1, 100.4; fig. 157	not early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	dotted cross	short skirt of bf warrior	between folds
Basel BS 436 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 1705, 6bis Boardman 1975 fig. 67.1-2 CVA Basel 2 pl. 1.1-4, 31.4,6; 38.1; fig. 1.1; fig. 153	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	quotation mark dashes (incised)	satyr's animal skin (bf)	flat area
Wurzburg 468 bil eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 8 Cohen 1978 pl. 92.3, 93.1, 97.2; fig. 160	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70		t on this vase is blane cup, and has no ps.	_

Leningrad 645 rf eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 4 Kraiker 1929 fig. 5, 6, 7; fig. 162	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	fine dots  There is no patter interior warrior.	skin worn by donkey driver rning on the short r	hair points
Villa Giulia frags. rf eye cup <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> 71, 9 Cohen 1978 pl. 93.3, 94.1,2	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	incised rings	nebrys of warric (interior-bf)	or animal skin
Louvre G8 Tubingen E7 rf eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 6 Cohen 1978 pl. 100.1,2	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	-	rning on the single otherwise both the f	
Orvieto, Faina 97 rf eye cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 70, 1 Cohen 1978 pl. 94.3, 4; 95.3 CVA Orvieto 1 pl. 1, 2; fig. 234	early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	No garment are o	depicted on this vas	se.
Louvre C10458 rf eye cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 11 Cohen 1978 pl. 100.3	not early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	The single figure	e between the eyes	is unclothed.
Louvre G5 rf palmette- eye cup $ARV^2$	not early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 70	Mantle of interior figure is uncloth	or figure is unpatter ed.	ned. Exterior

71, 14 Cohen 1978 pl. 99.2, 3 Hoppin 1919 p. 326 - 27				
London E38 rf cup $ARV^2$		fine dots	lion skin of Herakles nebrys of	hair points diagonal lines animal skin
72, 16 Boardman 1975 fig. 75.1-2		dotted rings	dancer nebrys of dances	animal skin
Paribeni EAA 3 fig. 450-1 Hoppin 1919 p. 313; fig. 161				
Providence 25.077		kidney shaped spots	two leopard skins	flat surfaces
rf cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 73, 34  Luce 1928 figs. 5 - 7;		Elaborate folds bu	it no other patternin	g on this vase.
fig. 170				
London E37		g on broad folds of terior reveller.	interior reveller, o	r on short
London			interior reveller, o animal skin on wall	r on short flat surface
London E37 rf cup  ARV <sup>2</sup> 72, 17 Kraiker 1929 p. 177-178 Paribeni EAA 3 fig. 452 Hoppin	mantle of ex	terior reveller. rings	animal skin	flat surface

Vatican 15675

(506) incised dash lion skin of vertical lines

rf cup		through slip	Herakles	textural
ARV <sup>2</sup> 73, 27 Kraiker 1929 fig. 32 Poursat 1968 p. 567 fig. 14 Wrede 1916 pl. 34		There is no garme	ent patterning on the	e rest of the vase.
Oberlin 67.61 palmette eye cup Para. 329, 14bis Boardman 1975 fig. 68 Cohen 1978 pl. 116.1 MacSweeney 1968 fig. 1-5; fig. 154	not early ARV <sup>2</sup> p. 70	no patterning on the	palancing kylix is un he mantle of the into garment on the vas	erior reveller,
London 1929.11-11.1 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 74, 35 Boardman 1975 fig. 72; fig. 159	No garment	s are visible on side rings (slipped)	e A, the centauroma body of centaur	flat surface includes human torso and arms
Ex Munich, Preyss rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 74, 37 Kraiker 1929 fig. 37	There is no	patterning on the sh	nort mantle of the in	tterior figure.
Louvre G6 rf cup		spots and dots	skin (cheetah?)	flat surface
ARV <sup>2</sup> 72, 21 Hoppin 1919 p. 328 - 9; fig. 171		No other patterning being clothed.	hide of fawn ng on vase despite i	nost of the figures
Aberdeen Univ. 744 Florence 1B29 rf cup	No garment	patterning is visible rings	le despite some ver animal skin on wall	y elaborate folds.

ARV <sup>2</sup> 73, 28 Kraiker 1929 fig. 26-31f				
Berlin F2262 ARV <sup>2</sup> 72, 15 Kraiker 1929 fig. 12; fig. 225		No patterning is	visible on the garments	on this vase.
Tarquinia RC191 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 73 Kraiker 1929 fig. 38; fig. 169		large kidney shaped spots	leopard skin over arm of warrior	flat surface different pattern down spine
Berlin 4514 rf cup, dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 78 Kraiker 1929 p. 197 fig. 40; fig. 168		closely resemble	cloak of satyr on of spots with fine do s a cheetah pelt as oppo dney shaped spots which leopard skin.	sed to
Oxford 1966.446 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 70 Kraiker 1929 fig. 34	Both figures	s are unclothed.		
Boston 95.34 rf cup, dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 64 Kraiker 1929 fig. 21	Interior saty	r riding wineskin	is unclothed.	
Boston	Warrior is u	inclothed.		

01.8074 rf cup, dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 74 Kraiker 1929 p. 196	scales quiver of warrior flat surface
Ferrera Schifanoia 270 rf cup, dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 55 Hoppin 1919 p. 307 Bates 1912 fig. 3; fig. 229	Mantle of runner has no patterning.
New York 1978.11.21 rf cup, dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 54 Bothmer 1985 fig. 116	No patterning on komast's short mantle, but some realistic and sophisticated folds.
Torlonia rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 58 Hartwig 1891 pl. 5.2	Interior komast is unclothed.
Athens Agora P24114 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 81 Bruneau 1963 fig. 5	Satyr riding the donkey is unclothed.
Athens Agora P24131 rf cup dec. inside only $ARV^2$ 76, 80	Woman is unclothed except for undecorated sakkos.

Thompson 1955 pl. 28d	
Baltimore Johns Hopkins rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 56 Boardman 1975 fig. 69; fig. 233	Interior satyr is unclothed.
Leningrad 14.611 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 60 Kraiker 1929 p. 173 Boardman 1975 fig. 71	Interior woman is unclothed except for an unpatterned sakkos.
Copenhagen 119 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 59 Boardman 1975 fig. 74	The interior youth is unclothed.
Athens Acr. 68 rf cup dec inside only  ARV <sup>2</sup> 75, 62 Boardman 1975 fig. 70; fig. 232	The interior minotaur is unclothed.
Tarquinia RC1091 rf cup dec. inside only ARV <sup>2</sup> 76, 65 Reisch 1890 p. 340	The interior satyr is unclothed.
London E24 rf cup dec.	The interior satyr is unclothed.

inside only

ARV<sup>2</sup>
75, 57

Hoppin 1919
p. 309

The following vases have been omitted from counts due to poor condition.

The following vas	ses have bee	n omitted from cou	ints due to poor co	ndition.
Louvre G16 rf eye cp ARV <sup>2</sup> 71, 13 Cohen 1978 pl. 101.2,3	not early <i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup> p. 70	Sisyphos in the interior seems to have been unclothed but much is missing.  The interior of this cup is by Epiktetos while the exterior decoration has been attributed to the Euergides Painter.		
Palermo V653 rf cup ARV <sup>2</sup> 73, 30 Hartwig 1891a p. 340 and pl. 19		rings thick crosses	nebrys of 3 archers	animal skins
Getty S.80.AE.252 once Bareiss frag cup Bareiss 1983 p. 43	ca. 510 BC Bareiss 1983 p. 43	There is no patterning on the mantle worn by the singing man.		



The development of some aspects of early Athenian red figure pottery and their links with black figure conventions

Hedda E. Breckenridge, B.A., M.A.

A dissertation in the Department of Classics submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

March 1997 Volume 2 of 2



## Contents: Volume 2

Figures 1 - 241

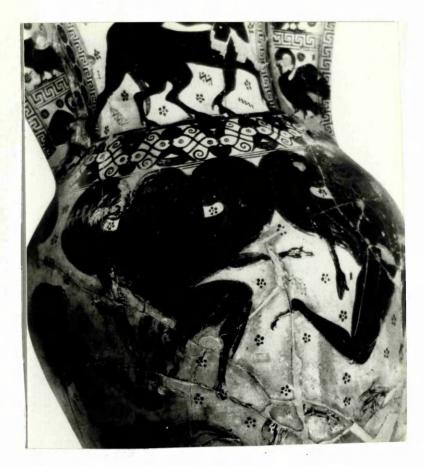


Figure 1a: Athens 1002 by the Nessos Painter.



Figure 1b

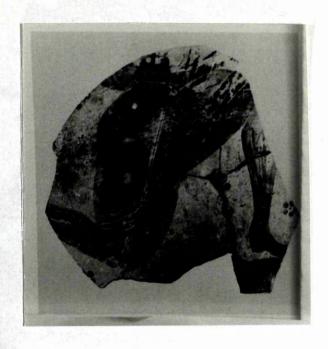


Figure 2: Leipzig vase by the Nessos Painter.



Figure 3: Berlin 1682 by the Nessos Painter.



Figure 4: Aegina 565 by the Chimaera Painter.

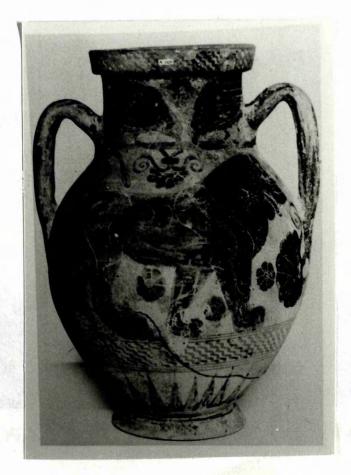


Figure 5: London A1531 by the Chimaera Painter.



Figure 6: Athens 16383.



Figure 7a: Louvre E874 by the Gorgon Painter.

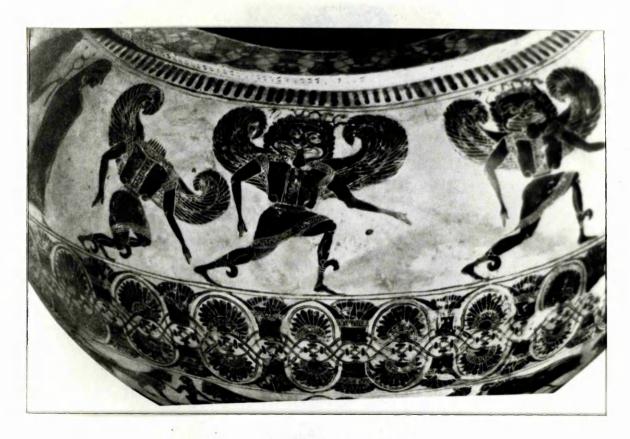


Figure 7b



Figure 7c



Figure 8: Buffalo, Albright - Knox Art Gallery G600, in the manner of the Gorgon Painter.



Figure 9: Athens NM 16285 by the Cerameicus Painter.



Figure 10: Athens NM 1109 by the KY Painter.



Figure 11a: London 1971.11 - 11.1 by Sophilos.

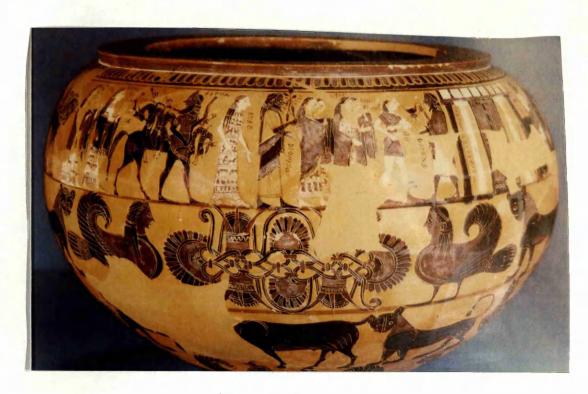


Figure 11b



Figure 11c



Figure 11d



Figure 12: Athens Akr. 587 by Sophilos.



Figure 13a: Louvre CA 616 by the C Painter



Figure 13b



Figure 13c



Figure 13d

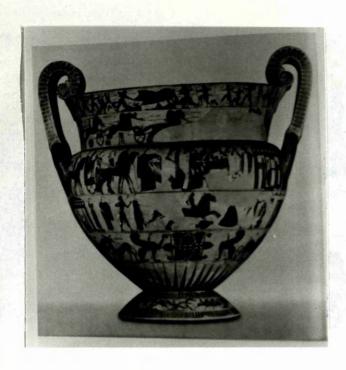


Figure 14a: Florence 4209, the François Vase, painted by Kleitias and potted by Ergotimos.



Figure 14b



Figure 14c

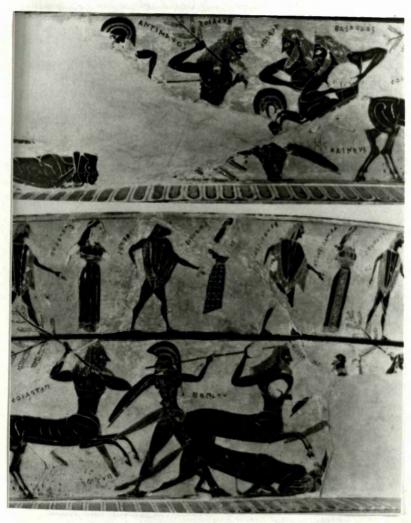


Figure 14d



Figure 14e

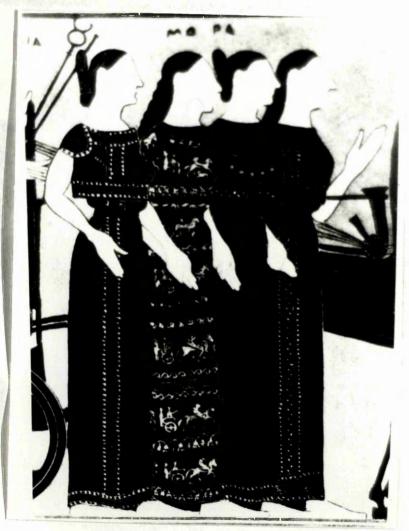


Figure 14f



Figure 14g

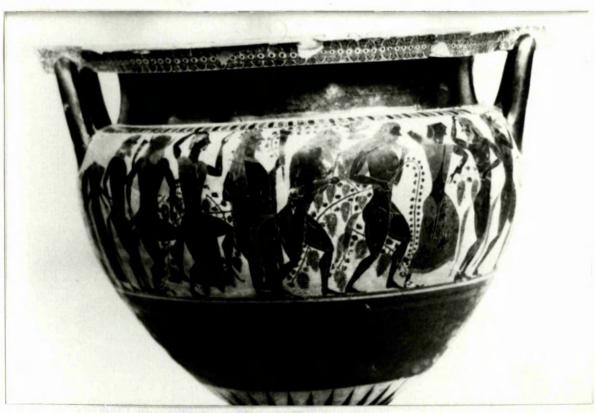


Figure 15a: New York 31.11.1 by Lydos.



Figure 15b

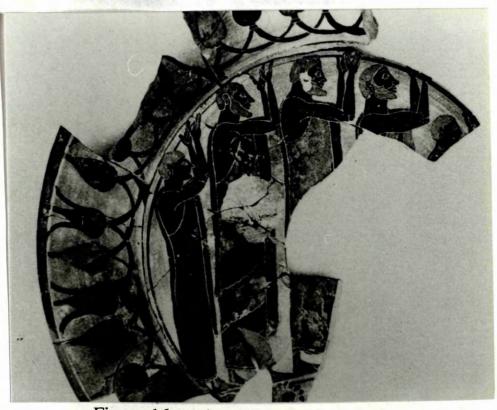


Figure 16: Athens Ker. 1909 by Lydos.

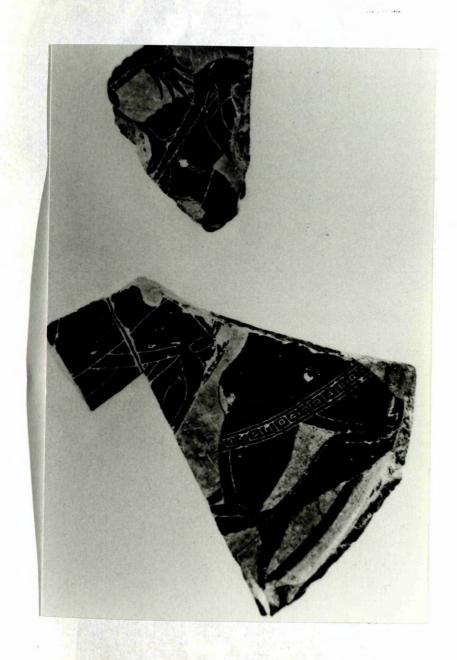


Figure 17: Athens AP 2087 by Lydos.

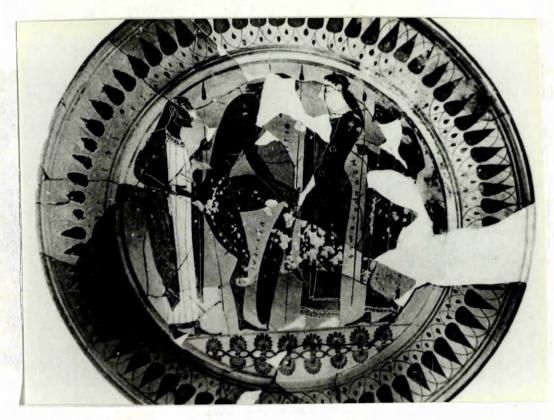


Figure 18: Athens AP 507 by Lydos.

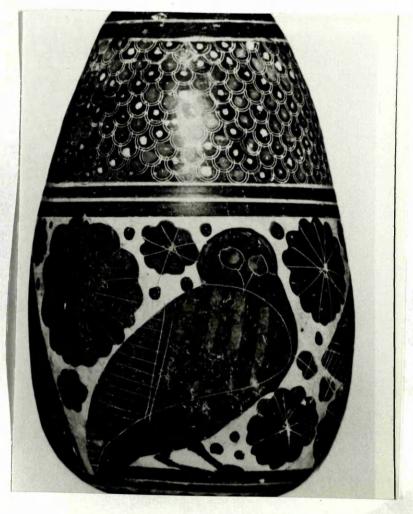


Figure 19: Basel Market



Figure 20: Louvre E29



Figure 21: Basel, Cahn 1173



Figure 22a: Corinth C - 65 - 38

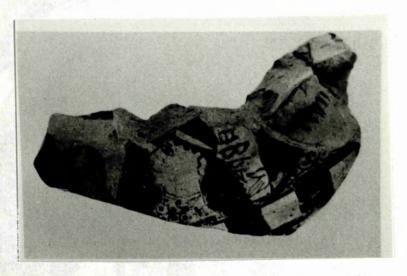


Figure 22b



Figure 23a: Berlin 1685 by Lydos.



Figure 23b



Figure 23c



Figure 23d

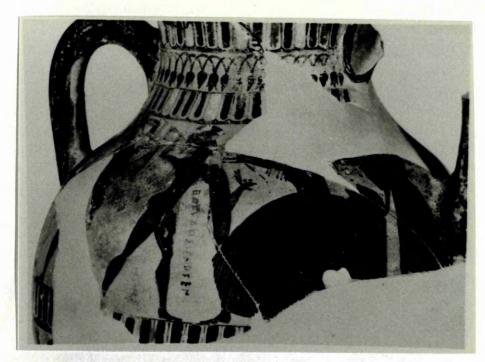


Figure 24: Louvre F29 by Lydos.

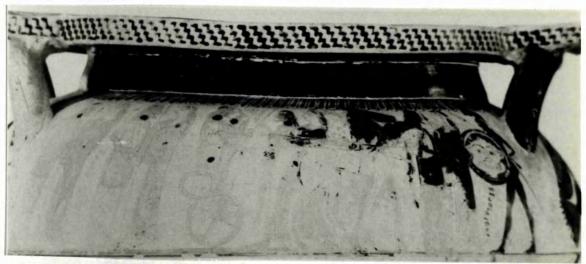


Figure 25a: New York 27.11.16



Figure 25b

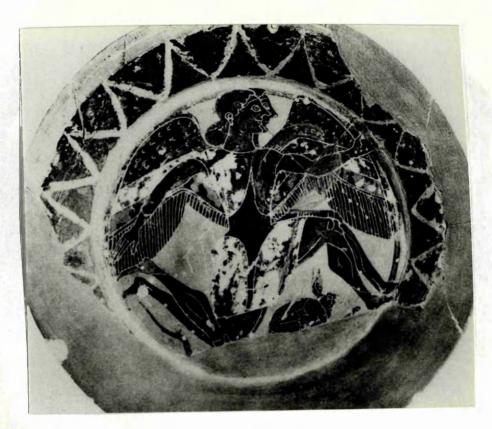


Figure 26: Harvard 1959.127 by Lydos.

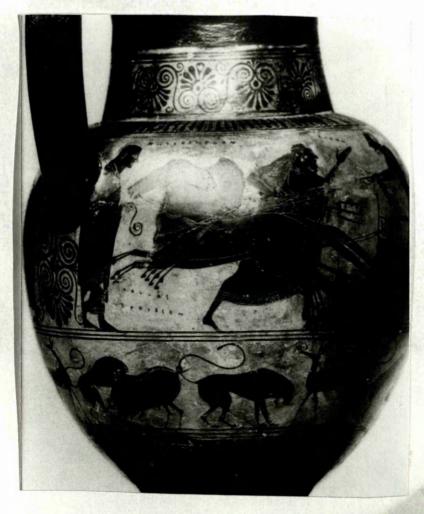


Figure 27a: Berlin 1732 by Lydos.



Figure 27b



Figure 27c



Figure 27d



Figure 28a: Athens Akr. 607 by Lydos.



Figure 28b

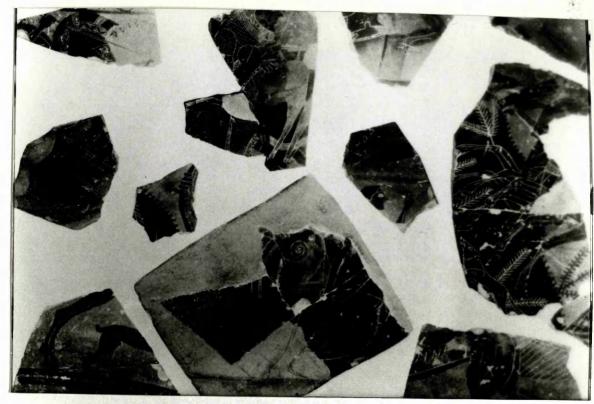


Figure 28c

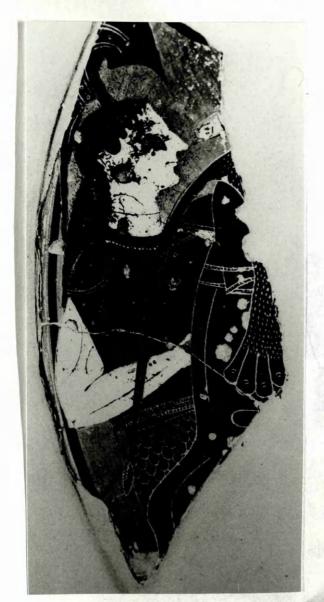


Figure 29a: Athens Akr. 2410 by Lydos.

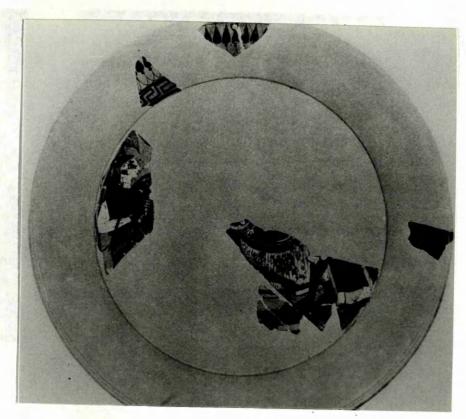


Figure 29b



Figure 30: Florence Va. 102b by Lydos.



Figure 31a: Tarquinia 624 by the Princeton Painter.



Figure 31b



Figure 32a: Rhodes 1346 by the Princeton Painter.



Figure 32b



Figure 33a: Naples 144 by the Princeton Painter.

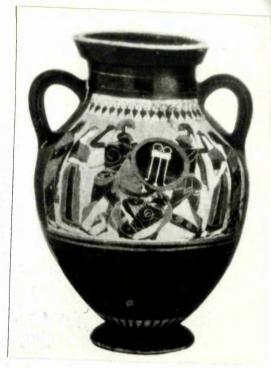


Figure 33b



Figure 34a:

New York 53.11.1

by the Princeton Painter,



Figure 34b

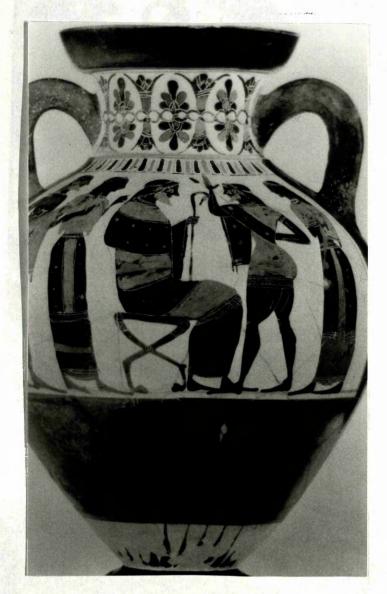


Figure 34c



Figure 34d



Figure 35a: Cabinet des Médailles 254 by the Euphiletos Painter.



Figure 35b



Figure 35c

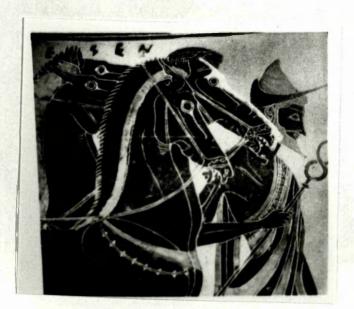


Figure 35d



Figure 36a: Tarquinia 627 by the Euphiletos Painter.



Figure 36b



Figure 37a: Boston 99.520 by the Euphiletos Painter.



Figure 37b



Figure 38a: Louvre F290 by the Euphiletos Painter.

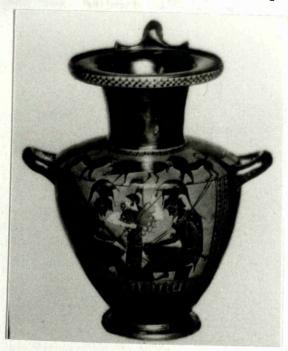


Figure 38b



Figure 39a: Munich 1478 by the Lysippides Painter.

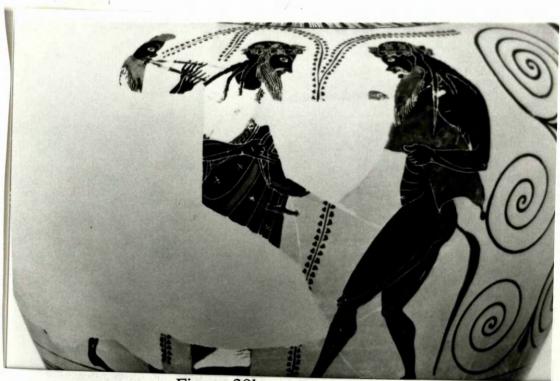


Figure 39b

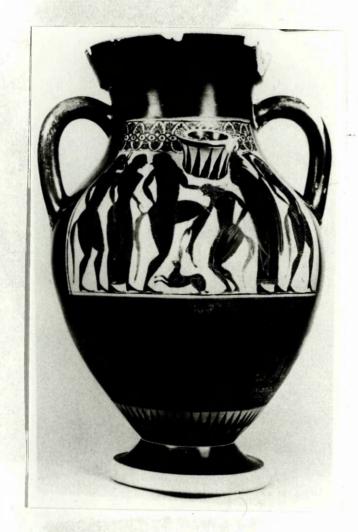


Figure 40a: London B148 by Lydos.



Figure 40b

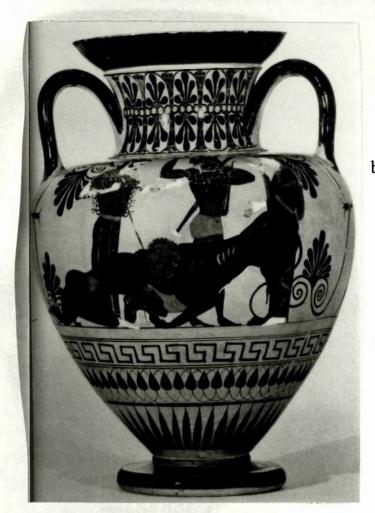


Figure 41a: Zurich ETH 7 by the Lysippides Painter.

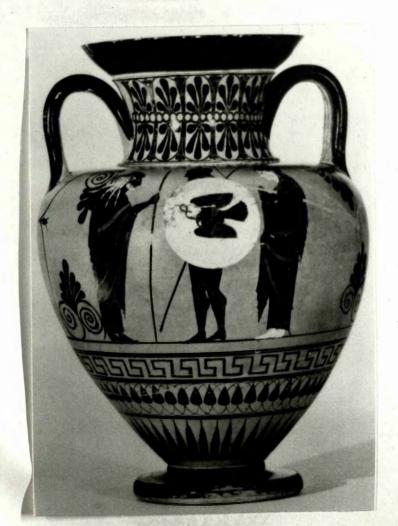


Figure 41b

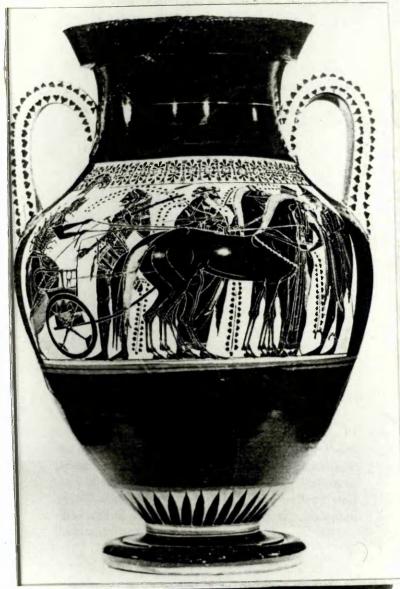


Figure 42a: New York 58.32 by the Lysippides Painter.

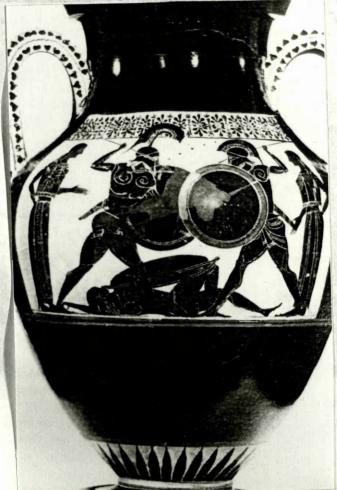


Figure 42b

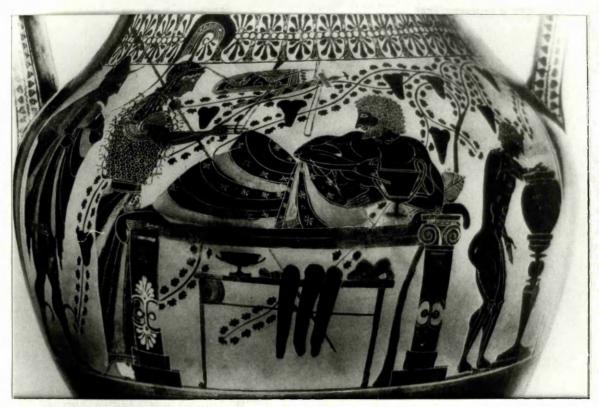


Figure 43: Munich 2301 by the Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter. See figure 84 for more details.



Figure 44a: Boston 99.520 by the Euphiletos Painter.



Figure 44b



Figure 45a: Berlin 321 by the Amasis Painter.

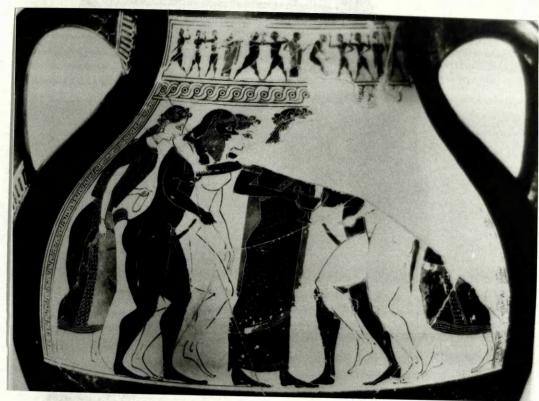


Figure 45b

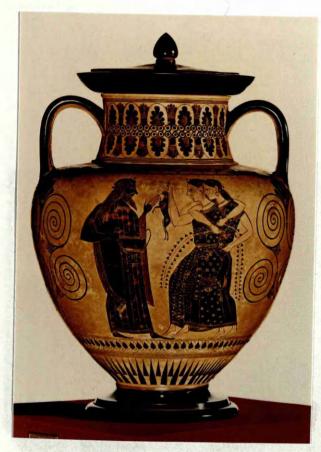


Figure 46a: Cabinet des Mèdailles 222 by the Amasis Painter.

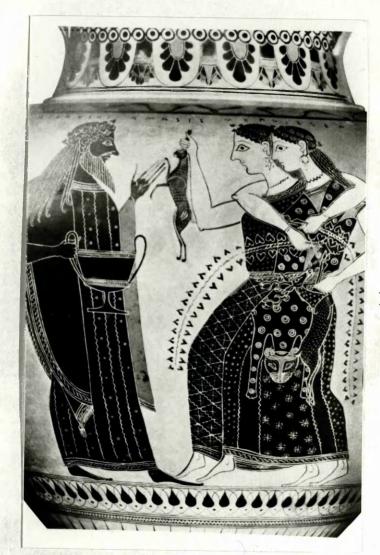


Figure 46b



Figure 46c



Figure 47a: Basel Ka. 420 by the Amasis Painter.

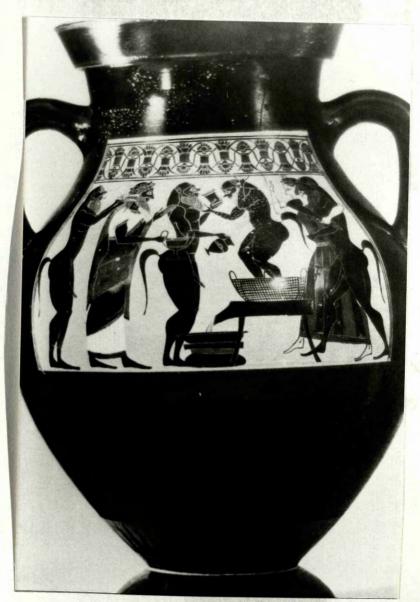


Figure 47b



Figure 47c

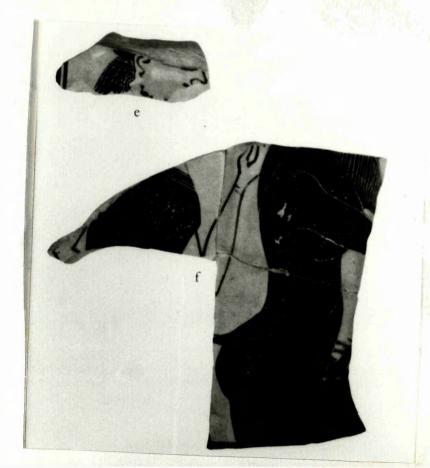


Figure 48a:
New York 1985.57
by the Amasis Painter,

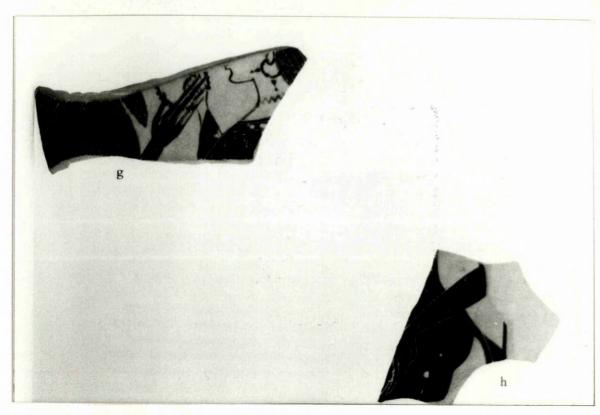


Figure 48b

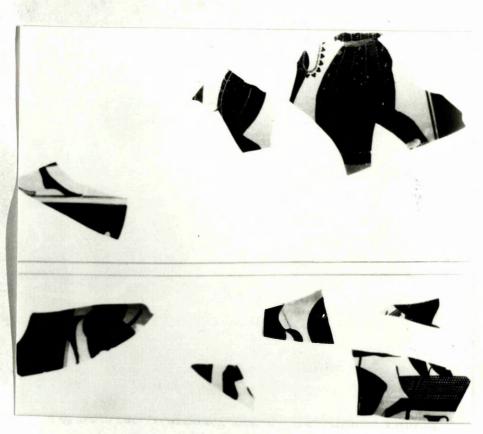


Figure 49: Kavala 983 by the Amasis Painter.

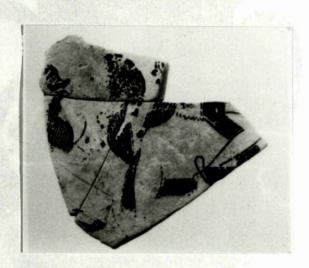


Figure 50: Samos Museum fragments by the Amasis Painter.

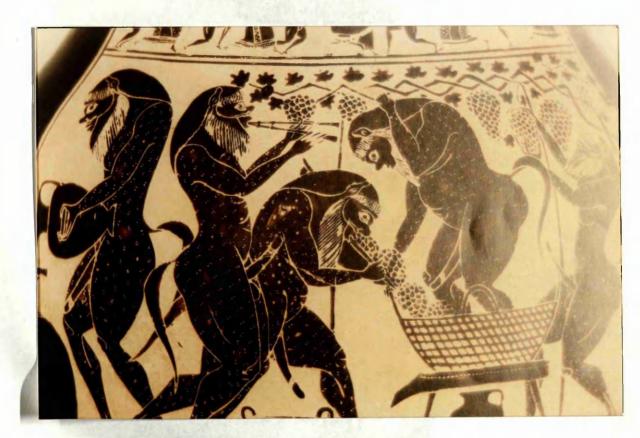


Figure 51a: Wurzburg 265 by the Amasis Painter.

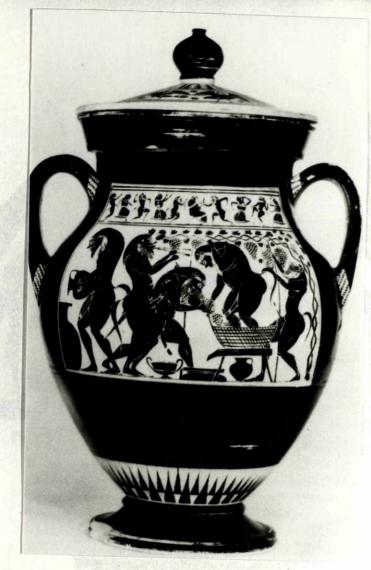


Figure 51b

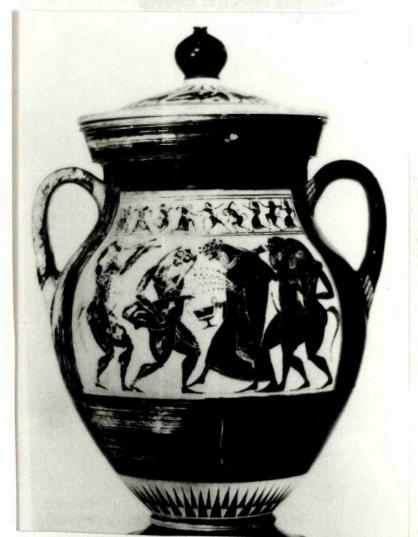


Figure 51c



Figure 52a: Munich 1383 by the Amasis Painter.

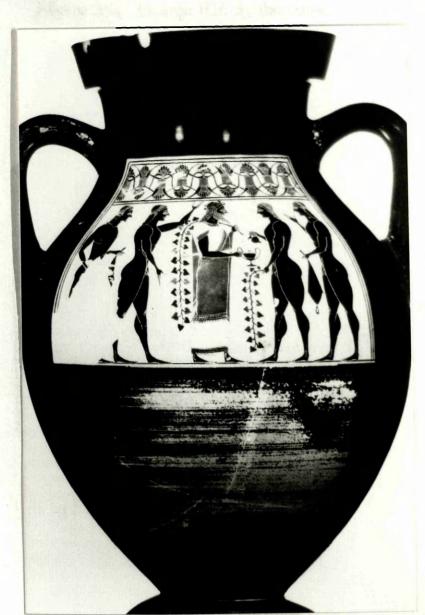


Figure 52b



Figure 53a: Louvre F36 by the Amasis Painter.

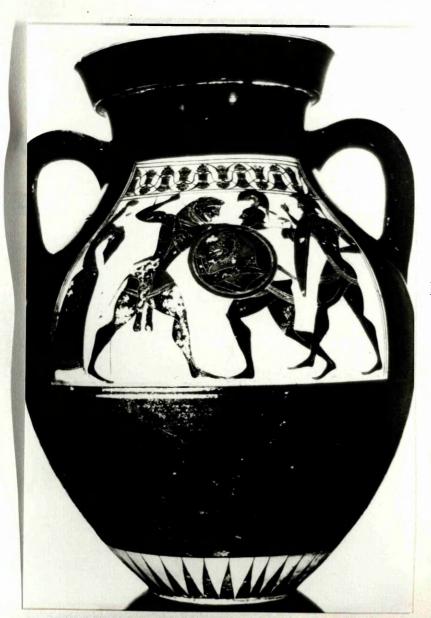


Figure 53b



Figure 54a: Louvre A479 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 54b



Figure 54c



Figure 54d



Figure 54e

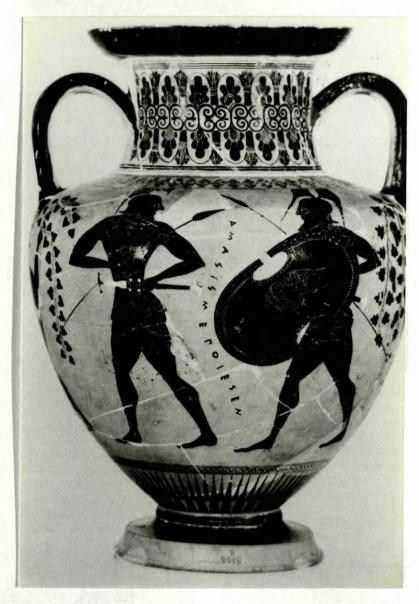


Figure 55a: Boston 01.8026 by the Amasis Painter.



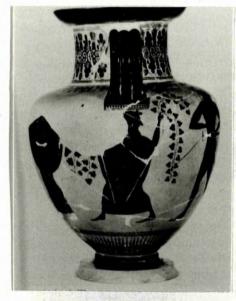


Figure 55c

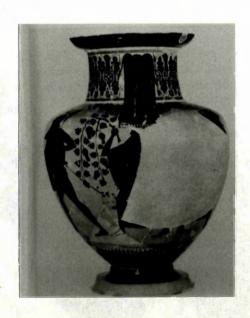


Figure 55d



Figure 56a: Boston 01.8027 by the Amasis Painter.

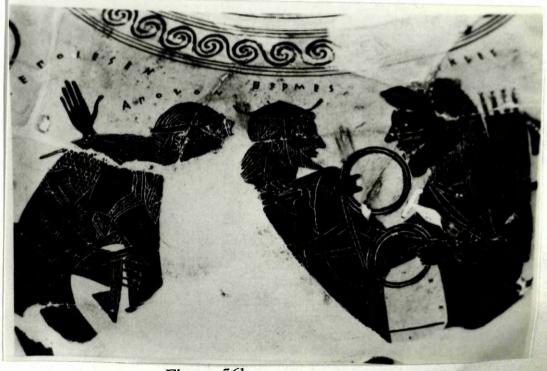


Figure 56b



Figure 56c



Figure 56d



Figure 57: Boston 10.651 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 58: Amphora on loan to Madison, Elvehjem Museum.

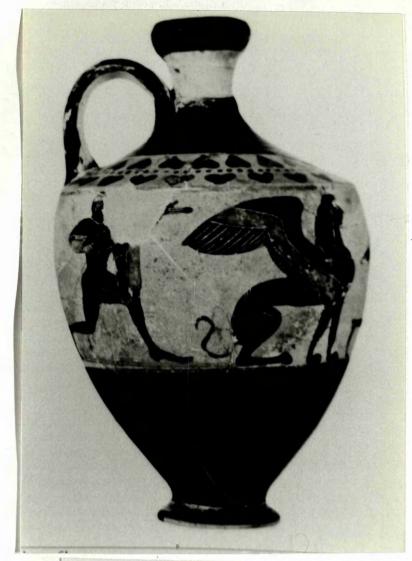


Figure 59a:
Louvre F192
by the Amasis Painter

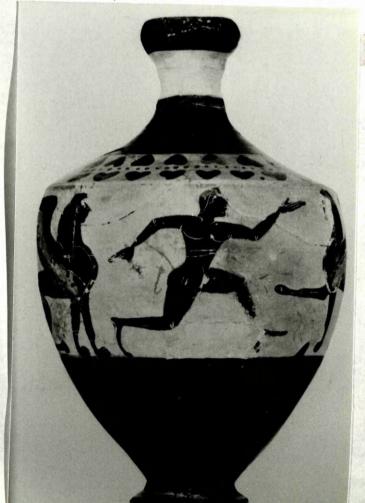


Figure 59b



Figure 60a:
Tubingen 7434
by the Amasis Painter.

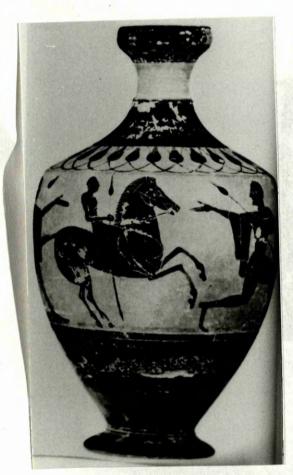


Figure 60b



Figure 60c



Figure 61a: Mayence 88 by the Amasis Painter.

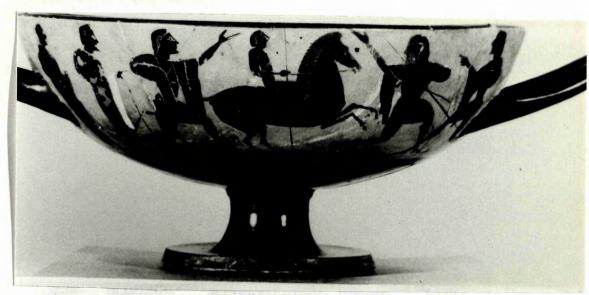


Figure 61b

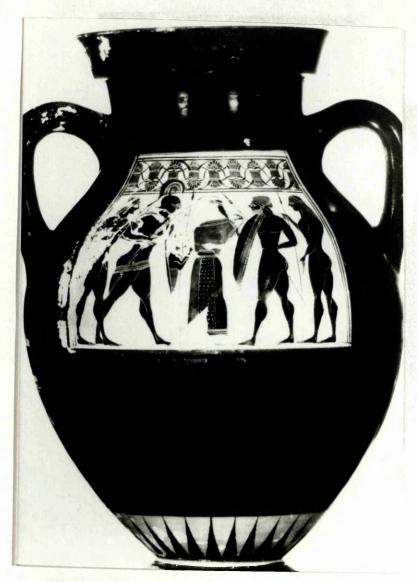


Figure 62a: Basel BS L19 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 62b



Figure 63a: Geneva I4 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 63b

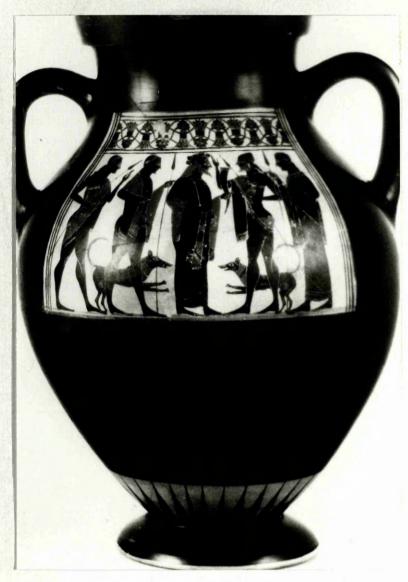


Figure 64a: Bloomington 71.823 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 64b

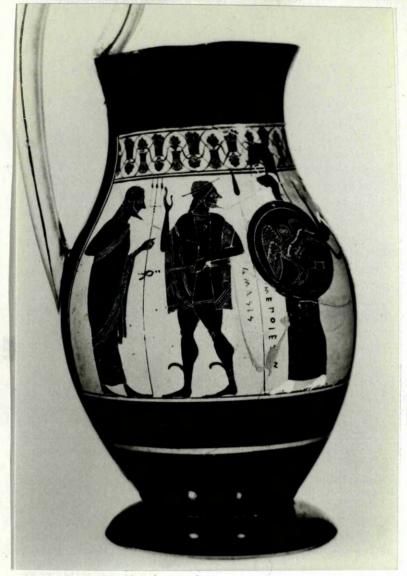


Figure 65a: Louvre F30 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 65b



Figure 66a: Vatican 369a by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 66b



Figure 66c



Figure 67: Vatican 17771 (once 432) by the Amasis Painter.

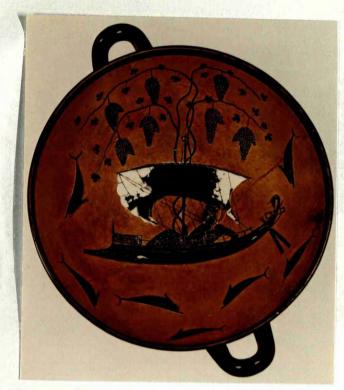


Figure 68a: Munich 2044 by Exekias.

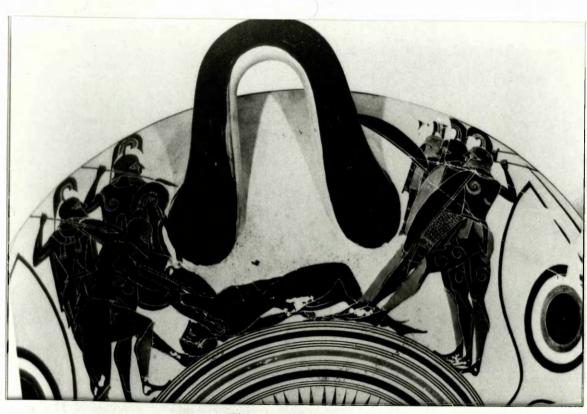


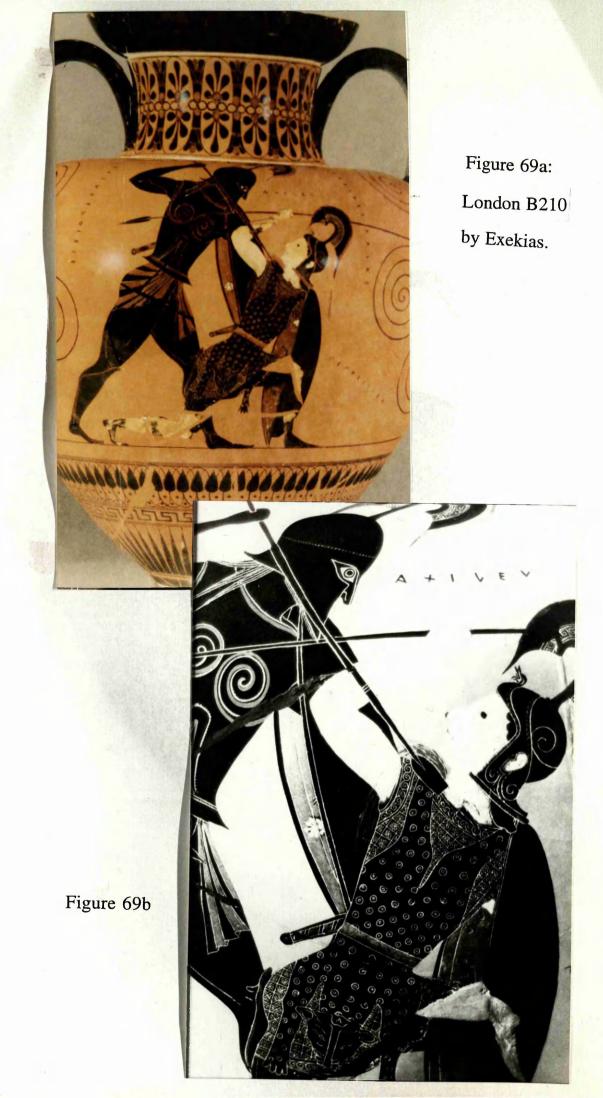
Figure 68b



Figure 68c



Figure 68d



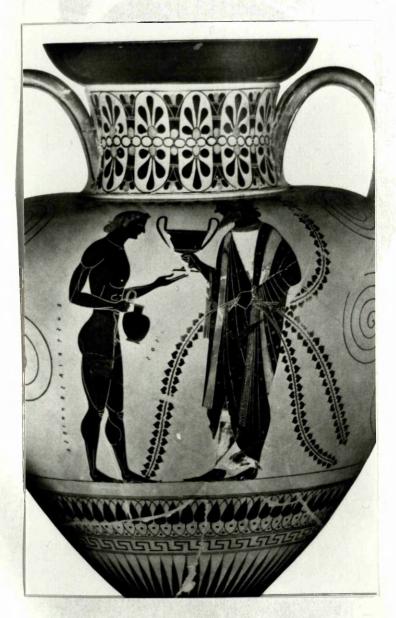


Figure 69c



Figure 70a:
Vatican 344
by Exekias.



Figure 70b



Figure 70c



Figure 70d



Figure 70e



Figure 71a: Budapest 50.189 by Exekias.



Figure 71b



Figure 71c



Figure 71d

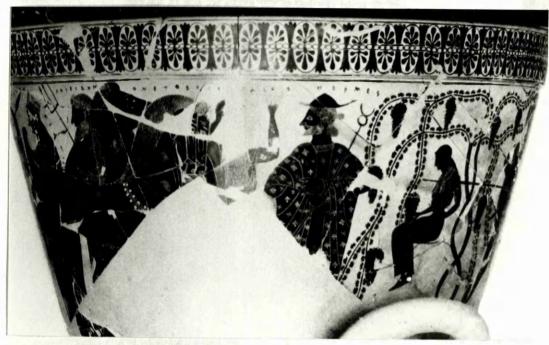


Figure 72a: Athens Agora AP 1044 by Exekias.



Figure 72b



Figure 73: Boston 00.330 by Group E.

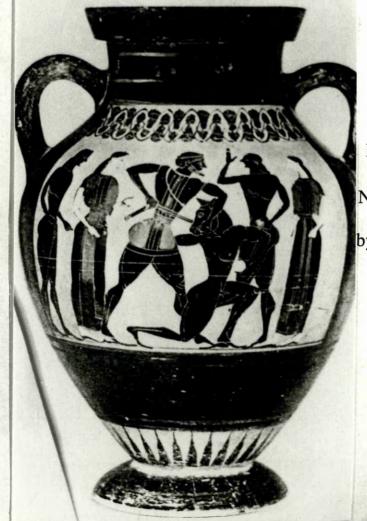


Figure 74:

New York 56.171.1

by Group E.



Figure 75c

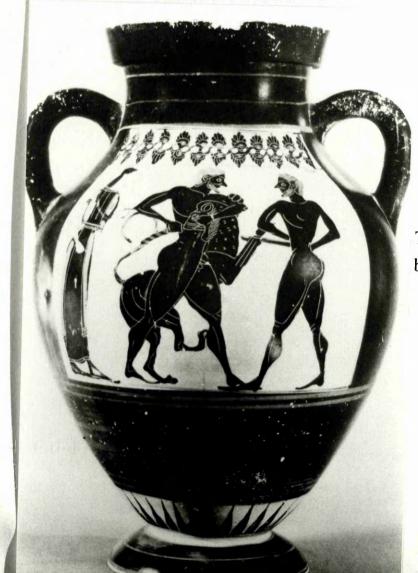


Figure 76a: Toronto 919.5.176 by Group E1.

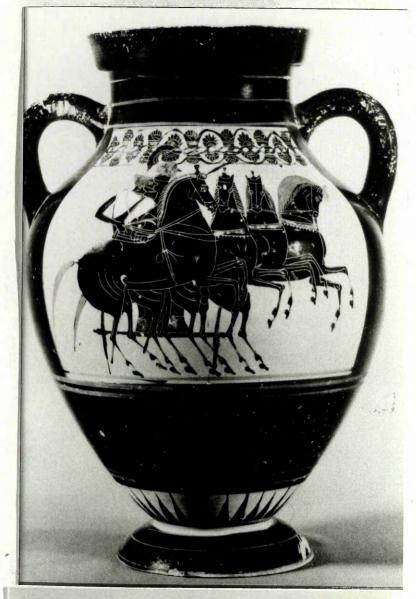


Figure 76b

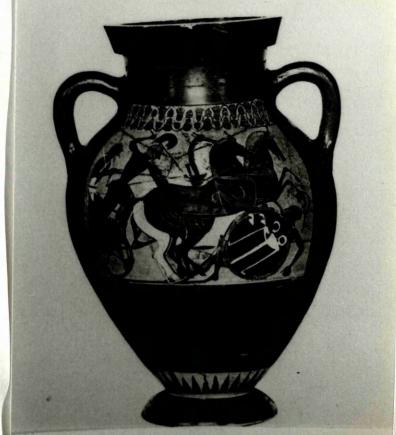


Figure 77a: Copenhagen 109 by Group E.

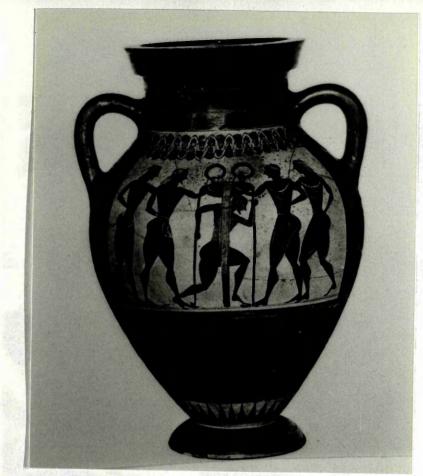


Figure 77b

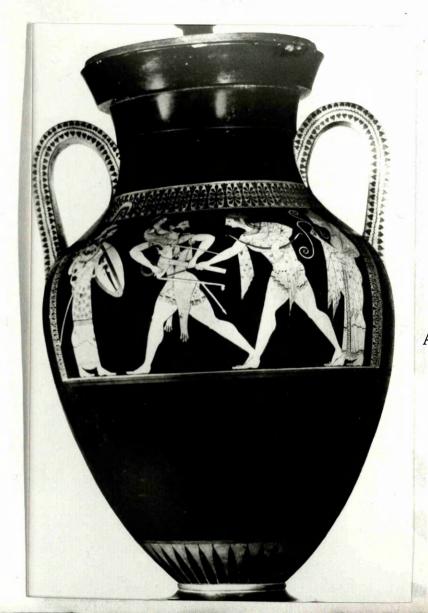


Figure 78a:

Berlin F2159

by the

Andokides Painter.



Figure 78b



Figure 78c



Figure 78d



Figure 78e

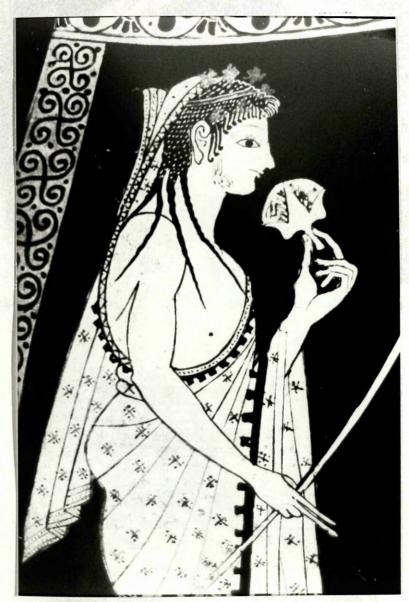


Figure 78f



Figure 79a: Boston 01.8037 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.

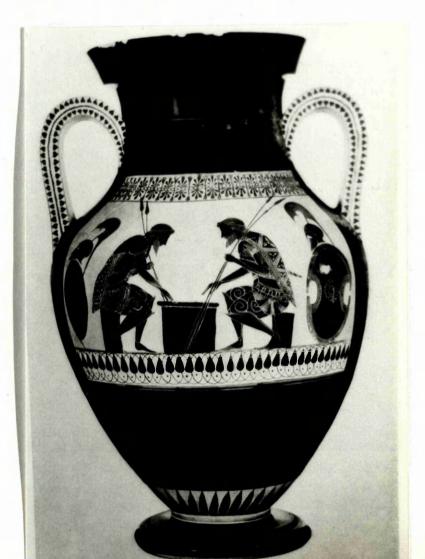


Figure 79b



Figure 80a: Orvieto 64 by the Andokides Painter.



Figure 80b



Figure 80c



Figure 80d



Figure 80e

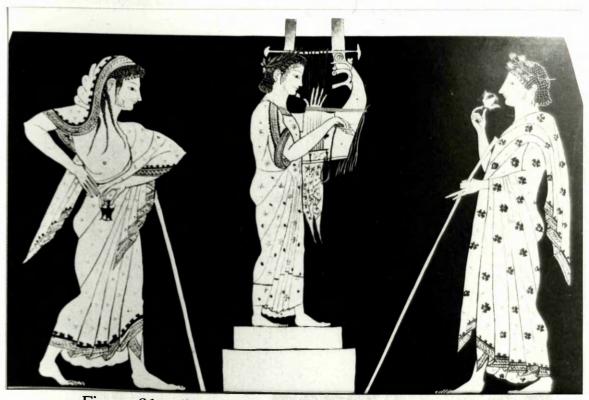


Figure 81a: Louvre G1 by the Andokides Painter.



Figure 81b





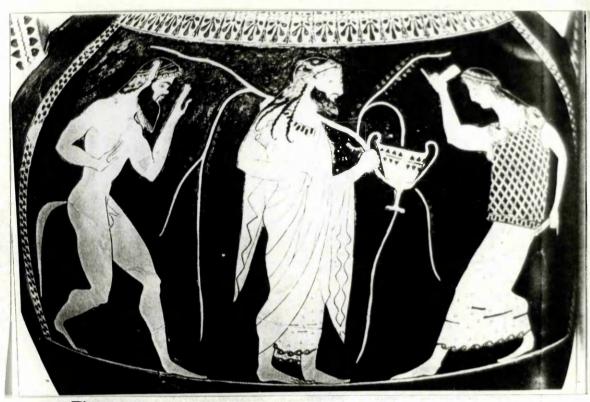


Figure 82a: New York 63.11.6 by the Andokides Painter.

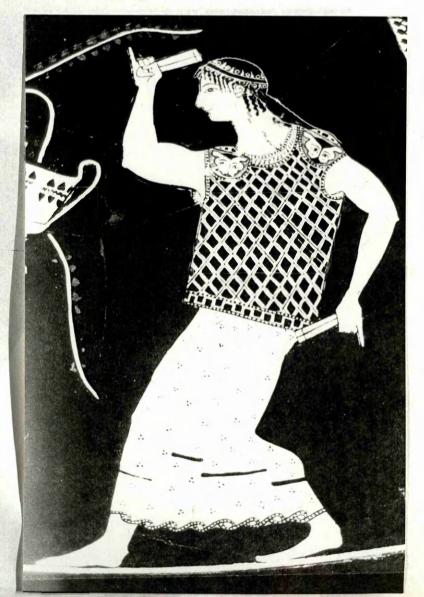


Figure 82b

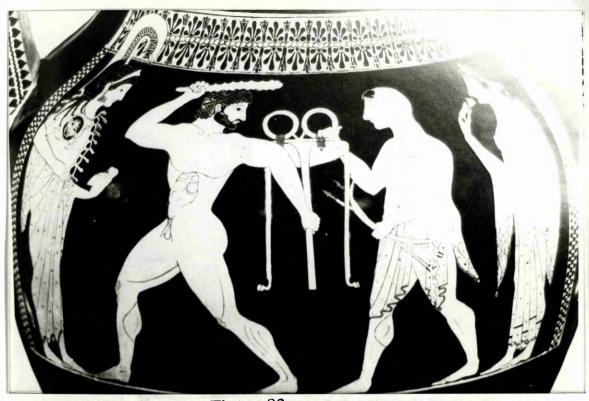


Figure 82c

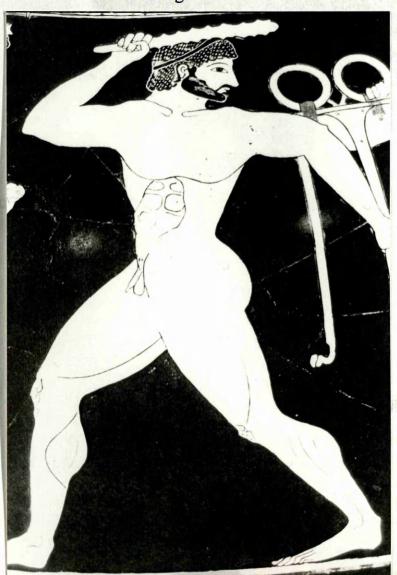


Figure 82d



Figure 83a: Louvre F204 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.

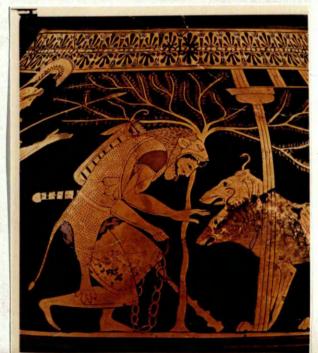


Figure 83b



Figure 84a: Munich 2301 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 84b



Figure 84c

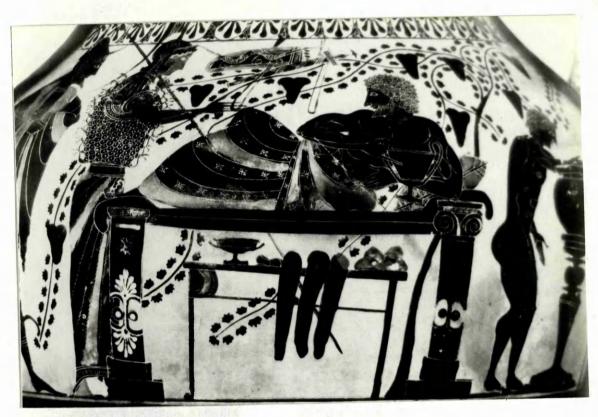


Figure 84d



Figure 84e



Figure 84f



Figure 85a: Berlin 1739, kore, Ornithe.



Figure 85b



Figure 86a: Samos kore, Philippe.



Figure 86b

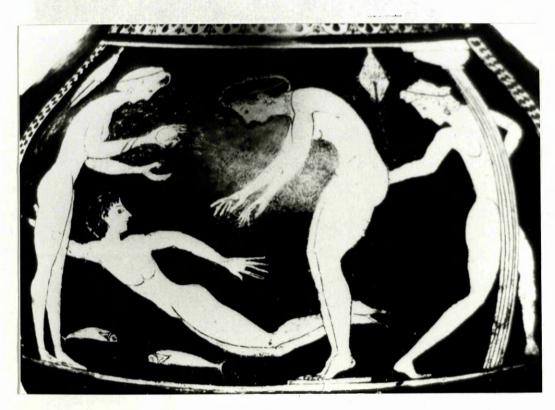


Figure 87: Louvre F203 by the Andokides Painter.



Figure 88a: Boston 01.8037 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 88b



Figure 89a: Boston 99.538 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.

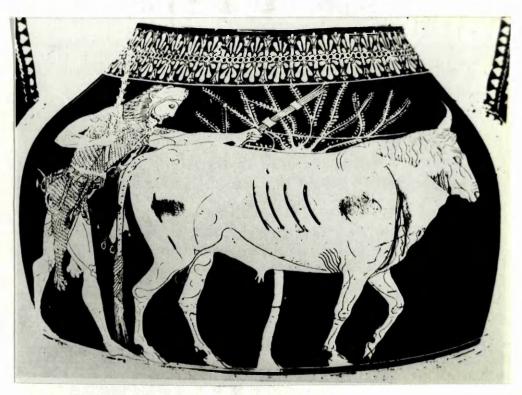


Figure 89b



Figure 90a: London B193 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 90b

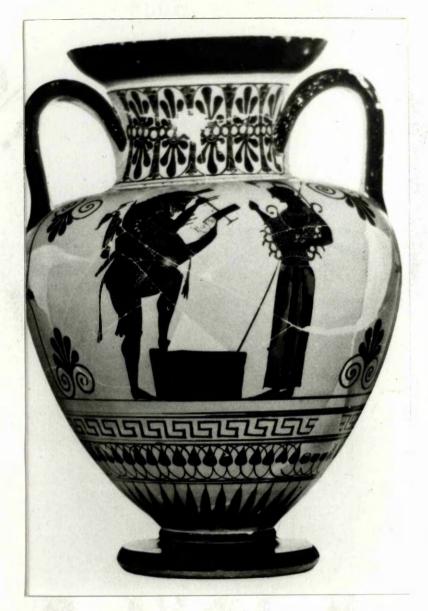


Figure 91a: Munich 1575 by the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 916

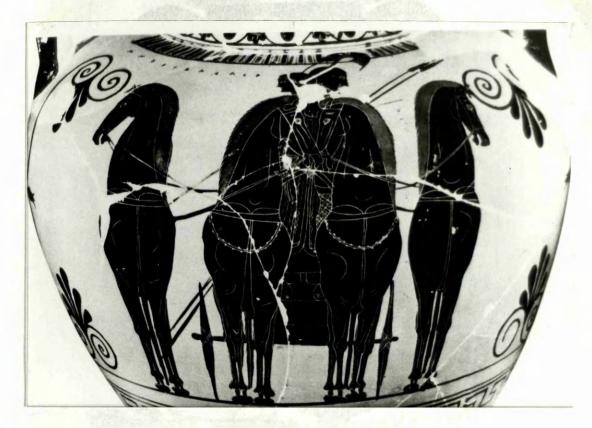


Figure 91c



Figure 92a:
Munich 2344
by the Kleophrades
Painter.

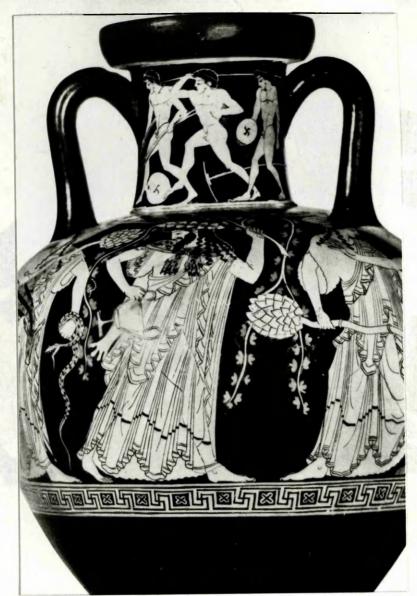


Figure 92b



Figure 93a: Villa Giulia 50396 by Makron.



Figure 93b

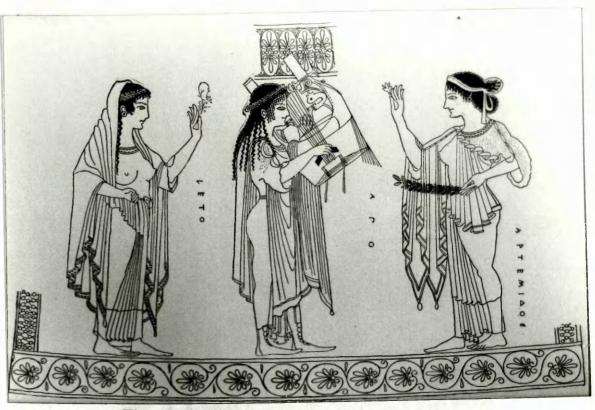


Figure 94a: Philadelphia 5399 by Psiax.

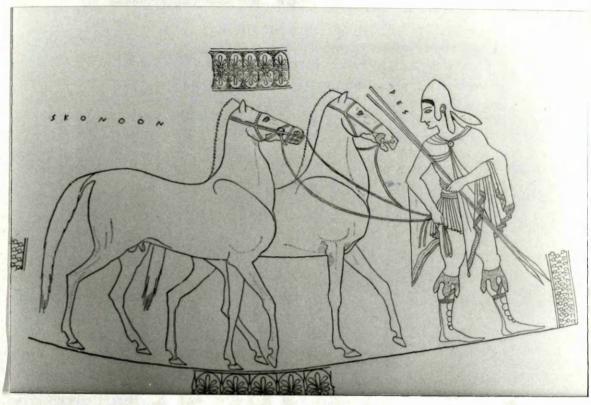


Figure 94b



Figure 94c



Figure 95: New York 14.146.1 by Psiax.

Figure 95b

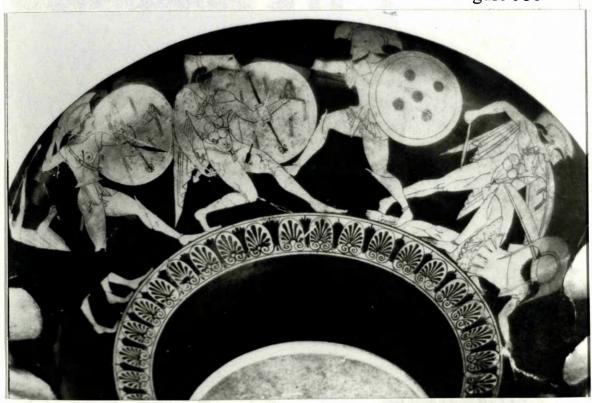
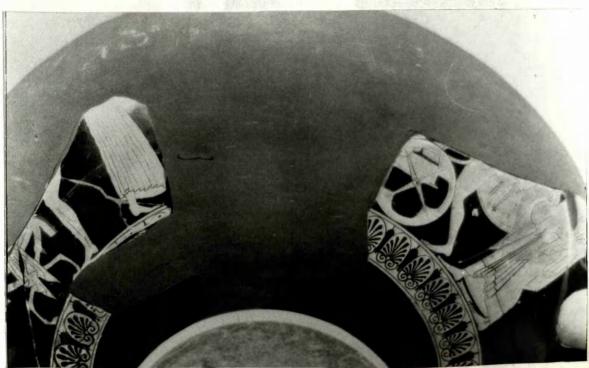


Figure 95c



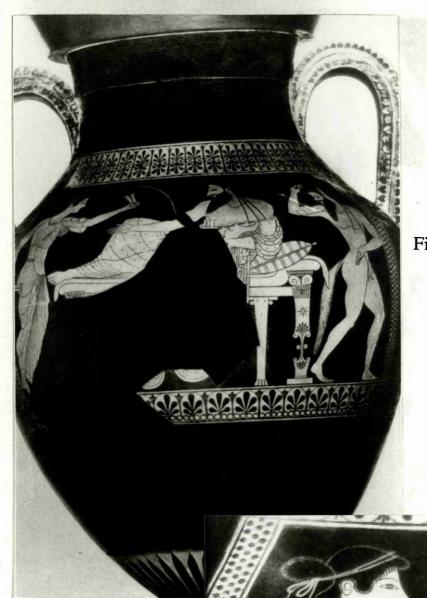
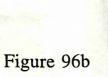


Figure 96a: Munich 2302 by Psiax.



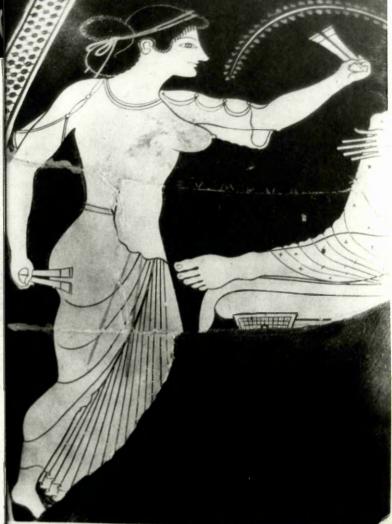




Figure 96c



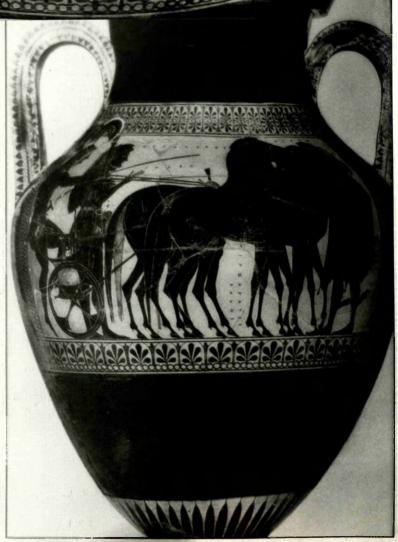


Figure 96d

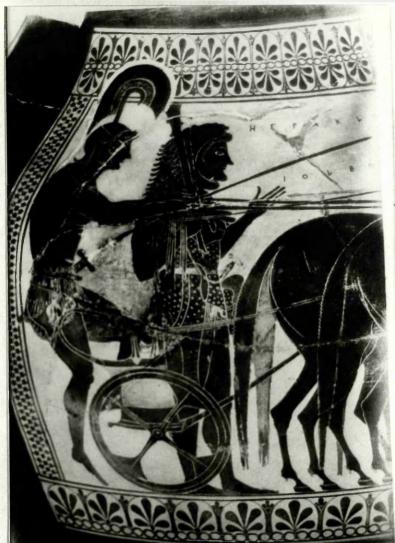


Figure 96e

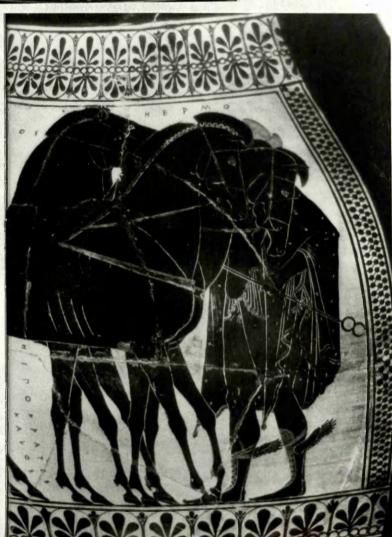


Figure 96f



Figure 97a: Leningrad, Hermitage coral tondo cup by Psiax.



Figure 97b



Figure 97c

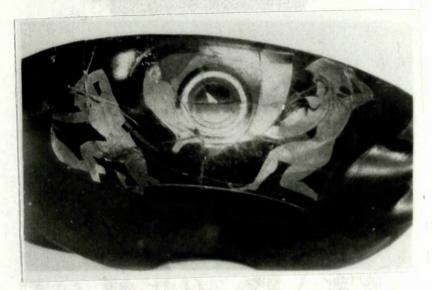


Figure 98a: Munich 2587 by Psiax.



Figure 98b



Figure 98c

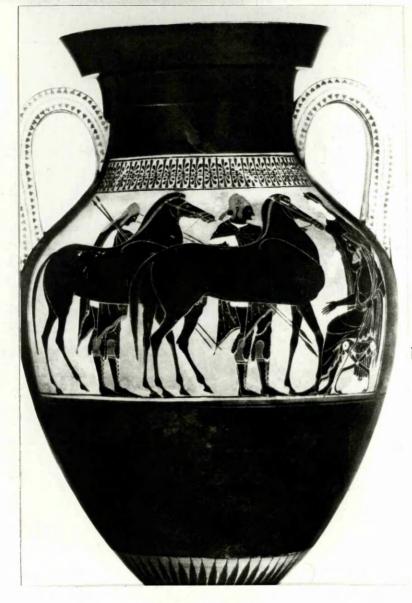


Figure 99a: '
Brescia amphora
by Psiax.



Figure 99b

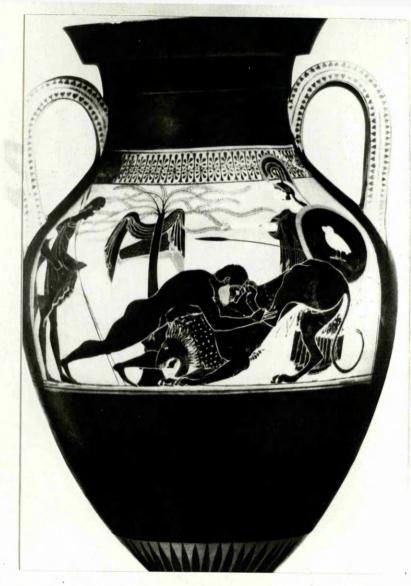


Figure 99c



Figure 99d



Figure 99e



Figure 100: Berlin 1897 by Psiax.

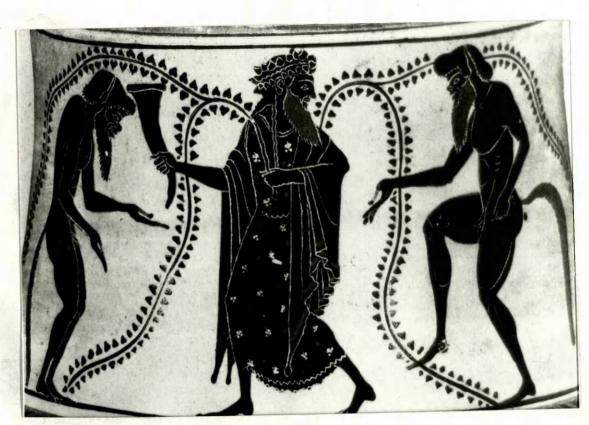


Figure 101: London 1980.10 - 29.1 (once Castle Ashby) by Psiax.

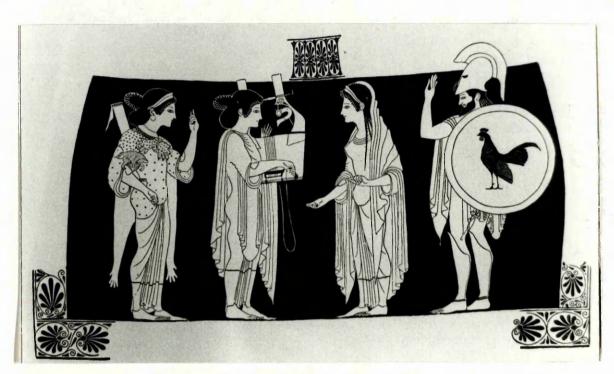


Figure 102a: Madrid 11008 by Psiax.

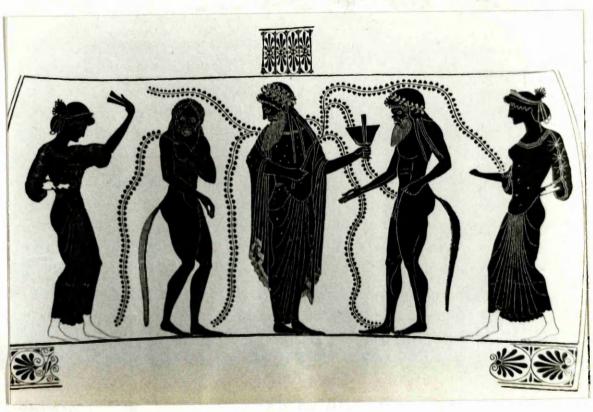


Figure 102b



Figure 103a: Getty S.82.AE.24 by Psiax.



Figure 103b



Figure 104: Berlin 2099 by Psiax.

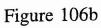


Figure 105a:
Jameson Coll.
lekythos by Psiax.

Figure 105b



Figure 106a: Leningrad 381 by Psiax.





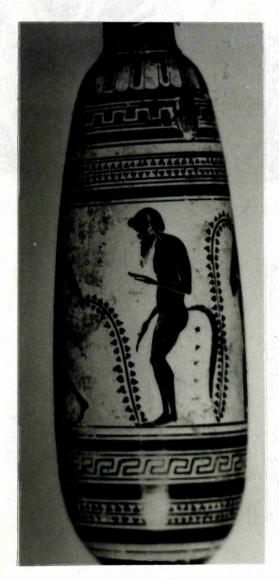


Figure 106c

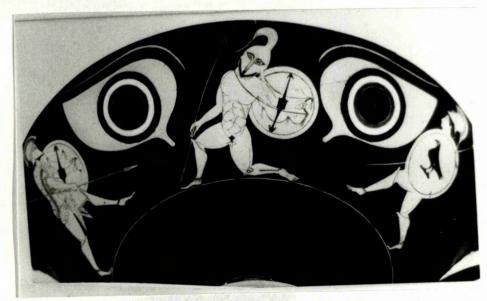


Figure 107a: Cleveland 76.89 (once Swiss Private Coll.) by Psiax.



Figure 107b



Figure 107c



Figure 108a: Karlsruhe 242 by Psiax.



Figure 108b

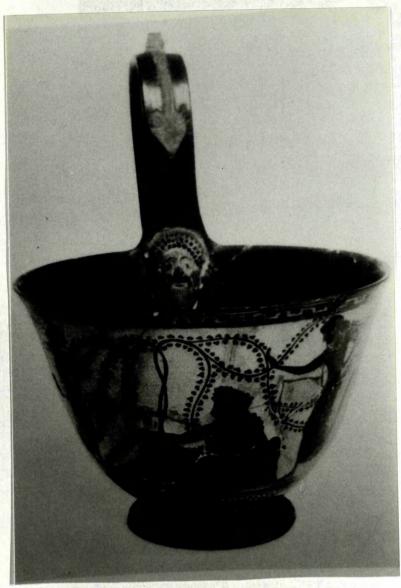


Figure 109a: Poldi - Pezzoli kyathos by Psiax.



Figure 109b

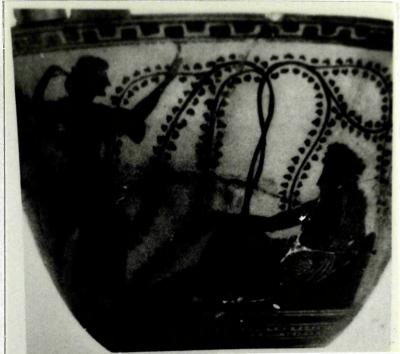


Figure 109c



Figure 109d

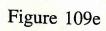






Figure 110: London B234 by Psiax.

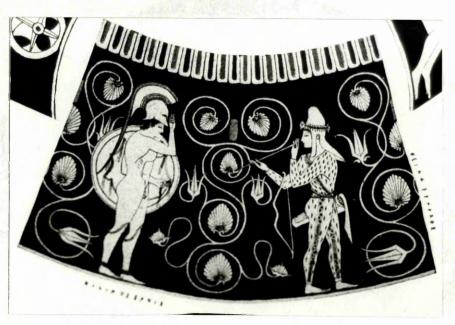


Figure 111: Odessa alabastron by Psiax.

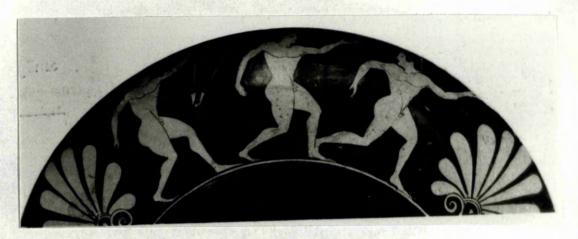


Figure 112a: Oxford 516 by Oltos.



Figure 112b



Figure 112c



Figure 113a: Copenhagen 2700 by Oltos.



Figure 113b



Figure 113c

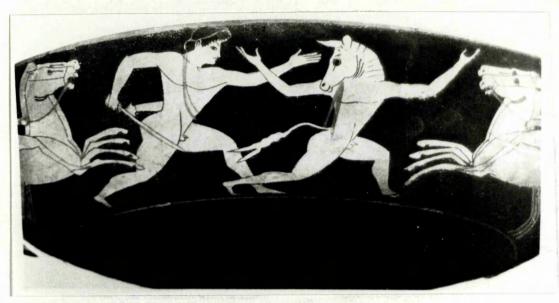


Figure 114a: Copenhagen 3877 by Oltos.

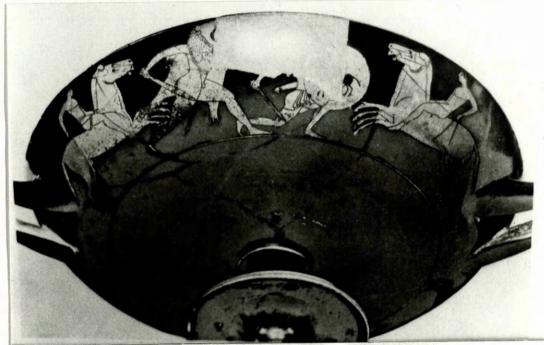


Figure 114b



Figure 114c

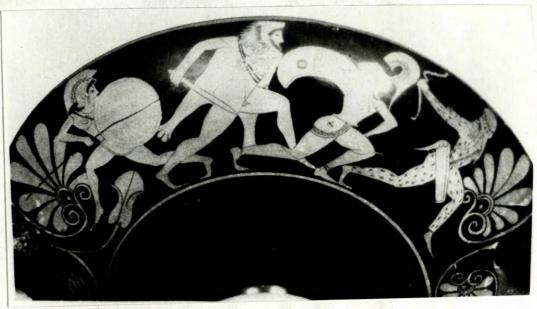


Figure 115a: Berlin 2263 by Oltos.

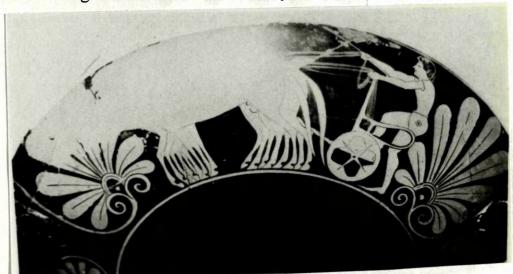


Figure 115b



Figure 115c



Figure 116a: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen 100 by Oltos.

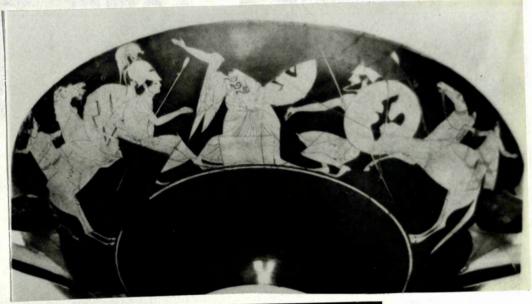


Figure 116b



Figure 116c



Figure 117a: Holyoke kylix by Oltos.



Figure 118a: Oxford 515 by Oltos.

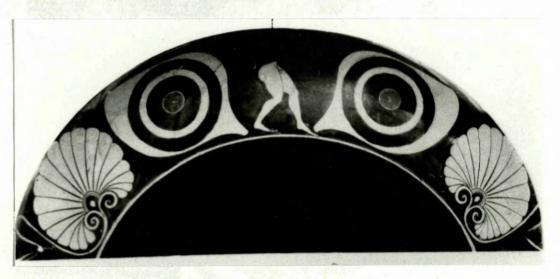


Figure 118b



Figure 118c



Figure 119a: Bloomington 80.73 (once Castle Ashby) by Oltos.



Figure 119b



Figure 119c

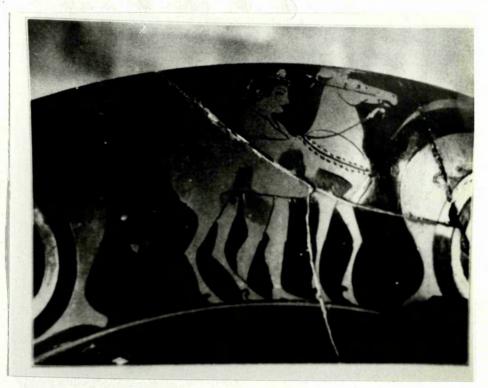


Figure 120: Bonn 464.24 by Oltos.



Figure 121a: Florence 3B3 by Oltos.



Figure 121b



Figure 122a: Altenburg 224 by Oltos.

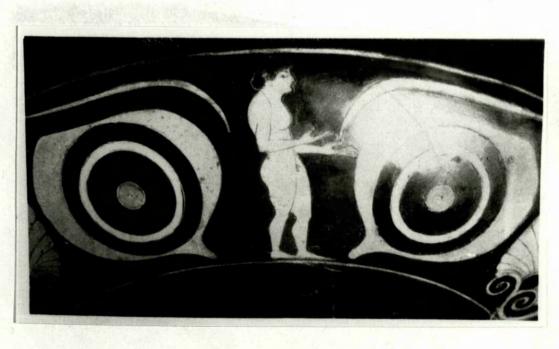


Figure 122b



Figure 123a: Leipzig T3371 by Oltos.

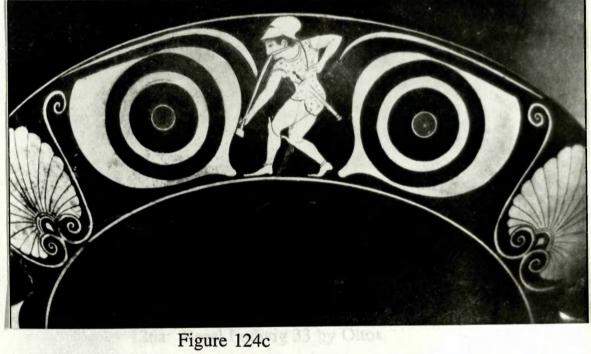


Figure 123b



Figure 124a: Vatican 498 by Oltos.

Figure 124b



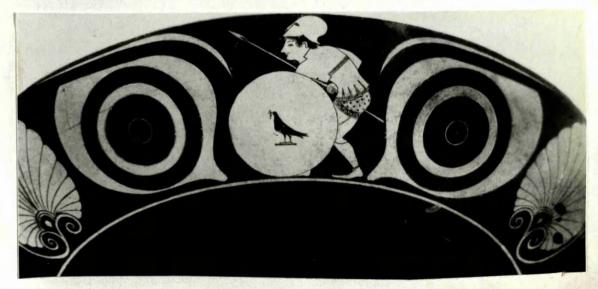




Figure 125: Munich 2581 by Oltos.



Figure 126a: Basel Ludwig 33 by Oltos.



Figure 126b



Figure 127a: Bryn Mawr P2115 by Oltos.



Figure 127b



Figure 127c



Figure 128a: London E8 by Oltos.



Figure 128b



Figure 129: Cambridge 37.14 by the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos.



Figure 130:
Louvre CA 576
by the Heidelberg Painter.



Figure 131: New York 12.243.4 by the Painter of Boston C.A.



Figure 132a: Louvre F75 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 132b



Figure 133a: Kings Point, New York, Schimmel Coll. by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 133b



Figure 133c



Figure 133d



Figure 134: Brussels R291 by the Antimenes Painter.



Figure 135: Yale 111 by the Edinburgh Painter.

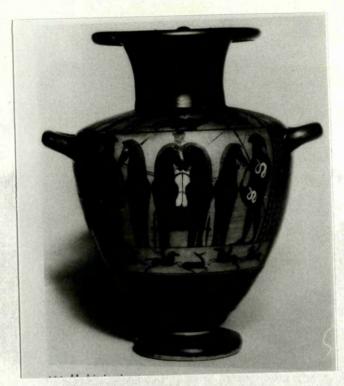


Figure 136: Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 54 by the Antimenes Painter.



Figure 137a: Louvre F127 by Oltos.



Figure 137b



Figure 137c

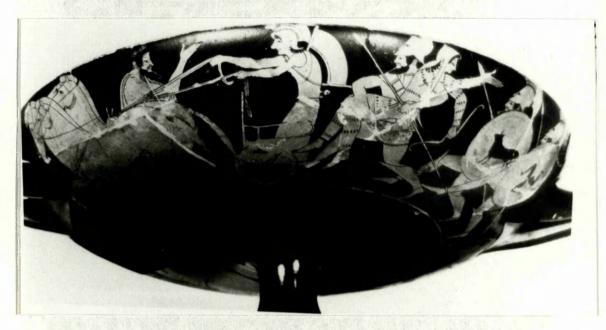


Figure 138a: Oxford 1927.4065 by Oltos.



Figure 138b



Figure 139a: Aegisthus vase by the Ram Jug Painter, Berlin.



Figure 139b



Figure 140a: Tarquinia RC 6848 by Oltos.



Figure 140b



Figure 140c



Figure 140d

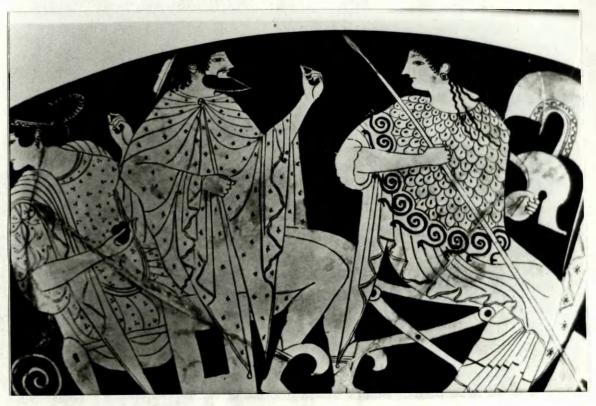


Figure 140e



Figure 140f



Figure 140g



Figure 140h



Figure 141a: London E258 by Oltos.



Figure 141b



Figure 142: Getty S.82.AE.49 by Oltos.



Figure 143a: Vatican Astarita 34997

(once Astarita 46) by Oltos.

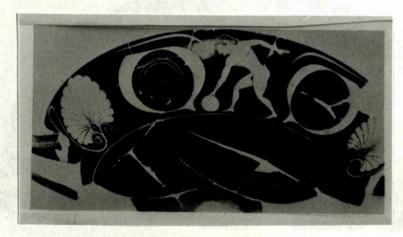


Figure 143b



Figure 144a: Bologna 361 by Oltos.

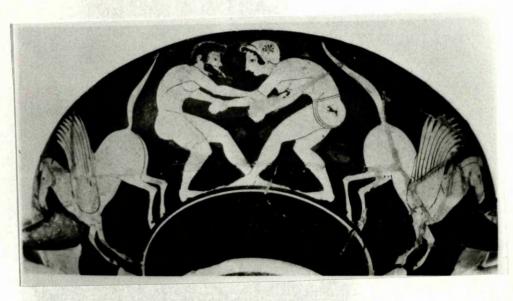


Figure 144b



Figure 145a: Florence Va. 46 by Oltos.



Figure 145b



Figure 145c



Figure 146a: Berlin F4220 by Oltos.



Figure 146b



Figure 146c



Figure 147a: Louvre F128 by Oltos.

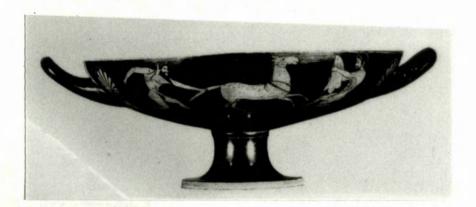


Figure 147b

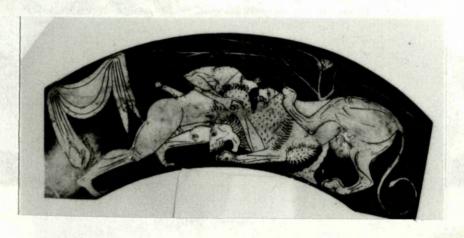


Figure 147c



Figure 148a: London E16 by Oltos.



Figure 148b

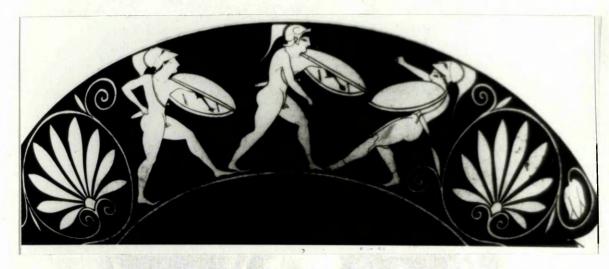


Figure 149a: Basel BS459 by Oltos.

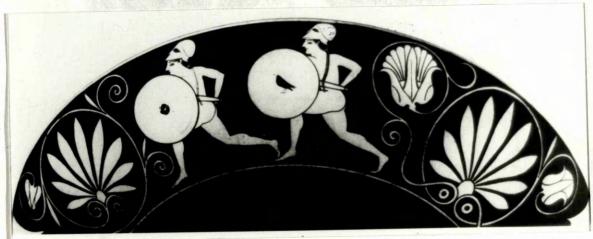


Figure 149b



Figure 149c



Figure 150: Vatican 502 by Oltos.



Figure 151a: Boston 13.83 by Oltos.



Figure 151b



Figure 151c

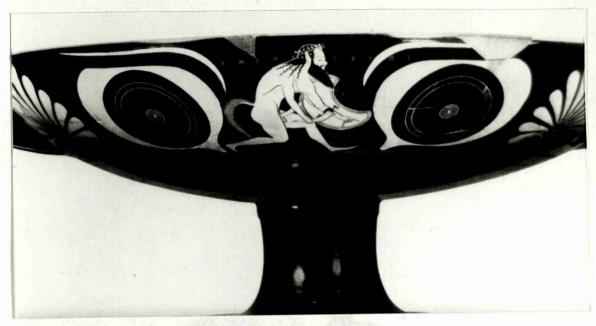


Figure 152a: London E3 by Epiktetos.



Figure 152b



Figure 152c



Figure 153a: Basel BS 436 by Epiktetos.

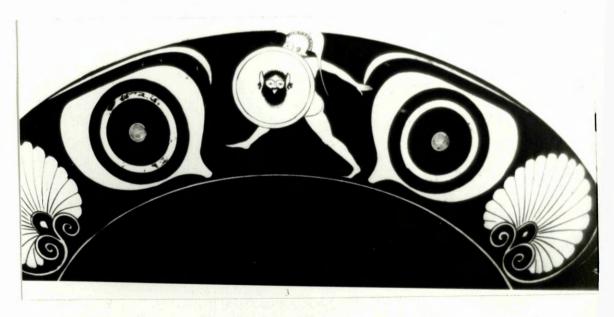


Figure 153b



Figure 153c



Figure 154: Oberlin 67.61 by Epiktetos.



Figure 155: Berlin 2100 by Epiktetos.



Figure 157a: Florence 2B4 by Epiktetos.



Figure 156:

Geneva Market (Koutoulakis)

by Epiktetos.

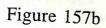






Figure 158: London E135 by Epiktetos.



Figure 159: London 1929.11 - 11.1 by Epiktetos.



Figure 160: Wurzburg 468 by Epiktetos.



Figure 161a: London E38 by Epiktetos.



Figure 161b



Figure 161c

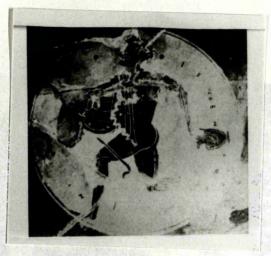


Figure 162a: Leningrad 645 by Epiktetos.



Figure 162b

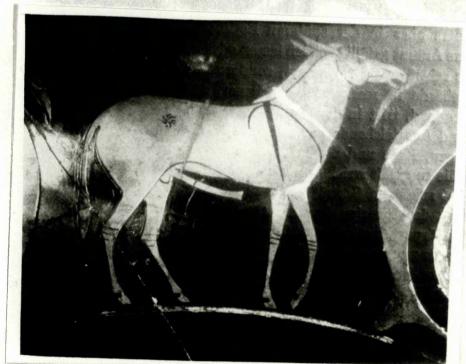


Figure 162c



Figure 163a: Louvre F203 by the Andokides Painter. (Same as fig. 87)

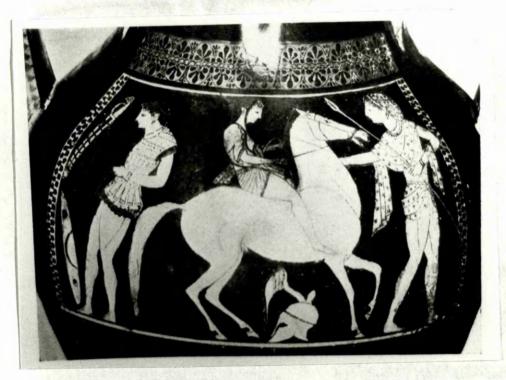


Figure 163b

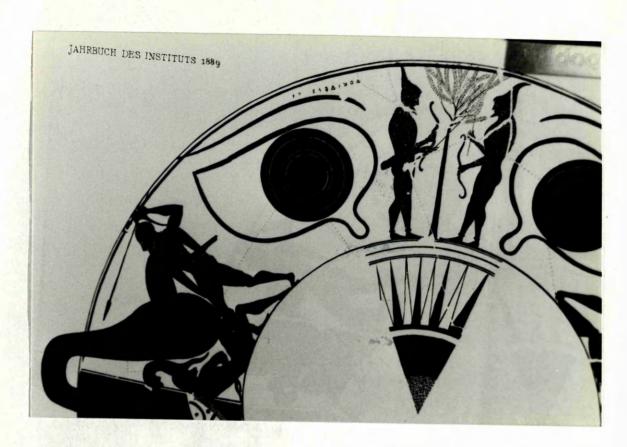


Figure 164a: Palermo V650 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.

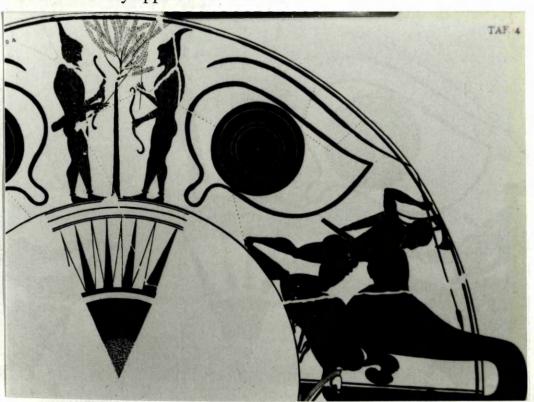


Figure 164b

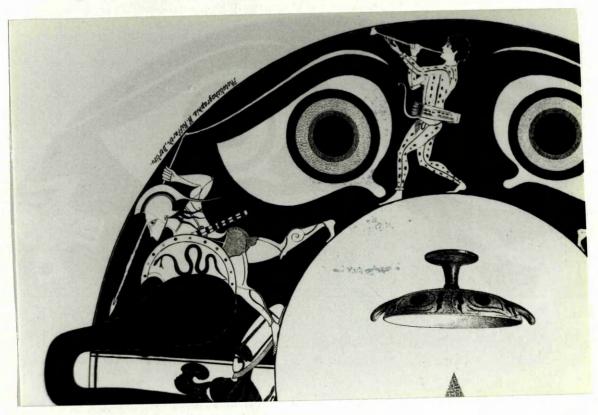


Figure 164c

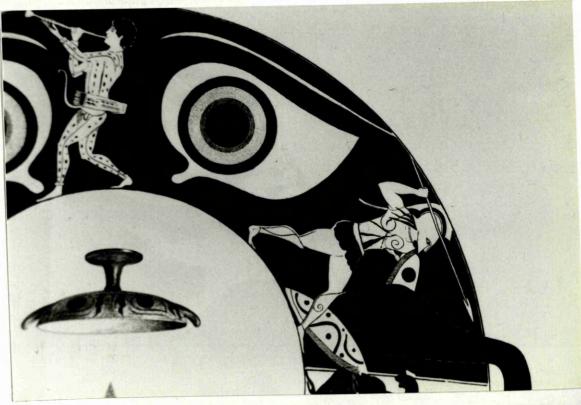


Figure 164d



Figure 165a: New York 1975.11.6 by Psiax.



Figure 165b



Figure 166a: Swiss Private Coll. black figure mastos cup by Psiax.



Figure 166b



Figure 166c



Figure 166d



Figure 167a: Basel Market black figure mastos cup by Psiax.



Figure 167b



Figure 168: Berlin 4514 by Epiktetos.



Figure 169: Tarquinia RC 191 by Epiktetos.



Figure 170a: Providence 25.077 by Epiktetos.

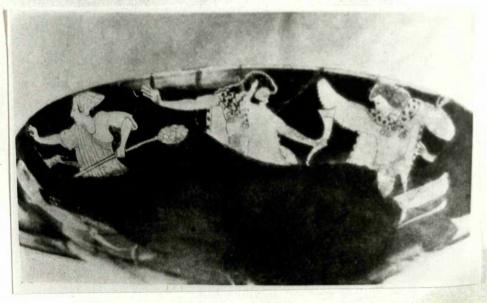


Figure 170b



Figure 171a: Louvre G6 by Epiktetos.



Figure 171b

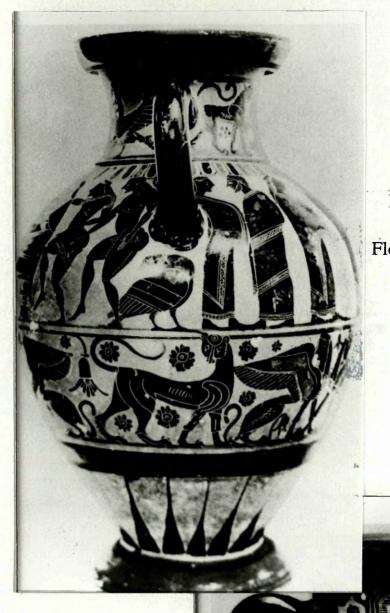


Figure 172a:

Florence 70995 by Lydos.

Figure 172b

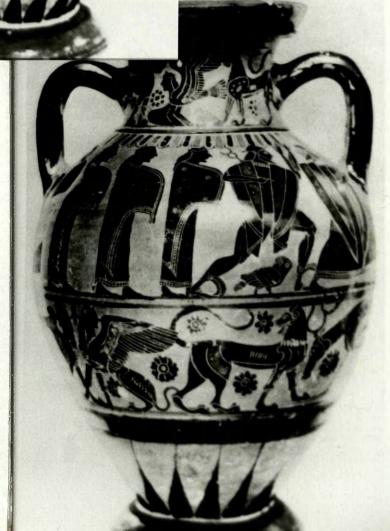




Figure 172c



Figure 172d

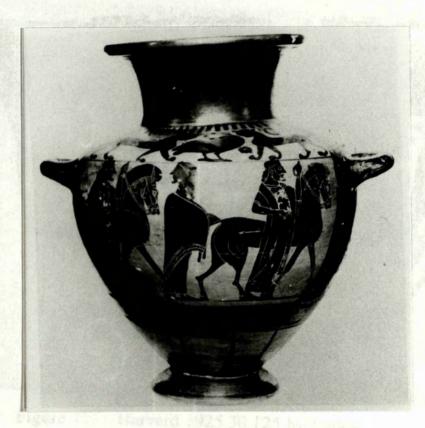


Figure 173: Munich 1681 by Lydos.

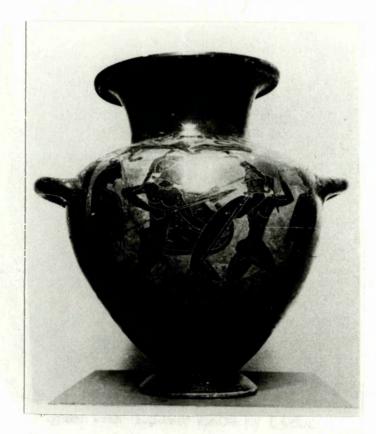


Figure 174: Berlin University 86 by Lydos.

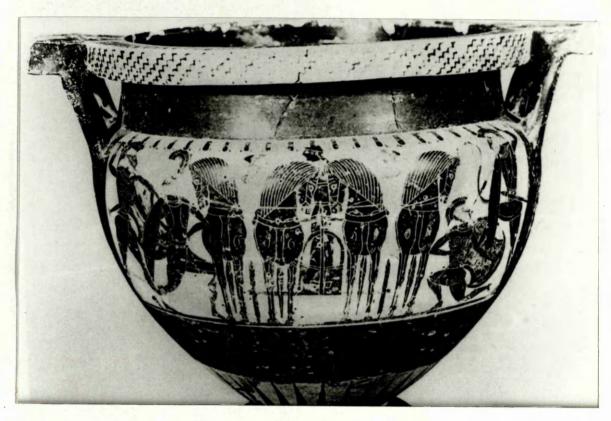


Figure 175: Harvard 1925.30.125 by Lydos.

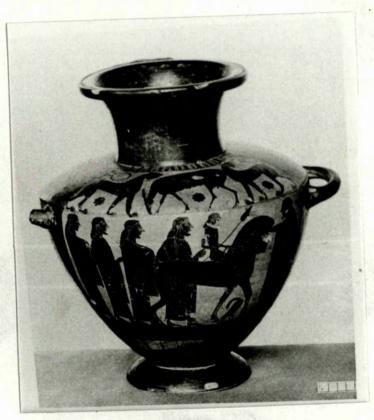


Figure 176: Louvre E804 by Lydos.

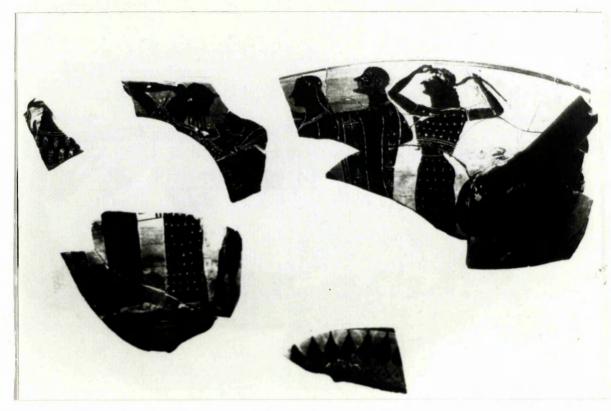


Figure 177a: Athens, Kerameikos by Lydos.

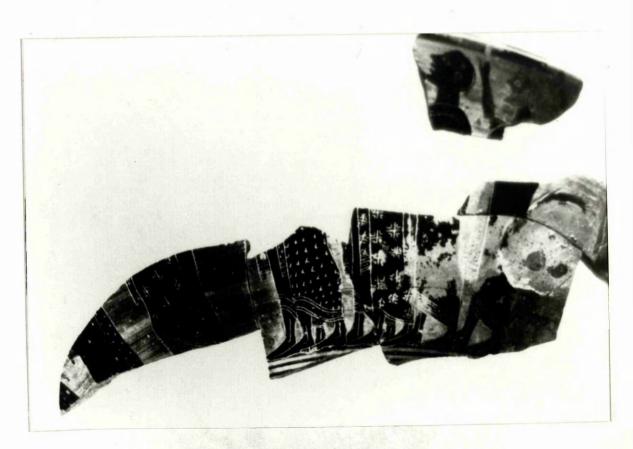


Figure 177b

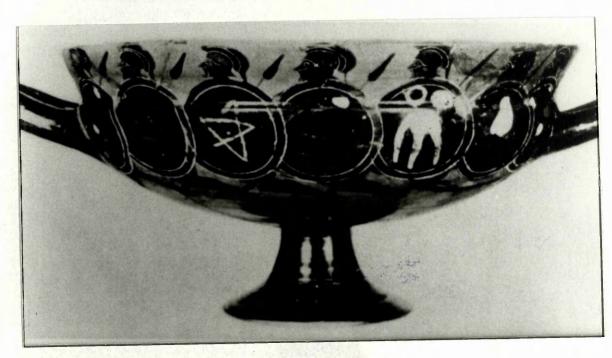


Figure 178a: Taranto 20273 by Lydos.

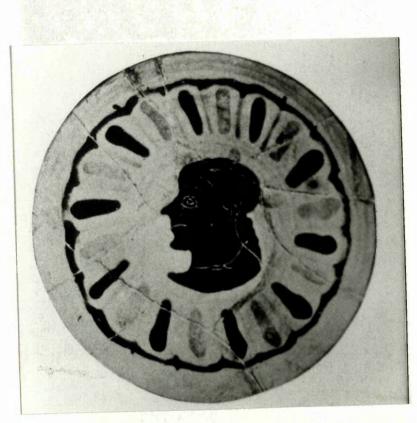


Figure 178b

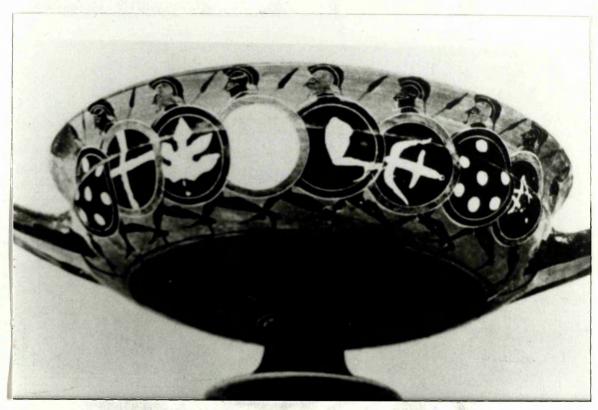


Figure 179a: Taranto 20129 by Lydos.



Figure 179b



Figure 180: Taranto 4362 by Lydos.

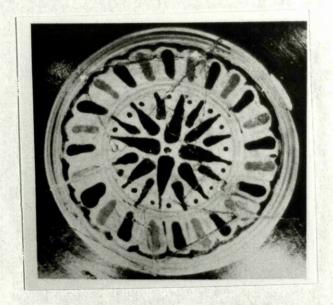


Figure 181: Taranto 4363 by Lydos.



Figure 182: Taranto 52130 by Lydos.

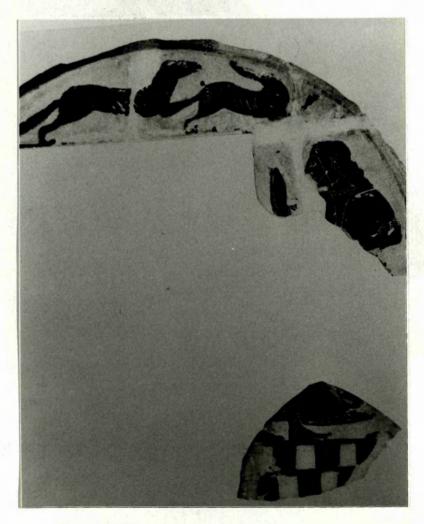


Figure 183: Florence 102a by Lydos.

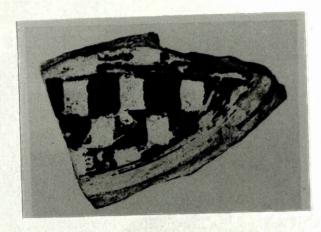


Figure 184: Florence 102c by Lydos.



Figure 185: Athens Akr. 2424 by Lydos.

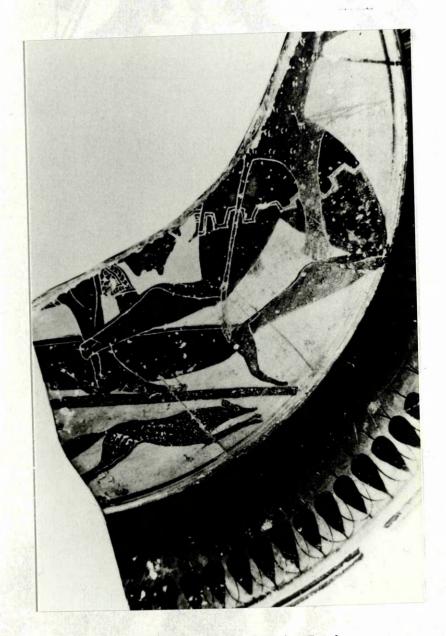


Figure 186: Bonn 339 by Lydos.



Figure 187a: Berlin 1688 by the Amasis Painter.

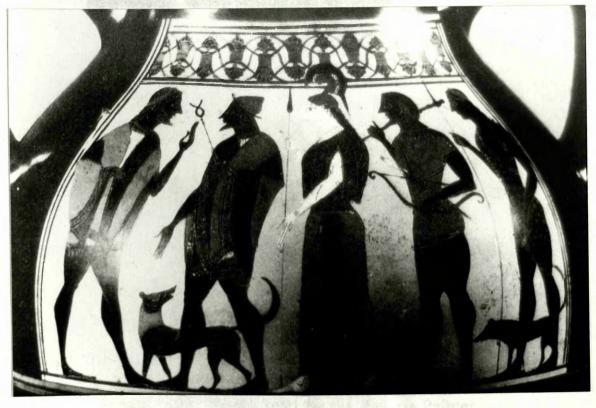


Figure 187b



Figure 188: Berlin 1689 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 189: Berlin 1691 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 190a: Philadelphia MS 4849 by the Amasis Painter.

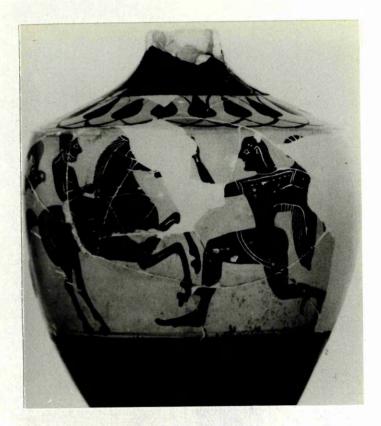


Figure 190b



Figure 191a: Oxford 1929.19 by the Amasis Painter.



Figure 191b

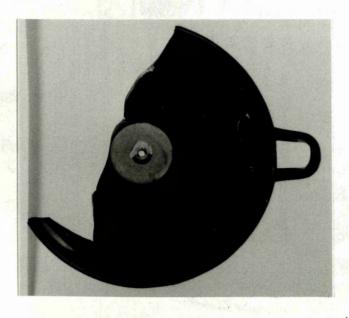


Figure 192: Malibu 79.AE.197 by the Amasis Painter.

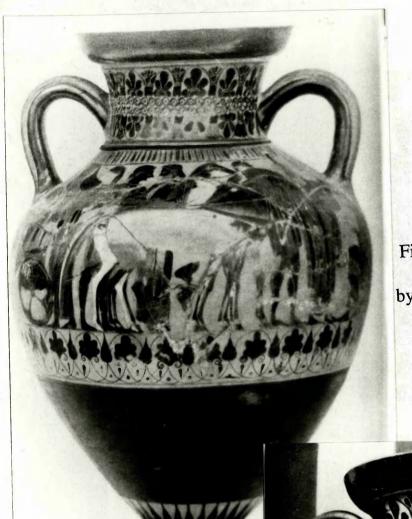


Figure 193: Princeton 169 by the Princeton Painter.

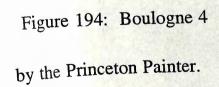






Figure 195a: Tarquinia 624 by the Princeton Painter. (Same as figure 31.)



Figure 195b

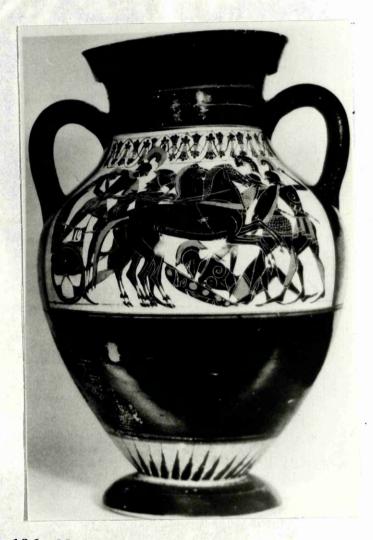


Figure 196: New York 56.171.9 by the Princeton Painter



Figure 197a:

Geneva MF 154

by the Princeton Painter.



Figure 197b



Figure 197c



Figure 197d



Figure 198a:
Basel BS 427
by the Princeton Painter.



Figure 198b

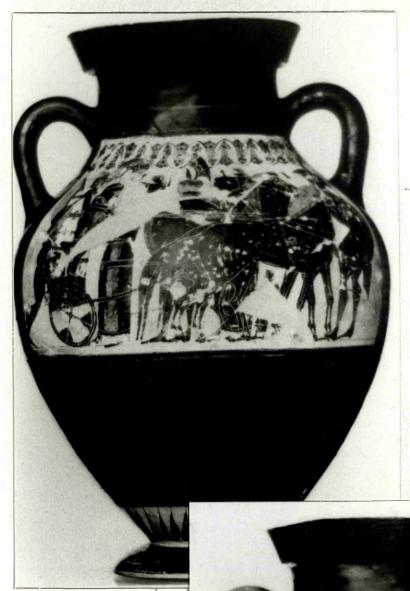


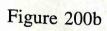
Figure 199a:
Cambridge G59
by the Princeton Painter.



Figure 199b



Figure 200a:
Tarquinia RC1061
by Group E.





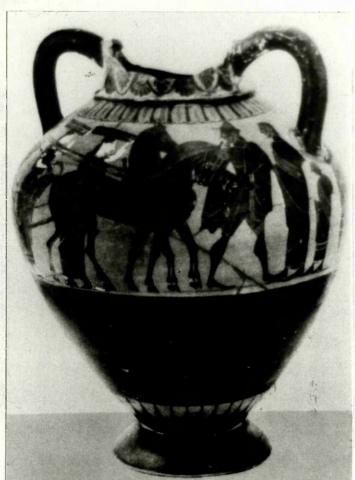


Figure 200c

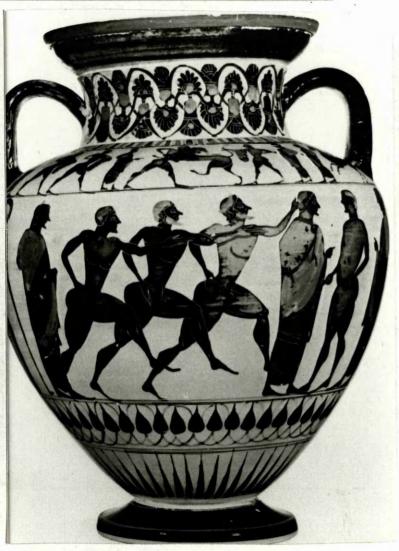
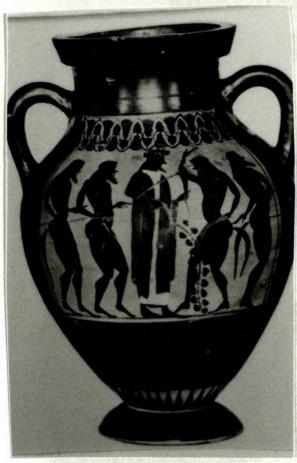
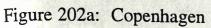


Figure 201a: Munich 1471 by Group E.



Figure 201b





7068 by Group E.

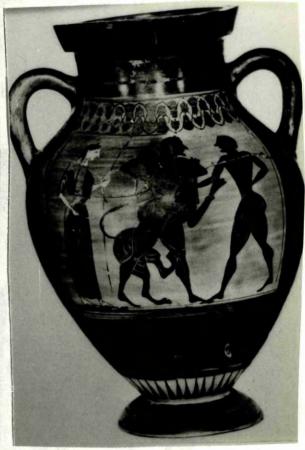


Figure 202b

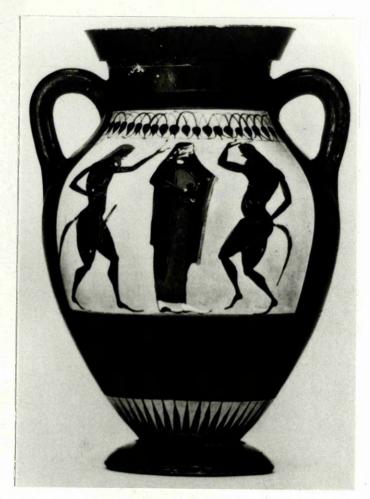


Figure 203a: Munich 1394 by Group E.



Figure 203b



Figure 204: London B163 by Group E.

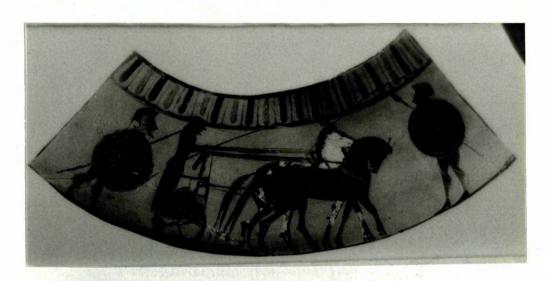


Figure 205a: Louvre Camp. 10659 by Group E.

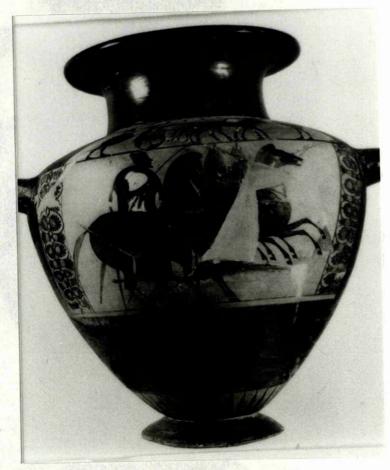


Figure 205b

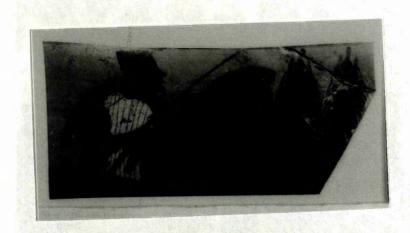


Figure 205c



Figure 206a:

Baden, Ros Private Collection
by Group E.



Figure 206b



Figure 207a: London B194 by Group E.



Figure 207b





Figure 208c

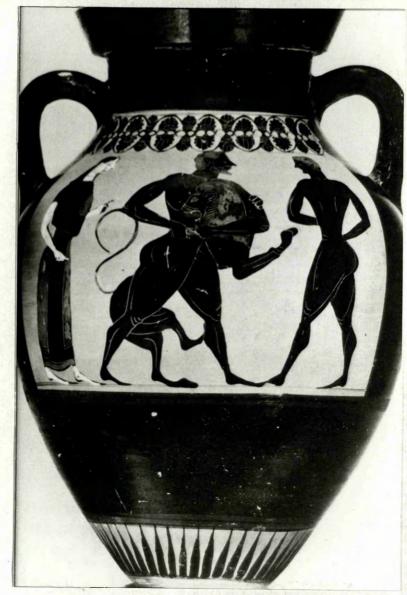


Figure 209a: Munich 1397 by Group E.

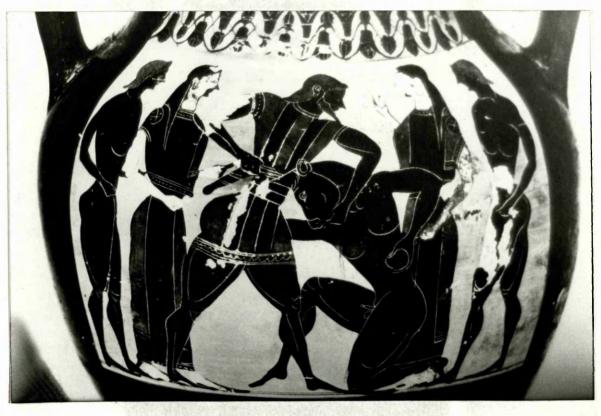


Figure 209b

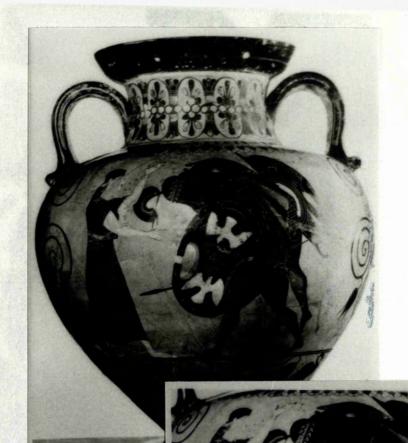


Figure 210a:
Berlin 1718
by Exekias.

Figure 210b



Figure 210c

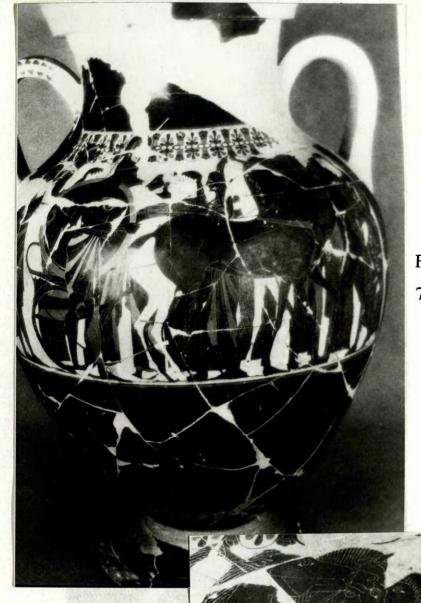


Figure 211a: Orvieto 77 by Exekias

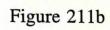




Figure 211c

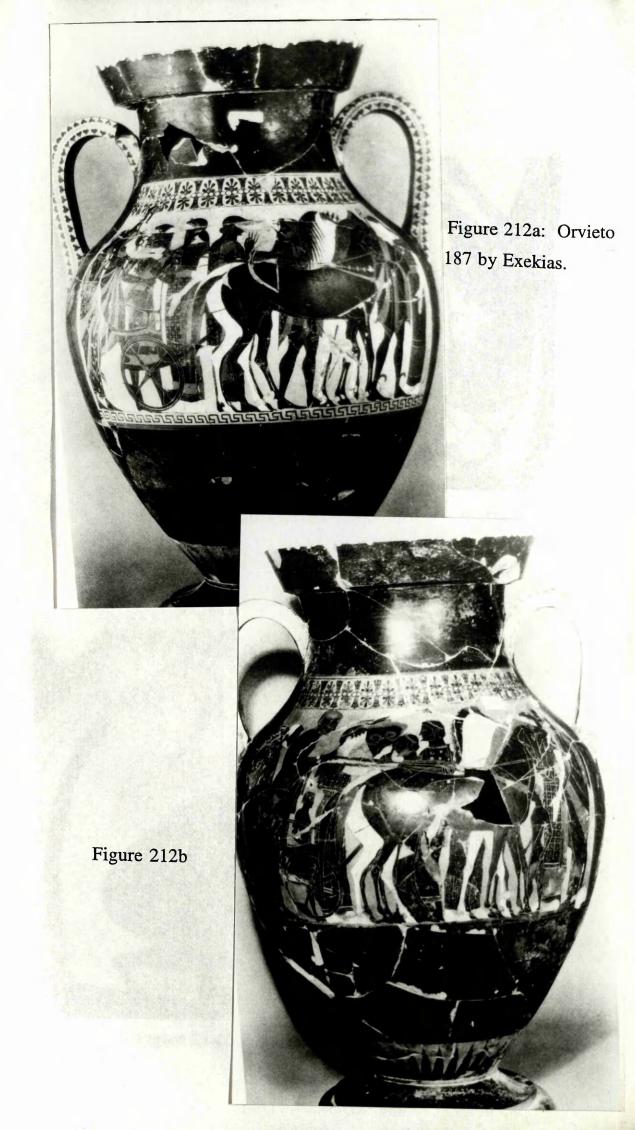




Figure 213: Formerly Baden, Ros Private Collection by Exekias.



Figure 214a: Boulogne 558 by Exekias.



Figure 214b

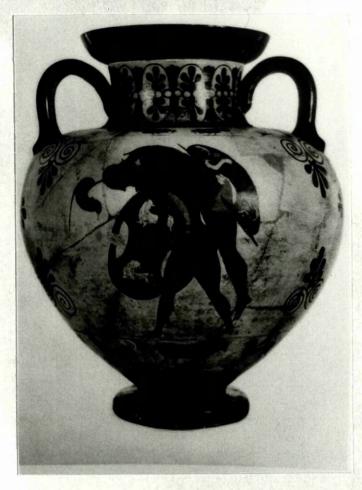


Figure 215a: Munich 1470 by Exekias.



Figure 215b

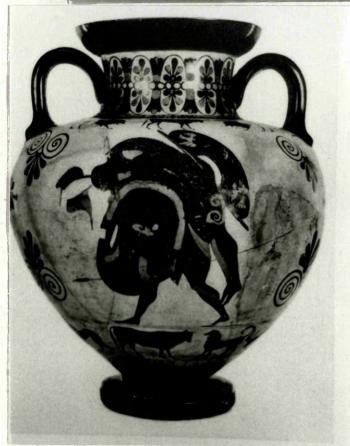


Figure 215c



Figure 215d

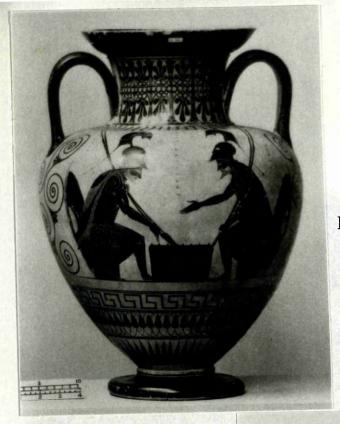
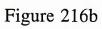


Figure 216a: London B211 by the Lysippides Painter.



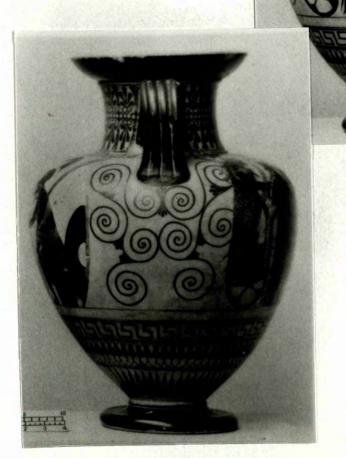


Figure 216c



Figure 217a: Villa Giulia 24998 by the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 217b



Figure 218a: Bologna 151 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter



Figure 218b



Figure 219a: Louvre F204 by the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 219b

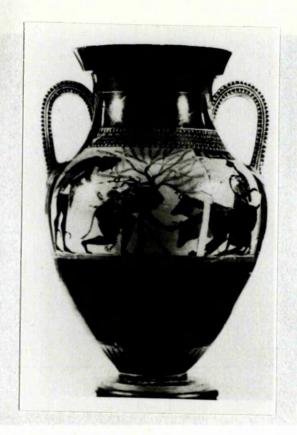


Figure 220a: Moscow 70 by the Lysippides Painter.



Figure 220b



Figure 221: London B589 by Psiax.



Figure 222: London B590 by Psiax.



Figure 223: London B591 by Psiax.



Figure 224: Vatican 506 by Epiktetos.



Figure 225: Berlin F2262 by Epiktetos.

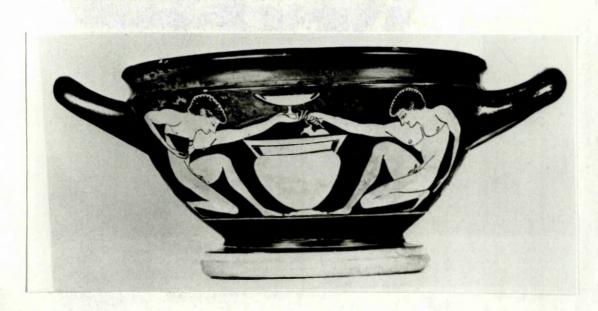


Figure 226: Oxford 520 by Epiktetos.

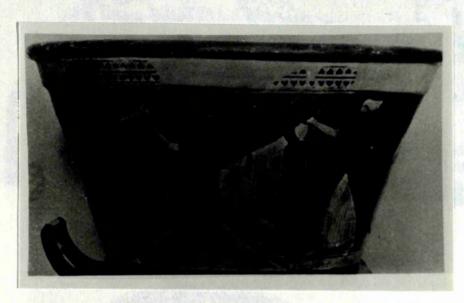


Figure 227a: Villa Giulia calyx krater by Epiktetos.



Figure 227b



Figure 228: London E35 by Epiktetos.



Figure 229: Ferrara, Schifanoia by Epiktetos.



Figure 230: London E136 by Epiktetos.



Figure 231: London E137 by Epiktetos.



Figure 232: Athens Akr. 68 by Epiktetos.



Figure 233: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins by Epiktetos.

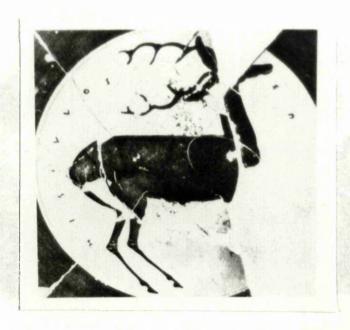


Figure 234: Orvieto, Faina 97 by Epiktetos.



Figure 235a: Hanover 1966.84 by Oltos.



Figure 235b

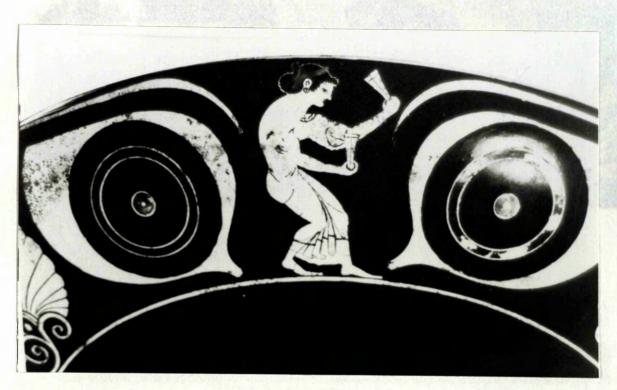


Figure 235c

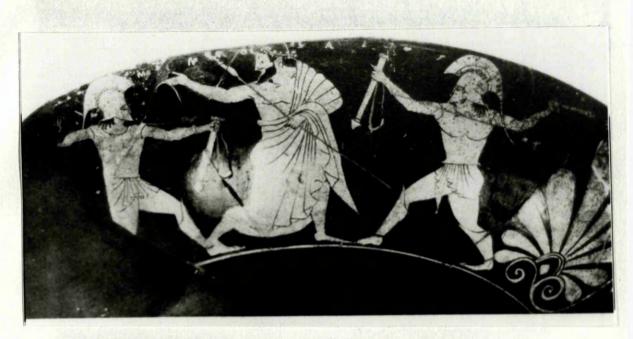


Figure 236a: Florence 81061 by Oltos.

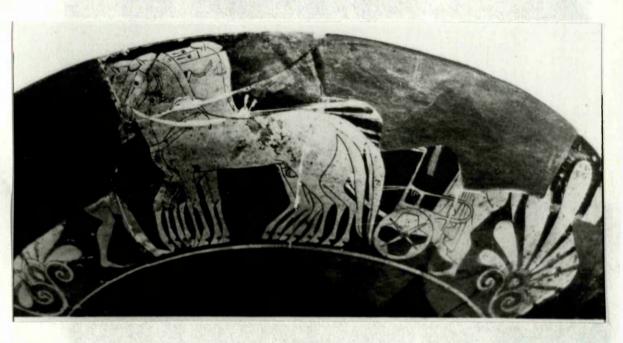


Figure 236b



Figure 237a: Copenhagen 13407 by Oltos.

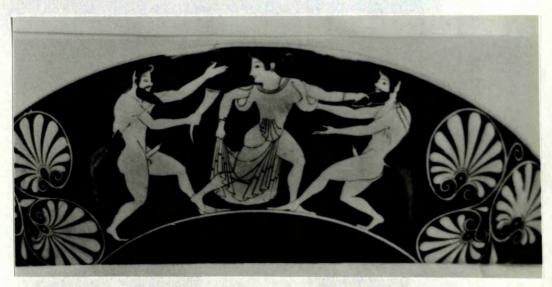


Figure 237b



Figure 237c



Figure 237d



Figure 238: Munich 2606 by Oltos.



Figure 239: New York 10.210.18 by Oltos.

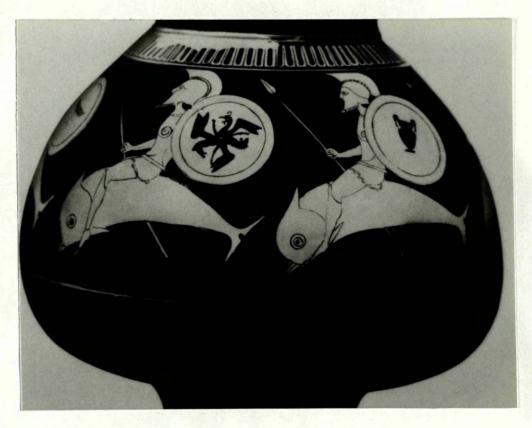


Figure 240: Kings Point, New York, Schimmel Private Collection; red figure psykter by Oltos.



Figure 241: Louvre G3 by Oltos. GLASGO UNIVERS

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY