More about Caeretan Hydriae

Addenda and Clarificanda

J. M. HEMELRIJK

Allard Pierson Series – Volume 17

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Studies in Ancient Civilization

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To my successful successor
Herman Brijder
in gratitude

More about Caeretan Hydriae

Addenda et Clarificanda

J. M. HEMELRIJK

2009

ALLARD PIERSON SERIES – AMSTERDAM

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Frontispiece:

No. 25, once Zurich, priv. coll., now '*Market Pholos*'.
Heracles fighting centaurs. Busiris Painter.

Printed by Drukkerij Ter Burg Offset B.V., Alkmaar, The Netherlands

ISBN/EAN: 978-90-71211-44-7

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TABLE A

GROUP A (Swastika-spiral Group)

Series 1 (Tongue Series)

1. London Battle (horsemen)
2. *Boston Deer-hunt (satyrs and maenads)*

2 *bis* Caere Arimaspian II (twice: lion and stag)

3. Louvre Hermes (Eos and Cephalus)
4. Louvre Cerberus (eagles)
5. Vienna Hephaestus (satyrs and maenads)

Series 2 (Belly-ivy Series)

a.

9. Rome Vineyard (also B)
10. Louvre Atalanta I (Europa)
11. *Rome Cerberus (winged horses)*
12. Louvre Tityus (winged horses)

b.

13. Rome Europa (horses)
14. Rome Hephaestus (horses)
15. Copenhagen Sacrifice (boar-hunt)
16. Rome Nessus (winged horses)

c.

17. Louvre Nessus (sphinxes)

17 *bis.* Nessus IV (sphinxes)

18. New York Bull (horsemen)

GROUP B (Lotus-five Group)

6. Caere Chariot (sphinxes)
7. Louvre Centaurs (eagles)
8. Berlin Chariot (lion-mule-youth)

Series 3 (Lotus-ivy Series)

a.

19 *minus.** ex-New York Polyphemus II (also B)

19. Amsterdam Horse-tamer (goat-hunt)
20. Rome Polyphemus I (Nessus)
21. *Rome Alcyoneus (athletes)*

b.

22. Louvre She-wolf (eagles)
23. (ex-London) Malibu Hydra (sphinxes)
24. Munich Atalanta II, Louvre Nemean lion + 37 (+36?)
25. *(Zurich) Market Pholos (swordsmen)*

25 *bis.* Rome (Heracles and centaur) = "Rizzo hydria"

c.

26. Dunedin Horse-tamer (eagles)
27. Basle Centaurs (eagles)
28. London Arimaspian I (satyrs and maenads)
29. (ex-Zurich Monster) Athens Phokè (hunt)
30. Louvre Odios (sphinxes)
31. *Rome Chariot (siren, swordsman)*

*31 bis.** *ex-New York Mule (Triton chasing Hippocamp)*

32. *Louvre Leda (sphinxes)*
33. *Louvre Deer-hunt (winged bulls)*
34. *Vienna Busiris (also B)*

FRAGMENTS

35. *Leipzig Acheloüs (deer-hunt)*

36. Munich Wrestlers (= No. 24?)

[ex-37. Louvre Hoplites Hunting = now No. 24]

Ornaments undetermined:

38. Louvre Wounded Lion

NB. *Italics* for vases with figures by the Busiris Painter

* These hydriae were returned to Italy in 2008.

Corrigenda in *CH*

p. 90: Fig. 55, bottom row, last ivy leaf on the right: read No. 17 (not: No. 27).
p. 98: Fig. 57d = No. 6 (not No. 26).
p. 100: Table F: read *"Series 1 and 2"* instead of "Group A" and *"Series 3"* instead of "Group B".
p. 104: Fig. 61: the castellation motif (third from below, left-hand column) = No. 10. The text "11 / 34 and (narrower) 27/31" must be shifted downwards: it belongs *sub* the maeander (2nd from bottom, left-hand column).
p. 106: Fig. 62: c = No. 10, and d = No. 5 (this error is repedated also on p. 110 in line 1 and line 7).
p. 107: Fig. 63: d = No. 11, and c = No. 5.

Preface, guide to the reader and summary[1]

The illustrations in this book are indicated with Fig(s). for drawings and Pl(s). for colour and black and white plates. Frequent abbreviations are: Ch. = chapter (to be distinguished from *CH* which refers to the book *Caeretan Hydriae*); lp. = lotus-palmette; bf. and rf. = black- and red-figure.)

This publication is meant as a supplement to my monograph, *The Caeretan Hydriae*, 1984 (here abbreviated *CH*) and to my paper on three Caeretan hydriae in the USA[2] (here abbreviated *CH II*). I wish to express my gratitude to Professor H. A. G. Brijder for the great pains he took in editing it and enriching the Plates and Figures. Although I have tried to make it accessible by means of a generous supply of illustrations, the reader is regularly referred to the text and plates of *CH* and *CH II*.[3]

The organization of the treatment of the material and of the catalogue in *CH* is based on the distribution of the hydriae according to their ornaments over two Groups and three *Series*. This complicated arrangement is visualized in Table A (*CH* 4) and this same Table A forms the basis of the present book, but here supplemented with new material that has become known since the appearance of *CH*. This Table A is the basis for the understanding of *CH* and essential for the readers of the present publication. It requires an explanation.

Explanation of Table A on p. IX.
The hydriae are indicated by their catalogue numbers in *CH* and a denomination consisting of the name of the city (or museum) where the vase is preserved, and the subject-matter; for example, No. *34, Vienna Busiris* = the famous Busiris hydria in Vienna. These denominations are in Italics whenever the figure scenes on the vases are by the Busiris Painter, and not by his colleague the Eagle Painter (thus it becomes superfluous to repeat the names of the two painters of the figure scenes).

The hydriae are distributed over Group A and Group B. In Group A the necks of the hydriae are mainly decorated with maeander crosses (swastikas) and spiral crosses (Fig. 7; Pls. 1b-c, 2c, 18b-d, 22a, f); therefore, it is called the Swastika-Spiral Group. It is divided into two series: *Series 1* (*Tongue Series*) containing vases with tongues on the shoulder (and a rather stiff lotus-palmette round the lower belly, Nos. 1-5, *e.g.*, Pls. 1-2, 3a) and *Series 2* (*Belly-ivy Series*) with ivy wreaths round the lower belly (and also on the shoulder, Nos. 9-18, *e.g.*, Pls. 18b-d, 22a, f). *Series 2* is divided into three sections, *a*, *b* and *c*, according to the style of their ivy wreaths.

The vases of Group B (Lotus-five Group) have a fully developed lotus-palmette round the lower belly with five (and not three) leaves to each flower (and on the neck mostly a complicated ornament with mirrored lotuses enclosing big stars), *e.g.*, Pls. 6b-d, 7a-c, 10c-d, 11a, 14a, c-d. Three vases of *Series 1* (*Tongue Series*; *i.e.* with tongues on the shoulder) have these elegant five-leaved lotus flowers on the lower belly and, therefore, belong to Group B; Nos. 6-8; *e.g.*, Fig. 5; Pl. 4a-b. The other vases of Group B are collected in *Series 3* (*Lotus-ivy Series*), which have a very fine ivy-wreath on the shoulder in addition to the delicate five-leaved lotus-palmettes on the belly: Nos. 19-34, *e.g.*, Pls. 6-7, 10. This *Series 3* is divided into three sections, *a*, *b* and *c*, according to the differences in their ivy-wreaths and lotuses.

The Introduction (Ch. I) starts with a short discussion of the East Greek character of the hydriae and the unsolved question of their parentage. Then, it describes the shaping and painting of the hydriae and subsequently the complicated way in which the hydriae are to be subdivided into the two Groups and three *Series* of Table A. In the course of this description, a detailed explanation is given of the division of labour in the workshop as regards the ornaments and the figure scenes. This is to clarify my extensive

1 I am grateful to the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research, The Hague, for a grant to study the fragments in Munich (below, No. 24) and to Shelby White and the Authorities of the J. Paul Getty Museum for their invitation to study and publish the Caeretan hydriae in their collections (in New York and Malibu). I refer to my monograph on the hydriae and a later article as *CH*: J. M. Hemelrijk, *The Caeretan Hydriae*, Mainz / Rhein 1984, and *CH II*: J. M. Hemelrijk, 'Three Caeretan Hydriae in Malibu and New York', in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6, Malibu 2000, 87-158. For the other abbreviations, see the end of this book.

2 See n. 1.

3 Also the book on the iconography of the hydriae written by Rafaella Bonaudo in 2004 (Bonaudo 2004) is recommended: it contains good pictures of nearly all hydriae.

treatment of these aspects in *CH* in which the data referring to this collaboration are spread over the different chapters and therefore are hard to appreciate. It is rare in Greek pottery that such close and frequent co-operation on individual vases can be discovered: on the Caeretan hydriae two hands are common but sometimes three (or perhaps even more) can be discerned (in Group A). Many of the hydriae of Group B have entirely been decorated by one of the two master painters (both the figure scenes and the ornaments), but on other vases of this Group the ornaments are drawn by one of the two masters while the figure scenes are by the other.

All this results in a very complicated picture of the production of these vases, a picture that can, to my mind, be trusted in almost every respect.[4]

In Ch. II-IV, I have collected all information on the Caeretan hydriae that has become available since the publication of *CH* in 1984. My aim is to give new, or insufficiently published, vases and fragments their proper place in the catalogue of *CH* and in the scheme of decoration as found in the Table A. Besides, shocking changes have taken place since 1984; at least two hydriae have recently been returned to Italy: Nos. 19 *minus* (Pls. 35e-f, 36-37a-c) and *31 bis* (Pls. 14a, 33d, 34a-c, 35a-b; see Ch. III.1 and 2). Perhaps more hydriae may follow (or have actually followed) back to Italy.

New hydriae, added to Table A are: Nos. 2 *bis* (Pls. 1a-b, 24f, 25), 17 *bis* (Pls. 3d, 19b-d; only known to me from photographs), 19 *minus* (Pl. 36), *31 bis* (Pl. 14a), and major parts of No. 24 (Pls. 21, 23a-b), all of which are discussed in Ch. II-III. Further changes are the discovery that the fragment No. 37 belongs to the now largely reconstructed, once fragmentary No. 24 (*e.g.*, Pl. 20b) and possibly also the sherd No. 36 (Pl. 23c). Besides, not mentioned in Table A are two new fragments, Pls. 33a-c, the first only known to me from photographs (whereabouts unknown), the second to be added to *CH* 58; here Ch. II.8); and there is a fourth strap-handled amphora (No. A4; Pl. 32a-b) to be added to p. 59 of *CH*; see Ch. II.7). Finally, there is the recently found, fragmentary 'Rizzo hydria', No. 25 *bis*, which Professor Rizzo brought to my knowledge after the manuscript had almost been finished (Pls. 40b-e, 41a-c); I have inserted it into Ch. IV.2.

Publications have appeared far and wide, with the result that some scholars remained unacquainted with one or two of the newly published material: especially Nos. 19 *minus* (Pl. 36) and *31 bis* (Pl. 14a), but also the puzzling alabastron in New York (Pl. 38a-d). For these see Ch. III.

Apart from the hydriae that have been returned to Italy, some other vases have changed owners, Nos. 23 (Pl. 6c-d) and 29 (Pl. 10c-d), or have returned to the art market, No. 25 (Frontispiece; see Ch. IV). The Caeretan hydriae are a solitary fabric with very little ware that is closely related. Some related vases and statuettes are treated in Chapter V.

All of these changes lead to a concluding chapter, Ch.VI, which contains comments on other aspects, such as context, chronology, the purpose for which the hydriae were made and the puzzling question why, in this workshop, only hydriae and no other shapes (with one possible exception) were decorated with figured scenes; further discussions concern the meaning and origin of the ornaments and the scenes, the possible funerary use of some of the hydriae, the striking humoristic elements that can be pointed out and, again, the parentagre of the Caeretan hydriae; and then, there is a rough, but extensive estimate of the total output of the workshop and of the time the production of a hydria may have taken. This chapter ends with a short comment on the technical proficiency of the potters and painters.

Ch. VII contains a note on Pontic vases because current theories regarding this fabric require, I think, comment.

Long, long ago Beazley made an acid remark, as Miss Haspels told me; he said: *"Nobody wants to know the whole truth about Rhitsona"*. This ungentle criticism of the archaeological work of Mr. and Mrs. Ure, may, I fear, come to mind when reading the present publication. I must apologize for it (sese *CH* 205 n. 62).

My excuse for my profound involvement with the Caeretan hydriae is my desire to get an intimate knowledge and understanding of the mentality, the way of artistic thinking and the character of the two master-painters and their assistants, in a way that is more or less comparable to our intimate understanding of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Herodotus. It is in this sense that this book is an attempt to make the personal acquaintance of a number of fascinating Greek artists that have been dead for almost exactly 2500 years.

[4] I realize that some scholars deny the possibility of such insight, but what the eye sees cannot be ignored. In itself it is easy to see why such distinctions can be made: everyone recognizes the handwriting of the members of his family and even that of his friends and acquaintances; the distinction between the hands of the ornament painters and the two masters of the figure scenes, is hardly less self-evident.

I INTRODUCTION

I.1 The stylistic 'nationality' of the painting of the hydriae

I begin with my, often contested, statement that the artistic character of the Caeretan hydriae is purely Greek (*CH* 161-3, 193).[5] Fortunately the painters have left us a written testimony that they were Ionians: in the inscriptions on No. 30, the so-called Odios hydria in the Louvre, Pl. 17d, the name Nestor[6] is written in the Ionian alphabet (with o-mega) and the name of Odios (Fig. 22) shows that the painter was intimately acquainted with the work of their co-patriot Homer or the Homerids, at least with the the story of the embassy to Achilles as it appears in *Iliad* (book 9, 170, where Odios is named as one of the delegates: Figs. 22-23; *CH* 46-47, 81-83, fig. 48, pls. 106-8). Therefore, their art should be called Ionian: better proof cannot be imagined.

The question remains whether the painters' life-long stay in Etruria changed their work to such a degree that it may be called Graeco-Etruscan or even Etruscan, as some scholars believe. It seems certain that the hydriae were made (mainly, though perhaps not exclusively) for the wealthy clientele of Caere (see Ch. VI.3.a). Since they were probably produced in Caere,[7] one expects to find Etruscan influence in their shape, style, ornaments and subject matter. However, it has proved surprisingly difficult to discover clear signs of the influence of Etruscan mentality, taste, mythology or artistic style (see *CH* 188-92).

Stylistically, at any rate, the hydriae are purely Greek, for they are fundamentally different from all Etruscan art: the drawings show that the painters had a great understanding of anatomy, a good eye for proportions, and especially for beauty and power of line (see Ch. VI.2, and *e.g.*, Pls. 3a-b, 4c, 8-9, 11-13, 44e, 45a-e). In short, the hydriae are typically Greek in their *severe artistic discipline*: in this respect they have nothing of the looseness in the rendering of humans and animals proper to Etruscan vase painting (*e.g.*, Pl. 41f, which is an Etruscan imitation of a satyr by the Eagle Painter).[8] They are just as Greek as Attic pottery is, or Fikellura, or Clazomenian. This is a point that cannot be argued any further, but is manifestly proved by the paintings themselves.

I lay so much stress on this because in musea these hydriae are often exhibited with Etruscan ware, to give, it seems to me, more glamour to the Etruscan pottery on show. Besides, some scholars are inclined to regard Caere more or less as a Greek city and therefore integrate the hydriae into Etruscan art. This is circular reasoning.[9] It is true that much 'Ionian' Greek work (though little East Greek pottery) has been found in Caere (see Ch. V.4-5 and Pls. 43e, 44d) and also much that looks Ionian but, for stylistic reasons, may be regarded as Etruscan (*CH* 161-3).[10] In my view, however, the impact of the Etruscan clientele and surroundings on the Caeretan hydriae, if any, has been too small to regard them – as Jannot does – as products of a mixed Graeco-Etruscan culture. The hydriae are to be regarded as immigrant East

5 Jannot 1986 and Bonaudo 2004 discuss this question at length: Jannot's arguments seem reasonable to me and with much of what she says I agree. Bonaudo's approach is, in my opinion, fanciful, leading to false conclusions: see my review in *BABesch* 82, 2007, 277-80. In *Iconografia* 2001, *Studi sull'Immagine, Università di Padua, Antenor, Quaderni* 1, 2002, 101-9, 'L'ascesa di Efesto all'Olimpo (il caso delle Hydriae Ceretane)', she again treats the hydriae as part of the iconographic tradition of Archaic Etruria, wholly ignoring the purely Greek character of the hydriae; and she still imagines the horses on the reverse of Nos. 11-14, 16 to be dancing in a Dionysiac ritual, symposion or on the battlefield (p. 107; see below).

6 The face in, Pl. 17d, is not Nestor's: the name belongs to the figure to the left of the inscription and the face shown in Pl. 17d has now been been identified by Bonaudo as that of Briseis, see Ch. II.6. The inscription 'Odios' was badly damaged when the vase was cleaned (*CH* 46, 81, pl. 107a, compare here Fig. 22).

7 The subject matter of some of them calls for more knowledgeable, *i.e.* Greek, clients. I am not sure that there was a substantial Greek community in Caere and therefore I suggested that they might not have been made in Caere itself – where all have been found – but in more truly-Greek surroundings, such as Pyrgi; I still believe that this is possible, but it surely is of no great importance here. See *CH* 160, *CH II* 115 with n. 53, and here Ch.VI.3.e.

8 See *CH* 161-3 for a detailed definition of the two styles, East Greek and the derived Etruscan style. From Jannot's critism (Jannot 1986, 375) I gather that I have not been clear enough. The hydriae were made, as she says, by Greeks with some Etruscan helpmates, mainly for Etruscan customers, inside Etruria; yet I maintain that their work must be regarded as purely Greek.

9 This is, of course, not universal: in Martelli's splendid book on Etruscan pottery, the Caeretan hydriae are not included: M. Martelli, ed., *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, Novara 1987, 144ff., nos. 10ff.

10 For the Ionian style in Etruria, see also Boardman 1994, 238-40.

Greek pottery (*CH* 193). But if they are not embedded in, nor to be understood by, their Etrusco-Greek surroundings, what then was their parentage? To this question, summarized in *CH* 193, we shall return in Ch. VI.3.e.

I.2 The organization of the workshop (see Table A) and the way the vases were produced

I.2.a The demands made upon the workshop

It is clear that, apart from the normal quantity of water that had to be stored in every household, the wealthy Etruscans of Caere wanted to have fine, ornate water vessels for ritual cleansing and festive or funerary purposes (see Ch. VI.3). They might have bought bronze hydriae, but for some reason they did not often do so: the number of bronze hydriae found in the Caeretan tombs is very small, as Coen Stibbe kindly tells me.[11] Apparently the demand for elaborate clay vessels for storage of ritual water was great and so the supply had to be. One workshop, and perhaps the only one, stimulated and supported by this demand was that of the Caeretan hydriae. Naturally enough, details in their shape and ornamentation derive from bronze hydriae (*CH* 165-7, 170).[12] They are big, capacious with a height ranging from 40 to nearly 45 cm (*CH* 5-6, Table B); the one in Amsterdam (No. 19, Pl. 6) can hold 11-12 litres (when filled up to the shoulder), which is more than the contents of an ordinary household pale.

One of the most important requirements appears to have been that the vases should be very ornate and colourful and, therefore, suitable for ceremonies. This explains the fine wreaths of evergreens round the shoulders and body (Pls. 7d, 13a, 18a). To fulfil these wishes the painters had to devote much labour and time to every single vase (see Ch. VI.4). To give an idea of the great decorative wealth of the hydriae, it may be pointed out that the number of tongues (see *CH* 111, Table H) painted on mouth, shoulder, foot and around the attachments of the horizontal handles of No. *25* (frontispiece, Pl. 7b-d; '*Market Pholos*') is 133; of No. 4 (Pl. 2c-d; 'Louvre Cerberus') 175; of No. 2 *bis* (Fig. 13, Pls. 1a-b, 25a-c; 'Caere Arimaspian II') ca. 175; of No. *31 bis* (Pls. 14a, 34a-c; `ex-*New York Mule*') 140; of No. 19 *minus* (Pls. 36, 37a-c; 'ex-New York Polyphemus II') 139; and on the most elaborate vase of all, No. *34* (Fig. 39; Pls. 15a-b 18a; '*Vienna Busiris*'[13]), we find 156 tongues.[14] These tongues were not easy to paint: many were made with the help of a template[15] (see *CH* 88-89, 96-97, 105-8, 112-5). They nearly always consist in sturdy, solid black tongues and then – unique in Greek pottery – the cores were covered with smaller tongues in white or red (on the earliest hydria, No. 1, 'London Battle': Pls. 39b, 46d, they are red only; *CH* 7). This is only one of the many ornate elements of the hydriae (and surely not the most exacting), which shows that there was a great need to resort to a thorough division of labour (see further Ch. VI.4).

I.2.b Division of labour; the way the vases were produced

Division of labour in the decoration of vases has often been discussed,[16] and two hands collaborating on individual pots are not rare in red-figure Attic work. The most natural division of tasks is, of course, that

[11] C. M. Stibbe, 'Archaic Bronze Hydriai', *BABesch* 67, 1992, 1-62. Only one from Caere (G7) and another from Etruria (I 15)

[12] E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz / Rhein 1964, 60. Directly inspired by bronze vases are the tongues, the handle palmettes and the shape and size of the hydriae.

[13] On Busiris, see now: J. MacPhee, *AnK* 49, 2006, 43-56; good photographs in: M. Torelli, ed., *Gli Etruschi*, Milan 2000, 431, no. 213.

[14] See *CH* 111, Table H. Other numbers are: 177 on cat. no. 1; 217 on no. 2; 204 on no. 3, and so on.

[15] Those in Group A (see Table A), but not the tongues of No. 2, '*Boston Deer-hunt*' nor on No. 2 *bis* ('Arimaspian II'), the ornaments of which are by the Busiris Painter (see below).

[16] See Webster 1972, 14-17; Mary Moore in *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum New York*, 36, 2001, 37 n. 38; Stissi 2002, VII, 124-44. A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow Maler*, Mainz / Rhein 1976, 41ff., speaks of at least three ornament painters. See also forty cases involving at least ten painters in the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter, pointed out by M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1992, 161f.

between the figure-scenes and the ornaments. To let young helpmates do the routine (or at least repetitive) work is an obvious option. In the workshop of our hydriae this division of labour can be recognized, as we shall see, with considerable certainty. In this connection it is important to know that the figure scenes came at the end, after the ornaments had already been painted (*CH* 69-70).[17] The procedure was as follows.

Throwing the vases

First the body of the vase was thrown. Then, the foot and neck had to be added. The neck was, I suppose, fashioned separately,[18] as I hesitatingly assumed in *CH* 64, not 'thrown on' by means of a thick roll of clay applied to the circumference of the central opening of the freshly thrown body (this might overstrain the wide horizontal shoulder). Neither can it have been pulled up from the same lump of clay as the body, for then the wall of the neck could not be thicker than the wall of the body as is sometimes the case, witness the section drawing of No. 23, Fig. 30 ('Malibu Hydra' published by R. de Puma in the *CVA*).[19]

Of course, the foot[20] was also thrown separately and then attached to the base, for which the vase had to be placed upside down on the wheel (supported by a clay 'chuck'). This, too, exerted a considerable strain on the shoulder. The foot ring and necking ring indicate, and hide, the joints.[21]

Two things follow from this procedure: firstly, that the foot need not be in harmony with the neck, for they were thrown separately.[22] I suppose that a number of feet [23] stood ready when the potter of the body needed one. This appears from the following comparison: take first the vase of Pls. 1a-b, 24f, 25a, where the foot seems too narrow in comparison with the broad neck, and then observe the hydria of Pl. 17a, where the foot is wide as compared to the neck.

The second consequence is that the risk of sagging was considerable (*e.g.*, Pl. 18b): I have often been surprised to see that badly deformed hydriae were painted with the most exquisite care and inventiveness – it almost looks as if the shape did not matter much (*CH* nos. 11, 21-22, 27; pls. 6c, 7, 12c-d, 83, 97a, etc.; here, *e.g.*, Pls. 6a, 18b, 19a), but clearly the painter of the figure scene could not afford to be squeamish: he had to paint what was standing ready.

In fact, the potting of the hydriae is very uneven (see Ch. VI.5): on the whole the pottery work is inferior to that of other Greek vases of the later part of the sixth century. Some hydriae have badly sagged; yet, some are excellent. Some may be called 'slender' compared to others that are broad and even 'fat' (Pl. 17a-b).

The uncertainty about the pottery work of the hydriae is, no doubt, caused by the fact that, in the workshop of the hydriae, other pots, without elaborate decoration, must have been made and sold in quantities (to this we shall return Ch.V.5 and VI.4). Presumably these vases were thrown by potters, who worked in the same atelier as the masters of our hydriae. No wonder that I am not at all sure about the number of different hands that may have shaped the Caeretan hydriae[24] (I have been criticized in that

17 This is not the case in Attic b.f.: a palmette of the side ornaments under the vert. handles (which I call *W on M*) may be left unfinished because the space is occupied by part of a figure: see J. Burow, *Der Antimenes Maler*, Mainz / Rhein 1989, pls. 1a, 26a, 30a, 32b, 35b (it overlaps the incision of the shield), 38c, 115b. This is quite common with the tongues above scenes. On rf. vases the figures usually came before the ornaments; see *CH* n. 73.

18 See T. Scheiber, *Athenian Vase Construction, A Potter's Analysis*, Malibu 1999, 73-79 with very clear drawings of the procedure. Attaching the neck to the opening of the shoulder usually leaves some traces on the inside, a ridge or some thickening. This is the case in No. 2 *bis*, 'Arimaspian II', see Ch. II.3. However, in the one fragmentary hydria I could photograph from the inside (Pl. 32h; No. 17, 'Louvre Nessus') there is no trace of extra clay added to the root of the neck; but in Cook's drawing of the neck of No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot', Fig. 19, a join seems to be indicated and I have noticed similar slight ridges elsewhere. Also in Fig. 24, a drawing of the 'new' Caeretan amphora in the Louvre (see below), but here the explanation must be different for the necks of these much smaller vases were pulled up from the same lump of clay as the body, as Tosto 1999, 25, shows; their small size made this the best method; see Ch. II.7, amphora A4.

19 *CVA* J. Paul Getty Museum 9, USA 34, by R. de Puma, 25-29, pls. 494-8.

20 Superficially the feet of our hydriae remind us of those of Attic cups A; see Bloesch FAS, 12-15, and compare *CH* pls. 150-4, but the 'heels' of the Caeretan feet are much thicker and the inside of the foot is straight and flat, or nearly so. See *CH* 166.

21 See for these technical points my description in: T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, eds., *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge 1991, 244ff., especially 248-50 with figs. 101 and 110.

22 See also below *ad* Pl. 44a, Ch. V.5.

23 And perhaps necks, but this seems less likely, because the neck should fit snugly into the opening of the shoulder.

24 In *CH* 153, I state that there were at least two potters, which seems certain to me; perhaps the Busiris Painter worked also at the wheel; see Ch. VI.4. For the classes of shape (broad, slender and others) see *CH* 75-76.

respect),[25] but I find it hard to believe that excellent vases such as Nos. 7 and 33, Pls. 4a-b, 14c-d ('Louvre Centaurs' and *'Louvre Deer-hunt'*) are by the same potter as the faulty, warped vases like No. *21*, Pls. 6a, 19a.[26] However, the reader may judge for himself by studying extreme opposites such as Pl. 17a-b: these are the 'slender' No. 26 ('Dunedin Horse-tamer') with a very wide foot and narrow neck with thin rim, and No. *31* (*'Rome Chariot'*) with its puffed-up, round form, its steeply rising foot, broader neck and stiff vertical rim. Compare also the other shapes in Pls. 1-2, 4-7, 10-11, 14-15, 17-19, etc., or *CH* pls. 1-13.[27]

Painting the vases

After drying the painting could begin. It started with the frieze lines, the shoulder line being drawn through the lower attachment of the vertical handle (Fig. 5; Pls. 1a-b, 2a, d, 4b, 5b, 7a-b; see *CH* 64).[28] Then followed the frieze line above the rays, probably planned and drawn by the painter of the rays (perhaps with the vase upside down on the table). How the bottom line of the figure frieze was planned, or drawn, is unsure: sometimes it was too high up for the figure scene that was to be painted, for example, in the case of No. *11*, Pl. 18c, by the Busiris Painter (*'Rome Cerberus'*), where the figures are squeezed down into the narrow space (Heracles is even down on his knees). In Pl. 2c, on the other hand, there is plenty of room for the same scene, now painted by the Eagle Painter (No. 4, 'Louvre Cerberus'); here Heracles stands proudly upright, while scaring the screaming Eurystheus into the pithos. Other scenes are rather high, for example, those of Pl. 1c-d (No. 3, 'Louvre Hermes') but never, I think, uncomfortably high.

As a rule, the tongues of the horizontal handles were painted after the ornaments of the shoulder: this is clear, *e.g.*, in Pl. 7d, where some tongues avoid overlapping ivy leaves by spreading (also in *CH* 69, pls. 134c, e and 163a, but contrast pl. 128a-b, and here Pl. 18a, where they cover some myrtle leaves).[29]

Sometimes the palmette of the vertical handle was planned together with the figure scene (probably Pls. 4b, 7a-b, etc.), but often it must have been finished before the master started painting the scene (*CH* 108, 110). This may be the case on No. 29 ('Athens Phokè'), where the handle is off centre too left (Pl. 10d). The ornaments are by the Busiris Painter, but the hunting scene is by the Eagle Painter. It is a fine picture but, if the Eagle Painter had painted the handle palmette with an eye to the hunting scene he planned, he would have painted a smaller palmette and left more space for his three animals.

All this means that the two excellent figure painters we shall meet in a moment, often painted figure scenes on a vase with ornaments that had been drawn by someone else: this might be a more or less clumsy helpmate, but sometimes the ornaments were by the other figure painter, their close colleague; in fact, this happened quite frequently, as we shall see below.[30]

I.3 The arrangement of the hydriae in *CH*: see Table A on p. IX

The grouping of the hydriae as published in *CH* (here Table A) is, as we have explained in the Preface, very complicated and, therefore, not a little annoying for the reader, but it is dictated by the facts. I summarize my explanation of Table A.

There are three *Series* and two Groups: *Series 1* with tongues on the shoulder (*"Tongue Series"*: Fig. 5; Pls. 1-4, 31a), *Series 2* with ivy wreaths round the lower belly zone (*"Belly-ivy Series"*: Pls. 18b-c, 22a, f); and *Series 3* with a lotus-palmette chain on the lower belly and an ivy wreath on the shoulder (*"Lotus-ivy Series"*: Pls. 6-7, 10-11, 14a, c-d, 17a-b). Group A is more old-fashioned than Group B, and has swastikas and spiral-crosses on the neck ("Swastika-spiral Group": *e.g.*, Fig. 7; Pls. 1c, 2c, 18b-d), while Group B is usually adorned with a lotus-star motif on the neck and with lotus flowers with five petals on the lower

25 See the reviews by Schaus 1985, 702, and Isler 1987.

26 The sagging is usually not clearly visible on my plates in *CH* or in my Plates here, but it is striking in reality.

27 This question is treated extensively in *CH* 72-76.

28 Except on No. 1, Pl. 39b ('London Battle', *CH* 7, pl. 1a-b) where the definitive decoration pattern has not yet been established: there is a reserved zone of 7 cm above the rays and under the figure frieze, which therefore, is much too low: 7 cm.

29 See also No. 9, *CH* pl. 146c, but on No. 20 an ivy leaf is left incomplete to avoid the tongues, *CH* 69, pls. 146b, 129b, 'Rome Polyphemus I'.

30 See, *e.g.*, *CH* 112. At the time I was writing *CH*, I did not yet feel confident enough in this respect and therefore referred to the ornaments of the two painters as: 'by the E. painter' or 'by the B. painter'.

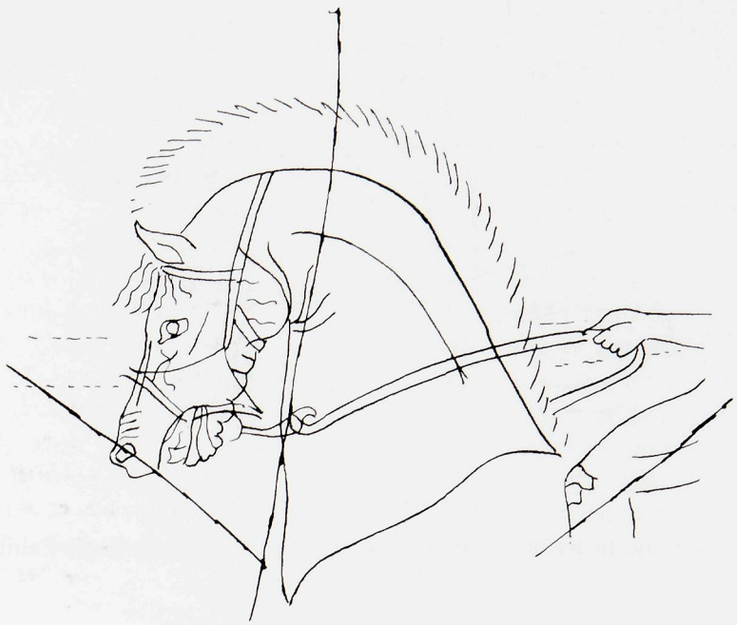

Fig. 1. Head of left-hand horse on reverse No. 1 ('London Battle'). Eagle Painter, but incisions of head by Busiris Painter. After *CH* fig. 54a.

belly ("Lotus-five Group": frontispiece, Pls. 6b-d, 7a-c, 10c-d). *Series 1* starts in Group A and continues into Group B (see Table A), but *Series 2* belongs only to Group A and *Series 3* to Group B.[31] The reader should be warned that the distribution of the hydriae over these *Series* and Groups does in general *not* indicate the chronological development of the hydriae, though the vases of *Series 1*, Nos. 1-8, are arranged in chronological order (see Ch. VI.2).

For a solid knowledge of each individual hydria we need exact measurements of all details and other similar information.[32] This information can be found in *CH* in Tables B-H. These tables make detailed comparisons possible and have proved indispensable for fitting new fragments into existing hydriae. Unfortunately, however, they are spread over the different paragraphs of *CH* and, therefore, are difficult to consult. They are enumerated here:

Tables B – H in *CH*:
for the *measurements* of the (parts of the) hydriae see *CH* Table B, p. 5;
for the shape and type of *feet and handles* Table C, p. 72;
for the *ivy wreaths* (number of leaves etc.) Table D, p. 92;
for the *lotus-palmettes* (numbers, shape etc.) Table E, pp. 94-95;
for the *neck-ornaments* of *Series 1* and *2* (swastika-spirals etc.) Table F, p. 100;[33]
for the *palmettes of the vertical handles* (leaves and colours) Table G, p. 108;
for the *tongues* on the hydriae and the *rays at the base* (numbers and colours) Table H, p. 111.

There are (remains of) about 40 hydriae (see Table A), four Nikosthenic amphorae (three in *CH* 59, pl. 20, and one more in the Louvre; here Ch. II.7, Figs. 24-25; Pls. 14b, 32a-g); there is a closely related banded hydria (*CH* pl. 19) and a small, very puzzling alabastron, Pl. 38a-d (see Ch. III.3). Finally, as has been pointed out, it seems all but certain that the workshop must have produced unpainted ware that has so far not been recognized (see Ch. V.5, VI.3-4).

[31] There is one exception: No. 19 *minus* (Pls. 35e-f, 36, 37a-c; 'ex-NY Polyphemus II') which combines the neck ornaments, the ivy branch and handle palmette of Group A with the belly lp. of Group B; see below Ch. III.2.

[32] I refer, as I have said, to the individual vases by means of their denominations in *CH*; these consist in the name of the city where the hydria is (or was, until recently) preserved and its main subject, for example: '*Vienna Busiris*': Pls. 15-16 (I use italics for vases with figure scenes by the Busiris painter).

[33] The reader is asked to make two corrections in Table F, *CH* 100: delete "Group A" and read: "*Series 1-2*"; and, delete "Group B" and read: "*Series 3*".

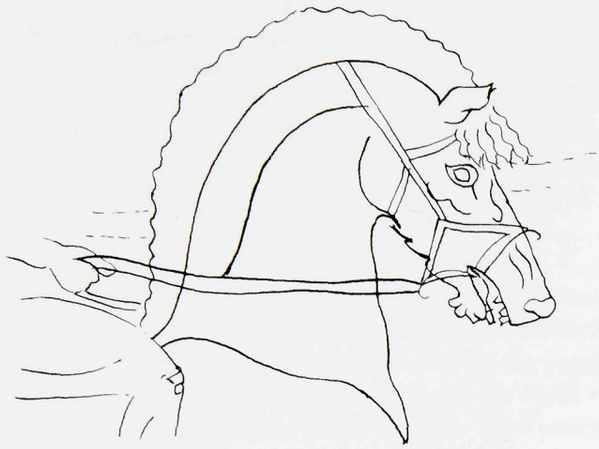

Fig. 2. Head of right-hand horse on reverse of No. 1 ('London Battle'). Eagle Painter. After *CH* fig. 54e.

I.3.a The figure scenes (see *CH* 116-50)

The friezes of the figure scenes are high (12-17 cm) and the figures tall and bold. These scenes were painted by two masters (*CH* 76-88). This distinction is obvious and generally accepted. Both are excellent artists. The more traditional one I call the Eagle Painter (after the low-flying big birds of prey such as in Pls. 2d, 4b, 17e), the other the Busiris Painter after his miraculously successful vase in Vienna, No. *34* (Pls. 15-16, 18a).[34] The Eagle Painter has a calligraphic hand of drawing tense lines which run a beautifully curving course: *e.g.*, Figs. 4, 37, Pls. 2c-d, 3a-b, 4c, 5c. The Busiris Painter has a pictorial hand, almost like the sketching hand of a canvas painter: see his rather crude variant of the scene of Pl. 2c in Pl. 18c, No. *11*, *'Rome Cerberus'*, and further Pls. 8-9; see also his feet and arms in Pls. 45a-e or 44c, e (the two styles are analysed in *CH* 67). His style can be closely observed in Pls. 8-9: a striking feature of his male nudes are the slightly bulging bellies, reminiscent of the 'soft' East Greek style (Pls. 8b, 9b, 22e).

On two vases both hands can be recognized in the figure scenes: apparently one painter finished the work of the other. Very curious is the case of the head of of the left-hand horse on No. 1, Fig. 1 ('London Battle'): it was incised by the Busiris Painter, but the rest of the vase is by the Eagle Painter, also the head of the other horse, Fig. 2. Though the difference may seem slight, all details are typical of the two painters, as can be seen in Figs. 3-4: the winged horse of Fig. 3 (No. *11*, *'Rome Cerberus'*) is by the Busiris Painter; the horses of Fig. 4 and Pl. 5c (No. 19, 'Amsterdam Horse-tamer') by the Eagle Painter. A very complicated case of co-operation is, as we shall see: No. 30, Fig. 22 ('Louvre Odios', *CH* 81-83, fig. 48 and *CH II*, n. 12).

These observations may seem hard to accept, but what the eye sees cannot be ignored, and though such close co-operation[35] may seem surprising, it can be explained, as follows.

The painters painted the figures on the 'leather-hard' pots with 'black' clay-'paint', after which the resulting silhouettes (partly covered with white or purple/red) had to be incised. This incising could not be delayed too long: the painter had to be prompt about it, otherwise the leather-hard surface would absorb the water from the 'paint', and incisions in 'clay paint' that has dried too much, tend to become

[34] This complicated scene is, as Beazley called it, a "brilliant parody of Egyptian presentations of Pharaoh smiting his enemies"; it cannot, I think, have been painted without personal knowledge of such scenes (*CH* 151, 160, 174). This argument has often been misunderstood: it is not the myth itself that indicates that the painters must have visited Egypt (the myth is popular in Greek vase painting), it is the way the scene is represented; it must have been directly inspired by Egyptian reliefs, as is also shown by the fringed chitons called *kalasiris* by Herodotus, and, less so, by the *uraeus*. However, Brendel 1978, 173, says that "familiarity with Egyptian mannerisms of style might well derive from imports of, *e.g.*, Syro-Phoenician metal bowls with their numerous Egyptian reminiscences". I do not believe this, though it seems possible.

[35] Co-operation on a single vase is, of course, not unknown elsewhere: see *ARV*² 109: *sub* Chelis, Potter, nos. 2-3 and 112 *sub* Chelis Painter (cups by Oltos and the Chelis Painter, and Oltos and the Thalia Painter).

Fig. 3. Forepart of winged horse on reverse of No. *11* (*'Rome Cerberus'*). Busiris Painter. After *CH* fig. 49b.

Fig. 4. Forepart of right-hand horse on obverse of No. 19 ('Amsterdam Horse-tamer'); 1:1. See Pl. 5a, c. Eagle Painter. After *CH* fig. 52 (drawing G. Strietman).

Fig. 5. Youth attacking lion which mauls mule on reverse of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'); see also Pls. 4c, 30a. Eagle Painter. Drawing P. Hartwig, in: *AntDenk.* 2, *Heft* 3, 1898, 5.

ragged. This can be seen even on photos: the incisions in Cerberus' body in Pl. 18c (No. *11*, *'Rome Cerberus'*) are distinctly ragged (see *CH* pl. 54a, n. 55). Therefore, whenever an artisan who was painting a vase, had to leave for a while, another painter had to step in to continue or finish the incisions. That is one of the reasons why the painters switched chairs from time to time. This must have taken place when the horse's head on No. 1 was incised ('London Battle', Fig. 1), and the same happened to the four left-hand figures in the embassy on No. 30 (Fig. 22), which were incised by the Busiris Painter, though all other figures and most ornaments of the vase (Pl. 39c) are by the Eagle Painter ('Louvre Odios'; for a detailed description see *CH* 82, fig. 48a-d; also below Ch. II.6; not clearly discernible in Figs. 22-23).

I.3.b The ornaments (see *CH* 88-116)

Compared to all other Greek vases the hydriae are extremely colourful, so much so that it has been said that they are not rightly described as black-figure ware.[36] See, for example: frontispiece, Pls. 7-9 (No. *25*, Busiris Painter; formerly *'Zurich Pholos'*, now *'Market Pholos'*). Most ornaments, except the ivy wreaths, are painted red-white-black; especially colourful are the tongues in the mouths (Pls. 7d, 13a, 18a),[37] on the shoulders (Pls. 2c-d, 3a, 4a-b), round the handles (Pls. 6d, 7c, 8-9, 11a), and on the feet (frontispiece; Pls. 2, 6-7, 10c-d, 11a), but also the palmettes of the vertical handles (Pls. 4b-c, 7a-b, 10b,d) and, most notably,

[36] Brendel 1978, 171.

[37] Rizzo 2006, 389, is mistaken when she writes that there have never been colours on the cores of the tongues in the mouth of Nos. 2 *bis*, 6, 9-10, 18-20, 25 *bis*, but in the mouth of No. 1 the tongues are red only (*CH* 114).

Fig. 6. Lotus-palmette of No. 2 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*); 1:1. Busiris Painter. After *CH* pl. 164b.

the often exquisitely designed lotus-palmettes (from now on usually abbreviated as lp.) in the lower belly friezes (frontispiece; Pls. 4a-b, 6, 7a-c, 10c-d, 47c; contrast the primitive lps. of Pls. 1-2, 46d, 47a-b).[38]

It is according to these ornaments, as we have seen, that the hydriae are to be divided into the different *Series* and Groups of Table A. These divisions are caused by the fact that not all the ornaments were painted by the two masters (both of whom had an excellent hand, also in painting these very difficult motives, see the frontispiece and Pls. 7a-c, 10), but by helpmates. On many of the finest hydriae (Group B) the figure scenes are by the Eagle Painter while the ornaments were made by the Busiris Painter (for example, No. 29, 'Athens Phokè': Pls. 10c-d, 11-13) or – but only rarely – *vice versa* (No. 21, *'Rome Alcyoneus'*: Pls. 6a, 19a). On many other vases, however, mainly those of *Series 2* (Nos. 9-18) the ornaments are by assistants, some of whom were mediocre draughtsmen, others downright bad (Pls. 18b-c, 19b-d, 22a, f, 37c-d). Their hands are easily recognized.

Series 1-3; see Table A on p. IX

As we see in Table A, *Series 1* (*Tongue Series*) extends from Group A down into Group B. Here we find colourful *tongues* on the shoulder and a lotus-palmette round the belly, *e.g.*, Fig. 5, Pls. 1-2, 3a, 4a-b (*CH* nos. 1-8, pls. 1-5, 14-15a). On the Nos. 1, 3-5 this lotus palmette is a rather modest ornament. We may be sure that the (heavily repainted) lotus-palmettes of Nos. 1, 3-4, Pls. 1c, 2, 3a, are by the master of these

[38] It may be noted that all these ornaments are very exceptional in Greek pottery and surely derive from other traditions than vase-painting (*CH* 169; see also below: Ch. VI.3.e).

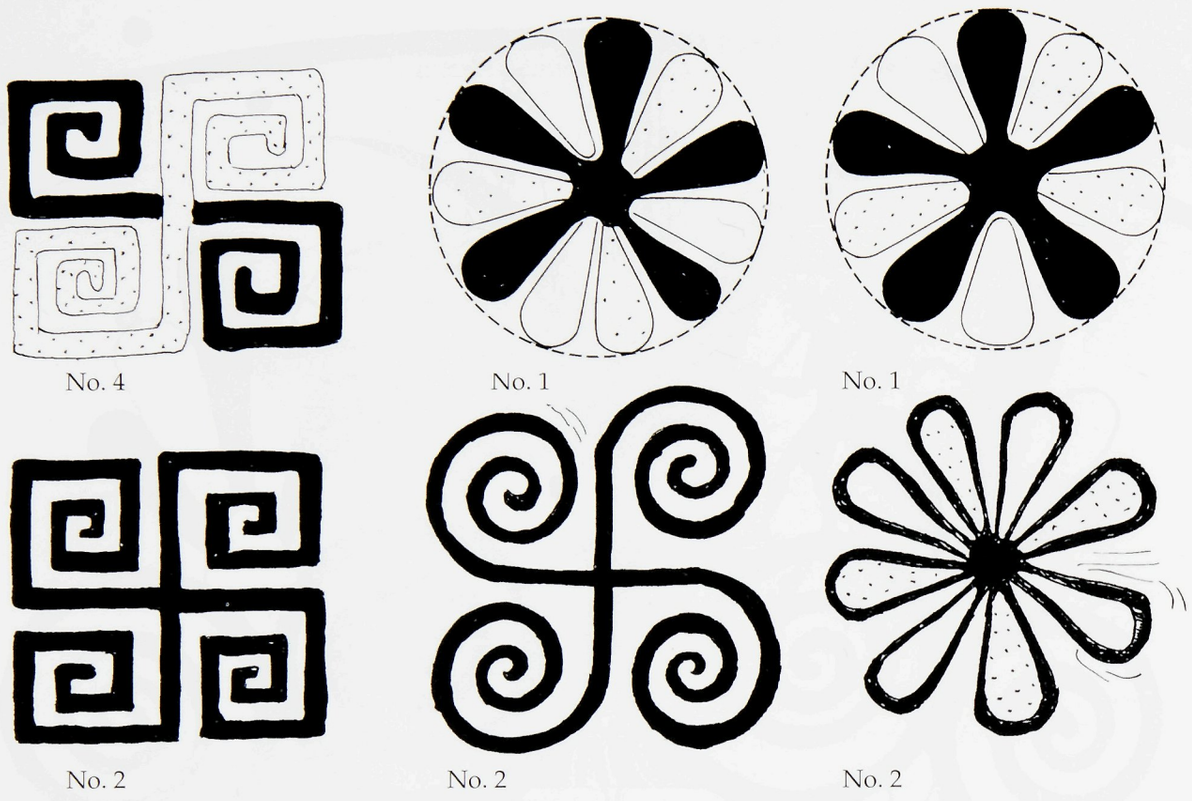

Fig. 7a. Neck ornaments in *Series 1* (see Table A). Nos. 1, 2, and 4; 1:1. All probably by assistants. After *CH* fig. 59.

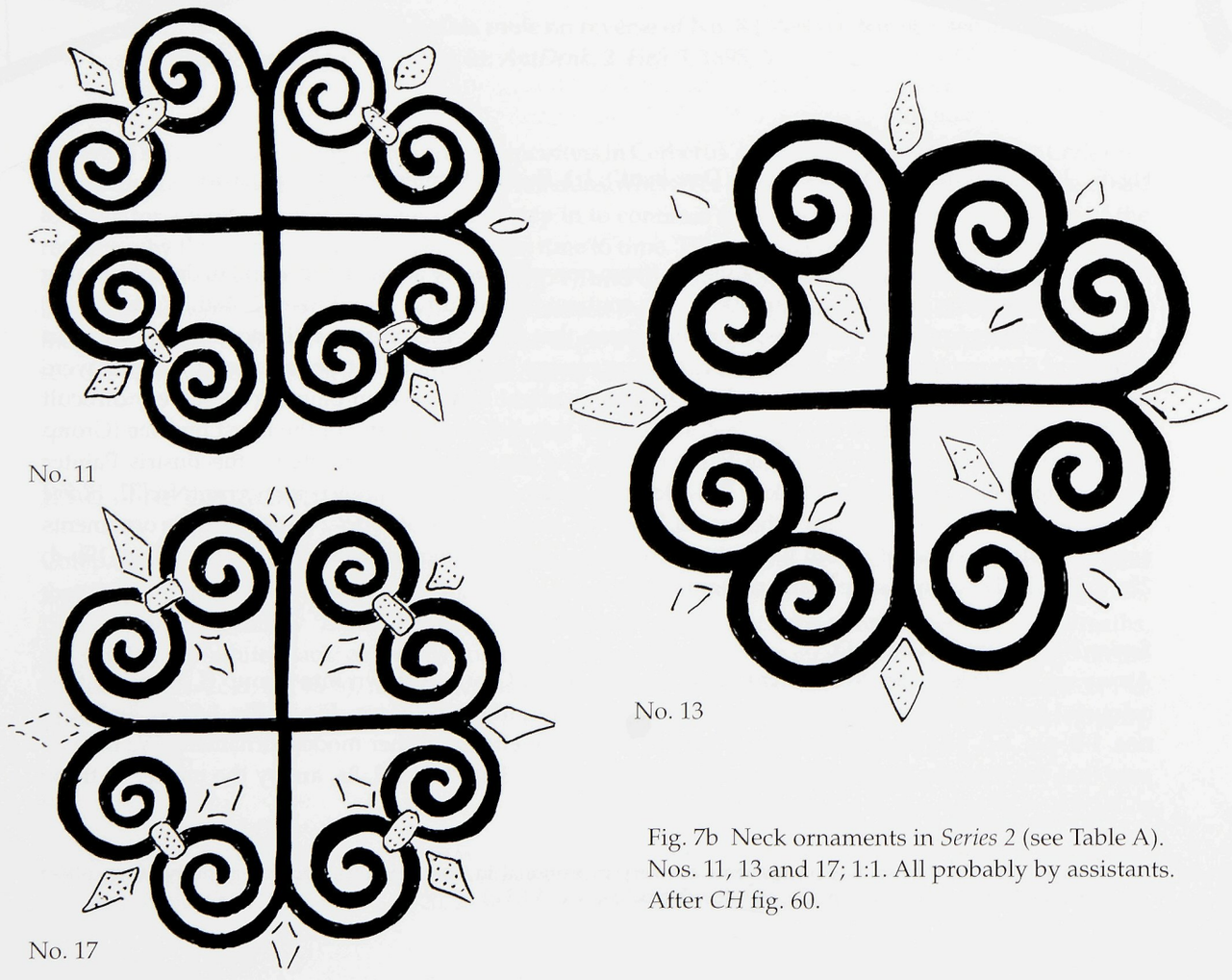

Fig. 7b Neck ornaments in *Series 2* (see Table A). Nos. 11, 13 and 17; 1:1. All probably by assistants. After *CH* fig. 60.

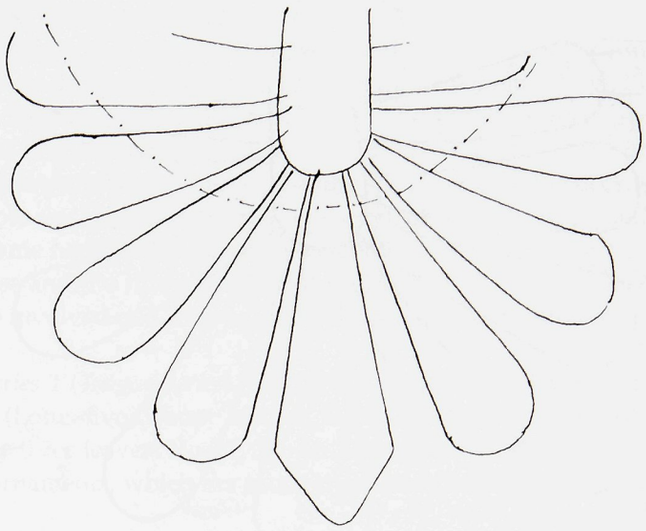

Fig. 8a. Handle palmette of No. 4 ('Louvre Cerberus'); 1:1. *Series 1*; see Pl. 2d. Drawn with templates by the Wind-blown Ivy Painter? After *CH* fig. 62b.

vases, the Eagle Painter (see *CH* 96) and so are those in Pls. 46d, 47a-b, Nos. 1, 3, 5.[39] On his later vases, Nos. 6-8, of the *Tongue Series*, his lotus-palmettes develop into the elegant ornaments with five leaves to each lotus, such as in Fig. 5 (No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot', now lost), and Pls. 4a-b, 21a (Nos. 7, 24, 'Louvre Centaurs' and 'Atalanta II'). These vases belong to Group B (the Lotus-five Group).

Different again are the early lotus-palmettes of No. 2, Fig. 6 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*, Busiris Painter; *CH* pls. 135b, 164b) and of No. 2*bis*, Fig. 13, Pls. 1a-b, 25a, 26e, 29a ('Caere Arimaspian II', with figures by the Eagle Painter); these lp.'s are by the Busiris Painter.[40] They are more complicated than those of Nos. 1, 3-5. Still, they are primitive compared to the exquisite later lp.'s which I attribute to this painter (*e.g.*, Pl. 7b-c, No. 25, *'Market Pholos'*; Pls. 10c-d, 11a, 'Athens Phokè; Pl. 14a, No. *31 bis*, 'ex-*New York Mule*'; Pl. 14c-d, No *33*, *'Louvre Deer-hunt'*; see also Pl. 47c, No. 27, 'Basle Centaurs').

The ornaments of the vases of *Series 2* (*Belly-ivy Series*) are totally unlike those of the other *Series*; all of them are from the hands of the assistants mentioned above. These poor craftsmen made their task easier by means of templates – unique in Greek pottery – , using them for ivy leaves, handle palmettes and tongues (Pls. 18b-c, 22a, f, 37c-d; *CH* 88-91, 96f., 105ff., 112f., 152). They painted two ivy wreaths on their vases, one around the lower belly and a second one on the shoulder: [41] see, for example, Pl. 18b-c, "Louvre Atalanta I' and *'Rome Cerberus'*; or Nos. 10, 18, 19 *minus*[42] (Pls. 22a, f, 37c-d). These ivy wreaths are all badly painted compared with the exquisite ivy wreaths of Group B (*e.g.*, Pls. 7d, 13a); they are shaky and uneven in spite of the use of templates for the leaves; the intertwined central branches are wobbly and sloppy (I call the painter of the ivy in Pl. 18b-c the 'Wind-blown Ivy Painter' or Wbl Painter: *CH* 91).[43] Indeed, a vase like No. 10 (Pls. 18b, 37d; 'Louvre Atalanta I') used to set me wondering how the Eagle Painter could allow his figure scenes to be spoiled by such hack work on rim, neck, shoulder, and belly; but later I understood that the ornaments had already been finished before the painter picked up the vase

[39] I shall not speak about the ornaments on the neck and rim of these vases, nor the palmettes of the vertical handles, nearly all of which are by the assistants (*CH* 99-112).

[40] The Busiris Painter gave five leaves to his lotuses right from the beginning: witness Nos. 2 and 2 *bis*, Fig. 13, Pl. 26e; and *CH* pls. 1, 164b. Note that his handle tongues are longer.

[41] In Group B there is only one, on the shoulder.

[42] On Nos. 14-16, *CH* 89, the bunches of berries are substituted by leaves: so-called 'double ivy' (CH 93, fig. 56, Pls. 15f, 16a, 131a-b).

[43] For the Wbl Painter (=Wind-Blown Ivy Painter) see *CH* 91, for the Pi Painter (= Pretty Ivy Painter) see *CH* 92 and for an intermediate hand the Pw Painter (Pretty-Windblown Painter) see *CH* 93. The ivies of *Series 2a* are by the Wbl Painter (*CH* 91); those of *Series 2b-c* are by the Pi Painter (*CH* 92) and perhaps a third assistant (*CH* 93, Pw painter). We shall not speak of them here, but it must be pointed out that the shoulder-ivies of Nos. 19 *minus* (Pl. 37c) and No. 20 (Pl. 39a; *CH* pl. 129b) are by the Wbl Painter and, therefore, form an anomaly in Group B and *Series 3a*.

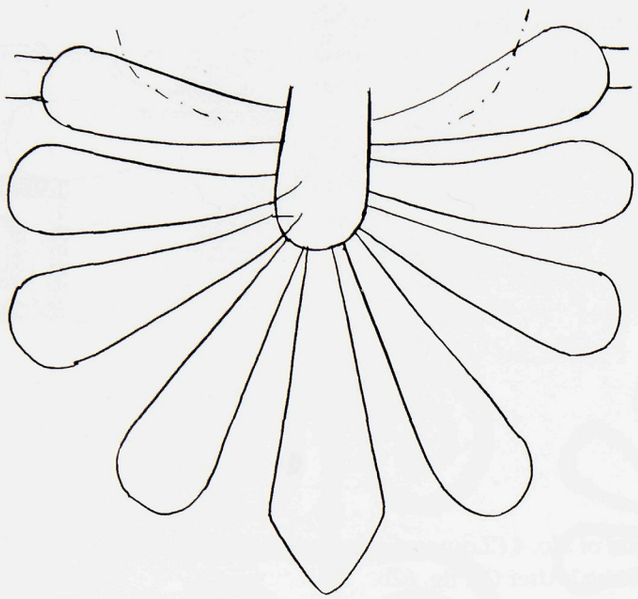

Fig. 8b. Handle palmette of No. 10; 1:1. *Series 2*; see Pls. 18b, 37d. Drawn with templates by the Wind-blown Ivy Painter? After *CH* fig. 62c (where misprinted: no. 5).

to draw the scenes. He must surely have been unhappy with it, for it is one of the hydriae of which not only the ornaments but also the shape went badly wrong.

In short, the masters often had to adopt their scenes to the space left by the painter of the ornaments; as a consequence the scene may be too low and crammed (*e.g.*, as we have seen, in Pl. 18c), or the figures elongated (*e.g.*, Pl. 1c, No. 3, 'Louvre Hermes', reverse). In other cases, however, the master probably drew the ornaments himself and so could prepare the space for his figure scenes (*e.g.*, Pl. 4b, No. 7, Eagle Painter).

On nearly all hydriae of *Series 1* and *2* the handle palmettes under the vertical handles are stiff and clumsy (Fig. 8a-b).[44] They are provided with a central leaf that is pointed (Pls. 2a, d, 18b; contrast Pls. 4b-c, 5b, 7a) and all were laid out with the help of templates (the traces of their use are clearly impressed into the surface: see Fig. 8a-b and compare Pl. 46d; *CH* 106-7, figs. 62-63).[45] Most of them are to be attributed to the assistants who were also allowed to paint the other ornaments of the *Belly-ivy Series* (Nos. 9-18). A test case for the co-operation on a single vase is No. *11*, Pl. 18c (*'Rome Cerberus'*; *CH* pls. 7c-d, 54), where the scenes are by the Busiris Painter, the ivies by my Wind-blown Ivy Painter and the maeander and spiral crosses very clearly by someone else, for they are too neat and well-drawn for the Wbl Painter (Wind-blown Ivy Painter); I have called him the Pretty-Windblown Ivy Painter (Pw Painter: *CH* 93).[46]

The vases of *Series 3* (*Lotus-ivy Series*) are the most mature, and often almost perfect (together with the Nos. 6-8 of *Series 1*, see below). There is a beautifully painted ivy on the shoulder (*CH* 93ff.) and a very delicate lotus-palmette round the lower belly (frontispiece, Pls. 6, 7, 10, 11a, 13a, 14a, c-d, etc.). Their neck ornaments (*CH* 99 ff.; *e.g.*, frontispiece, Pls. 7a-c, 10b-c, 11a, 14a, c-d, 34a-c) usually consist in a sophisticated string of mirrored lotuses, with eight-branched stars filling the round spaces between the neighbouring sets of flowers (*CH* 99, fig. 57; there may be three to four such elements on a neck, *e.g.*, *CH* pls. 103, 143f-g).

[44] I am speaking of Nos. 1-16 and 19 *minus*, but Nos. 17 and 18 are different (*CH* 105, Pls. 72b, 76); for 19 *minus*, which is an exception in this respect in Group B, see below, Ch. III.2. Isler 1994-7 wrongly believes that the chronological development of the hydriae can be inferred from these handle palmettes.

[45] In the figures 62 and 63 of *CH* 106-7 there are several confusing misprints. The reader is kindly asked to correct them: fig. 62c = no. 10 (not no. 5) and 62d = no. 5 (not no. 10); the same in fig. 63, where d = no. 11 (not no. 5) and c = no. 5 (not no. 11).

[46] The ivy on No. 17 is by this Pw Painter; see n. 43. The reader is asked to correct on *CH* 114 bottom line, the erroneous 'Wp painter' (read Pw Painter). See for the Pretty-ivy Painter (Pi Painter) n. 43 and *CH* 92.

Group A = Swastika-Spiral Group (*CH* 101-5): see Table A
Some of the swastika / maeander- and spiral-crosses used on necks of this Group are accurate, but most of them are wobbly and slack (see Fig. 7a-b and contrast the ornaments of *e.g.*, Pls 1c, 2c, 18b, d, 22a, with the neater ones of Pls. 18c, 22f; see *CH* 103, figs. 59-60). The slightly uneven spiral cross on the neck of No. 4, 'Louvre Cerberus', Pls. 2c, 18d, is primitive compared to the fine spirals under the palmettes in the lower belly frieze of the same vase; this proves that the spiral cross on the neck is by another hand, by an assistant. The spiral-cross and maeander-cross on the neck of Pls. 18b, 22a, 37d (No. 10, 'Louvre Atalanta I') are, I think, by the same hand, but the castellation motif on the rim seems particularly shaky; contrast the neat maeander-cross and the rim-maeander of Pl. 18c (No. *11*; '*Rome Cerberus*'). All this shows that there were more hands involved and that, as we have said, the vases often passed from hand to hand in the making.

Three hydriae of *Series 1* (*Tongue Series*), Nos. 6-8, have the well-developed lp.'s with five leaves to the lotuses of Group B (Lotus-five Group: Table A, Fig. 5, Pls. 4a-b). In Group A the lotus flowers by the Eagle Painter have only three leaves: Nos. 1, 3-5; see Pls. 2, 3a, 46d, 47a-b).[47] Nos. 6-8 have separate (not interconnected) neck ornaments, which are much more imaginative than in Group A, *e.g.*, Fig. 17, Pls. 4a-b, 48b-c).

The excellent lotus-palmettes (lp.'s) round the lower belly of Group B, Nos. 6-8, 19-*34* (frontispiece, Fig. 5, Pls. 4a-b, 6, 7a-c, 10, 14a, c-d, 47c) differ only a little but enough, as we shall see, to distinguish between the hands of the two masters. These ornaments must have been exceedingly difficult to draw and this, no doubt, is the cause why they are unique in Greek vase-painting (in fact they derive, not from a pottery tradition, but from architectural terracottas or marble friezes with lotus-palmettes; see Fig. 35, Pl. 46b; and below, Ch.VI.3.e).[48] Modern imitations of the hydriae either avoid the lp.'s or betray themselves by the clumsiness of their imitation. There is not the slightest doubt that, on our hydriae, they were designed and painted by the two masters, but who made which?

I.3.c The Busiris and Eagle Painters as ornament painters

It seems natural to assume that the lp.'s of the frontispiece, Fig. 5, and Pls. 7b-c, 31a (Nos. *25*, '*Market Pholos*', and 8, 'Berlin Chariot') were drawn by the painters of their figure scenes (the Busiris Painter and the Eagle Painter, respectively). If this is so, the lp. of Pl. 10c-d (No. 29, the hydria now called 'Athens Phokè') should also be by the Busiris Painter (but the figure scenes are by the Eagle Painter); the lp. frieze of No. *25*, the *Pholos* hydria (frontispiece; Pl. 7b-c) is exactly the same (though a little higher than that of No. 29, 'Athens Phokè': Pl. 10c-d): compare the fine springiness of the spirals and the wide spread of the thin-bladed flowers of the two. It would indeed be hard to believe that the two lp.'s are *not* by the same hand, the Busiris Painter (see also *CH* pl. 138a, c). If this is so, many more vases with figure scenes by the Eagle Painter follow (*e.g.*, Nos. 23, 26, 27, 29; Pls. 6c-d, 10c-d, 17a, 47c): in other words, the Eagle Painter, when starting to paint figure scenes, must often have picked up a hydria provided with ornaments by his admirable colleague, the Busiris Painter (I repeat: the figures scenes came last). Perhaps it is no wonder that an artist like the Busiris Painter, who prided himself on his technique (see the amazing myrtle wreath of Fig. 39, Pls. 15a and 18a, probably the most exquisite and natural ornament of Greek vases; *CH* 93), liked to paint these exceedingly difficult ornaments. Incidentally, this might explain why there are so few figure scenes by the Busiris Painter: all in all only ten,[49] as against some thirty[50] by his colleague – inclusive of the new items that are added to Table A in the present publication and which are to be

[47] The Busiris Painter gave five leaves to his lotuses right from the beginning: witness Nos. 2 and 2 *bis*; Figs. 6 and 13 and Pls. 1a-b, 28b, and also 24f, 25a; *CH* pls. 1, 164b.

[48] I have never understood how those perfect metal-like spirals were drawn. To plan the ornaments and to indicate the position of the elements, the painters sometimes drew lines here and there; the impression of these lines can still be seen, though the charcoal – or whatever was used – has, of course, burned away.

[49] They are: Nos. *2, 11, 21, 25, 31, 31 bis, 32-35*.

[50] No. 36 ('Munich Wrestlers') may, as we shall see, belong to the complex assemblage of fragments of No. 24 ('Atalanta II'); and now there is the fragmentary 'Rizzo hydria', No. 25 *bis* (see Ch. IV.2).

described below.[51] The lp.'s by the Eagle Painter are less adventurous, less sharp and more restrained; for example: those of No. 8 (Fig. 5; Pl. 31a), No. 24 (Fig. 9; Pl. 21a; 'Atalanta II'), No. 20 (Pl. 39a; 'Polyphemus I') and of No. 19 *minus*, (Pls. 36, 37a-b; 'Polyphemus II', see Ch. III.2).

Finally it may be remarked that the handle palmettes of Group B are excellent and well-painted, but difficult to distinguish as regards the hand of the painter, except unusual ones such as those of Nos. 30 and 34, which are by the Eagle and the Busiris Painter respectively (Pls. 39c and 15c; see *CH* 170). All the others are of the same type (Pls. 4b, 5b, 7a-b, etc.; *CH* 110-2), but there is one remarkable exception: the beautiful complex of spirals supporting two sphinxes on the reverse of No. 30, 'Louvre Odios', Pl. 39c.

I.3.d Conclusions and summary (see Table A on p. IX; *CH* 88-115)

The above description of the ornaments and the hands that painted them is, I agree, confusing, but, I am sure, not far from the truth.

On all vases of Group A (see Table A) nearly all the main ornaments show consistent traces of the use of templates and rulers (unique in Greek pottery; *CH* 88-89; see Fig. 8a-b); the only exceptions are No. 2 (by the Busiris Painter) and No. 2 *bis*, the ornaments of which were painted by the Busiris Painter (Figs. 6, 13-14; Pls. 1a, 28b).

One of the most striking elements are, as we have described above, the numerous, colourful tongues on the hydriae: they were difficult to draw and required good planning and accuracy. They may be very sturdy and long, for example on the shoulder of No. 7 (Pl. 4a-b, 'Louvre Centaurs') where they are more than 7 cm long (see tracing in *CH* 113, fig. 65). They vary in shape (*CH* pls. 1-18, especially pls. 14ff.): handle tongues vary from short and sturdy (Pls. 2b, 3a, 36c-d) to long and very slender (Pls. 6d, 7c, 8, 11a, 12, 15b-c, 34b-c). They have been discussed in great detail in *CH* 112-5; we shall not treat them here, but it seems likely that the Eagle Painter tended to paint shortish tongues. Neither shall we describe the handle palmettes (those in Group A are mostly clumsy, *e.g.*, Fig. 8a-b, Pls. 2a, d, 18b and even 36b; but in Group B they are fine: *e.g.*, Pls. 4b-c, 5b, 7a-b, 8b, 10b, d, etc.; see *CH* 105-12).[52] Also the ornaments of neck and lip of Group A (maeander-crosses and spiral-crosses; *e.g.*, Fig. 7, Pls. 1c, 2c, 18b-d, 22a, f), which present a very complex picture (*CH* 99-105, pls. 1-9), are only incidentally discussed here, as are the ornaments of the lips (*CH* 105; but see the delicate and the crude lip-patterns of the frontispiece and Pl. 18b). Now for the other ornaments:

Series 1 (Tongue Series); Table A, Nos. 1-8
The lp.'s. of Nos. 1, 3-8, are by the Eagle Painter (*e.g.*, the lp.'s of Fig. 5, Pls. 1c, 2, 3a, 4a-b, 46d, 47a-b, and of *CH* pls. 135-6); those of Nos. 2 and 2 *bis* are by the Busiris Painter (Figs. 6, 13; Pls. 25a, 26e, 29a).

Series 2 (Belly-ivy Series); Table A, Nos. 9-18
The ivies are by two or more assistants, for example: those of Pls. 18b-c, 19b-c, 22a, f (see *CH* 88-93; the ivies of *CH* pls. 15-16c, 128-31). Rather unexpectedly, the decorator of *Series 2a*, the Wind-blown Ivy (Wbl) Painter, also drew the ivies on the shoulders of two vases of *Series 3a*: *viz.* the ivy (and the neck ornaments and handle palmette) of No. 19 *minus*, 'Polyphemus II' (Pl. 36, 37b; see Ch. III.2) and the ivy of No. 20, 'Polyphemus I' (Pl. 39a; *CH* 96, pls. 16e, 129b, 161a).[53]

[51] Besides, the Busiris Painter may have worked at the wheel from time to time, as we shall see in Ch. V.5 and VI.4.

[52] Not, however, of No. 19 *minus* (Pl. 37b; 'Polyphemus II'), which is by the Wbl Painter and made with a template (see Ch. III.2). I quote *CH* 105 about the palmettes of the vertical handles: "As a rule they were not painted by the painter of the figure scenes. In Group A all palmettes (except on Nos. 2 and 2 *bis*) are by assistants who worked with templates (*CH* pls. 144, 145a-b). In Group B the palmettes of the vertical handles were painted freehand though often not by the painter who drew the figure scenes". *CH* 110: "The palmettes of *Series 1* and *2a* may have been painted by the Wbl painter, who also drew the clumsy ivies of *Series 2a*; this would explain the hideous palmettes of Nos. 3 and 4 (*CH* pl. 2c-d) and similar failures. The seven-leaved palmettes of the other vases (Nos. 13-16; *CH* 106, figs. 62-63) are due to another assistant, possibly the Pi Painter who drew the ivies and neck ornaments of many vases of the *Series 2b* and *2c*. The special palmettes of Nos. 17 and 18 (*CH* pl. 145a-b) are due to influence of Group B and indicate that the two vases are late in *Series 2*".

[53] In this respect Nos. 20 and 19 *minus* form an exception and do not entirely belong to *Series 3a* nor Group B.

Series 3a (Lotus-ivy Series); Table A, Nos. 19-*21*
Most of the ornaments of these hydriae are by the Eagle Painter (*CH* 96; nos. 19-*21*, pls. 10-11b), but not, as we have seen, the ivies of Nos. 19 *minus* and 20 (which are by the Wbl Painter: Pls. 37c, 39a).[54] The lp.'s of these two vases are, however, by the Eagle Painter, just as those of the other vases of this *Series*, Nos. 19-*21*: see Pls. 6a, 37b, 39a. The unique lotus-bud frieze of No. 19 (Pl. 5a-b, 'Amsterdam Horse-tamer') is also by the Eagle Painter, as appears from the flowers.

Series 3c (Lotus-ivy Series); Table A, Nos. 26-*34*
Both the ivies and the lp.'s of these vases are by the Busiris Painter:[55] *e.g.*, frontispiece, Pls. 7, 10, 13a, 14a, c-d, 17a-b (and, *e.g.*, *CH* 93, pls. 133b-d, 134, 138, 139a-b). Incidentally the lp.'s of the early hydriae Nos. 2 and 2 bis (Figs. 6, 13; Pl. 26e) are also by the Busiris Painter. The extraordinary handle ornament of No. 30 ('Louvre Odios': Pl. 39c), with spickled swans' necks and heads and two fine sphinxes sitting on the outer volutes, is by the Eagle Painter (thoroughly discussed in *CH* 170). It is clearly derived from Fikellura handle ornaments, such as a vase from Berezan (*Samos* VI.1 no. 639, pl. 87 and fig. 126 on p. 59) where, instead of a sphinx, a winged wolf-man with a sword climbs upwards, apparently 'attacking' the place where the handle was once attached.

All this seems relatively simple (see *CH* 89-99) but with *Series 3b* we come into difficulties.

Series 3b (Lotus-ivy Series); Table A, Nos. 22-25 bis
In this *Series 3b* it is no longer possible with any certainty to distinguish the hands that painted the ornaments. To avoid a fatiguing and complicated argumentation, we may summarize the possibilities as follows. The figure scenes of Nos. 22-24 and 25 *bis* (Pls. 6b-d, 7a, 17e, 21a, 23a, 41b-c) are by the Eagle Painter and so are the ornaments of Nos. 24 (Pl. 21) and 25 *bis* (Pl. 40d-e), both the ivies on the shoulders and the lp.'s round the lower bellies.[56] On the other hand, the lp.'s of Nos. 22 and 23 (Pl. 6b-d; *CH* pl. 137c-d) are doubtful and more likely to be by the Busiris Painter. The figure scene on No. *25* (*'Pholos'*: frontispiece, Pls. 8-9) is by the Busiris Painter, and so are, I assume, all ornaments of that hydria (frontispiece, Pls. 7b, d, 8-9), though there is, as we shall see, some doubt about its ivy.

The attribution of the lp. of No. 24 is clear (see Fig. 9, Pl. 21a-b). Above, I have described the lp.'s of the Eagle Painter as less extravagant and more restrained than those of the Busiris Painter; and surely this lp. must be attributed to the Eagle Painter for it differs from the flowers of No. *25* (frontispiece, Pl. 7b-c, *'Pholos'*; *CH* pl. 138a), the petals of which are more strenuously spreading and more sharp, more 'metallic', very like those of the vases Nos. 26-*33* (*Series 3c*; Pls. 10, 11a, 14a, c-d, 17a-b, 47c; *CH* pls. 138-9, all, without any doubt, painted by the Busiris Painter; see also *CH* 99).

Let us look more narrowly at the shoulders of Nos. 22-25 *bis*. These five hydriae have been collected in *Series 3b* because of the particular form of their ivy wreaths (Pls. 6c-d, 7d, 21b, 40d; *CH* 93-96, pls. 132c-d, 133a): their bunches of berries are, as it were, 'hand-shaped' with five 'fingers ', in contrast to those of *Series 3c*.[57] At first I was convinced that the shoulders of these hydriae were all by one and the same hand, that of the Eagle Painter. The problem was, however, to decide whether the ivy-frieze of No. *25* (Busiris Painter: Pl. 7d) does indeed belong to this cluster and is to be attributed to the Eagle Painter. This now seems doubtful to me: a comparison of this ivy of No. *25* (Pl. 7d; *CH* pl. 133a), with the ivies of the hydriae of *Series 3c* (Pl. 13a; *CH* pls. 133-4, all of which are by the Busiris Painter), shows that, except for the bunches of berries, it is not easy to distinguish between the hands of these ivy wreaths or to separate No. *25* in this respect from those of *Series 3c*.[58]

But let us return to the vases that can be judged with greater certainty: here we do find, as we have seen, unquestionable cases of co-operation. Let us first take No. 19 *minus*, 'Polyphemus II', the wonderful

[54] The sturdy ivies by the Eagle Painter of Nos. 19 and 21 can be compared to the cruder one by the Wbl painter on *CH* pls. 16d-f ,160b-161a.

[55] Not the ornaments of No. 30: Pl. 39c (but its ivy is by the Busiris Painter).

[56] In *CH* 40-4, 99, I attributed all the ornaments of Nos. 22-24 to the Busiris Painter; wrongly, I believe now, though the lp.'s of Nos. 22 and 23 (*CH* pls. 137c-d) cannot easily be separated from those by the Busiris Painter, *CH* pls. 138-9.

[57] These are like dot-rosettes with a central dot, *e.g.*, Pl. 13a.

[58] In *CH* 42, 96, I mistakenly concluded that the ivies of all the hydriae of *Series 3b* might be by the Busiris Painter, because of their likeness to that of No. *25*; however, the leaves of No. *25* are definitely less elongated, a little 'fatter' than those of the other vases of *Series 3b*.

vase that was in the collection of Shelby White in New York but has now been returned to Italy (Pls. 36, 37a-c; see Ch. III.2): its neck, shoulder and handle palmette were, as we have noted above, painted by helpmates (who worked for Group A, the Swastika-Spiral Group), but the lower part of the vase, its lp. and figure frieze, are by the Eagle Painter (and possibly also its very short handle tongues).

Further, as has been pointed out above, both the ivy and the lp. frieze of No. *21*, which belongs to *Series 3a* (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*; Pls. 3c, 6a, 19a), are by the Eagle Painter though the figure scenes are by his colleague, the Busiris Painter, who also painted the neck of this vase (Pl. 48a; see Pl. 19a), where the style of painting is typically his, as appears from the quick handling of the brush without incisions, more like free painting than drawing. This means that this hydria is another very close co-production of the two painters:[59] the Eagle Painter provided the friezes of shoulder and lower belly with his particular ivy and lp., while the Busiris Painter painted the two figure scenes and decorated the neck. As for the beautiful cable on the rim (Pls. 6a, 19a; *CH* 104, fig. 61, pl. 83): it is worthy of both painters though I would like to believe that it is by the Busiris Painter.[60]

The same 'handwriting' attributable to the Busiris Painter, is seen on the neck of No. 6, Pl. 48b-c, a vase otherwise decorated by the Eagle Painter ('Caere Chariot': *CH* pl. 141a-c); note that here we find a particular favourite of the Busiris Painter's, the East Greek ear ornament, unknown to the Eagle Painter: see *CH* 98, fig. 57d[61] (and *CH* 172-3).

In *CH* 66 I wrote: *"Simplex sigillum veri*: so far as the reconstruction of historical reality is concerned, this adage is, I think, the opposite of true". In the foregoing, I have, on purpose, omitted some elements of the decoration of the hydriae. Yet, I have gone as far as I can in an attempt to distinguish between the hands that painted the ornaments. This has sometimes proved, I admit, a *labor improbus*, but it seems to me that it has demonstrated how easily and frequently the masters and their pupils handed the vases to one another during painting.

59 For the handle palmette of No. *21*, see *CH* 112, where it is assigned to the Eagle Painter (in the present study I have hardly spoken of the handle palmettes).

60 In *CH* 114 the rather short tongues of No. *21* are attributed to the Eagle Painter.

61 In *CH* fig. 57d, no. 26, should be corrected into no. 6.

II UNPUBLISHED OR INSUFFICIENTLY PUBLISHED HYDRIAE AND FRAGMENTS

II.1 No. 17 *bis*. 'Nessus IV' (B: sphinxes)

Pls. 3d, 19b-d. Group A, *Series 2c (Belly-ivy Series).*
Whereabouts unknown. *Unpublished. Painters*: Eagle Painter; ivy by "Pw Painter" (same painter as of the ivy of No. 18: Pl. 22f).[62]

I have not seen these fragments. Photographs came into my possession some 30 years ago. Since then they have, to my knowledge, not been mentioned.[63] The photos are very bad: I have pencilled some details in Pl. 19c-d.

Preservation. The surface seems well-preserved, the paint partly lost; some white and red is seen on the handle tongues, on the base rays and on the drapery. Preserved are: twelve fragments with both horizontal handles, parts of the belly-ivy frieze and rays below; further, on the obverse, the lower part of two walking men (Pl. 19b; pencilled in Pl. 19c-d); and of the reverse, the curved tails of two sphinxes (Pls. 3d, 19d).

Description. The fragments form four sets. From left to right:
1) Two fragments with parts of belly ivy and base-rays.
2) Five fragments: painted with base-rays and with ivy with five bunches of berries and ivy leaves. Above this, the left-hand horizontal handle with tongues of medium length and well-preserved colours (white and red).[64] Under the handle the curving tail of a sphinx to left (once facing the vertical handle).
3) Two fragments with belly-ivy; Pl. 19b, pencilled in Pl. 19c and d (four bunches of berries and three leaves) above three rays. Above: lower part of two men to right.
4) Three fragments with right-hand handle with tongues and, under it, the curving tail of a sphinx to right. Below: leaf and a bunch of berries.

Comment
The figure scene was a replica of that on No. 17 ('Louvre Nessus': Pl. 20a) with Heracles rescuing Deianira who flees towards him; her old father Oineus follows Heracles with great steps and Nessus tries to escape to right, looking round. On our fragments no. 3 we have the lower part of Oineus and Heracles striding to right: Pl. 19b-d). Oineus is in a long chiton with a himation over it and Heracles wears a short chiton. Oineus' chiton and the hem of his himation are red and so is the short chiton of Heracles (like the figures on No. 17: Pl 20a). The tails of the sphinxes show that they were sitting and similar to those of No. 17 (with their beautifully swinging tails: *CH* pl. 74c-d, p. 118).

In Table A the vase belongs between Nos. 17 and 18, as No. 17 *bis*. The scene seems very like that of No. 17 ('Louvre Nessus': Pl. 20a), but the feet of the two men are on the ground (like those of No 16, 'Rome Nessus': *CH* pl. 70c-d) and the skirt of Oineus hangs down in a curve (also like that of No. 16).

The ivy wreath is by the same hand as that on shoulder and belly of No. 18 ('New York Bull': Pl. 22f; *CH* pl. 75; compare also the shoulder of No. 17, *CH* 93, pl. 130b): the painting of the bunches of berries started with a thick dot at the end of the twig, serving as the centre for the rosette of berries. The painter liked bunches with many berries: up to ten. The leaves are, as it were, blown about by a breeze, but the rosettes are on short stiff twigs. The wreath is directed towards the left and its central branches are uneven, with small and larger loops. The assistant who painted them was somewhere in between the Pi and the Wbl Painters, the Pretty-windblown Painter (see notes 43 and 62; also *CH* 91-93).

As is typical of *Series 2* the base rays are red-white-black and do not touch the lower borderline of the ivy frieze (see Pls. 18b-c, 22f).

[62] See above, n. 43, and *CH* 93, pl. 75: the Pretty-windblown Painter, a painter somewhere in between the Wbl (Windblown Ivy) Painter and the Pi (Pretty ivy) Painter (see *CH* 91-92).
[63] For fragments that have disappeared, see *CH* 57, no. 39.
[64] I expect that at closer examination it will appear that templates were used in the ivy and the tongues.

Fig. 9. Lotus-palmette of No. 24 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II'); 1:1 (see Pl. 21a). Tracing.

Conclusion

This hydria adds nothing to our knowledge of the oeuvre, except that it provides us with the fourth(!) picture of the Nessus story (Nos. 16, 17, 17*bis* and the reverse of No. 20; all by the Eagle Painter). Repetition of myths is common on the hydriae: Europa, Hephaestus, Arimaspian, Cerberus, Polyphemus, and perhaps Pholos (see the 'Rizzo hydria' in Ch. IV.2). The present fragments show that perhaps all figure scenes of the hydriae were painted over and over again (*CH* 83, 125-9); even the very unfamiliar ones such as those of Nos. 3, 8, 29, 30, *31bis* and possibly also the wonderful Busiris scene of No. *34* (Pls. 15-16).

II.2 No. 24. 'Munich / Louvre Atalanta II' (B: Nemean lion and wrestlers?)[65]

Figs. 9-11; Pls. 17c, 20b-d, 21, 23, 24b-e. Group B, *Series 3b.*

Whereabouts. This fragmentary hydria consists of *disiecta membra* in Munich and Paris: Munich 9466, Louvre AM 1364 and Cp 10229. *Publication*: F. W. Hamdorf, *MüJb* 43, 1992, 194-195. The ivy wreath was published in K. Vierneisel and B. Kaeser, *Kunst der Schale. Kultur des Trinkens*, Munich 1990, fig. 56. See also *CH II* n. 5. *Painter*: Eagle Painter (also the ornaments).

Identification. That the Munich and Louvre fragments belong together was discovered by F. W. Hamdorf and was suggested by a number of unusual ivy leaves with three, instead of one, tip (Fig. 10; Pl. 21b): so far such leaves occurred only on No. 37 ('Louvre Hoplites Hunting': Pl. 21a, centre on fragment *b*; *CH* pl. 126d); all other ivy leaves on the hydriae are heart-shaped.

Explanation of the fragments.

Obverse (see photomontage Pl. 21a-b). Fragment *a* and *c* (Pl. 21a-b): Munich, Antikensammlung 9466 ('Atalanta II'), acquired from a private collection; *c* = Atalanta; *a* = the boar. Fragment *b* (see Pl. 20c) is Louvre, AM 1364 (No. 37, 'Louvre Hoplites Hunting').

[65] I am thankful to the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research for a grant to study these fragments in the Antiken Sammlungen in Munich.

Fig. 10. Ivy of No. 24 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II'); 1:1 (see Pl. 21b). Tracing.

Reverse (see photomontage Pl. 23a). Fragment *d* (Pl. 23b) is Louvre, Cp 10229 (this is the original No. 24: *CH* 41, 'Louvre Nemean lion'). Fragment *e* (Pl. 23a) is Munich 9466 and fits against fragment *d*: on it is the muzzle of the lion, the back of Heracles. Perhaps fragment *f* (Pl. 23c) belongs to Munich 6095 (No. 36, 'Munich Wrestlers').[66]

Preservation. About twenty fragments forming three sizeable parts of a Caeretan hydria with most of the figure scenes and ornaments, bits of the shoulder and belly, and sections of the horizontal handles. Lost: neck, vertical handle and foot.

Surface and clay paint well-preserved, but much of the black badly oxidized, especially on the right-hand part of the vase: some leaves in the ivy have turned reddish, Pl. 21b, and so has Atalanta's hair (originally black: Pls. 20d, 21a). Also the 'black' of the tongues of the handle behind her are oxidized (Pl. 21a): their black borders are now red-brown, but in the cores of the tongues, where the black was covered by red or white, the black 'paint' could not oxidize and so remained a deep black.

Technique. In the core of the fragments the clay is dark: apparently the oxygen did not reach the core during the last stage of the firing. The painter spilled two drops of paint inside the pot (which have oxidized). For once we can study the inside of a hydria with its heavy, wide wheel grooves,[67] both in the fragments in Munich and in those of the Louvre (especially fragment *d* with the Nemean Lion: Pl. 24e).

Next to the attachment of the vertical handle there are puzzling traces of a repair made before the painting started (Pl. 24c-d). For a discussion of this ancient repair see the *appendix* below.

Shape. There is a strong bend between the belly and the shoulder (Pls. 20b, 21a-b, 24e), which was flattish, like that of No. *33* (*'Louvre Deer-hunt'*: Pl. 14c-d). The vertical handle has broken off. Judging from what remains, it seems to have been 'hollow' (Pl. 24b), not composed of two strips of clay laid on top of each other, as is usual (see Pls. 1a-b, 7c, 11a, 25c; *CH* 64), but 'hollow', like the handles of Nos. 20 and *21* ('Rome Polyphemus I' and *'Rome Alcyoneus'*: *CH* 74 , pls. 10c, 11a).

[66] There is also a sherd in Munich with remains of five tongues of a horizontal handle; see below: Ch. II.8, Fig. 26, Pl. 33b-c.

[67] Below, these grooves are almost 2 cm wide but less above. Above the foot the wall is very thick (1 cm) but diminishes upwards; at the top of the rays, 0.6-0.7 cm; about the middle of the lotus-palmette, 0.8-0.9 cm (inclusive of the ridge of the throwing grooves). Then 0.5 cm in the figure frieze (here the grooves become shallower); the bend to the shoulder is sharp. Here, at the level of the upper border line the thickness is only 0.5 cm; but in the shoulder, near the base of the neck, it is again: 0.8 cm.

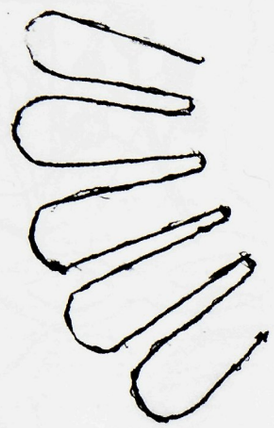

Fig. 11. Tongues of right-hand horizontal handle of No. 24 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II'); 1:1 (belonging to attachment of missing handle on the right, where handle is broken off: see Pl. 21a). Tracing.

As for the fragment *f* with the wrestlers in Munich 853, inv. 6095 (No. 36: Pl. 23c), which, Hamdorf suggests, may also belong: the bend at its shoulder seems less sharp and the attribution is doubtful (see below).

Measurements (exclusive of the frieze lines), to be added to *CH* 5-6, Table B.

Preserved height 30 cm (Pl. 21a). Height of hydria estimated at ca. 42 cm; width without handles at ca. 33-34 cm.[68] Frieze lines (Pl. 21a-b): thickness of upper one 0.4 cm; of middle one 0.5-0.7 cm; of frieze line above spikes 0.8 cm. Thickness of fragments in Munich 0.6-0.8 cm (but there are thicker places, see n. 67); the thickness of fragment *d* ('Louvre Nemean Lion': Pl. 23a; *CH* 41) = 0.9 cm in the lower frieze; 0.7 cm in the figure frieze, and 0.55 cm in the curve to the shoulder. Shoulder frieze: width more than 9 cm (Pl. 21b). Figure scene: height 11.3-11.9 cm (near Atalanta: Pl. 21a). Lotus-palmette: 9.1-9.3 cm (Fig. 9; Pl. 21a). Palmette of vert. handle: height 7.3 cm, width more than 8 cm (Pl. 23a).

The ornaments. Preserved are thirteen outer leaves and four leaves on the inside of the ivy wreath on the shoulder (Fig. 10; Pl. 21b); many of the tongues round the attachments of the horizontal handles (Pls. 21a-b, 23a); nearly half the palmette under the vertical handle (Pl. 23a), and bits of four lotus flowers and four palmettes of the lotus-palmette frieze (Pl. 21a-b); finally, four rays under the lotus-palmette frieze and, on a separate fragment of two joining sherds (Pl. 21a), bits of three more.

Number of elements of the ornaments. Tongues of hor. handles (*CH* 111, Table H): 22-23 (maximum width 0.9 cm). *Ivy* (Fig. 10; Pl. 21b; *CH* 92, Table D): outside central branch 12 leaves preserved (the original number may have been 17). *Lotus-palmette* (Fig. 9; Pl. 21a-b; *CH* 94-95, Table E); originally there were eight elements of each. *Palmette of vertical handle* (Pl. 23a; *CH* 108, Table G): 7 leaves (4 white, 3 red) hanging from a loop (but separated from it by reservation). *Rays at base*: ca. 17, red and black (Pl. 21a; *CH* 111, Table H).

Comment on the ornaments

The ornaments of the vase are close to those of No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra', Pls. 6c-d, 7a; *CH* pls. 88a, 91a, 132d, 137d; *CH II* fig. 18. The tongues (Fig. 11; Pl. 21a-b) are slender and longish, close together. In one place, at the back of the right-hand handle, two tongues make room for the tip of an ivy leaf (on the right in Pl. 21b, as on No. 23; *CH* pl. 132d), at the other handle they touch and overlap the tips of leaves (Pl. 21b). The ivy (Fig. 10; Pl. 21b) is from the same hand as that on Nos. 22 and 23 ('Louvre She-wolf' and 'Malibu Hydra': *CH* pl. 132c-d), but some leaves have three tips, instead of one (two leaves in Fig. 10, Pl. 21b, and one above the hunter of No. 37, on the right, sherd *b* in Pl. 20b; *CH* pl. 126d).[69] The ivy wreaths are, as we have seen in Ch. I.3.d, typical of *Series 3b*, Nos. 22-25: the bunches of berries are more or less hand-shaped, on stiff twigs, and the leaves more elongated than usual and more perpendicular to the borderline.

[68] The measurements given in Hamdorf 1992, 194, are not all quite accurate.

[69] The loops formed by the central intertwined branches are slightly bigger than those of No. 22 and even of No. 23, which, themselves, are (*CH* 93-96, pls. 132-3) a little coarser than those of Nos. 26ff.

Here, on No. 24, the leaves on the outside of the central branch are a little slenderer and more pointed than on the others and very close together; sometimes the berries touch the leaves (Pl. 21b); therefore, the number of leaves outside the central branch may have been higher than on all other vases: 17. [70]

Lotus-Palmette (Fig. 9; Pl. 21a; see *CH* 94-95, Table E, pls. 137c-d, 138a).

Colours. Central leaves of flowers red, the two flanking inner petals white (on solid black), calyx white. (The black of some flowers now seems red by oxidization). Three of the seven leaves of the palmettes red (the others black). Hearts of palmettes probably once white on solid black (judging by the parallels, white lost); spikes under lotuses red on solid black. The style of the lp. is similar to that of No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra': Pls. 6c-d, 7a; *CH* pl. 137d) and all but identical with that of No. 7 ('Louvre Centaurs': Pl. 4a-b; *CH* pl. 136c). Originally eight lotuses and eight palmettes. Much reservation used to separate the elements: inner leaves from outer petals of lotuses; the upper ends of the spiral-twigs from each other; to separate these from the toruses under the flowers (see Table E, *CH* 94-95); the spikes (or rays) under the flowers are also separated from the spirals. The spirals do not touch.

The *palmette of the vertical handle* (Pl. 23a) is similar to that of No. 23 (Pl. 7a, the seven leaves separated from the loop by reservation), but here three leaves are red and four white.

The number of the *rays* (Pl. 21a; *CH* 111, Table H) must have been normal (15-17), coloured red and black. They are large and broad like those of No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra': Pls. 6c-d, 7a).

Figure scenes (Pls. 20b-d, 21, 23a-b)

Much preliminary sketching. Much contour incision. Much oxidization (except the left part of the obverse: Pl. 20b). Great parts of the representations are preserved, as follows. The main scene, depicting the Calydonian boar-hunt, is found on fragments *a*-*c* (Pls. 17c, 20b, 21). On the left half of the reverse Heracles is fighting the Nemean lion (fragments *d* and *e*: Pl. 23a-b). Hamdorf has suggested that the wrestling bout of fragment *f* may have belonged to the right of the vertical handle (Pl. 23c).

Obverse.

Fragment *a* (left-hand parts of Pls. 20b and 21a).

Preserved are part of the Calydonian boar, two halves of a dog above and below it (Pl. 21c-d), end of a spear and tiny part of the edge of the shield of the hunter of fragment *b* (Pl. 20b).[71] Boar to right (Pls. 20b, 21a-b), part of tail and forelegs with muzzle missing. Sharp contour incisions and much preliminary sketching, especially in hind legs and in the eye (invisible on photos). Its head lowered, the boar is depicted as suddenly halted in its onslaught by the collision with a dog which it has split into two parts, one flying through the air above (Pl. 21d), the other upside down under its belly (Pl. 21c). The end of the hunter's spear penetrating the boar's neck on the off side is just visible (for the whole spear see photomontage with fragment *b*: Pl. 20b). The boar's wide eye with rolling pupil expresses its fury and pain (Pl. 20b). Both hind legs are close together, but preliminary sketch lines (impressed in the surface) show that the painter planned the left hind leg further forward, just as that of the boar on the reverse of No. 15 ('Copenhagen Sacrifice': Pl. 22d).

So far we knew of only four boars on the hydriae, three by the Eagle Painter (Nos. 10, 15: Pl. 22b, d; and the shield device on No. 1: Pl. 39b; *CH* 124, pl. 22b) and one by the Busiris painter (No. 34: Fig. 39, Pl. 16a; *CH* pl. 124a; *CH II* fig. 12). Our boar is clearly more developed than its counterpart on No. 10 ('Louvre Atalanta I': Pl. 22b), where only two legs are shown (the legs on the off side hidden by those on the near side). Our boar is very like that of No. 15 (Pl. 22d). On Pl. 20b we see the same delicate rendering of the split hooves. Though the end of the tail is more stiffly plaited, the differences are slight: our boar has hairs on the ear (Pl. 20b), but no eyebrows nor bristles along the jaw (Pl. 22d); instead, there are neck folds (Pl. 20b) and there is consistent contour incision (less on Pl. 22d). The inner details are simpler and the beast's belly is softer and less muscular: the boar of No. 15, pawing the ground with fury, seems more formidable and also more developed and, therefore, later (Pl. 22d) .

The scene is a replica of that of No. 10 ('Louvre Atalanta I': Pl. 22a), which in all respects is simpler and more naive. On our hydria the two halves of the dog are only partly preserved: the front part

[70] The highest numbers are those of Nos. 21-23: 15, 14 and 15 leaves on the outside of the central branch; *CH* 92, Table D (see also No. 19: Pl. 5, which may have had 15).

[71] The ornaments on *a* are (Pl. 21a-b): tongues of both attachments of left-hand horzontal handle, and a long stretch of shoulder ivy (six leaves on the outside of the central branch and five bunches). Below: part of the lotus-palmette (one flower and two palmettes). Finally, three rays at the base.

(Pl. 21c) is just hitting the ground upside down under the boar (Pl. 20b), but most of its head is lost (the ear remains, partly incised on the border line). The tail of the hind part (Pl. 21d) is seen on fragment *b*, Pl. 20b. The position of the two parts of the dog on Atalanta I (Pl. 22b) is reversed and the intestines that are protruding from both halves of the dog on No. 10, seem to be lacking in the part under our boar's belly (Pl. 21c). Those of the hind part (Pl. 21d) are incised and red.

Colours. Boar (Pl. 20b). Red: hooves with 'thumbs', scrotum (partly visible behind buttocks), tail and crest. Both halves of the dog are also red (Pl. 21c-d). One expects white details (the eyeball, for example, which does seem to have been white).[72] Note that there are many traces of white details in the ornaments (Pls. 21a-b, 23a).

Fragment *b* (Pls. 20b-c, 21a).

This is No. 37 ('Louvre Hoplites Hunting'; *CH* 57, pl. 126d); it joins *a* and preserves the upper part of two hunters.[73] To left (Pl. 20b) we see the tail of the dog on *a*.[74] The older hunter is a bearded hoplite (Pl. 20c) and the face of the second one is that of a youth. Such a pair of an old and a young hunter, a father and a son, so to speak, is found more often on the hydriae: No. *31 bis*, ('ex-*New York Mule*': Pl. 14a) and No. 22 ('Louvre She-wolf': Pl. 6b). The 'father' (Pl. 20b-c; *CH* pl. 126c) wears a metal corselet with a hoplite shield and is spearing the boar (the end of his spear and the edge of his shield are seen on fragment *a*: Pls. 20b, 21b). Note that, as is common with the Eagle Painter (who positively disliked back views: see *CH* 132, 150), the volutes on the front of the corselet are depicted on his back (Pl. 20c, under his neck guard!).[75] Between the breast-spirals there is a small pendant palmette and, above, a drop-shaped ornament (compare Nos. 1 and 7: *CH* pls. 21, 22, 44b). He brandishes his spear with his right hand. His wide-open eye with rolling pupil denotes utter tension (Pl. 20c). His moustache is a mere incision: such gentleman-like moustaches are not unusual and even found on Heracles (No. 23, 'Malibu Hydra': Pl. 6c; *CH* pl. 90b) and a very thin one is seen on Apollo of No. 12, 'Louvre Tityos' (*CH* 24, fig. 12b, pl. 57e; contrast Heracles' heavy moustache in Pl. 23b).[76] The hair of both hunters is without separate locks (see *CH* 133, hair style 1).

The youth (Pl. 20b, far right; *CH* pl. 126c) holds his spear with both hands (his left hand just visible under the armpit of his older comrade; Pl. 20c; see *CH* n. 306). It may seem curious that they are in hoplite's armour, but the boar of No. 15, Pl. 22d, is attacked in a similar way by a sturdy (white-skinned) youth[77] with a sword and a shield (*CH* pl. 69a). Even Heracles (*CH* 141-2) may be equipped as a soldier: on No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra': Pl. 6c) he smashes Hydra's heads with a club in the battle dress of a hoplite (Heracles in corselet is not rare; see *CH* n. 284). Even more surprising are the small clubs in the hands of the harmless-looking youths with half-long skirts in Pl. 22a-c (No. 10, 'Louvre Atalanta I').

Colours and technique. The metal corselet of the elder hunter was white, his hair is red. Consistent contour incision.

Fragment *c*

Munich 9466 (Pls. 17c, 20d, 21a).

This big fragment is composed of several parts; it is badly oxidized, all black is now brownish-red.[78] Atalanta is attacking to left with great speed and very wide steps. Just in front of her face we see the right elbow of the youthful hunter on fragment *b* (Pls. 17c, 20b, d, 21a) and the end of his spear. Atalanta is pulling the string of her bow far backwards, holding the arrow and the string between bent fingers and thumb (Pl. 20d, index and thumb nail well-indicated). Her right elbow is lifted high up, like those of most other bowmen of the Eagle Painter (No. 12, and less so, No. 20: *CH* pls. 57a, d-e, 82a).[79] Her heavy-nosed

72 When colours are well-preserved, the eyeballs of animals and monsters are white: see No. 29, 'Athens Phokè', Pls. 10c, 11b-c, 12a.

73 And small part of the ivy frieze with an ivy leaf with three tips.

74 Because of the absence of hairs on the tail I failed to recognize it as a dog's tail, though Callipolitis had already suggested, that the figures of fragment *b* were engaged in fighting a boar and that the dog perhaps had jumped on the back of the boar (*CH* 57).

75 The neck guard looks like the collar of a catholic priest because of the confusion of back- and front-view.

76 For Heracles' face on other vases see *CH* 135 fig. 70.

77 Often wrongly thought to be Atalanta, because of his white skin.

78 We also see remains of shoulder-ivy (Pl. 21b), half the hor. handle with tongues (Pl. 21a), and two palmettes and one lotus of the lp. frieze with four rays below.

79 Unlike those of the Busiris Painter (Nos. 2, 25: Pls. 22e, 7b; *CH* pls. 27, 92b; and see now also No. 25 *bis*, the fragmentary Rizzo hydria: Ch. IV.2, Pl. 41b.

face is typical of the Eagle Painter (Pl. 20d), her hair is long, without separate locks, and hangs stiffly down, ending in a straight edge. Compare the earlier Atalanta of No. 10 in Pl. 20e.

As for her garment (Pls. 17c, 21a), the Eagle Painter paints his chitons with two overfalls, one on the back, the other on the belly; thus the material covers the girdle, except where it peeps out on the hip between the two *kolpoi* (No. 10: Pl. 22c; *cf.* Pl. 42a; *CH* pls. 57a, 102).[80] From this point the folds descend in fan-like curves to front and back, but on the present fragment there is a stiff vertical ornament, a *parhyphe*, in between: an embroidered strip (with two wavy lines) fixed to the front of the skirt (though here it appears on its side: Pl. 17c; for another *parhyphe*, see Deianira of No. 16: *CH* 30 fig. 21). There are no traces of coloured dots on her dress, as one might expect from its counterpart on No. 10 (invisible in photographs but see the drawing from 1863, *CH* 22 fig. 10; see also the dresses of Nos. 5 (Pls. 3, 42a), 9 and 14: *CH* 130, and p. 28 fig. 19). However, such ornaments are lacking on the vases of Group B,[81] to which our hydria, No. 24, belongs.

Atalanta wears soft, pointed boots that are exactly like those of Leto on No. 12, a fashion that is at home both in eastern Greece and Etruria (*CH* 24 fig. 12e, pl. 57a).[82] The boots have a leather overfold over the instep, double ankle bands, and two leather bits above, fastened by what looks like a big button.

On No. 10 (Pl. 22c) Atalanta is taller than the two youths in front of her, she overlaps four tongues of the horizontal handle. On 'Atalanta II', however, the three heads are *isokephalic* (Pl. 21a), though her very wide stride suggests that she is taller.

Colours and technique (Pl. 17c). Again, all contours are carefully incised, even those of the bow and the bow-string. Atalanta's dress was red, her skin was white, her hair and shoes black (now oxidized to red).

Reverse

Fragments d and e (Pl. 23a).

Fragment d is the big fragment No. 24 ('Louvre Nemean Lion': Pl. 23a; for its size see *CH* 41-42); fragment e (which is Munich 9466) joins d to its right. Fragment e consists of several parts: a part with shoulder-ivy, another with the upper part of the handle palmette together with the stump of the vertical handle (Pls. 23a, 24b), and a part with the muzzle of the lion, the back of Heracles and bits of four leaves of the handle palmette (Pl. 23a-b).

The lion (Pl. 23a-b) is a colossal animal dwarfing Heracles. It raises its forepart on its hind legs, swishing its tail. Its right claw (two 'fingers' preserved) is on Heracles' hip, its left is visible on his back, but both claws lack nails,[83] this in contrast with the colossal muzzle that is opened on a fearful set of teeth and fangs, the tongue sticking far out (Pl. 23b).

The fight is curiously lacking in conviction; the hero does not seem to throttle the lion: his left hand is on its shoulder (Pl. 23b), but the fingers do not grasp its skin and are utterly harmless, and the right hand is not shown at all; in fact the fight looks like an embrace (Pl. 23a).

Colours and technique. The skin of the lion is red, its manes black; its teeth may have been white. Heracles' hair, beard and moustache are red. All contours are incised. Both fragments are badly oxidized.

Comment

For the 'Caeretan' lion, see *CH* 144 and 180,[84] where the type and its East Greek character is discussed: "big head with heavy shaggy mane, comparatively light body, powerful legs with rather large paws..... tufts of hair growing on the back above the tail...".[85] Its no less royal brother is found on No. 8 (Pls. 4c, 31a; *CH* pls. 46-47). However, we should note that there are also other felines on the hydriae. There is the female animal fiercely defending its cubs in Pl. 6b, which I call a she-wolf because of her short, bushy tail (No. 22, 'Louvre She-Wolf', *CH* pl. 87a) and the two fierce young animals (the right-hand one dotted) who

80 I have called this the *pi*-shaped stylisation, because of the incisions where the girdle shows; it is very rare elsewhere and best known in East Greece: *CH* 81 nn. 90-91 and pp. 129, 185, 189; in Clazomenian for example.

81 Except for Deianira on No. 20, see *CH* 37.

82 For these shoes see *CH* 131, 182, with n. 838; and the foremost sacrificial servant on No. 15, *CH* pl. 68 and Eos of No. 3, Pl. 2a; *CH* 13, fig. 4, pl. 31b.

83 To draw claws without vicious nails, is a curious habit of the Eagle Painter, but sometimes even the Busiris Painter fails to indicate the terrible grip of these wild claws (No. *31bis*: Pl. 33d; *CH II*, figs. 10-11).

84 Add to *CH* 144 the two wild animals on No. *31bis*: Pls. 14a, 33d, 'ex-*New York Mule*', by the Busiris Painter.

85 W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford 1960, 76.

devour a colossal bull on No. 18, Pl. 22f ('New York Bull', *CH* pl. 75); such animals, like the other scenes of this kind, are strongly reminiscent of Homeric similes (see for these animals and similes *CH* 143-5, pls. 46-47).[86]

For the 'wrestling' scheme shown here, see *CH* 174. Though this is the most frequently depicted myth in Greek art, our picture is unusual; Heracles is fighting to left and seems overpowered by his colossal opponent.[87]

Heracles occurs no less than thirteen times on the hydriae.[88] Here he is in the nude, as in his fight with Alcyoneus and Busiris (Nos. *21* and *34*: Pls. 6a, 15a, 16; *CH* pls. 83, 120). His hairstyle varies: on this vase (Pl. 23b) he wears it short in the neck,[89] but the forehead hair is longer and wound round a fillet in rounded locks,[90] very like that of Heracles on No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra': Pl. 6c; *CH* pl. 90). On our fragment there are three of these locks, with additional incisions for hairs, exactly like the left hand wrestler on fragment *f* (Pl. 23c).

The scene of the Nemean Lion is a large picture for the reverse: it fills the left hand space nicely, the lion's tail swishing through the air with a fine curl. One wonders what scene filled the other half. Hamdorf has suggested that this may have been the following fragment.[91]

Fragment *f*

Munich 6095, No. 36: Pl. 23c (*CH* 55, pl. 127e).

This is a large fragment (height about 9.5 cm; see *CH* 56, fig. 42) painted with parts of two wrestlers and the end of the tongues of a horizontal handle. When preparing *CH*, I guessed that the height of the scene must have been about 13-14 cm (*CH* 55), which seems far too high for the frieze of our hydria 'Atalanta II' (height 11.3-9 cm), but whether or not this fragment belongs to this hydria, we had better discuss it here.

Perhaps the shape of the tongues does not entirely fit the tongues of the further side of the left-hand handle (Pl. 21b) and the curve from body to shoulder seems less sharp. At any rate, when, as is to be hoped, an exchange of the fragments with the Louvre takes place, the attribution may be checked.

The scene (Pl. 23c) of the two heavy-weight wrestlers (indicated here with B3 and B4; counting the figures of the reverse, the B-side, from left to right) may, I think, do for a pendant to the lion group on the other side of the handle palmette. The space between the heads and the upper border is similar to that of fragment *b*, No. 37 (the hunters of the obverse, Pl. 20b-c), but the heads of the two wrestlers are bigger. This may well disprove the attribution.

One also wonders how the wrestler B4 could fit into a frieze of only 11.5 cm high, but this is perhaps possible if his legs were bent deeply, the left foot far backwards under the horizontal handle, resting on its toes. The composition may have been triangular with a broad base – more or less like the wrestlers of No. *21*, *'Rome Alcyoneus'*, Pls. 3c, 24a. Even so it would not balance, I feel, the giant lion on the other side of the handle; however, a lack of balance in the pictures on the reverse of a hydria is, as we shall see, not rare (*cf.* Pl. 36b, reverse of 'Polyphemus II').

As for the wrestling-bout: the hold shown is well-known: B4's left hand grasps B3's left wrist; he throws his right hand round B3's neck and B3 wards him off with his right hand, grabbing and pulling down B4's right upper arm.[92]

The forehead hair of both is rolled up round a fillet (like that of Heracles, Pl. 23b). The upper lip of B3 is clean shaven, B4's moustache is a mere line. He is wide-eyed, his iris is 'rolling' because of the ferocity of the fight. Note the thumb nail of B3's hand and the neat indication of the pubic hair of B4.

Colours and technique. Hair and beards are red. There is much preliminary sketching; all contours are incised and the incisions are harsh and deep.

[86] Different, but not less impressive and elegant, is Apollo's fierce animal on No. 12: *CH* pl. 58b, p. 24, fig. 12c; the other lion is to be found on No. 38 (*CH* pl. 127d, p. 57, fig. 43).

[87] For a parallel see *CH* 174 and n. 679 (the silver rhyton from Kelermes); see also Boardman 1994, 198, pl. 6.15.

[88] *CH* 122, 141: Nos. 4, *11*, 16-17*bis*, 20-*21*, 23-*25*, *34*-*35*; and No. 25 *bis* (see Ch. IV.2).

[89] This is the fourth hair style of *CH* 133-5, fig. 69a-c (contrast *CH* 135, fig. 70).

[90] Somewhat like the hair of the so-called Kritios boy.

[91] And in a letter he mentioned the possibility that the two wrestlers might be Heracles and Triton. He probably believed that such a group would nicely balance the compact scene of Heracles and the lion. But Heracles would not be represented twice on the same hydria.

[92] See for a comparable hold round the neck E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1930, pl. 155b.

Comment

This is one of the few hydriae that are decorated with two myths, one on the obverse and another on the reverse (on A: Atalanta and the Calydonian boar, and on B: Heracles wrestling with the Nemean lion). Also in this respect our Atalanta II is like No. 10 ('Atalanta I': Pl. 22a), where we find a second myth, that of Europa, on the reverse (Pl. 18b; *CH* pl. 51).[93]

Appendix to No. 24

The ancient repair to the left of the vertical handle

There are traces of a puzzling ancient repair inside the roundish fragment of Pl. 23a (fragment *e* with part of the palmette of the vertical handle, the muzzle of the lion and the back of Heracles).[94] It is the roundish piece of clay indicated as *alpha* in Pl. 24c. Its outer surface fits against the upper arm and head of Heracles in Pl. 23a, but it does not reach the upper part of the palmette of the vertical handle; here, it leaves an open zone (filled with plaster) running through the leaves of this palmette (Pl. 23a). What is the case?

The outer surface of the round fragment in Pl. 23a (*alpha in* Pl. 24c), is preserved, but the inner surface is lost along its circumference, uncovering an uneven, crumbly surface, visible in Pl. 24c-d. This strangely rough surface is now open to view, but its centre is covered by part of an ancient repair: apparently, a thin layer of fresh clay[95] was smeared over it and pushed in place rather roughly with a finger tip (the impress or smears of a finger are visible). Only a small, roundish part of this repair is now preserved (Pl. 24c); it must have been larger but its outer edge is lost. It is concave in the centre where the fingers pushed with more force. At its upper edge some more clay was roughly smeared over what was the break on the inside between fragments *alpha* and *bèta*, just under my letter *bèta* in Pl. 24c[96]; its carelessness shows that the fingers had difficulty in reaching it. Clearly the whole inside of the fragment *alpha* was once covered with this repair, and extra clay must have been smeared over the whole length of the break to cover it. In the Louvre fragment (with Heracles fighting the lion: Pl. 23a-b), there is an irregularity in the outer surface (where Heracles' elbow is painted) running upwards along his ear, through his hair and the head of the lion (Pl. 23b). Here, at the back of Heracles' head and the lion's muzzle the broken wall is somewhat thicker than lower down, and the surface is irregular.

Further, as we can see in Pl. 24e (the inside of the Louvre fragment) the rounded break on the left, which carried off Heracles' shoulder and back, seems to show traces as if it has been cut off with a knife. First I believed these traces to be modern, but they differ from marks made by cutting or filing on a fired sherd: it rather seems as if they have been made when the clay was sill easily cut with a knife. This too must have been part of the ancient repair. However, there is no trace of extra clay that fixed the break on the inside of this sherd.

What are we to conclude? Clearly the repair was made before the vase was fired; besides, the rough surface under the paint of Heracles and the lion on Pl. 23b proves that the repair was made before the painting. I always doubted that it could be worthwhile to repair a still wettish hydria that had been completed on the wheel and had received its foot and handles and neck, but was then accidentally damaged before painting. Here, however, we have proof that it was: the potter must have reached into the hydria through the neck (the opening through which the hand would have to reach down is large enough);[97] and so he repaired the damage by smearing clay on the inside.[98]

93 Two other hydriae show two myths: No. 3 (Hermes on A and Eos and Cephalus on B: Pls. 1c-d, 2a) and No. 20 ('Polyphemus I', Pl. 39a, on A, and Nessus on B); see *CH* 119. Perhaps we must add now the 'Rizzo hydria, No. 25 *bis*, Ch. IV.2, Pls. 40b-e, 41a-c, which has a myth on the reverse and possibly one on the obverse, but that is not certain, as appears from No. *31 bis*, on which Triton chases a Hippocamp on the reverse (Pl. 34a), but there is an anonymous (though heroically fierce) hunt on the obverse (Pls. 14a, 33d, 34a-c).

94 The restorer of the Antiken Sammlung at Munich tells me that she left the inside of the fragment as she found it.

95 The clay used in this repair is as usual, with small shimmering 'mica' particles here and there on the surface. See *CH* 63, 'clay' in the *Index* and n. 530. On the outside no damage is visible, the painting being unimpaired.

96 On the outside there is a gap in the leaves of the palmette of Pl. 23a.

97 I have measured the narrowest point of the necks on the outside but not entered these results in my Tables because they were not precise enough; but the necks were usually 12 cm or more in diam. on the outside and therefore all of them more than 10 cm on the inside, which gives room for the insertion of a hand.

98 B. Fellmann suggested to me that the roughly rounded sherd had been taken out or forced out and then was put back again.

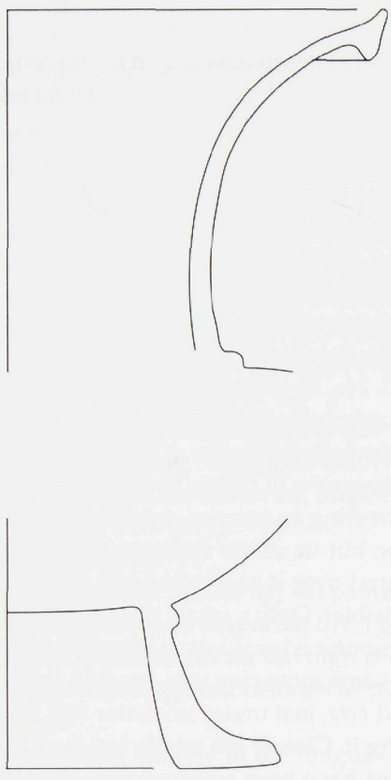

Fig. 12. Section of neck and foot of No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'); 1:2 (see Pl. 1a-b).

The frequent sagging and dints observed in our hydriae prove that the making of the vases was regarded too laborious to discard the less successful products. This explains why the potter took so much trouble to produce this not wholly successful, puzzling repair.

II.3 No. 2 *bis*. 'Caere Arimaspian' or 'Arimaspian II' (B: lion attacking stag, twice)

Figs. 12-14, 16; Pls. 1a-b, 24f, 25, 26a-b, e-f, 27b, e, 28b, 29. Group A, *Series I (Tongue Series)*.
Whereabouts: Archaeological Museum at Cerveteri, on loan from the coll. Angelo Marini; no inv. no. From Cerveteri, found before world war II. *Publication*: M. A. Rizzo, *BdA* 56-57 (1989), 1-7. *Painters*: figures by Eagle Painter; ornaments by Busiris Painter including the lip, but those of neck possibly by helpmate.

Preservation: unbroken but right-hand handle missing and edge of foot lightly damaged. Slight dint above horses. Surface badly worn except where it was once covered with black; entire surface now consolidated with varnish. Much repainting.

Technique. The vase is unusual as regards the way in which the colours were painted: red and white seem to have been laid directly on clay (they are now lost), like the colours on No. 2 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*: Figs. 6, 15; Pl. 22e; *CH* pls. 1c-d, 25, 135b). Inside the neck, at its bottom, one can feel a slight edge and groove caused, I presume, by the attachment of the neck which had been thrown separately.[99]

Measurements (exclusive of frieze lines: Pls. 24f, 25a). See *CH* 5, Table B. Height: 42.2-42.4 cm, uneven. Neck: height 10.3-10.5 cm; min. diam. 12 cm (low). Diam. mouth (Fig. 12) 21.8-22 cm. Lip: thick 1.8 cm. Body: width with handles (one missing) ca. 38-39 cm; without handles 32 cm. Foot (Fig. 12): height 4.8 cm

[99] See *CH* 64 and here Ch. I.2.b.

Fig. 13. Lotus-palmette of No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'), supplemented; 1:1 (see Pl. 1a-b). Tracing.

(inclusive of thick foot ring); diam. 15.5 cm. Friezes exclusive of borderlines: Shoulder: width (exclusive of borderlines) 9 cm (tongues, length 7.4 cm). Lower belly (lp.): 6.8 cm (very low). Frieze of *rays at base*: 6.2 cm. Frieze lines: 0.5-0.7 cm thick.

Shape (Fig. 12; Pls. 24f, 25a-c). The shape of the hydria has been discussed by Rizzo (Rizzo 1989, 2). Except for its broad and widely spreading neck, it is a 'slender' vase (see *CH* 73): the foot is high and narrow and rises from a thin, slanting edge, with a sharp curve upwards; above it, the body rises steeply, while the shoulder is relatively horizontal. The high foot is best compared with that of No. 7 ('Louvre Centaurs': Pl. 4a-b; *CH* pl. 5a, c). There is some similarity with 'slender' vases, for example, Nos. 14, 16, 26-7 (*CH* pls. 8, 71, 95, 97), but all these have slender necks, in sharp contrast with the broad, heavy neck of our hydria (with its thick, vertical rim); in fact, as we have noted in Ch. I.2.b, there is an unpleasant lack of balance between the weighty neck and the elegant foot, at least in the eyes of a lover of pottery – for in bronze hydriae broad necks and narrow feet are common enough.[100] On our hydriae this lack of harmony between feet, necks and bodies, is, as we have seen, due to the fact that separate feet stood ready-made when the potter had finished throwing bodies (see Ch. I.2.b).[101]

Note that the shape of the Caeretan hydria which in respect of its decoration is nearest, No. 2 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*), is entirely different (*CH* pls. 1c-d, 25): it is a broad vase on a low foot, and its body and shoulder are bulging, but its neck is narrow. This difference in shape proves, I think, my assumption that there were more hands busy at the wheel in the shop (*CH* 66-67; see above Ch. I.2.b).

The handle consists, as usual, of two strips of clay laid on top of each other (Pls. 1b, 25c; *CH* 73). The lower one is attached under the rim, but the top layer just touches the bottom of the edge of the rim. Compare, for example, the handles of Nos. 9-11: *CH* pls. 6-7. There is no thickening or 'rivet bar' at the attachment, as, for example, in Pl. 4b, see *CH* pl. 5.

Ornaments (by the Busiris Painter, except probably on the neck)

Numbers of separate elements. Tongues (see *CH* 111, Table H). Mouth (Pl. 25b): 24. Shoulder (Pls. 1a-b, 25b-c): 34 (length 7.4, wide 1.5 cm). Hor. handles (Pl. 1b): 25-26 round the attachments, forming oval 'rosettes'

[100] However, they are much earlier; see Stibbe, *BABesch* 67, 1992, 19-39, figs. 24-27, 39, 50. There are also slender, 'trim' necks, but they belong to amphorae: see Stibbe, *op. cit.*, figs. 62-64. Most of these vases are before the mid sixth century.

[101] Besides, there must have been potters who, as we shall see, must have produced a considerable mass of other pots not painted in a way that can be recognized as that of our workshop, vases that, therefore, have not yet been identified (see Ch. V.5 and VI.4).

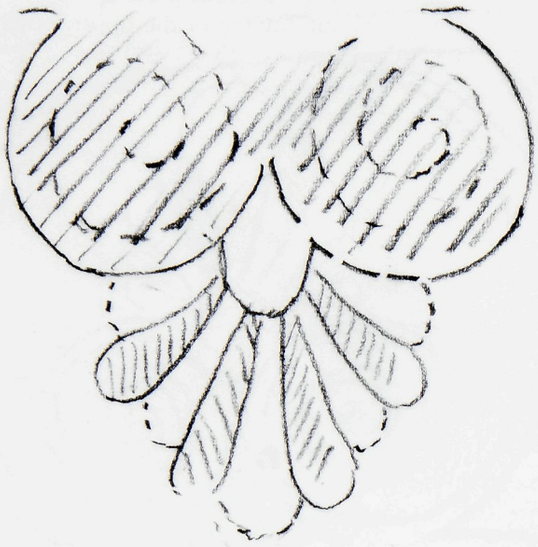

Fig. 14. Handle palmette of No. *2 bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'), supplemented; 1:1. Tracing. See Pls. 1a, 26f.

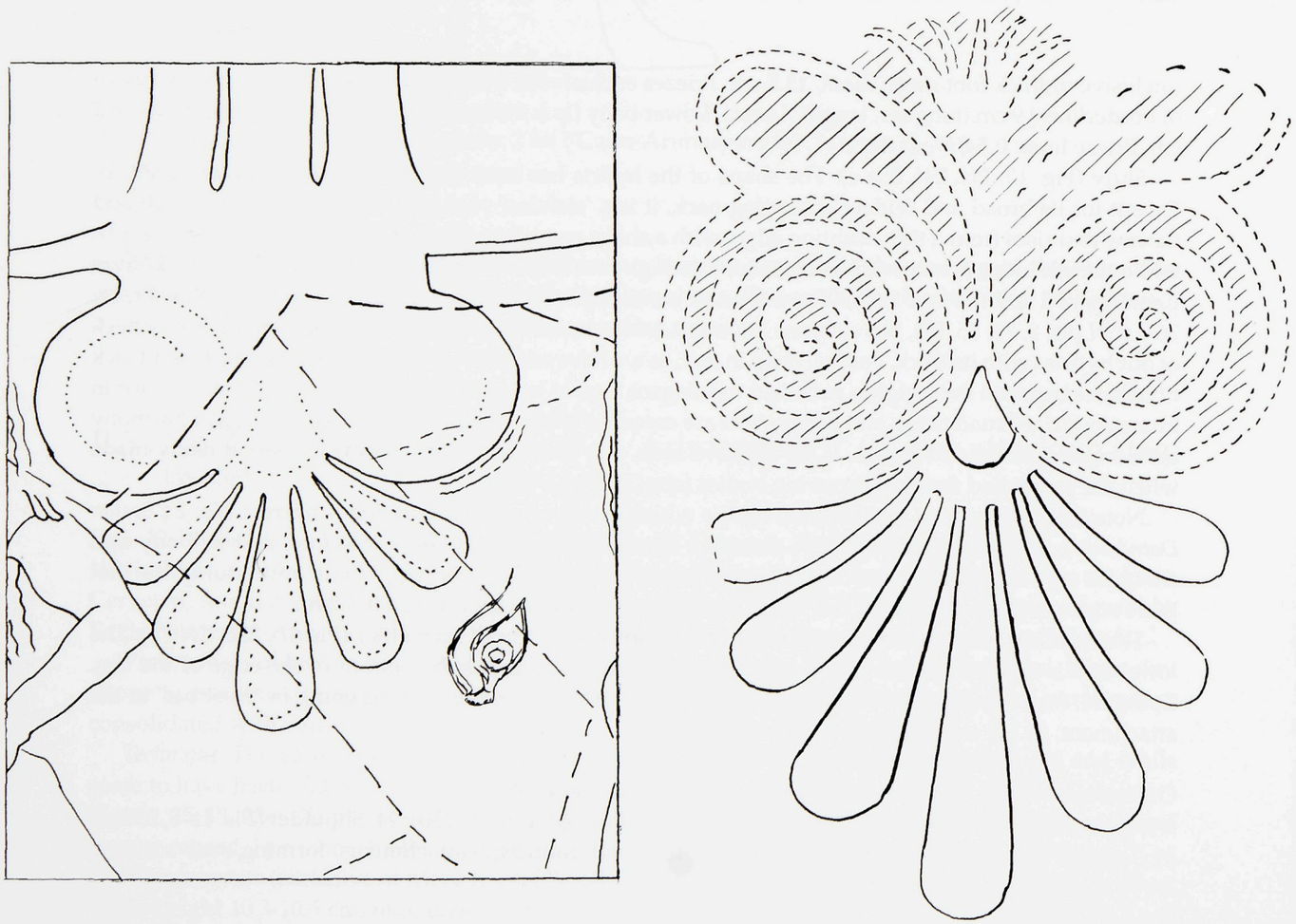

Fig. 15. Handle palmettes of Nos. *2* (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*) and *34* (*'Vienna Busiris'*); 1:1. After *CH* fig. 64. See Pl. 15b-c.

(irregular between the handle-attachments; about one cm of the tip of four tongues of the right-hand handle are overlapped by the wings of the griffin, Pl. 27e).[102] Foot (Pls. 1a-b, 25a): 17. *Lotus-palmettes* (see *CH* 94-95, Table E): 8 of each (Fig. 13; Pl. 26e); palmettes with 9 leaves each (only 4 black ones preserved; reconstruction Fig. 13). *Palmette of vertical handle* (Pl. 1a; see *CH* 108, Table G): 9 leaves, only four black (repainted) ones preserved (photo and reconstruction Fig. 14, Pl. 28b): the tip of one leaf is overlapped by the rump of the left-hand lion (Pls. 1a, 28b, 29a; for a similar overlapping see on No. 2: Fig. 15; Pl. 45a). *Rays at base*: 18 (Pl. 1a-b; see *CH* 111, Table H); 9 black ones touching the upper border; leaving room for 9 coloured (red) ones, which are wholly lost.

Style and technique of the ornaments

The ornaments are unusual. The lotus-palmette frieze (lp.), Fig. 13, Pls. 1a-b, 26e, and the palmette of the vertical handle (Fig. 14; Pl. 28b) are like those of No. 2, *'Boston Deer-hunt'*, which is by the Busiris Painter (Figs. 6, 15; *CH* pl. 1c-d, 135b). The neck ornaments of both possibly are by a helpmate (Pls. 25d, 26a-b, and see No. 2 in Fig. 7).

Much white and red was directly on clay, as on No. 2.[103] These colours being lost, the palmettes of the lotus-palmettes and the handle palmette are almost unrecognizable (Figs. 13-14; Pl. 26e, 28b).

Rim (Pls. 1a-b, 25c; for the rim-motives used on the hydriae see *CH* 104-5, fig. 61): maeander (well-painted) to left as on No. 6 ('Caere Chariot': Pl. 48b; *CH* pl. 4a-b) and No. 20 ('Rome Polyphemus': Pl. 39a). The maeanders on the lips of Nos. 11, 27, *31, 34* are to right (see Pls. 15a-b, 17b, 18c). Of most (possibly all) meanders the elements are painted alternately black and red; this may also have been the case with our vase and with Nos. 6 and 20 (the red must then have been painted on solid black).

Tongues (Pls. 1a-b, 25b). It is hard to distinguish between the hands that painted the tongues (though the Eagle Painter tended to paint smallish handle tongues: Pls. 2b,19a). At any rate, they are too precise to be ascribed to one of the helpmates. On the foot they are only in outline (or so they seem: Pl. 1a-b), not solid as usual. This is very rare.[104] The tongues are rather widely spaced (Pls. 1a-b, 25b), like those of No. 7 ('Louvre Centaurs': Pl. 4a-b; *CH* pl. 15a). The number of *tongues* in the mouth (Pl. 25b) is very small (24 against 42 on No. 2!) and so are the numbers on the shoulder (34) and on the foot (17: Pls. 1a-b, 25b). The tongues round the handle attachments (Pl. 1b, 25c) are not as short as those of Nos. 1, 3-4, Pl. 2b (and even 5, Pl. 3a); they are like those of No. 2, which are by the Busiris Painter as well (contrast *CH* pl. 1a and 1c).

As regards their numbers, the vase seems to be nearer to Nos. 6-8 than to the early ones (Nos. 1-5: see *CH* 111, Table H). Therefore, one might be inclined to insert the vase between Nos. 5 and 8 in Table A (and not as No. 2 *bis*. However, the stiff lotus-palmette (Fig. 13; Pl. 26e) makes this impossible.[105]

Neck (Pls. 25c-d, 26a-b; compare Fig. 7; *CH* 100-3, Table F, figs. 58-60): there are four elements, placed without an eye to the symmetry of the vase (rather like No. 2, compare the three well-spaced elements on Nos. 3 and 4: Pls. 1c, 2, 18d; *CH* pls. 25, 29, 32). The elements are:

a) maeander cross to right (Pls. 1b, 25c-d: this ornament is erroneously and very badly repainted: it ought to be restored like those of Nos. 2 and 4 in Fig. 7 and Pl. 18c), one branch black, the other once coloured.

b) circular ornament looking like a quatrefoil of 'Ionian' volutes; only the black is preserved (Pl. 26a-b; diam. ca. 7.5 cm). There are Samian examples and forerunners of this ornament (Pl. 26c-d),[106] which show that the centre and the axils – as was usual in such East Greek motifs – must have been filled with palmettes or starlets, but no traces are left. This is a sophisticated ornament, and should be by the Busiris Painter; it is certainly far superior to the swastika-spirals or crosses consisting of curly S's as appear on No. 2 in Fig. 7a and No. 12 (*CH* 102, fig. 58b-c, pl. 140a, c). On the other hand, the neck ornaments of the

102 As has been said; such details prove that the figure scenes were painted last.

103 Perhaps the white was on dilute paint, as R. M. Cook noted for the lost hydria in Berlin; see *CH* 18 *ad* No. 8.

104 The colours red and white in the reserved areas are entirely lost (compare the partly 'reserved' tongues on the foot of No. 6, 'Caere Chariot', *CH* pls. 4a-b, 41a, and see below: *ad* No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot', Pl. 31a, c-d, on which the cores of some tongues also seem unpainted).

105 Besides, the number of tongues round the attachments of the horizontal handles (26 round each: Pl. 1b) is very high, and in line with those of Nos. 2 and 3 (Table H, *CH* 111); further, they are rather short, about as long as those of No. 2 (*CH* pl. 1), and more slender than the stumpy ones of Nos. 1, 3-5: Pls. 2b, 3a; *CH* pls. 1-3.

106 Indicated as 'volute cradles' by B. B. Shefton in 'East Greek Influences in Sixth-century Attic Vase-Painting and some Laconian Trails', in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Vol. 4, 1989, 59-65. Pl. 26c-d are after his figs. 12d and 15: these are the tondo of a reconstructed Samian little master cup in Osborne House on the isle of Wight and Athens, NM K 1419; and the inside of a cup by the Ram Painter, Samos K1383, and 1419 in Athens, NM. See *Samos* VI, 1, p. 46, fig. 70 (no. 440), and p. 85, fig. 156 (no. 981).

other early hydriae, Nos. 1 and 2, can hardly be attributed to the masters, the Eagle and Busiris Painters themselves.[107]

c) maeander cross to left (not repainted?: Pl. 25a).

d) rosette of 8 leaves (diam. ca. 6.5 cm) partly under the vertical handle, repainted (Pls. 1a, 25a, 26f). The leaves of other rosettes, such as on Nos. 2 (Fig. 7a) and 7 (Pl. 4b), and on all later hydriae with such rosettes (except No. 1 in Fig. 7a; Pl. 39b; *CH* 101), were painted in the same way as the Caeretan tongues: solid black and then filled with a smaller leaf in white or red, which leaves a black border round it (this method of painting black-bordered leaves and tongues is, I repeat, to my knowledge, unique in Greek pottery). I have not been able to see if the leaves of the present rosette were black-bordered too – but I suspect they were. Also the other neck ornaments were usually enhanced with coloured markings (see Fig. 7a-b), but all colours are lost here.

The neck ornaments of Pls. 1a-b, 24f, 25a, c-d, 26a-b, f are very similar to those of No. 2, *'Boston Deer-hunt'*: see No. 2 in Fig. 7a (*CH* 103 fig. 59) and probably by the same hand, except – as we have seen – for the exceptionally refined quattrefoil of Ionian volutes of Pl. 26a-b.

Lotus-palmette (Fig. 13; Pls. 1a-b, 25a, 26e, 29a). The frieze of this lp. is the lowest of all (6.8 cm), but compare Nos. 4 and 7, 'Louvre Cerberus' and 'Louvre Centaurs': Pls. 2c-d, 4a-b (*CH* 5, Table B). Only the black is preserved and entirely repainted. The ornament is very similar to that of No. 2 (Fig. 6: *'Boston Deer-hunt'*) and surely by the same hand, the Busiris Painter. On both vases the flowers are separated from their calyces by reservation. As on No. 2 (Fig. 6; *CH* pl. 135b) the calyxes and the central leaves of the flowers were probably red (but now they were on clay and, therefore, entirely lost and not repainted). Apparently the white of the two inner leaves flanking the central one was laid on some underpaint, recognized by the modern 'restorer' and therefore re-painted (black).

The palmettes are very worn (Pl. 29a), but under the right-hand handle one can see that they contained nine leaves (those of No. 2 have seven: Fig. 6); they are fan-shaped, leaf against leaf, without 'air' between them, as on No. 2, the Boston vase, where four leaves were white and three black. On our vase four are painted black (modern); the five others were once coloured: also probably white. White leaves in palmettes are very exceptional on our hydriae. It should be noted that in my pictures of Nos. 3-4 in *CH* some palmettes have white leaves instead of red ones (*CH* pl. 2a-b), but these are, I believe, wrong modern repaintings.

The hearts of the palmettes must have been red (on clay) as on No. 2 (Fig. 6). I have not been able to discover traces of 'spikes' supporting the flowers and palmettes, such as, with great difficulty, can be seen on No. 2 (see Fig. 6 and contrast *CH* pl. 25, where all white seems lost); but I suppose that spikes were present, though on early vases they may be lacking (see Pl. 47b and *CH* pls. 36, 38d, 41a). The ornament is 'grounded' like that of No. 2 (*i.e.*, resting on the groundline with its spirals). The leaves of the lotuses touch the upper border (not on No. 2: Fig. 6).

Handle palmette (Fig. 14; Pls. 1a, 28b): very like that of No. 2 (Fig. 15; *CH* pls. 1d; 28e-f) and close to that of the much later vase No. 34 (*"Vienna Busiris"*, Fig. 15, Pls. 15b-c, 18a). Originally there were nine leaves but only four are preserved (one is slightly overlapped by the left-hand lion, Pls. 28b, 29a).

I suppose that four leaves had red cores and the other five white ones (compare the handle palmettes of Nos. 2 and 34: Fig. 15, Pl. 15b-c). The heart of the palmette is wholly lost but may have been solid red (directly on clay) like those of the lp. of No. 2: Fig. 6; *CH* pl. 1c-d. The roundels above the palmette (Pl. 28b), which derive from examples of bronze vases (Stibbe 1992, figs. 2-10, and *passim)* must have been painted with spirals, in white on a black ground, like those on No. 34 (Fig. 15; Pls. 15b-c, 18a). Note that a similar ornament is found in the centre of the grand pattern of volutes on No. 30, 'Louvre Odios': Pls. 27a, 39c; Eagle Painter).

Figure scenes

Obverse.[108] Arimaspian fleeing in biga before griffin: Fig. 16, Pls. 24f, 27b, e (compare No. 28: Pls. 10a, 27c).

Preservation and description

[107] See *CH* 101. The clumsy rosettes and spiral-swastika's on the necks were no doubt painted by apprentices.

[108] I have forgotten to measure the height of the figure scene, but it must be at least 14 cm, which is high (see Table B, *CH* 4; height of figure scenes of No. 2 = 14; of No. 3 = 16; of No. 4 = 17; of No. 6 = 14.3; of No. 7 = 13.8; of No. 34 = 15.6. Other scenes are lower.

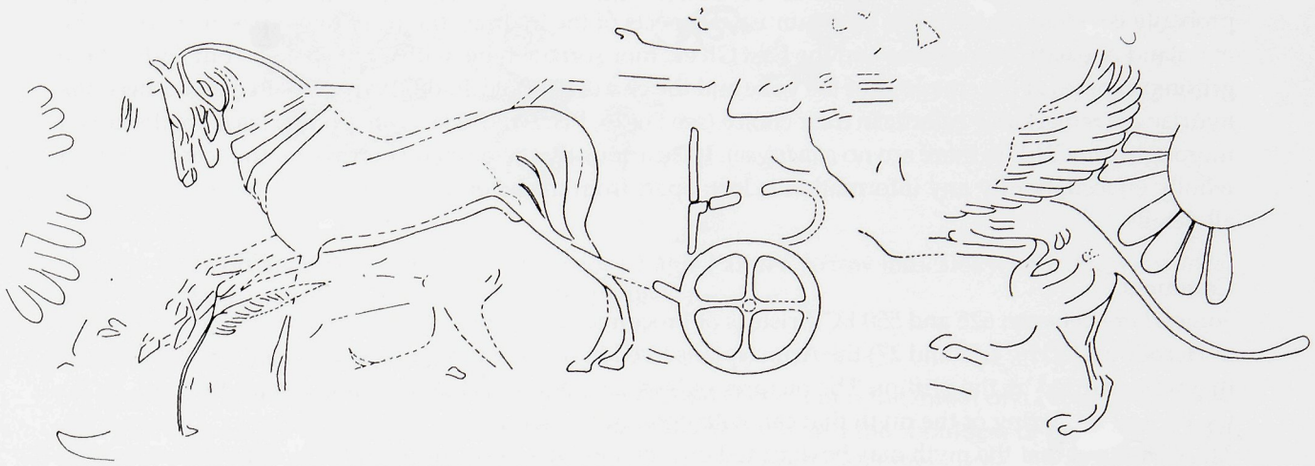

Fig. 16. Sketch of Arimaspian fleeing on chariot and griffin on obverse of No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'); see Pl. 27b, e. Drawn by E. Ferrero; after Rizzo 1989, fig. 5.

Very little is left of the painting and nothing of the colours (Pls. 27b, e), but the entire scene was originally very colourful, as can be inferred from the horses of No. 8 (Pl. 28a) and the parallel scene on No. 28, 'London Arimaspian I' (Pls. 10a, 27c).[109]

The drawing published by Rizzo (by E. Ferrero: here Fig. 16) is about all we can see; but in it a tongue of the handle is omitted and the shape of the tongues is inaccurate, as is the rendering of the griffin's flight-feathers – besides, the wing overlaps four tongues of the handle, see Pl. 27e; further, the upward curve of the tail of the dog under the horses and the outline of its back seem visible (compare Pl. 27c).

We now have two hydriae with a picture of an Arimaspian fleeing in a *biga* for a griffin (Nos. 2 *bis* and 28). Differences with the scene of No. 28 ('Arimaspian I': Pls. 10a, 27c) are minor: our griffin's tail is stretched under the vertical handle with a shallow curve (the handle tongues are higher up here than on No. 28), its left hind leg is off the ground and the legs are more widely spaced. The griffin seems to have been closer to the Arimaspian, and the horse's head (only one is visible) is more vertical than those of all other *bigae* (Fig. 16; Pls. 27b, d, e).

The dog under the horses must have been as long an animal as that of No. 6 ('Caere Chariot': Pl. 27f, contrast Pl. 27d). The Arimaspian should wear a wallet for the gold (see Pls. 10a, 27c).

The epos of Aristeas was, I believe, known to the painter. It seems clear that both painters were well-acquainted with other epic poems too (see Ch. VI.3.b), witness the Odios-embassy on No. 30 (Figs. 22-23; Pl. 17d), the Hermes story on No. 3 (Pls. 1c-d, 48g), and perhaps, as I will argue below, the story of Alcmaeon, from a lost epos, the *Alcmaeonid*, on No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot' (Figs. 20-21; Pls. 28a, 30b).

It is curious that, though on our hydria the scene is almost wholly effaced, hardly any information is lost: apart form the colours we are able te reconstruct nearly all details.

The Painter and comparison with other *bigae* on the hydriae

For the identification of the painter of the figures, we are fortunate in having one *biga*-scene by the Busiris Painter: No. *31*, *'Rome Chariot'*: Pl. 27d. Though the figures on our hydria are badly worn, we can see enough (especially of the griffin: Fig. 16, Pl. 27e) to decide that our scene was painted by the Eagle Painter. The chariots on three of these hydriae (Fig. 16; Pls. 10a, 27c, d) are very similar (see *CH* 149f.), but that

[109] See also the description of the colours of the *biga* of No. *31*, *'Rome Chariot'*: Pl. 27d (*CH* 47). I repeat the colours of No. 28 (Pls. 10a, 27c). Dog: red with white belly stripe. Chariot: felloe red, spokes white. Arismaspian: skin white, pupil red? Long chiton red. Griffin: tongue and tail-end red, belly stripe and eyeball white, mid-wing white, etc. For the colours of the horses see *CH* 217 n. 346: black horses usually had red hooves and tails and the off-horse was often white with a black mane and hooves and a coloured tail. On the chariots of No. 6, 'Caere Chariot' (Pl. 27f) and No. *31*, *'Rome Chariot'* (Pl. 27d) the colours have disappeared or have been overpainted.

of No. 8, Pl. 28a, is much more ornate; in fact, it looks like a royal equipage (which, as we shall see, it probably is). Here we have one of the unusual aspects of the hydriae: there are two types of chariots, the mainland one with four spokes and the East Greek, more ornate type, with eight spokes – but without the griffin protomes at the crossings of the yoke and the end of the pole. In this respect, as in many others, the hydriae are remarkably eclectic in their choice (see Fig 16, Pls. 27c-d, 28a; both types of *bigae* are discussed thoroughly in *CH* 176; there aro no *quadrigae*). It is curious that, though on our hydria the scene is almost wholly effaced, hardly any information is lost: apart from the colours we are able to reconstruct nearly all details.

Comment

Somewhere between 625 and 550 BC Aristeas of Proconnesus composed the epos '*Arimaspeia*'. According to Herodotus (3.116; 4.13 and 27) the Arimaspians lived in the North of Europe and used to steal the gold that was guarded by the griffins. The pictures of Nos. 2 *bis* and 28 (Pl. 27b-c) are, I always thought, by far the earliest rendering of the myth that can with certainty be identified (*CH* 174). However, Heesen 2009, 219, points out that the myth may be depicted on a lip-cup in Angers, his no. 536 (pl. 138c-d): a man with a Thracian felt cap, but without *kibisis* for the gold, attacks on foot with a very long battle axe, while an arrow sticks in the griffin on the other side of the cup. It seems to me that the scene reflects a version of the myth that differs from the one on our two hydriae.

Reverse. Two pictures of a lion attacking a stag (Pls. 1a-b, 28b, 29)

These scenes were badly planned: there is an open space above each group (but the antlers may have filled some of it), and the rump of the left-hand lion overlaps one leaf of the palmette of the vertical handle (Pls. 1a, 28b). In fact, the centre of the scene should have been under this palmette, but the right-hand pair is pushed a little to right.

Preservation and description

Apparently, the modern restorer recognized some of the original colours, for he did not cover the entire figures with black. Many, though perhaps not all, incisions have been re-drawn; they are deeper than usual and very emphatic, as can even be seen in some of the photographs. There is much contour incision. The lions differ only slightly. The face and body of both were red. The left hind leg of the lion B2 (I indicate the animals from left to right with 'B1-4') is further backwards than the right leg of the lion B3 (Pl. 29a, c) and their tails are different. The lion B2 had a white belly stripe, or so it seems; belly stripes are more or less obligatory on the hydriae, but that of lion B3 is lost. New for the hydriae is the stiffly stretched hind leg of both stags pressed down by a claw of the lion (Pl. 29a, c).[110]

The horns of stag B1 were as big as those of his counterpart B4 (Pls. 1a, 29a, c); their fore legs on the near side are on the ground (or nearly so), those on the off side lifted. The dots of the stag on the right (B4) have been 'restored' with a sharp point by the restorer; how wrong he was can be judged by the beautiful stag of No. 29, 'Phokè': Pl. 13b. Originally the stags had two ears, but one has been lost in the repainting.

Comment

In spite of its close similarity to other such pictures by the Eagle Painter, the scene is an exception, because the lions attack wild animals, and there is no human interference.

Usually, a sturdy farmer comes between the lion and its prey, as on the lost Berlin hydria (Fig. 5; Pls. 4c, 30a, 31a) and, *e.g.*, on No. *31 bis* (ex-'*New York Mule*': Pls. 14a, 33d).[111] This is also true for the miserable bull on Pl. 22f (No. 18, 'New York Bull') because, on the other side of the vase, two boys on horseback armed with javelins hasten to the rescue (*CH* pl. 76).

The wild stag on the right was, as we have seen, once spotted like the beautiful fleeing stag on No. 29 ('Phokè': Pls. 10d, 13b). Both lions are very close to the lion on No. 8 which mauls a mule that is loudly

[110] These stretched hind legs derive from the Orient, but they occur also among the numerous wild animals in the tympana of Etruscan painted tombs: see the Tomba delle Olimpiadi in: S. Steingräber, ed., *Etruscan Painting*, New York 1986, pls. 114-5.

[111] Bonaudo 2004, figs. 121-131, show all hunting scenes.

Fig. 17. Neck ornament of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'). Eagle Painter. Arrow indicates where fragment *delta* in Pl. 31c belongs. After *Antike Denkmäler* 2, *Heft* 3,1898, fig. on p. 5.

braying for pain and fear (Fig. 5; Pls. 4c, 30a, 31a): note the claws round the throat of their prey and how the other claws are rendered in harmless profile, as if inactive, against the shoulders of the animals (just visible in Pl. 29b-c). Here, however, their manes are short and bristly and there is no tuft of long hair on their rump (contrast Pls. 4c, 30a).

It is interesting to note that this hydria must be perceptibly earlier than its counterpart, No. 28 ('London Arimaspian I': Pls. 10a, 27c). This appears from the lotus-palmettes: the lp. of No. 2 *bis* is primitive (Fig. 13; Pls. 26e, 29a), very like that of No. 2 (Fig. 6), but on No. 28 we see the ultimate perfection that, as a painter of ornaments, the Busiris Painter reached in the later part of his career (Pl. 10a-b; and compare No. 25, *'Pholos'*: frontispiece, Pl. 7b-c). [112]

The myth of the Arimaspians on the obverse is purely East Greek and so is the quatrefoil of Ionian volutes on the neck: it is a direct descendant of ornaments on East Greek pottery, here Pl. 26c-d. As has been said, the inner details of the ornament preserved in these cups are lost on our hydria.[113]

II.4 Published fragments now inserted into No. 28. 'London Arimaspian I' (B: satyrs and maenad, twice)

Pls. 10a-b, 27c. Group B, *Series 3c (Lotus-five Series)*.
Painters: figures by Eagle Painter; ornaments by Busiris Painter. See *CH* 43-45, pls. 101-2. Inserted into this hydria have now been: the three fragments indicated as No. 28 *bis*, in *CH* 45, 202 (*sub* 3), pl. 127a-c (1:1) and the sherd with the satyr's face acquired at the same time by the British Museum, *CH* pl. 127f. The amorous satyr in Pl. 10b has, after 2500 years, recovered his fine face. Also the fragments *CH* pl. 127a-c have been inserted: in Pl 10a the letter *alpha*, under the chariot, indicates the lotus flower with palmette of *CH* pl. 127c. *Bèta* in the same Pl. 10a (to the far left, under the handle) is *CH* pl. 127a: here three tongues of the horizontal handle are preserved and part of three legs with hooves of the horses (the white legs belong to the horse on the off side[114]). *Gamma* in Pl. 10b, under the vertical handle, forms part of the lotus flower and the big spiral (*CH* pl. 127b).

The restoration of this hydria is admirable: it is rare that new fragments are actually inserted into an existing vase. In the following case, however, such a restoration has, unfortunately, become impossible.

In the foregoing we have have repeatedly looked at the splendid hydria No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot', Figs. 5, 20-21, Pl. 28a, which was lost in WW II. Nonetheless new fragments have been published that belong to it: these were recognized and published by H. A. Cahn. They must be discussed here.

[112] For the date of the hydriae: see Ch. VI.2. The earliest hydriae I date about 525 and the later ones go down to 500 BC.

[113] See n. 106. The motif is also, for example, seen on the bottom of an East Greek silver alabastron published by D. v. Bothmer, in: *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in Honorem Bernardi v. Bothmer*, Brussels 1983, 21, fig. 9. However, separate elements are also found on some Etruscan antefixes, surrounding, for example, the mask of a silen; *e.g.*, on antefixes from Tarquinia and Gravisca, see E. Rystedt and Ch. Wikander, *e.a.*, *Deliciae Fictiles*, Stockholm 1993, 217, figs. 33-38.

[114] These identifications were possible thanks to the dimensions of the ornaments in Table B, *CH* 5-6, and to the fact that these fragments were printed 1:1 in *CH* pl. 127. The description of the colours of the horses in *CH* 217, n. 346, are not entirely correct.

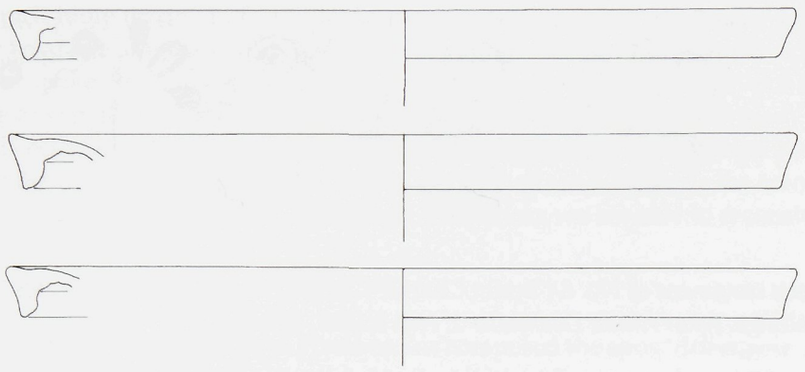

Fig. 18. Profile and section of lip of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'); ca. 1:2. Drawing H. A. Cahn.

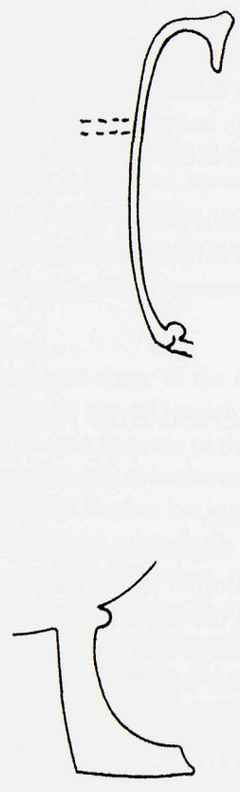

Fig. 19. Section of neck and foot of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'). Drawing by R. M. Cook in 1936.

II.5 Published fragments that should be inserted into No. 8, 'Berlin Chariot' (B: youth, lion, mule)

Figs. 5, 17-21, Pls. 4c, 28a, 30-31. Group B, *Series 1 (Tongues Series)*.
The fragments are in the H. A. Cahn coll., Basle, 1198. *Published:* by H. A. Cahn, 'Addendum Caeretanum', in: *Enthousiasmos, Essays on Greek and Related Pottery*, Allard Pierson Series vol. 6 (1986), 35-38 with photos 1:1; here Pl. 31b-d.

Painter: Eagle Painter; also all ornaments. This hydria was lost in WW II. Cahn's fragments are seen in Fig. 5 and Pls. 4c, 30a, 31b-d. Cahn recognized his fragments as belonging to No. 8 and gives detailed photographs and descriptions with section drawings of the rim (Fig. 18). I indicate where the fragments would have been inserted, had the vase been preserved. (His reconstruction results in a mouth-diameter of ca. 22 cm, see *CH* 5 Table B, while the thickness of the rim is 1.3-1.5 cm.)

Alpha to *gamma* in Pl. 31b-d are rim fragments (see Fig. 5, Pl. 31a); the lip was thin and delicately shaped (1.3 cm); its vertical surface slightly hollow and splaying upwards. In Fig. 18, I give Cahn's section drawings of the rim and in Fig. 19, R. M. Cook's sketches he made in 1936 of the neck and foot (*CH* pl. 151d). The tongues inside the mouth (*alpha-gamma* in Pl. 31b-c) seem very broad, similar to those of its nearest parallel, No. 7, 'Louvre Centaurs' (*CH* 111, Table H, pl. 15a), which has only 21 tongues, the lowest number of tongues in the mouth of all hydriae. I guess that the Berlin hydria had the same number. On fragment *gamma* (Pl. 31c) the right-hand tongue is shortened and there is some black near its top: this tongue must have been near the attachment of the vertical handle; compare Nos. 6-7, 13, in *CH* pls. 14f, 15a, e, where we see a similar shortening of the tongues at the handle. The tongues in the mouth were, at least partly, painted in outline and not solid black (frr. *alpha-gamma*: Pl. 31b-c), a rare exception which we have met also on No. 2 *bis*, 'Caere Arimaspian II': on the foot in Pl. 1a-b. Both Cook and Cahn note that red was directly on clay (the white on dilute paint, as is not unusual, especially in figures; see, *e.g.* the giant youth of No. 19, Pl. 5c).

The cable on the rim (Pl. 31a-b) is black and red, with white centres *'mit Zirkelspuren'*, a technique that may be expected from the Eagle painter, who seems to have invented the use of templates (see *CH* 112). The fragment *delta* (Pl. 31c) forms the centre of the right-hand rosette on the neck: Fig. 17. *Epsilon* and *zèta* (Pl. 31d) belong to the shoulder (Pl. 31a): these tongues are thin and must have been numerous. Since there are 38 on No. 6, 'Caere Chariot', there may have been 37 on our hydria (as I guessed in *CH* 111, Table H, pl. 14f). Red is again directly on clay. Fragment *èta* is the loop-shaped heart of the palmette under the vertical handle: Cahn gives a *photomontage*, here Pls. 4c, 30a.

This hydria was one the finest of the whole series and probably one of the greatest masterpieces of the Eagle Painter.

The ornaments (Figs. 5, 17; Pl. 31a)

The ornaments were very refined (Fig. 5) and those of the neck unique: Fig. 17. Most notable is that the elements of each pattern were separated from each other, not by colour, but by reservation (the leaves of the rosettes on the neck; in the lp. the leaves of lotuses from the calyxes; the leaves of palmettes from the hearts; the spikes under lotuses from them; and, under the vertical handle, the loop from the leaves of the palmette: Fig. 5, Pls. 4c, 30a, 31a). The very fragmentary hydria 'Atalanta II', No. 24, discussed above, is closely related to this vase and comparable in many of these respects, though its calyxes are not separated from the lotuses by reservation (Fig. 9; Pl. 21a).

The figure scene of the obverse (*CH* 119)

It seems not superfluous now to return to the scene of this fine vase (Pls. 28a, 30b): "*Man glaubt die Leute reden, die Pferde schnauben zu hören*", writes Pfuhl (*MuZ* I, 181). For the mythological interpretation of this scene various suggestions have been made (*CH* 119 with n. 185): Eriphyle sending off Polyneices after promising to command her husband Amphiaraos to join the war; or Hippolytus and Phaedra, or Oinomaos and Pelops preparing for their fatal race, all highly unlikely. A better solution was suggested to me long ago by Geralda Jurriaans: the scene should be described as "Arsinoë / Alphesiboia sending off Alcmaeon": Figs. 20-21.[115]

The lady in the centre is distinguished by a conspicuous necklace with thick beads, unique on the hydriae (Fig. 20; Pls. 28a, 30b),[116] a striking dress and mantle with unusually elegant folds (also unique), and an emphatic gesture of her left hand with the index pointing at the young man, a gesture with which she clearly warns him.[117] Remarkable is the haste with which this unarmed, white-skinned, long haired youth mounts his chariot. Further, there are the very luxurious, one might say 'royal' appearance of the

[115] I have given the arguments briefly in *CH* 119, but they seem to have been overlooked so far.

[116] P. Hartwig, *Antike Denkmäler* 2 (*Heft* 3, 1898), 5, with excellent figures and colour plate, actual size. The 'amber' neck chain is also seen on the necks of ladies on Etruscan panel paintings (*e.g.*, M. A. Rizzo, 'Nove lastre dipinte da Cerveteri , in: *Tyrrhenoi Philotechnoi*, Rome 1991 (*a cura di* M. Martelli), 52-59, figs. 1-2); this is one of the many parallels for the Caeretan repertoire we find in Etruria: they show that much that was seen on the hydriae was not foreign to the art of Etruria; yet we are not able to point out a direct connection; see *CH* n. 1004 (and F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte da Cervetri*, Rome 1965, 78, pl. IX).

[117] For the same gesture: see the curious ape of No. 10, 'Louvre Atalanta', Pl. 48f; Plaoutine regarded him as the ugly Thersites who warns the hunters of the Calydonian boar (see below).

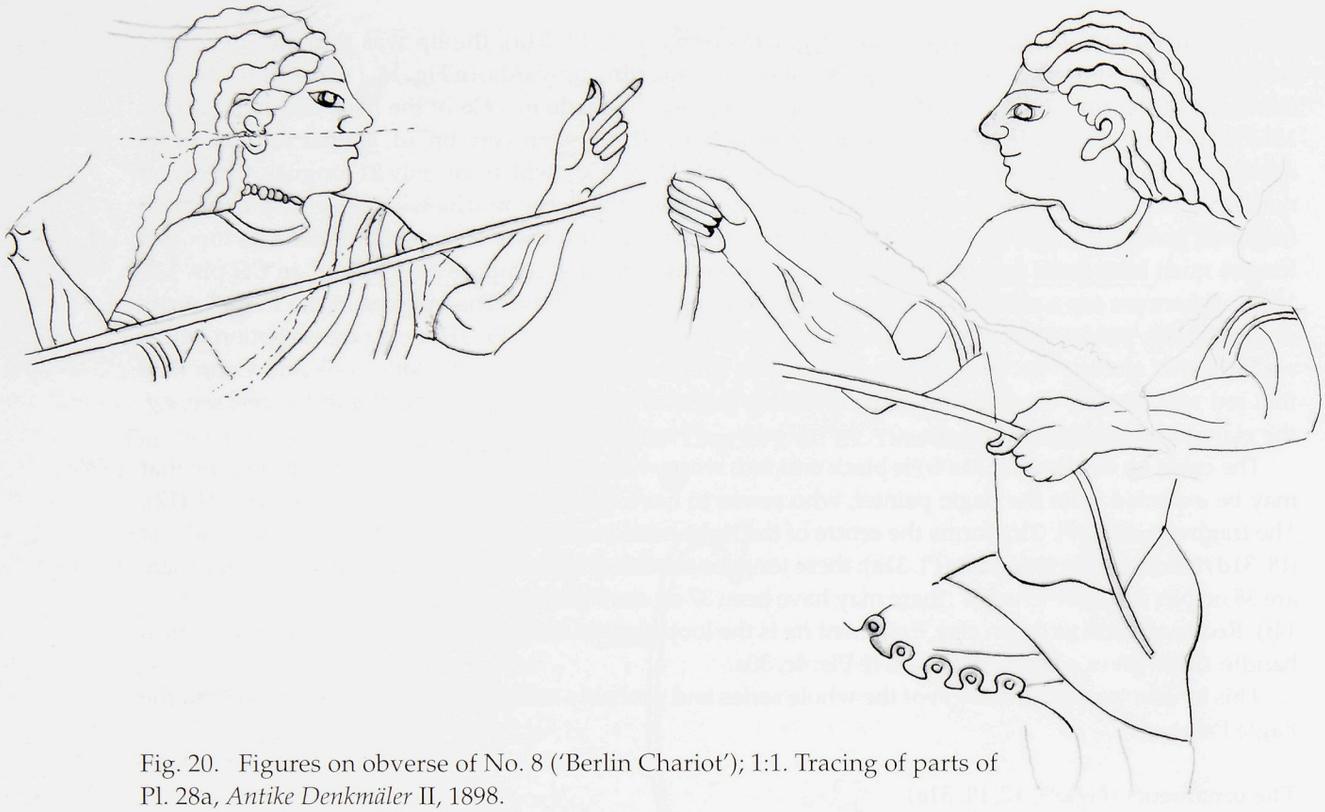

Fig. 20. Figures on obverse of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'); 1:1. Tracing of parts of Pl. 28a, *Antike Denkmäler* II, 1898.

chariot and, most significant and ominous, the fact that the fore hoof of one of the horses is caught in a strap of the bridle (this is hardly visible in photographs, such as Pl. 30b, but manifest in the excellent old publication of 1898: Pls. 28a, 30b, and my tracing Fig. 21).[118] All these unique and emphatic details are surely not meant to be overlooked, as up till now has consistently been done; they are proof that a definite myth is meant, one with a bad ending. We may be sure that Greeks immediately recognized it, though modern scholars have not.

It seems certain to me that the scene depicts one of the calamities caused by Harmonia's fateful necklace and mantle, since they are depicted emphatically almost right in the centre. Therefore, the youth is probably Alcmaeon[119] and the scene may have been taken from the *'Alcmaeonid'*,[120] an epos that was well-known at the time.[121] If so, the woman must be Arsinoe / Alphesiboia, the daughter of Phegeus, king of Psophis, who had purified Alcmaeon from blood guilt; he gave him his daughter in marriage. So Alcmaeon presented her with Harmonia's treasures, fatal bridal gifts. On the picture she is sending him off, because his blood guilt is not yet completely expiated and still fatal: he must go to a land that did not exist when he committed his great crime. Later on, after more adventures and misfortunes, he tried to get the necklace and mantle back from his former wife, Arsinoë, for his new bride Kallirhoë. For this he had to resort to lying; he was found out and met his death at the hands of Arsinoë's brothers.

It is a story of fatal gifts, doom, death and destruction, so far not recognized in other paintings but here indicated with, I think, undeniable emphasis.

The present paragraph dealt with a still unaccepted interpretation of a well-known scene. The next one discusses the famous representation of the embassy to Achilles in the *Iliad* 9, 167ff., on No. 30, which now turns out to be perhaps a slightly less literal quotation than was thought so far.

118 See *CH* n. 182: J. Guépin, *BABesch* 35, 1960, 58, points out impending disaster for the *quadriga* in full speed on some coins from Syracuse, Catane and Acragas: the rein of the fourth horse is broken and dangerously dangling (Syracusan coins said to be struck at the time of the Athenian invasion).

119 As suggested long ago by Geralda Jurriaans, see *CH* 119, n. 185.

120 The myth was much more popular than we might think: there were tragedies on the subject by Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon and Achaeus (all lost).

121 See Apollodorus, *Library*, 3.7.2- 3.7.7 and 7.2.5; Pausanias 8.24.8-10 and T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, Baltimore 1993, 524-6.

Fig. 21. Horses on obverse of No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'); 1:1. Tracing of part of Pl. 28a, *Antike Denkmäler* II, 1898.

II.6 No. 30. 'Louvre Odios': a new interpretation (B: sphinxes)

Figs. 22-23; Pls. 17d, 27a, 39c. Group B, *Series 3c*.
Publications: see *CH* 46-47, 81-83 with fig. 48; pls. 106-8 and, recently, Bonaudo 2004, 166-71.
Painters: obverse, the four figures A1-4 (from Odios to Nestor, Fig. 22) by the Busiris Painter,[122] the other figures (A5-7) by the Eagle Painter: Fig. 23, Pl. 17d). Reverse (Pl. 39c): sphinxes and all other ornaments by the Eagle Painter; the ivy on the shoulder by the Busiris Painter. The ornaments of this vase are unique (see *CH* 170 and pl. 106) and, as we have seen above (I.3.b, d), of East Greek origin. This hydria constitutes a complicated case of co-operation between the two masters (see Ch. I.3.a, last alinea).

Obverse. The scene has always been regarded as a literal rendering of the embassy to Achilles in the *Iliad* 9, 165-70. Among the figures depicted (Fig. 22) are the men mentioned by Homer (from left to right,

[122] I am not sure about the extremely elegant tongues, which I attributed to the Busiris Painter in *CH* 46.

Fig. 22. Drawing of No. 30 ('Louvre Odios'). Figures 1-4 by Busiris Painter, figures 5-7 by Eagle Painter. Drawing by E. Pottier, *MonPiot* 33, 1933, pl. VII.

A1-A8): A1, the herald Odios (the name is found only here); A2, Ajax in armour; A3, a small servant, a sword hanging on the wall above him; A4, Nestor (all these turned to right and incised by the Busiris painter). And then, facing the other way, A5, identified so far as Phoenix; A6, a small slave with a kid and a knife for the sacrifice: Fig. 23; A7, Odysseus, whose greaves are still visible. A8 is lost and should be Eurybates according to *Iliad* 9, 170 (these figures are by the Eagle Painter).

I had my doubts about A5, the old herald Phoenix, Pl. 17d, writing (*CH* 47): "his face seems beardless, but this is impossible for an old herald". It is indeed.

Anna A. Lemos[123] points out that the sword 'hanging on the wall', in front of Ajax' head, Fig. 22 (*CH* 82, fig. 48), shows that the scene takes place in a tent, surely that of Agamemnon as Homer says. Bonaudo 2004, 166-71 identifies the beardless profile of A5, confronting Nestor (A4), as that of a woman (Fig. 23; Pl. 17d). This I should have recognized long ago, because of her long garments, chiton and mantle, but Homer's text excluded any other person than Phoenix!

If indeed it is a woman, she must be Briseis who did, of course, not join the embassy but, at a much later date, after the death of Patroclus, returned to Achilles.

Apparently, the scene was not, as we believed, a literal quotation of Homer's text but more complex, 'synoptic', as we may call this typical Archaic narrative technique: the picture conjures up, in a single image, the whole tragic story of the disastrous embassy to Achilles and the return (much later, *Iliad* 19, 246) of Briseis to Achilles who truly loved her (*Iliad* 9, 340-3).

But even back in his tent, her suffering does not come to an end (*Iliad* 19, 282ff.): "*beautiful like the golden Aphrodite she threw herself on the corpse of Patroclus, scratched her breasts, the tender skin of her neck and beautiful face, and godlike woman as she was*", she bewailed bitterly her own misery, which dated from the time Achilles destroyed her home town in Mysia and killed her family (*Iliad* 19, 287ff.); and at the same time she weeps for her dead friend, Patroclus, who always used to console her with warm kindness and

[123] A. A. Lemos, 'The Trojan Cycle in Preclassical Imagery of East Greece', *Archaiognosia* 10, 1990-2000, 11- 50; see her p. 25.

Fig. 23. Figures A5 (Briseis?) and A6 on No. 30 ('Louvre Odios'). Eagle Painter. After *CH* 82, fig. 48e.

friendly words (*Iliad* 19, 195-300). It may be this long drawn-out suffering that explains the fold in her cheek visible in Pl. 17d, a fold that formerly puzzled me, but now seems to fit the pitiful situation of the woman. It seems to me that Bonaudo's identification must be accepted.

II.7 A4: a new strap-handled amphora[124]

Fig. 24; Pl. 32a-b.
Louvre S 4123, to be added to *CH* 59, as A4. *Published*: Gaultier 1995 (*CVA* Louvre 24, France 35), p. 20 with profile drawing, pl. 1. For the significance of the amphorae for our knowledge of the origin of the hydriae, see *CH* 182-3.

For the other Nikosthenic amphorae A1-3, see Pls. 14b, 32c-g and *CH* 59, 152, 179, 182, pls. 20, 155a-e; Isler 1983, 28-29, 38-39, fig. 21 (note that my A2 = Isler's A3 and *vice versa*) and see especially Tosto 1999, 32-33, 37, 60, 107, 196, 243-4, pl. 47 fig. 104. I have not seen this vase, I borrow the details of my description from Gaultier. For measurements see the following.

Table of amphorae A1-4 (*CH* 59, pls. 20, 155):
A1 = Philadelphia Univ. Mus. MS405: Pl. 32c;
A2 = ex-collection Hirschmann: Pl. 14b;
A3 = coll. Ludwig: Pl. 32d-g;
A4 = Louvre S4123: Pl. 32a-b.

[124] The Nikosthenic amphorae produced by the workshop are hardly decorated at all, but they happen to be about the only other products of the shop that we are able to identify (but see the New York alabastron, below). As I have said before: there must have been a considerable output of unpainted (or hardly painted) ware that has still not been recognized (see Ch. VI.4).

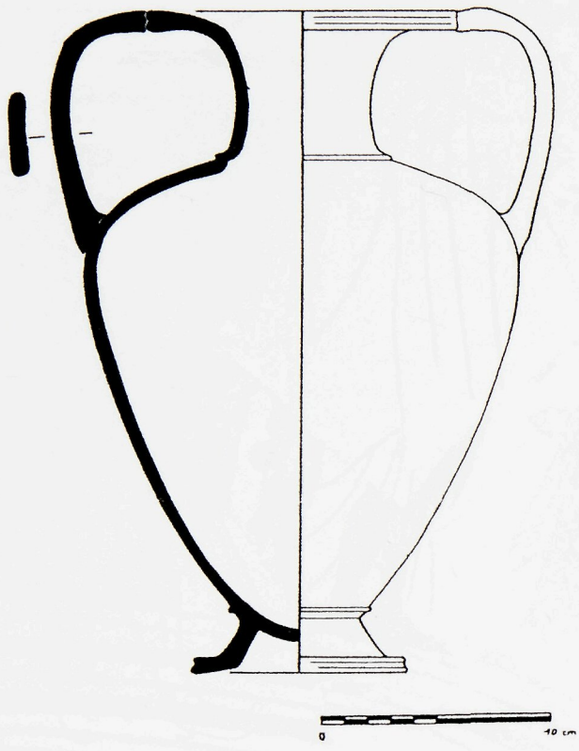

Fig. 24. Profile and section of Caeretan amphora A4, Louvre S 4123; ht. 29.5 cm. After Gaultier 1995, fig. on p. 20.

Height		diam without handles	neck ht.	mouth diam.	foot ht.	foot diam.
A1[125]	29	18.4	7.2	12.4	4.2	11.7
A2[126]	26.7	17.2		12.4	3	11
A3	28.7	17.8	7.8	12.8	3.5	11
A4	29.5	19.5 (with handles 22)		13		9.5

Preservation and technique of A4

As Gaultier tells us: recomposed from fragments, supplemented with plaster, and repainted. Much of the rim and mouth, half of one handle and large part of side B lost. Traces of red and white on the tongues of the foot. One side oxidized. The drawing of Fig. 24 shows a slight notch inside the neck at its base.[127] The horizontal line on the edges of mouth and foot are meant to indicate a slight depression in their surface.

Shape (Fig. 24; Pl. 32a-b)[128]

The foot differs from those of A1-3 (Fig. 25; Pls. 14b, 32c-g): it seems to be narrower (no measurement given; Gaultier 1995, 20) and is stiffer, lower and more angular; its edge is thicker and less slanting,

125 See the profile and section-drawing Tosto 1999, pl. 47, fig. 104. My measures are inferred from the published drawings (see *CH* 59).

126 It may be remembered that A2 (Pl. 14b) is very likely to be from the same tomb as Nos. *25* and 29, *'Pholos'* and 'Phokè' (frontispiece; Pls. 7b-d, 8-9, 10c-d, 11-13).

127 See above Ch. I.2 and Tosto's treatment of this problem (Tosto 1999, 25 and his pl. 30, fig. 60). He believes, because of the small size of the vases, that body and neck were thrown as a whole, in a single, uninterrupted movement of the wheel and the hands.

128 For the differences between these Caeretan amphorae and the Nikosthenic amphorae, see Tosto 1999, 33; the Nikosthenic feet have a flat ceiling and not a heeled base, the lips are thin and the lower part of the neck tapers upwards and is, proportionnaly, much higher: see Tosto's figs. 103-4.

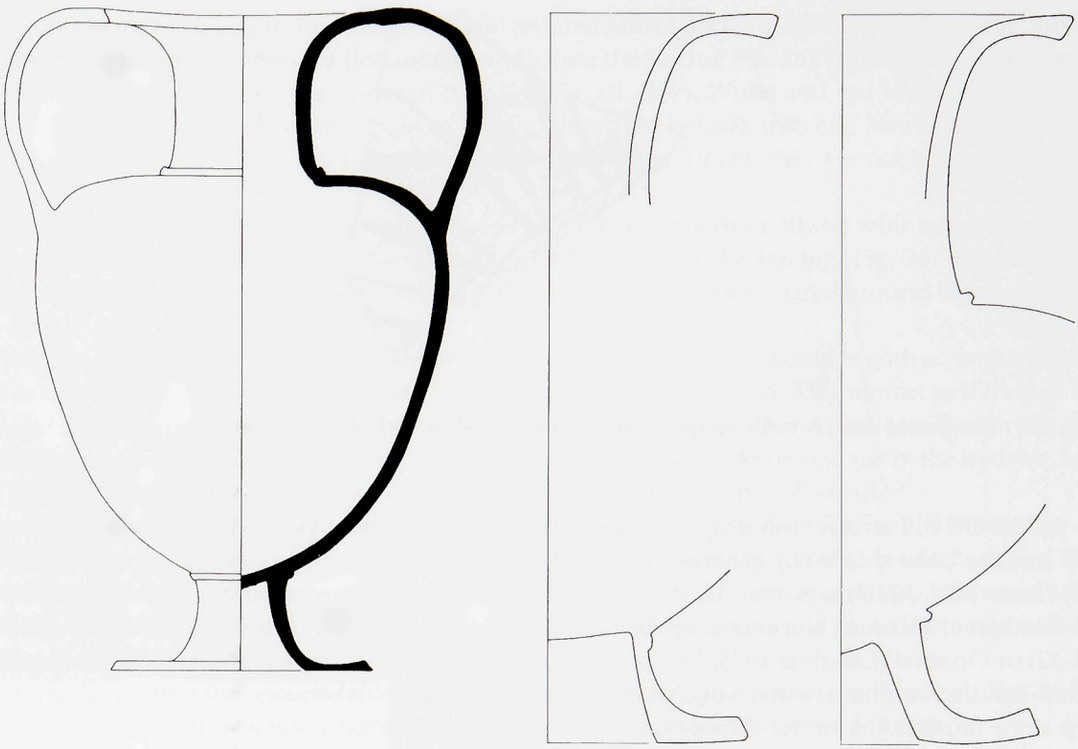

Fig. 25. Caeretan amphorae A1-A3. Ht. 29.0, 26.7, 28.7 cm, respectively. After *CH* pl. 155a-c.

"légèrement concave". The body is less bulging rising upwards. The shoulder seems more rounded in the photos of Pl. 32a-b than in the drawing of Fig. 24.

Painting

The tongues on the foot are solid black with, just visible, cores of white and red over the black, as is typical of the Caeretan tongues and proves these vases to have been produced by our workshop. The inside of the neck is black and there is a black band on the upper surface of the rim along the outer edge, as on A3, Pl. 23g, but the outside of the handles was black (the handle on Pl. 32b is an unpainted restoration) and so was the edge of the foot (which is unpainted on the other amphorae).

The three thick, coarse bands round the body are far from the delicate painting of A1-3 (bands alternating with fine lines covering the surface: Pls. 14b, 32c-f; also found on the hydria No. 30, 'Louvre Odios': Fig. 22, *CH* pl. 106).[129] The thickness of the three bands increases with the swelling of the body, but their distance does not. In fact, their arrangement is bad: for a harmonious arrangement, the upper (reserved) frieze should have been higher than the lower one.[130] Even more unexpected are the crude scales on the shoulder: small scales are painted round the neck and over the neck ring; then follow three rows of scales which increase in size with the swelling of the shoulder towards the belly. They are painted in outline without any inner markings.[131] These are the only scale-ornaments on the hydriae, which is surprising since scale-patterns are very common in East Greece. On Pl. 32a-b some scales do not reach down to the upper black band and are connected with it by short strokes meant to be the beginning of a fifth layer of scales, now, as it were, submerged and covered by this band. The clumsiness of all this betrays the hand of a helpmate.[132]

[129] Tosto 1999, 33, compares the Banded Group of Nikosthenic amphorae, his nos. 68-70.

[130] An old principle in Greek vase painting (especially noticeable in Attic Geometric pottery).

[131] Their coarseness is in strong contrast with the fine feather-shaped 'scales' in the breast-part of the wings of the griffin on No. 28: Pl. 10a; *CH* pl. 101d.

[132] It is hardly surprising that, here too, the rays at the base of the body are lacking, but it is odd that on A1-3 they are found upside down on the shoulder (Pls. 14b, 32c-f).

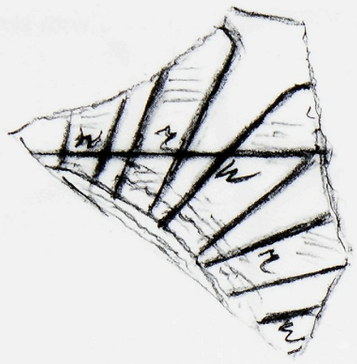

Fig. 26. Fragment with handle tongues of Caeretan hydria. Private coll., Germany; 1:1. Tracing.

In *CH* 182-3, I wrote: "the strap-handled amphora is the only obvious sign of Etruscan influence on the hydriae", but this is not generally accepted: the origin of the shape is disputed (see Gaultier 1995, 20). Tosto 1999, 32-33, says that the shape of the foot of the Caeretan amphorae is more characteristic of Greek than of Etruscan workmanship. Some believe that, in origin, they are Ionian (Walter-Karydi 1973, 31-32) or Oriental (Langlotz 1975, 183, pl. 61.2-4). Isler 1981, 235ff., says that this particular shape of the strap-handled amphora, with its ovoid body, goes back, not to Nikosthenes, but rather to Pamphaios; this has some implication for the chronology of the hydriae, as Isler says: some amphorae by Pamphaios are decorated by the early Oltos, and can therefore be dated 525-515 BC. Gaultier believes that they may have been inspired by Etruscan bucchero amphorae, but she thinks it possible that they were influenced by Attic examples in Etruria. I do not believe in any Attic influence; indeed I do not know of any connection of our workshop with Attic pottery whatsoever. [133]

II.8 Photographs of two unpublished fragments

Fragment 1: Pl. 33a. Part of lotus-palmette of Caeretan hydria, attributed by D. von Bothmer to No. *32*, *'Louvre Leda'*: *CH* pl. 112. Group B, *Series 3c.*
Preservation: two joining fragments of a lotus-palmette frieze. The photo seems to be a xerox 1:1. It came into my hands some 35 years ago; it has not been mentioned since.
Whereabouts: unknown. *Painter*: Busiris Painter.
That this lp. is by the Busiris Painter appears from a comparison with, *e.g.*, Nos. *31* and *31 bis* (*'Rome Chariot'* and 'ex-*New York Mule'*): Pls. 14a, 17b; and Nos. *32-33* (*'Louvre Leda'* and *'Louvre Deer-hunt'*): Pl. 14c-d; *CH* pl. 139a-b. The colours are the same: two red leaves in the palmette, white calyx to the lotus, which has a red central petal and two white ones flanking it. No. *32*, *'Louvre Leda'*, is incomplete and the fragment seems to fit into one of the gaps, as Bothmer discovered (see also my measurements of the height of the friezes in question: *CH* 6, Table B: 10 cm).

However, on the photo no spike can be seen under the lotus flower; such spikes are obligatory for the mature vases of the Busiris Painter, as Pls. 7, 10, 11a, 14a, c-d, etc. (see also *CH* pls. 137c-d, 138, 139), show; possibly the red was immediately on clay and may therefore be lost.[134]

Fragment 2: Fig. 26, Pl. 33b-c. Privately owned fragment with tongues of a Caeretan hydria (Munich). When studying the fragments of Atalanta II (discussed above) in Munich in 1994, I was also shown a privately owned fragment on loan in the *Antikensammlung*.

[133] In *CH* 179, I pointed out a relation with fine Samian banded ware, and so does Isler (1983, 39); see below Ch.VI.3.

[134] Suggestion by Anne Coulié of the Louvre. On the other hand, in the mature work of the Eagle Painter spikes may be lacking, *e.g.*, on Nos. 19 *minus* and 20, 'Polyphemus II and I', Pls. 17c, 39a (*CH* pl. 137a), and on No. *21*, Pls. 6, 19a, the Alcyoneus vase by the Busiris Painter, whose lp. was painted by the Eagle Painter: see Ch. I.3.d.

It is a tiny sherd, max. length less than 5 cm and painted with slender tongues, once forming part of the corolla round the attachment of a horizontal handle (see the tracing Fig. 26). Its clay is as usual, with minute micaceous particles (for the Caeretan clay, see *CH* 63f., 167). White and red are relatively well-preserved. The thinnest part is in the angle to the shoulder (see below): 0.46 cm. Near the root of the handle the thickness is 0.5.5 cm. The max. length of the tongues is 3.9 cm, they are not wider than max. 1.1 cm.

This fragment should perhaps be assigned to one of the known hydriae (those with longish tongues round the handles), but I have not discovered where it belongs. As the tracing, Fig. 26, indicates, the position of the handle attachment is shown by the traces of the wet clay smeared around the root of the handle.

The small piece of the wall of the body that is preserved, curves into the shoulder with an angle; on the inside this angle between shoulder and body is marked with a sharp line (Pl. 33c), almost as if incised by the nail of the finger during throwing. In the tracing of Fig. 26 this line is drawn to indicate the horizontal; it is visible on the photograph of the inside, Pl. 33c. So strong a bend is unknown to me in the hydriae, but it is not very far, for example, from Nos. *33* and *34*: Pls. 14c-d, 15a-b, *CH* pls. 3b-d, 4d.[135]

The tongues of the fragment were pointing upwards, but surprisingly do not cross the borderline of the shoulder: as a rule the tongues of these corollas overlap (or at least touch) these borderlines; see Pls. 1b, 3a, 4a-b, 5, 6, etc.; exceptions are the early vases Nos. 1-4 (Pls. 1c, 2b) and one or two late vases such as No. 8, Fig. 5, Pls. 4c, 30b, and, less clearly so, No. 28, Pl. 10a; *CH* pl. 101d), and some late vases such as Nos. 8 (Fig. 5; Pl. 30b), 28 (Pl. 10a; *CH* pl. 101d).

The fragment must have belonged to a late vase with slender tongues, somewhat like, *e.g.*, No. 28, Pl. 10a-b (left handle reconstructed, *CH* pl. 100a), but the bend at the shoulder seems different.

[135] The tongues probably belong to the right-hand attachment of a horizontal handle, unless they were positioned between the two roots of such a handle (here they were difficult to paint and a little crammed: see *CH* pls. 1-13).

III PUBLISHED VASES THAT HAVE ESCAPED NOTICE AND NEED SOME COMMENT

It is useful to include here No. *31bis* ('ex-*New York Mule*') and 19 *minus* ('Polyphemus II') for several reasons: both have recently been returned to Italy, both are missing in Bonaudo's extensive discussion of the iconography of the hydriae (see Bonaudo 2004) and their data have to be entered into the Tables A-H in *CH*.

III.1 No. *31bis*, 'ex-*New York Mule*' (B: Triton chasing Hippocamp)

Pls. 14a, 33d, 34a-c.
Present whereabouts: Italy (Villa Giulia Museum?); ex-New York, Shelby White coll. 742. *Published*: *CH II* 89 ff., figs. 4a-h, 10a-f, 13a-d. Recently a photograph and a descriptive note in *Nostoi* II, 108-9, cat. 36 (see also *Nostoi* I, 138, colour plate of A).
Painter: Busiris Painter, also all ornaments. *Shape* (Pls. 14a, 34a-c). Broad, with flattish shoulder, narrow neck and low, wide, spreading foot. As regards both shape and ornaments this hydria belongs, in Table A, between Nos. *31* and *33*: *CH II* 97-98, figs. 5-6 (*CH* pls. 109a, 115a). The vase is less rounded than No. *31*, Pl. 17b, '*Rome Chariot*', and less flat-shouldered than No. *33*, Pl. 14c-d, '*Louvre Deer-hunt*'; its shape is not far from that of No. *34*: Pl. 15a-b, '*Vienna Busiris*'.[136]
Preservation and technique. Composed from numerous fragments, incomplete. Vert. handle modern (attached to rim). No oxidization (which is very rare). Shoulder sagging. Some preliminary sketching in flowers of the lp. frieze.
Measurements (*CH II* 89-90 and n. 18) to be inserted into *CH* 5-6, Table B.[137]
Height: 41.5 cm. Rim: diam. 19.6 c m; thick: 1.63 cm. Neck: height 10.5-11 cm, min. diam. 11.1-2 cm; diam. fillet 12.6 cm. Body: width with handles 39 cm; without 33.2 cm. Foot: height 3-3.5 cm (warped), diam. fillet 10.4cm ; diam. edge 17.2 cm, thickness edge 0.9 cm. Vert. handle: modern.
Friezes: height (exclusive of border lines and measured along curve) of shoulder: 10.5 cm. Of figure scene: 13.0-13.3 cm; width between palmettes of hor. handles (along curve) 28.3 cm and (reverse) 29.5 cm. Frieze of lower belly: 8.0-8.3 cm; rays at base: 4.6-4.7 cm. *Palmette of vert. handle*: ht. 8.1 cm, w. 11 cm.
Ornaments (Pls. 14a, 33d, 34a-c)
Numbers of elements. Tongues (*CH* 111, Table H): 28 in mouth (length 5.7 cm, w. 1.5 cm); on foot ca. 22?; around hor. handles: left behind 23 (Pl. 34b), in front 22 (two white ones next to each other); right in front (Pl. 34c) 23, behind 23). *Ivy leaves* on *shoulder* (see *CH* 92, Table D): 7 inside, 10 outside central branch. *Lotus-palmettes* (Pls. 14a, 34a-c; *CH* 94, Table E): 7 lotuses and palmettes (5 leaves, 2 red). *Rays at base* (Pls. 14a, 34a-c; *CH* 111, Table H): 18 (red and black). *Palmette vert. handle* (Pl. 34a; *CH* 108, Table G): seven leaves (4 white, 3 red). *Neck* (*CH* 99): 3 pairs of mirrored lotuses and nearly 4 stars (abbreviated under vert. handle; Pl. 34a-c). Thick frieze lines: 1-1.5 cm.

Comment
The tongues are very long and slender (Pl. 34c), up to 4 cm long; contrast the short tongues by the Eagle Painter of Pl. 36c, d. In Ch. I.3.b, I have used this hydria for the attribution of the lp.'s of this very tense kind to the Busiris Painter, also those on those vases on which the figure scenes are by the Eagle Painter; contrast, for example, the lp. of No. 19 *minus*, 'Polyphemus II', Pl. 36, which is by the Eagles Painter.

Figure scenes A: Mule attacked by felines and defended by two peasants ('father and son') (Pls. 14a, 33d). A leopard (or panther) and a 'lioness' (with manes!) attack a braying mule, while a farmer and a youth

136 No. *32* is incomplete: see *CH* pl. 112; its contours rise more steeply above the foot.
137 See *CH II* 94-95.

Fig. 27. Stag attacked by two lions. Drawing of seal of Gobryas. After Boardman 1994, 46 fig. 2.33 a.

come to the rescue with spears (a wavy spear – shaped like a cork-screw – is in the air nearly piercing the forehead of the lioness). The leopard has flung itself from the front onto the neck of the mule, hanging between its forelegs and under its belly, biting its neck and tearing its shoulders with its claws. The lioness has just landed on the mule's back but its assault is interrupted by the bearded farmer, who tries to pull him off the mule, firmly grasping him by the tail! Note the heavy, bristly mane of the lioness (see further the detailed description *CH II* 89ff.).[138]

Figure scenes B: Triton chasing Hippocamp (Pls. 34a-c, 35a-b)
Upper part of head and neck of Hippocamp lost; mouth wide open, neighing. Of Triton the face and part of his tail lost. His left hand and the tip of his spear are near the tail of Hippocamp under the vertical handle; his tail is under the tongues of the left horizontal handle (Pl. 34b).

Comment
The scene of A is interesting and unusual; it is extensively discussed and compared with other hunting scenes of this kind both on the hydriae and elsewhere in *CH II* 105-9 (the discussion in *Nostoi* I is faulty). One or two remarks may be added here.

The popularity of such complicated hunting scenes with the Caeretan masters was great; it may have been due to Eastern examples (Phoenician bowls and seals), but it may also have been stimulated by Homeric similes (see Ch. VI.3). The hunt is particularly fierce; I add a photo of the Nikosthenic cup mentioned *CH II* 108, n. 36, Pl. 34d,[139] which shows the same unusual vividness, a liveliness that is proper to our two master-painters but rare in Attic animal fights. Boardman gives an example from the East (Persia): a sealing of a certain Gobryas which is dated 499 BC (Fig. 27), nearly contemporary with our vase. It is an oriental design carved in a Greek style.[140]

As for the farmer pulling the tail of the lioness, I believe that the painter liked the detail (known to him probably from Oriental examples), because it is the act of a daredevil and looks surprising and funny.[141]

[138] Note that the upper lip of the red-bearded man is clean-shaven; this is unusual, but see the dancing men on the shoulder of No. 12, 'Louvre Tityos', *CH* pls. 59-60, and the hero and hunter on No. 29, 'Phokè', Pl. 12a-b.

[139] Florence 3888; Tosto 1999, no. 167, pl. 146, pp. 158, 232. Tosto dates it 530-525 and calls the fierceness of the scene 'possibly unique in Attic animal fights'. Comparable but less fierce is a rounded, two-handled cup by the Tityos Painter in the Villa Giulia, 65456, see *Un Artisto e il suo Mondo, Il Pittore de Micali* (exhibition in the British School at Rome) Rome 1988, figs. 43, 63. The Tityos Painter was acquainted with the Caeretan hydriae: see *CH* 189.

[140] Boardman, *Diffusion*, 46, fig. 2.33a; a photo of the same now in J. Boardman, *Persia and the West* (London 2000), 165, fig. 5.23.

[141] A near contemporary of his, the Attic Diosphos Painter, has a similar inclination for the extraordinary: on a small amphora in the art market, Heracles lifts the hind part of a centaur from the ground by his tail (J. M. Eisenberg, *Art of the Ancient World* XII, New York 2001, no. 186. On a new acquisition, a bf. hydria, in Amsterdam, B15.765, *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam* 94 / 2007, 12, Iolaos holds the Nemean lion by its tail while Heracles hastens forward with a club in his hand!

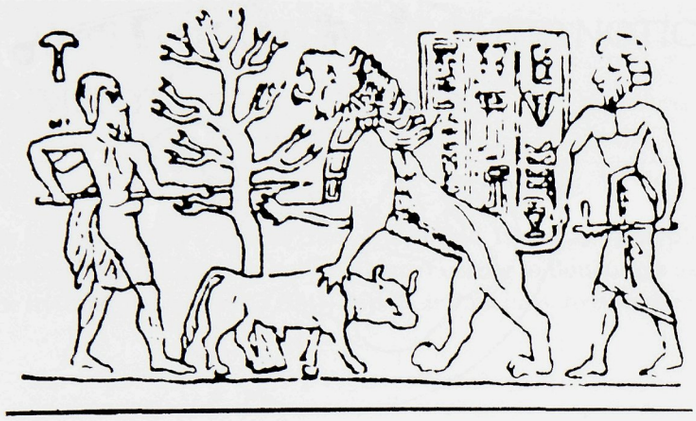

Fig. 28. Two men defending cow against lion. Drawing of Mesopotamian cylinder seal; ca. 2200 BC. After W. Wreszinsky, *Morgenland* 23, 1932, pl. 2, fig. 4.

It is well-known in the Near East from very early times; I illustrate an Accadian seal from the third millennium, Fig. 28 (see *CH II* 151 and n. 111),[142] which is a close parallel, depicting "two men protecting a cow against an attacking lion".

For a detailed discussion of the scene on the reverse and the subject see *CH II* 109 with n. 45.[143] Our Triton with his long white hair (Pl. 35b) truly is the Old Man of the Sea. Tritons and Hippocamps are known in Eastern Greece (*CH II* 109 n. 46), but very popular in Etruria. On braziers,[144] for example, there are many Tritons grasping Hippocamps in what seems to be a struggle. In Pl. 35c,[145] a brazier in Zurich, Triton grasps the left foreleg of the Hippocamp, and perhaps his outstretched arm is meant to land him a blow, but I doubt that the group has any particular meaning. Note that this Triton seems to have human genitals. A close parallel to our scene is by the Paris Painter on a chalice in Munich: Fig. 29a. His colleague, the Amphiaraos Painter, used scenes that are related to those of the hydriae, for example on the amphora: Pl. 35d;[146] here a Hippocamp is atacked by a warrior, while the scene on the shoulder is a close parallel for No. 25, *'Market Pholos'*, to be discussed now.

III.2 No. 19 *minus*, 'ex-New York Polyphemus' or 'Polyphemus II' (A: escape under rams; B: Polyphemus and two lambs)

Pls. 36-37a-c. Group B (Lotus-five Group), *Series 3a*, but the ornaments of the upper of the hydria belong to Group A (Swatika-Spiral Group).
Whereabouts uncertain: sent back to Italy; formerly New York, collection Shelby White, no. 688. *Published*: *CH II* 125-150, figs. 19a-l, 21a-d, 23a-d, 25a-d; *Nostoi* II, 110-1, cat. 37; also *Nostoi* I, 140 with colour plate.
Painters: Eagle Painter, but the ornaments of neck and shoulder and the handle palmette by helpmates, possibly the Wbl Painter (Wind-blown Ivy Painter) who painted the ivy (Pl. 37c).

Its place in Table A is 19 *minus* because of the neck ornaments, ivy and other details which belong to Group A, the Swastika-spiral Group, Pls. 36, 37a, c, while the lotus-palmette (Pl. 37b) shows the elegant shape with five leaves painted by the Eagle Painter and belonging to Group B (Lotus-five Group). Thus, it is an unexpected case that straddles the dividing line between *Series 2* and *Series 3* in Table A on p. IX.

142 Akkadian period, ca. 2200 BC, W. Wreszinski, *Morgenland*, 23, 1932, pl. 2, fig. 4. I thank Marijke Ballintijn for this reference. On a Graeco-Persian seal in Boston Medusa carries two little lions by their tails (instead of geese by their necks): Boardman, *Diffusion*, 41, fig. 2.26b.
143 And E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1979, 188-193.
144 C. Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth, Caeretan Cylinder-stamped Braziers* (2003), 71ff., 76, 81, 83-84.
145 L377, University collection, Zurich, with kind permission of the *Archäologisches Institut der Universität*.
146 Munich 838, L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1976, cat. no. 1, pls. 2-3.

Fig. 29a. Triton and Hippocamps on 'Pontic' chalyx by the Paris Painter. Munich 972.
After J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, 1912, 146, fig. 183.

As 'Polyphemus II' it is, as we shall see, close to 'Rome Polyphemus' (Polyphemus I), which is No. 20, Pl. 39a, but it should be placed above No. 19 as 19 *minus*.[147] The reason is that the lower part of the vase up to the upper border of the figure frieze was painted by the Eagle Painter (*Series 3*, Group B), but the ivy on the shoulder (Pl. 37c), is by the Wbl Painter (Wind-blown Ivy Painter) and perhaps also the maeander- and spiral-crosses on the neck and the palmette under the vertical handle (Pl. 36b, compare Figs. 7, 8a-b, Pl. 18d) which are clearly by one or two of the helpmates of the vases of *Series 2* in Group A – but the very short tongues round the handle attachments may be by the Eagle Painter himself.

Preservation. See *CH II* 125-31 with figs. 19b, 19d, and see here Pl. 37a (before restoration). Much repainting.

Technique. There is consistent use of templates in all ornaments that belong to *Series 2*. Besides, there is some preliminary sketching in the berries on the shoulder (*CH II* fig.19*l*). Exceptionally, there are traces of some (rather inaccurate) preliminary drawing in the lotuses.

Shape (Pl. 36). For a detailed discussion see *CH II* 131-2.[148] The vase differs notably from the foregoing: contrast Pls. 36b-c, 37a with Pl. 34a-b: it is less rounded, the neck is very wide and the foot narrower and more steeply rising. Again the shoulder has sagged a little.

Measurements and numbers (see *CH II* 131; to be inserted into Table B, *CH* 5-6).

Total height 41.5-42 cm. *Neck*: height 9.5-10 cm; min. diam. 12 cm; diam. fillet 13.5 cm; diam. *mouth* 22.2 cm; thickness of rim 1.5 cm (unpainted). *Body*: with handles diam. 38.3 cm; without 32 cm. *Foot*: height 4 cm, diam. 15 cm ; diam. fillet 8.9 cm; thickness rim 1 cm. *Vert. handle*: width 3.8 cm, its top attached half under, half against the rim.

Figure scene (without borders); height (measured along curve) 12 cm (11.5-12 on reverse); width of field of obverse between tongues of hor. handles 34 cm and on reverse 31.3 cm.

Ornaments. Ornament friezes (measured along curve without borders). *Shoulder* 9 cm. *Lower belly* (lp.) 9-9.2 cm. *Tongues* in mouth: length 6.1 cm; w. 1.3-4 cm (max); on foot: length 3.7 cm, width 1.5 cm (max); at hor. handles: 1.9 cm (template lines!). *Rays*: height of frieze 6 cm, length of rays 5.5 cm (not touching upper border). *Frieze lines*: above, 0.5-6 cm, middle 0.6-7 cm, lower, 0.7-8 cm. *Palmette vert. handle* (Pl. 36b = *Series 2*; compare Fig. 8a-b): length 7 cm.

Numbers of elements, use of colours and template

Neck (Pls. 36, 37a; *CH* 100 Table F): two maeandercrosses and one volute-cross, all neater than usual (added spots faded but compare Fig. 7 and Pl. 18d; *CH II*, figs. 19h-i.).

[147] It cannot be numbered No. 20 *bis*, because then it would belong exclusively to *Series 3*.
[148] The discussion in *Capolavori Ritrovati* (*Nostoi* I) is very insufficient and faulty.

Tongues (*CH* 111, Table H): all drawn with templates and those round the horizontal handles very short (Pl. 36c-d; contrast Pl. 34c). In mouth (Pl. 37c): 34 (!). On foot: 20. At hor. handles: left behind 21, in front 22; right in front 21, behind 21.
Handle palmette (Pl. 36b; *CH* 106-9, Table G): template drawn (*CH II* fig. 21a-b); nine leaves, two above frieze line, just as on No. 10, Fig. 8b and Pl. 37d (five white), heart black, central leaf pointed.
Rays: 18 (Pl. 36; *CH* 111, Table H), red, white, black, not touching upper border, painted with the use of templates.
Ivy leaves (Pl. 37c; *CH* 89-96,Table D, fig. 55): drawn with the help of templates (*CH II* fig. 19k); inside central branch: 7 leaves, and outside: 11.
Lotus-palmette (Pl. 37b; *CH* 94 Table E): nine elements of each; palmettes with 7 leaves, 3 red.

Comment

The ornaments have been very thoroughly analysed in *CH II* 132-8, but a short summary is required here, since the vase is a complicated example of co-operation. The most likely sequence of painting is as follows: the Wbl Painter (Wind-blown Ivy Painter)[149] started from above: the tongues in the mouth (an excessive number, 34: Pl. 37c).[150] He left the rim unpainted, like those of the early hydriae Nos. 1, 3-4: Pl. 2c-d (*CH* 105, pls. 1a–b, 2). Then he painted the rather neat ornaments on the neck, Pl. 36 (compare those of No. *11*: Pl. 18c, *CH* pl. 7c-d) and next the ivy wreath on the shoulder, Pl. 37c, using a sturdy template for his leaves (*CH II* figs. 19j-l; very like the ivy of its name-sake, No. 20, 'Rome Polyphemus I': Pl. 39a; see *CH* pl. 129b and compare that of No. 10 (Pl. 37d). Perhaps he continued with the (very short) tongues around the horizontal handles (Pl. 36b-c), but they rather seem to be by the Eagle Painter himself; they are so short that, again, they can only be compared with those of Nos. 1, 3 and 4, *e.g.*, Pl. 2b,[151] and finally he drew the palmette of the vertical handle (Pl. 36b).[152] At this point the Eagle Painter took over and drew the lotus-palmette (Pl. 37b; see below). That the figure scenes followed on the handle palmette and tongues, appears from the fact that Polyphemus' hair overlaps the tip of one of the leaves of the handle palmette, Pls. 36b, 37a (the tails of the lamb on the reverse, Pl. 36b-c, and of a ram on the obverse in Pl. 36d touch the tongues of the handles). The rays[153] are red, white, black as in *Series 1* and *2*, but in *Series 3* (see *CH* 111, Table H) this is restricted to Nos. 19-*21*, which three vases, as we have seen in Ch. I.3.c, were provided with ornaments by the Eagle Painter (except the shoulder-ivy of No. 20).[154]

The lp. of 'Polyphemus II' (Pl. 37b) is similar to that of Polyphemus I (Pl. 39a), but there is a white V-shaped stripe separating the calyces from the leaves in Pls. 36, 37b. Calyxes are nearly always solid white (though on No. *2*, Fig. 6, they are red: *CH* pl. 135b). When studying the vase in New York, long ago, I mistook these white 'chevrons' for modern restoration, but now I think it was an experiment restricted to this hydria, since a slight trace of such a white chevron is visible in Pl. 37a, a photo that was made before the restoration of the vase (*CH II* fig. 21c-d). The white chevron separates the calyx from the leaves, just as reservation does in the lp. on Polyphemus I (No. 20, Pl. 39a), on which reservation is used to demarcate all subdivisions of the flowers and palmettes.[155] In short, we must accept that the white chevrons are genuine (though heavily restored); they are a surprise indeed. A common feature of both lp. friezes is that they are 'floating', *i.e.* they do not rest on spikes (compare Nos. 1, 4-6, Pls. 46d, 47b; *CH* pls. 1-4): contrast, *e.g.*, Pls. 10, 17a, 21a.

149 I have called him the Wind-blown-ivy Painter (*CH* 91-92, 101-5), a name that fits ornaments like those of Pl. 37c-d.
150 Excessive even for *Series 2* and even more so for *Series 3*: see *CH* 111, Table H.
151 The tongues on the early vases by the Busiris Painter, Nos. 2 and 2 *bis* (the ornaments of which are from his hand), are longer (Pl. 1b; *CH* pl. 1c-d).
152 Tracing: *CH II* fig. 21b: the handle palmette and ivy are exactly like those of No. 10, 'Louvre Atalanta I', Fig. 8b, Pl. 37d, but on No. 10 the ornaments of rim and neck are far worse: they must be by another hand, which means that No. 10 was painted by three different hands!
153 I do not know who painted the rays; perhaps these came right at the beginning.
154 This includes No. *21*, Pls. 6a, 19a (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*), a hydria by the Busiris Painter: but its lp is, as we have seen, by the Eagle Painter.
155 In the lotuses: between the calyces and the outer leaves and between the leaves themselves; in the palmettes: between the hearts and the leaves, and between the hearts and the spirals: *CH* 97 and *CH II*, fig. 21c-d.

Figure scenes

Obverse (Pls. 35e, 36a; *CH II* figs. 19a-b, 23a-d). *Odysseus' comrades escaping under the rams* (see *CH II* 138-41). Three enormous rams and rather smallish youths holding on to the rams' necks, stretching their legs straight under the bellies of the animals: a truly admirable feat, for the painter omitted the ropes that should have supported them. All look like boys (with longish hair) and clearly none is meant to portray Odysseus himself. The right-hand ram is very large indeed (Pl. 35e); if we take the boy under it to be small (1.60 m) the length of the ram is over 2 m, truly an animal matching his giant owner. Yet the wrinkles in its face mark the strain of carrying the boy![156]

Reverse (Pls. 35f, 36b-d, 37a; *CH II* figs. 19c-e, 23a-c, 25a-d). *Cyclops and two lambs.* Described in detail in *CH II* 143-8.

Comment

The tongues, neck ornaments, handle-palmette, unpainted rim, lp. and also the rays are at home, as we have seen, in Group A. Its namesake, No. 20, 'Polyphemus I', Pl. 39a, is also connected with Group A, *Series 2,* because its shoulder-ivy is by the Wind-blown Ivy Painter (Ch. I.3.b; *CH* 96, pl. 129b). The two vases are exceptional among the hydriae of Group B.

The representation is interesting and runs counter to modern expectation: the myth is evoked in a 'synoptic' manner, which means that a number of different elements are brought together in a single picture, calling to mind the entire story: we see the risky escape but the colossal monster is still drinking from his huge cup.[157] He holds it up by its high foot (Pls. 35f, 36b, d, 37a), his mouth open as if roaring his famous threat that he would eat 'Nobody' (*Mètis*, meaning Odysseus) last. His facial expression (Pl. 35f) is far from friendly, but his teeth and tongue are not shown. Note the shape of his very slanting, vicious eye. All this is efficient story-telling, though the main event, the blinding, is omitted.[158]

With the curious distribution of the figures over obverse and reverse the painter deviated from the normal handling of this story: the monster with his beaker should be on the obverse together with the assault by the Greeks (see Pl. 39a) or its preparation. In short, this is a 'secondary' design, chosen in order to vary the routine: the giant is relegated to B and has hardly enough place for his colossal legs (Pls. 36d, 37a). The right-hand side of the reverse, which should represent the grotto or stable, had to be filled, but here the painter's usual inventiveness failed him: he painted two lone lambs ambling along under three mysterious cheeses (? Pl. 36b). This reverse-scene is unusual, unbalanced and unsatisfactory. No doubt, the story was popular with the painters and we may hope for a third hydria with this myth in future years.

III.3 New York alabastron[159]

New York, MMA 1981.11.7: Pl. 38a-d.

Published: Dietrich von Bothmer in *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in Honorem Bernardi v. Bothmer* (edited by H. de Meulenaere and L. Limme, Brussels) 1983, 18-19, figs. 13-16. See further *NY Alabastron* and *Alabastron II. Painter* ? Upper frieze like Busiris Painter, lower register like Eagle Painter.

156 Here I may point out that in the heads of the rams of Pls. 35e, 36a there are repaintings of breaks that are astonishingly in accordance with the style of the Eagle Painter, so much so that I could not distinguish what was original and not, though the break proved part to be modern! In other words, I suspect that there is a painter-restorer active somewhere who can draw exactly as the Eagle Painter, a most disquieting thought! The man may now have been stopped by the Italian police when they discovered the great hoard of stolen vases as recorded in *Capolavori Ritrovati (Nostoi* I), Roma Palazzo del Quirinale, the catalogue of the exhibition there, running from 21 Dec. 2007 till March 2nd 2008.

157 It is a kind of band-cup with the handles bent upwards; it is slightly different from the one on No. 20, 'Polyphemus I', Pl. 39a, which has horizontal handles and a trumpet-shaped foot: compare the Nicosthenic cup, Tosto 1999, no. 155, p. 143, pl. 39, fig. 84. Tosto remarks that the foot of this cup must have been fashioned directly on the bowl.

158 This synoptic picture, like many other Archaic representations, disproves the common theory that Archaic Greek painters tried to choose the most expressive *moment* in a story.

159 For other alabastra related to the hydriae see *CH* 152, 201 (and n. 530) with pls. 148a, 149a , and now *CVA* Amsterdam 6, pl. 316.1-2, fig. 21, also fig. 22. The connection with the Caeretan hydriae, as discussed in *NY Alabastron* and *Alabastron II* with fig. 1a, are ignored.

Preservation. Height 17.7 cm. Unbroken but surface and paint badly worn, much repainting and retracing of incisions. The former owner, Dietrich von Bothmer, took off some of the modern paint, so, *e.g.*, the second arm of the centaur opposing Heracles and most black of the tree in Heracles' hand (both of which are still visible in the early photograph of Pl. 38a, but not in Pl. 38b).

Though the alabastron has been published over and over again, a few words may be devoted to it here, because of the close connection with No. 25 *'Pholos'*: frontispiece. After much hesitation I have come to the conclusion that for the time being it may be regarded as genuine, until a future thermoluminescence test can decide the question. At present it seems a unique parody of the figure work of the two masters by a helpmate in the workshop – if not by a modern impostor – , a young man with true talent[160] who managed to imitate the style of the Busiris Painter in the upper frieze (frieze A) and that of the Eagle Painter in the lower one (frieze B).

For frieze A (not quite 5 cm high) he took as a model a scene like that of No. 25 (frontispiece; Pls. 8a, 9a; *'Market Pholos'*, by the Busiris Painter), but he changed the attitude of the figures: Heracles is not crouching and the centaurs are standing upright. To our amazement, however, Heracles is not handling his bow but holding a tree upside down in his left hand (Pl. 38b): thus the battle between Heracles and the centaurs of the frontispiece is utterly ridiculed. We find another absurdity in the lower frieze. Here (Pl. 38a, c) he chose a theme that is very common in East Greek pottery, but so far unknown on our hydriae (it is also curiously unknown on East Greek pottery made or found in Etruria): a row of girls holding each other by the wrist and slowly dancing to the rhythm of a flute player. This is creditable enough, but the girl at the end of the row holds a wildly struggling goose by the neck in her free hand, nearly choking it (Pl. 38a, c).

These two crazy details seem reason enough to regard the bottle as a fake. However, as Bothmer told me long ago, it is not easy to dismiss it as such: a comparison between the flautists of Pls. 38d (the alabastron) and 38e (detail of No. 15, 'Copenhagen Sacrifice': *CH* pl. 67c) seems convincing. Compare also the heads of the girls in Pl. 38c-d with those in Pl. 20d-e. But see my discussion in *Alabastron II.*

[160] As I have pointed out above I suspect that there is a painter-restorer active somewhere who can draw exactly like the Eagle Painter! He may also be responsible for this alabastron.

IV OTHER CHANGES IN THE MATERIAL OR OUR KNOWLEDGE SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF *CH* (1984)

IV.1 No. 25. Once *'Zurich Pholos'*, now *'Market Pholos'* or simply *'Pholos'* (B: swordsmen)

Frontispiece, Pls. 7b-d, 8-9. Group B, *Series 3b (Lotus-ivy Series)*.
Isler 1983, 23-31, figs. 10-18. *Painters*: Busiris Painter, also, I believe, the ivy-wreath (Pl. 7d; see Ch. I.3.d).

Context and vicissitudes. The vase is said to have been found together with No. 29 ('Athens Phokè': Pls. 10c-d, 11-13) and the amphora A2, Pl. 14b. This 'tomb group' was published by H. P. Isler 1983 and in *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (1982, edited by H. Bloesch), 24-33 and 95-96. The hydria was acquired by Hirschmann in the early sixties of the last century,[161] together with the other two vases of the 'tomb group', No. 29 (see below and Pls. 10c-d, 11-13) and the amphora A2 (Pl. 14b; Ch. II.7). It was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 9, 1993, *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, No. 36 (with fine colour prints, compare here frontispiece and Pls. 7b-d, 8-9). I saw the vase in Geneva in 1994.[162]

Comment

The ornaments. It has been pointed out (see Ch. I.3.d) that its ivy wreath (Pl. 7d) is very similar to those of Nos. 22-24 (Pl. 21b; see *CH* pls. 132c-d, 133a) and 25 *bis* (Pl. 40e). Therefore, I was inclined to attribute this ivy branch to the Eagle Painter, but slight differences suggested to me that the ornament may rather be attributed to the Busiris Painter, together with all the other paintings on the vase (see *CH* pls. 132-3).

The figure scenes are remarkable and have been published extensively. For the scene on the obverse see Isler 1983, 23-28 and *CH* 42, 178. For the reverse see Isler 1983, 37-38 and *CH* 42, 120, pls. 12b, 94. The pithos that was the cause of the fight with the centaurs, is red (bronze?) and dug deep into the ground under the left handle (Pl. 7c). Between the menacingly dancing (?) nude young men holding their swords and sheaths in their hands and looking stiffly round at each other (Pls. 7b, 8b, 9b; *CH* pl. 94), there is another bronze (red) dinos on a cushion (a price?). This scene (a ritual sword-dance of a sort) is unique and puzzling. They seem to be rudiments of old scenes that have lost their meaning, rather like the horse-tamer of Nos. 19 and 26, Pls. 5c, 17a (see the discussion in *CH* 120). It shows once more how far the tradition of the Caeretan hydriae is removed from that of all the other schools of Greek pottery of the time.

When I saw the hydria in Geneva, it had been cleaned and, I fear, not without damage to the white of the body of the second centaur which was in perfect condition before (in the frontispiece and Pl. 9a it is still intact).

Incidentally, these are the only centaurs of the Busiris Painter preserved; because their human legs are raised, we cannot see that Caeretan centaurs sport double genitals: human and equine (*e.g.*, *CH* pls. 70e, 72d, 82b; Nos. 16, 17, 20; all Nessus!).[163] This is rare elsewhere but also found in the work of the Paris Painter; see Hannestad, *The Paris Painter*, no. 9, New York 55.11.1.

161 Isler 1983, 15, says that Hirschmann acquired it *"seit bald zwanzig Jahren"*.

162 When it was in the possession of Hisham Aboutaam, I do not know what happened to the vase since the huge scandal of the illegal exports; this hydria may also be back in Italy now.

163 Nudes by the Eagle Painter have rather big genitals (*e.g.*, Pl. 12a). Those by the Busiris Painter are different, some finely shaped and more modest as in Pls. 8b, 9b, and, *e.g.*, of Heracles on Nos. *21* (Pl. 6a; *CH* pl. 84g) and *34* (Pl. 16b), like those of the wrestlers and boxers of No. *21* (reverse): Pls. 3c, 24a; *CH* 81, fig. 47, pl. 85c. Nude males are rare anyway, except for the boyish horsemen of No. 1 (*CH* pl. 23), the youthful hunters of No. *2* (Pl. 22e), the naked dancers on the shoulder of No. 12 (*CH* pls. 58e-60), the hero (Aeacus?) of No. 29 (Pl. 12a), and, from time to time, Heracles (Pls. 6a, 16b, 23b). Of course there are the wild creatures such as satyrs and Tityos (*CH* pl. 58e), but of the nude Horse-tamers of Nos. 19 and 26 the genitals are hardly indicated (Pls. 5a, c, 17a). Of Polyphemus and Alcyoneus they are hidden behind the thighs (Pls. 6a, 39a). [In Attic rf. vase painting male genitals differ in shape and size according to the person or monster to which they belong: centaurs and slaves (or rough farmers) have big, crudely shaped ones, but those of ordinary men and especially of heroes and gods are fine and delicate. This distinction is lacking on the Caeretan hydriae.]

The myth is well-known in Etruria, *e.g.*, in Pontic, and to show how great the distance is between the Caeretan hydriae and the best Pontic work I add a picture of the shoulder of the amphora by the Amphiaraos Painter (Pl. 40a, which I showed in Pl. 35d, because of the hippocamp threatened with a spear); the scene represents the same myth as our No. *25*, but in a very different style: the human parts of the centaurs have buttocks, like those of the Eagle Painter but no double genitals, and the human and equine parts are distinguished by colour, which is never the case on the hydriae.[164]

IV.2 No. 25 *bis*, fragmentary. 'Rizzo hydria' (B: Heracles and centaur)

Villa Giulia Museum 109730. Fig. 29b, Pls. 40b-e, 41a-c. Group B, *Series 3b.*
I have not seen these fragments, only the photographs kindly provided by Prof. M. A. Rizzo. All information not visible on the photos comes from Prof. Rizzo.

Published: M. A. Rizzo, Nuovi frammenti di un'hydria ceretana del Pittore dell'Aquila in *AEIMNESTOS, Miscellanea di Studi per Mauro Cristofani*, I , 2006, 388-93.

Finding place and context: Cerveteri, from a tumulus immediately to the North of the Tomba Marce Ursus. The tomb had been plundered: some fragments of vases were found in the dromos and the rest, also our fragments, in the main room.[165] In n. 29 Rizzo enumerates the finds of the tomb and concludes that they fall in the last twenty years of the sixth century. "Here we have", she finally says, "one of the few contexts with a Caeretan hydria that provides a somewhat more precise chronological date."

Painter: Eagle Painter, also the ornaments. *Preservation.* Several fragments with ornaments (of the mouth, rim and neck, shoulder, body and base) and two with figures (of the reverse). All sherds badly worn, no colours left, but where the paint (red ?) was applied directly on the clay, vague shades can perhaps be discerned.

Ornaments

Rather thick frieze lines (Pls. 40d, 41b). *Mouth* (Pl. 40b; estimated diam. 20.2 cm; compare *CH* 5, Table B): 14 tongues[166] preserved in mouth; original number about 24 like No. *25*, *'Market Pholos'*, Pl. 7d; *CH* pl. 17c (see *CH* 111, Table H). *Rim* (Pl. 40c): myrtle wreath with berries, like Nos. 7 and 29 (Pls. 4a-b, 10c-d; *CH* 104, fig. 61).

Neck (Pl. 40c): tiny part of star and lotus, belonging to the normal lotus-stars of *Series 3*, see frontispiece, Pls. 6b-d, 7a-c, 10c-d, etc. and *CH* 100, Table F, and p. 98, fig. 57.

Shoulder (Pl. 40d; three fragments: ht. 10 and w. 5 cm): ivy branch, very like those of the vases of *Series 3b*, Nos. 22-*25*; the bunches of berries are more or less hand-shaped,[167] see Ch. I.3.d; Fig. 10, Pls. 6c-d, 7d, 21b, etc.; *CH* pls. 132c-d, 133a.

In the upper register two leaves are very close together leaving hardly space for the berries, *cf.* Pl. 21b. The leaves are slightly 'fattish' like those of No. *25*, Pl. 7d (see Ch. I.3.d). The number of leaves may have been somewhat like that of No. *25*, *i.e.*, 8 leaves within, 12 outside the central branch (see *CH* 92, Table D).

Lower belly: one fragment of the lotus-palmette with upper border line and lotus leaf (Pl. 41a, no. *1*) and a bigger sherd with parts of a palmette and spiral (6 x 7 cm; Pl. 40e and, lightly pencilled, Fig. 29b), very badly worn:[168] the connection between the loop-shaped heart of the palmette and the spiral seems is

164 This may conceivably have been the case on the alabastron of Pl. 38, but the preservation is too bad to be sure.
165 Rizzo 388, 392: the tomb consists of a main room with two couches, a small room at its end with a simple bench and two side rooms each with two benches.
166 No doubt the tongues were coloured in the normal way but all colours are wholly lost. Rizzo's description (her p. 389) that they are solid back and her assumption that this is also the case on Nos. 6, 9-10, 18-20, and 2 *bis* are mistaken.
167 The bunches of berries are not rosette-shaped with a central dot like those of vases of Series 3c, *e.g.*, Pl. 13a.
168 There is also a trace of the lp. under Heracles in Pl. 41b.

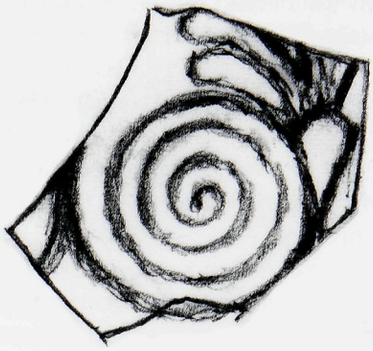

Fig. 29b. Part of palmette and spirals of fragment No. 25 *bis*. After Rizzo 2006, fig. 4, lightly pencilled. See also Pl. 40e.

very vague, but compare the lp. of No. *25* which is its closest parallel (frontispiece, Pl. 7b-c). The palmette probably had 7 leaves (3 red, again like No. *25*), the spiral had four windings. [169]

Handle tongues (Pl. 41a, nos. *4-5*): on the fragment of Pl. 41a, no. *5* we see part of a human figure, an arm (or, inverted, a leg) apparently belonging to the obverse. I cannot say anything about the fragment of Pl. 41a, no. *3*.

Figure scenes. The *obverse* is lost, except for the tiny fragment of Pl. 41a, no. *5*. *Reverse*: Heracles and centaur (Pl. 41b-c). Tips of two leaves of the palmette of the vertical handle are preserved (Pl. 41c). Heracles to right (Pl. 41b): fragment consisting of two sherds (9 x 6 cm; to be reconstructed to the left of vertical handle): part of body and right leg of Heracles apparently shooting with his bow (part of his right forearm preserved), bending his leg, almost kneeling, dressed in short chiton; his anatomy (thigh, calf and knee) and short chiton (with two overfalls hanging down over the belt, one on the belly the other on the back – I call this the *pi*-shaped stylization – , see Atalanta and her hunters of Nos. 10, 24, Pls. 17c, 21a, 22c) are typical of the Eagle Painter. The attitude and posture are almost exactly the same as those of Heracles on No. *25* in the frontispiece and Pl. 8a. The position of his right forearm (partly visible at the top of the fragment in Pl. 41b) shows that Heracles is pulling the string of the bow; his *gorytos* hanging on his left side is just visible in front of, and behind his waist (compare Pl. 8a and frontispiece; see *CH* pl. 82a). Between his legs there is a clear trace of the incised tuft of hair at the end of the tail of his lion-skin (at some distance from his right knee). Comparing Pl. 8a one can perhaps discern (in the photograph) other bits of the *leonté* (one leg hanging down from behind his buttock, the other between his legs with a trace of the claw and a shade of the tail). The *leonté* must have been red (directly on clay), the chiton, I believe, white, all like Pl. 8a. For the rendering of the short chiton compare Pl. 12b or *CH* pls. 69a, 79a, 87b.

Centaur fleeing to right (Pl. 41c; the fragment consists of two sherds: 12 x 4 cm) to the right of the handle palmette (bits of two leaves preserved). Because Deianira is lacking (see Pl. 20a; and *CH* pls. 70e, 72d, 82d), I take it that the centaur belongs to a scene with Heracles' fighting centaurs, such as we have discussed above (frontispiece). Our centaur is like the third one on No. *25*, the one on the right who is fleeing for Heracles in Pl. 9a. Here, however, he is running at greater speed, his right front leg raised high, uncovering his penis and what I believe to be part of his (big) scrotum; his body is bent far forward, looking round and turning his torso.

In this position his beard should be visible on his breast, as on the three examples of the Nessus myth just quoted (*e.g.*, Pl. 20a; *CH* pls. 70, 72, 82). There seems to be a slight black trace between his breast and right arm, which could be the point of his beard: if so, he must have turned his head more than 45 degrees with great force, lifting his chin and so poking his beard far backwards (contrast Pl. 20a, Nessus). But perhaps the beard was mistakenly drawn as if covered by the shoulder: this error occurs also on No. 27, *CH* pls. 97b, 98a, where the painter makes a thorough mess of his picture, drawing the breasts on the

[169] See for the other lp.'s: *CH* pls. 138-9, 163-8.

back of the brute, so that the beard may fall behind the shoulder. For, as I have frequently pointed out, the Eagle Painter disliked back-views (see *CH* 150), perhaps regarding it as rather impolite towards the spectator (see also Pl. 12a).

The abdomen and breast are badly drawn, without any transition: the one in profile, the other frontally (this rather primitive rendering is very common with the Eagle Painter; see Nesssus in Pl. 20a (*CH* pl. 72d); contrast the Busiris Painter, Pls. 8b, 9b). Note the bristly breast hair and that the human part has human buttocks (unlike the centaurs of the Busiris Painter, Pls. 8a, 9a) and the equine torso was probably also provided with human genitals, as in *CH* pl. 72d.

This hydria provides us with another example of the repetition of a theme, or rather an extract of a scene, *viz.* the fight with centaurs of the frontispiece, reduced to two figures only. It is not a close repetition, such as we have witnessed, when describing the myths of Nessus and Atalanta (Ch. II.1 and 2).

Possibly, the 'Rizzo hydria' was decorated with two myths: an unknown one on A and Heracles fighting a centaur on B. Compare the double myths on No. 3, Hermes (Pl. 1c-d) and Cephalus (Pl. 2a); on No. 10, the Calydonian boar (Pl. 22a-c) and Europa (Pl. 18b); on No. 20, Polyphemus (Pl. 39a) and Nessus (*CH* pl. 82); and on No. 24, Atalanta and the Nemean Lion (Ch. II.2).

IV.3 No. 29. Once 'Zurich Monster', now 'Athens Phokè' (B: hunt)

Pls. 10c-d, 11-13.

Athens, Niarchos collection 1110; ex-collection Hirschmann, Zurich. Sold at Sotheby's London, Dec. 9, 1993, *Greek vases from the Hirschmann collection*, no. 35

Published: Isler 1983, 19-23, figs. 1-9; *CH* 45-46, pls. 13, 17, 103-5, 133d, 138c, 154d; fig. 61 (p. 104); L. I. Marangou *et al.*, *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos* (Athens, 1995) 121-31. J. Boardman, "Very like a whale" in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, Papers presented in honor of Edith Porada, Mainz am Rhein, 1987, 80, pl. 24,14 (identifying the hero as Heracles). See *CH II* n. 4. *Painters*: figures by Eagle Painter, ornaments by Busiris Painter. *Provenance*. This hydria is said to be from the same tomb as the amphora A2 (Pl. 14b) and No. 25, *'Pholos'* (frontispiece; Pls. 7b-d, 8-9).

Comment

The vase has been moved from Zurich to Athens in 1993 and is now in the Niarchos collection in Athens. It is the first Caeretan hydria ever on show in Greece and will, I expect, remain in Athens; therefore, I indicate the vase as 'Athens Phokè', after the funny little animal: Pl. 11b-c.

It is one of the finest and best preserved of all hydriae and looks perfectly harmonious. Yet, it is not the work of a single hand. As has been described above, the ornaments are not by the painter of the scenes, but by the Busiris Painter. Perhaps this still is a little suprising, even after the very detailed discussions of Ch. I.3.c-d. Let us, therefore, compare the lp. on our hydria, Pl. 10c-d, with the lp. of another fine vase, but this time painted by the Busiris Painter, No. 25, *'Pholos'* (frontispiece; Pl. 7b-c); these ornaments, though different in height and in the number of their palmette leaves, seem indistinguishable and surely are from the same hand: that of the Busiris Painter.[170]

The figure scenes are splendid; they are highly detailed and intriguing; and deserve a description, for which there was no scope in *CH*. The preservation is nearly perfect, both scenes are very colourful. The reverse picture is admirable indeed (Pls. 10d, 12b, 13b); the colours red, white and black are well-distributed; even the hooves and horns of the two animals have different colours. Note that the hunter (Pl. 12b) is without a moustache (like the stone-throwing hero on the obverse: Pl. 12a) and that the red billy goat touches a leaf of the handle palmette, in spite of the fact that the handle, and therefore its palmette (Pls. 10d, 13b), is off centre to the left (the space for the two stags is far larger than for the hunter and his dog). In fact, the handle palmette, which, with the rest of the ornaments, was painted by the Busiris Painter, is too large; the Eagle Painter had to accept the situation when he took over to paint the

[170] The ivies (Pls. 13a, 7d) are (as we have seen) also very similar (see Ch. I.3.d) except for the shape of the bunches of berries.

figure scenes. On the other hand, when he started painting the loving couples on the reverse of No. 28, Pl. 10b, he must have felt more at ease with the palmette; though on this hydria too, the ornaments are by the Busirus Painter, the handle palmette is so well-planned and modest, that it must, one feels, have been painted by the Eagle Painter himself.

Even more truly splendid is the scene on the obverse (Pls. 10c, 11b-c, 12a), but it is not at all clear what myth is represented. Scholars have thought of Heracles rescuing Hesione, or Perseus liberating Andromeda (*CH* 142; also 187 and n. 201). However, though the appearance of the hero could suit Perseus (certainly not Heracles, as we shall see below), the absence of the lady in distress seems odd. In fact, she is *not absent at all*, but has been transformed into a seal (Pl. 11b-c). There is no animal that looks more like an unhappy little human being than a seal with its naïve and melancholy eyes; at times its face is almost shockingly human. And so it is here: note its female shape and human ear. The Phocaeans must have had an intimate knowledge of the animal, as is also clear from Phocaean coins; on one of which the seal seems to wear a collar, perhaps a domesticated, sacred animal.[171] In Pl. 11b-c, she is jumping up and down while looking in great anxiety over the back of the monster at her rescuer, a naked hero. She is clearly hoping for a successful outcome of the fight; at least such is the impression the Eagle Painter must have meant to convey (notice the shape of her eyebrow, the curved incision in her cheek, and her twitching mouth: *CH* 174 and n. 683). The anonymous hero (Pl. 12a) throws a small white rock with his right hand while he holds a sickle or *harpè* in the left, ready to cut off the monster's tongue as proof of his heroic feat (this seems to be common in fairy tales; see *CH* 142 with n. 289). He is portrayed as a courageous, but rather ungainly, heavy-weight, intent on his fight, as appears from the tiny pupil marked with the point of his incision tool in the iris of his eye: see the enlargement in *CH* pl. 105b. Yet, the drawing is far from perfect: the Eagle Painter has, as is his habit, drawn breasts on the back of his hero, a 'mistake' I have mentioned more than once above.

Before we speak of the identification of the hero, a few words may be said about the *kètos* (Pls. 11b, 12a). The painter has tried his utmost to make the monster truly horrible; with a multitude of dorsal crests, coloured fins and other kinds of red or white details; there is even a fine flame-like thing on its forehead, reminiscent of the hole through which a wale throws up fountains of water: His teeth are formidable, and his wide-open muzzle is menacing enough with its sixteen sharp, white teeth. However, if, as we usually suppose (Ch. VI.3.e; *CH* 160, 173), the painters had visited Egypt before they travelled to Etruria, they should have been acquainted with the terrible fangs and jaws of the crocodile, and so the Eagle Painter might have used the grinning horror of that colossal reptile to make his *kètos* even more truly fear-inspiring. Still, its round eye with its big pupil gives an effect of fury.

The painter's sea is full of animals; the face of the foremost dolphin (under the jaw of the monster) wears an expression of anxiety or fright, indicated by the position of the iris in the white eye and the shape of its neb (Pl. 12a); besides, there is a vent-hole on the forehead, which looks like a frown. The red octopus (Pl. 11b) is so far unique on the hydriae but must have been depicted more often, such is the painter's ease in rendering it.

But what myth or legend is represented? The solution lies, I believe, in the lovely seal. She should, I think, be regarded as the bewitched name-princess of the town Phocaea / Sealtown (*CH* 174).[172] The scene depicts, I suggest, a now unknown myth lost from tradition but preserved here, telling how the nymph of Phocaea was nearly devoured by a monster, but just on time was changed into a *phokè*, when, happily, the great hero arrived to rescue her. Long ago, Geralda Jurriaans-Helle pointed out to me an interesting myth, that leads the way, though it does not offer a definitve solution (*CH* 142, n. 288).[173]

Phokos, the eponymous hero of Phocaea, was the son of the Nereid Psamathè and Aeacus (the father of Peleus); Psamathè had tried to escape from Aeacus' embrace by changing into a *phokè*, but without success.[174] To explain our scene, we need a similar story that tells how the local nymph (perhaps called

171 Langlotz 1966, fig. 4.

172 M. Martelli, in: Cristofani, *Die Etrusker*, 190-1, believes "*fast mit sicherheit*," that Phocaea is the homeland of the painters, "*worauf die Darstellung des sprechenden Symbols der Stadt....hinweist*". He continues: "*dass die Flüchtlinge aus Phokäa um 540 v. Chr. zu den Urhebern einer Fruchtbaren Kunstaktivität wurden*" in Etruria, both for the decoration of buildings and for the production of plaques with paintings and reliefs.

173 More recently recounted by L. Cerchiai in *Il programma figurative dell' hydria Ricci*, in *AntK* 38, 1995, 85. Our 'phokè' is already cited as referring to Phocaea by Isler 1983, 46.

174 J.-P. Vernant in: M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence* (1974), 161 n.134. There is also another case of such a metamorphosis: Thetis too transformed herself in a seal during the return of the Greeks after the fall of Troy.

Phokè rather than Psamathè) was attacked by a great sea monster and, therefore, was changed (or changed herself) into a seal. In the end she is happily rescued by the great hero, perhaps Aeacus, who then fathered Phokos on her – or some similar fairy tale.

Such a legend would fit the fact that the hero on the hydria is definitely *not* Heracles (as explained *CH* 142, 174), not only because of his pierced ear (*CH* pl. 105b, here Pl. 12a), or because of his unusual weapons (a *harpè* and a small rock), but also because of his clean-shaven upper lip which he shares with the hunter on the reverse of the vase (Pl. 12b), but is otherwise rare on the hydriae.[175]

My assumption of an unknown myth about the founding heroine of Phocaea may seem wildly unwarranted, but a more or less comparable case is the myth depicted on No. 8 (Pl. 28a; Ch. II.5), which is, I believe, Alcmaeon departing from his wife, a story that may be known to us but is so far unknown in Greek vase painting. And no less enigmatic is what looks like a contest between two dancing swordsmen round a price-dinos, on the reverse of No. 25, *'Market Pholos'*, discussed above (Pls. 7b, 8b, 9b). The presumed Phokè-myth is the kind of story that is to be expected in the work of a shop which differs in nearly all respects from all other Greek schools of pottery and which belongs to an unknown East Greek context (see Ch. VI.3.e).

IV.4 No. 23. Once 'London Hydra', now 'Malibu Hydra' (B: sphinxes)

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE. 346. Fig. 30, Pls 6c-d, 7a.
Painters: Eagle Painter, but lp. (and neck ornament) by Busiris Painter. *Recent history* (see *CH* 41): until 1935 in Austria where it remained unpublished; then in the collection of Count Seilern in London. Then it was for some time on loan in the British Museum, which (to my disappointment) did not acquire it. It is in Malibu since 1983.

Publications: J. M. Hemelrijk and Stella Lubsen, *BABesch* 52-53, 1977-78, 5-15; *CH* 41, pls. 11, 17, 88-91, 132, 137, 153: *Fine Antiquities*, Christie's London, July 2, 1982, no. 252; *CH II* figs. 18a-y, p. 115-25; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Antiquities* (1997) 75, text by E. Towne-Markus (with colour picture). Now beautifully published in *CVA* J. Paul Getty Museum 9, USA 34, by R. de Puma (2000), 25-9, pls. 494 -8 (fine colour plates and section drawing).

Comment

Very full publications are available; no further comment is desirable. After a very long residence in Austria where no publication was effected, Count Seilern allowed me to study the hydria in his great house in London in 1953-4.[176] Later, when it had entered the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, I was asked to re-publish it.

The ivy is attributed to the Eagle Painter, but its lp. (and, with it, the neck ornament: Pls. 6c-d, 7a) cannot be separated from those of the Busiris Painter, compare No. 25, frontispiece and Pl. 7b-c. This curious co-operation of the two masters has been explained in Ch. I.3.d.

The drawing of Fig. 30 suggests that the wall is thicker in the neck than in the shoulder and body which seems to indicate that the neck was not pulled up from the same lump of clay as the body (for the way in which the hydriae were probably fashioned, see Ch. I.2.b). The section of the vertical handle in Fig. 30 shows its structure: it was made of two oblong strips of clay, laid on top of each other, the outer layer being formed by four ribs or reeds (which merge into each other below). The inner layer supports the reeded strip (*CH* 64).

[175] For 'portraits' of Heracles, see *CH* 79 fig. 45, 135 fig. 70. Clean-shaven upper lips: the dancing men on the shoulder of No. 12, 'Louvre Tityos', are bearded with a clean-shaven upper lip: *CH* pls. 59-60; also the left-hand wrestler in Pl. 23c.

[176] Where I studied it, as the only Greek vase in a big, unheated room full of awe-inspiring monumental paintings.

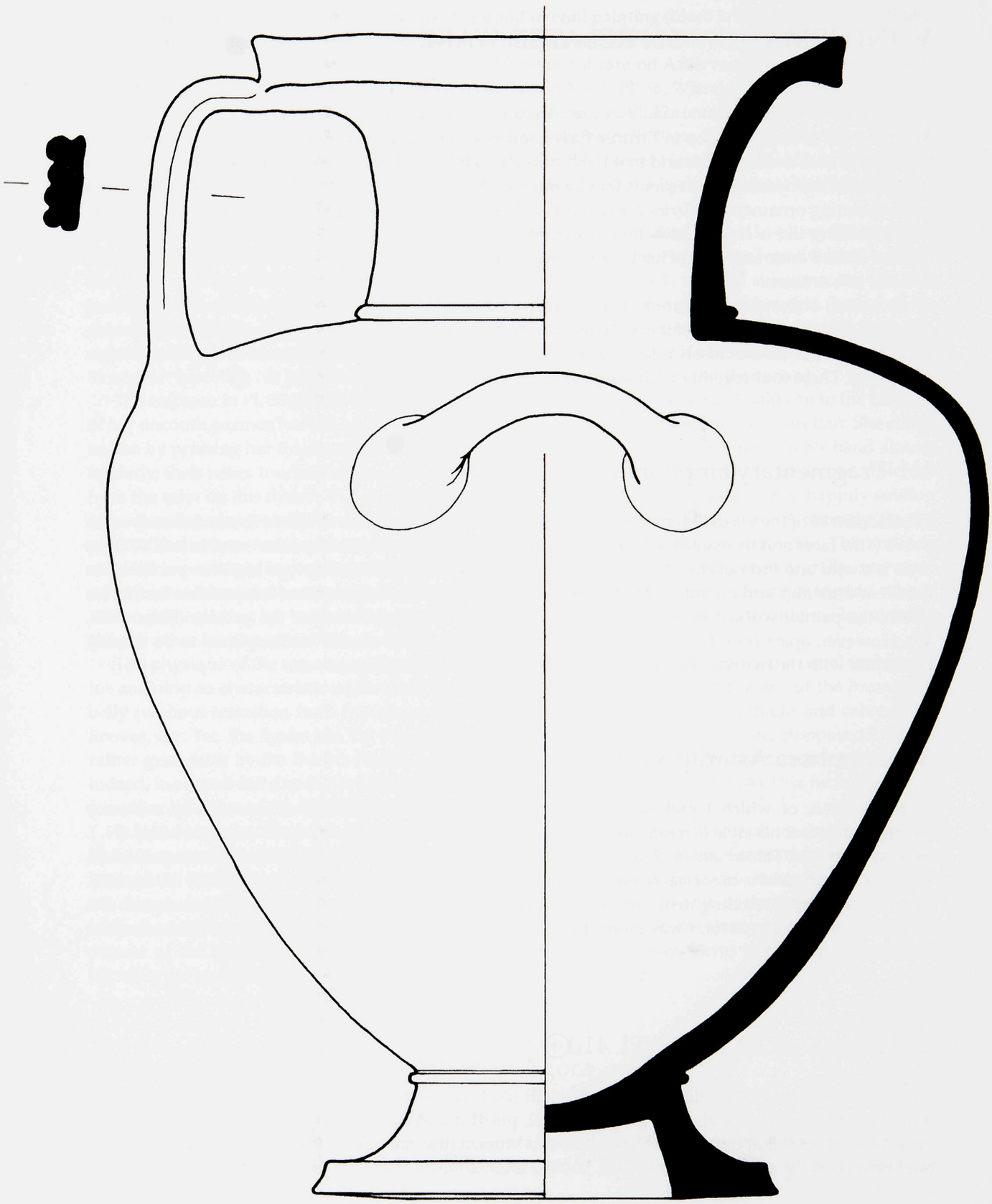

Fig. 30. Profile and section of No. 23 ('Malibu Hydra'); 1:2. After Puma 2000, 27.

V INFORMATION ON RELATED WARE

The presence of the workshop in Etruria, Caere, must have influenced Etruscan potters and painters. In looking for such evidence, I found that the 'Lotus Painter' of La Tolfa vases so closely imitates the lotus palmettes of the hydriae that it seems that he must have worked in the workshop as one of the Etruscan hands painting ornaments of *Series 2* (*CH* 190-1).[177] His figure-style may be called a barbarized East Greek idiom, looking like a clumsy imitation of that of the hydriae. Further, it seemed to me that the Tityos Painter of the Pontic series must have been acquainted with the hydriae (*CH* 189-90). We need not return to these two artisans.

However, I also drew attention to three Etruscan vases that, to my mind, might well have been influenced by the figure-style of the hydriae (*CH* 191-2, pl. 149; *NY Alabastron* 732, pls. III-IV) and, besides, I laid much stress on the closely related, well-known plastic vase, the kneeling boy of the Agora of Athens (Pl. 43a-b). These four together with some other objects ask for comment here.

V.1 Fragmentary amphora from Caere

From tomba 86 of the via dei Monti della Tolfa (Banditaccia), illustrated in *CH* pl. 149b-c and described on p. 191 ("the faces and the hair of some of the figures are close to those of the hydriae") and in n. 1007 ("the style is a wild one and not close to the style of our hydriae"). This interesting vase has been published in excellent drawings and photos by Rizzo, 1989, 7-10, figs. 12-25. She believes that it is possible that, in his youth, the painter worked as an assistant (for ornaments) in the workshop of the hydriae (Rizzo 1989, 10). However, apart from the facial types, the style now seems to me too undisciplined to be directly connected with the hydriae. This is even more obvious as regards the next vase.

V.2 Amphora Astarita 35707

In the Vatican, of which I published two photographs (*CH* 192, pl. 149d-e, painted "by a clumsy draughtsman, but his style is reminiscent of the hydriae"). This vase has now been fully published (N. J. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and his Followers*, Oxford 1987, 33; Rizzo 1989, figs. 28-30; and this again M. A. Rizzo in *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo. Il pittore di Micali, Catalogo della mostra*, Roma 1988, 76, fig. 120). There is, as in the preceding item, similarity in the faces, but I do not see sufficient reason to speak of a direct connection. However, I was more strongly convinced of such a connection when I discussed the following amphora.

V.3 New York 22.139.83 (Pl. 41d-f)

Painter of Munich 833. Published in M. Martelli (ed.), *La Ceramica degli Etruschi, La Pittura Vascolare*, Novara 1987, no. 120. See also *NY Alabastron*, 732, pls. IIId and IV. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, New York 1976, 11, says that the vases in New York and Munich (inv. no. 833, now lost?) are by the same hand. So, I believe, is the amphora with a Siren, Louvre E723.[178]

[177] See M. Zilverberg, 'The La Tolfa Painter, Fat or Thin', in: *Enthousiasmos, Essays on Greek and Related Pottery, presented to J. M. Hemelrijk*, Allard Pierson Series 6, 1986, 49-60.

[178] I hesitate to attribute to the same painter the amphora in Vulci that is sometimes associated with him and is decorated with a bearded dignitary in a long garment with a spear vertically in his hand. See for this again M.A. Rizzo, *Un artista Etrusco e il suo mondo. Il Pittore di Micali*, Rome 1988, 32, figs. 47, 184.

It is a slender one-piece amphora and its shape and overall painting (black with a panel) is dependent on Attic, but the figure-painting is reminiscent of the hydriae. The scheme of the *symplegma* (the male standing and the girl with her legs over his shoulders) is not rare on Attic vases (both black- and red-figure: see Pl. 42c),[179] yet the embrace reminds us of that on No. 5, Pl. 3b, 'Vienna Hephaestus'. The man's face (Pl. 41d) is like that of certain men on the Caeretan hydriae, *e.g.*, Pl. 12a (except for his thin moustache), and especially Heracles, *e.g.*, *CH* 135, fig. 70a, c, pls. 73c, 89c, 90b, 93a. Note that the stylization of the ear is not unlike that of the Busiris Painter (see the ears in Pls. 8-9, and of Heracles in Pl. 16b and the girl in Pl. 42b. His hair is indicated with short incisions, which is rare on the hydriae (but see the Egyptians on and behind the altar on Pl. 16b; *CH* 53, fig. 41).

However, the position of the woman is different and so are other details (Pl. 41d-e): on the amphora it is a man, not a satyr, who is holding the woman in his arms. Besides, the painter found it hard to make his picture intelligible. The girl (who is wearing an East Greek forelock, combed sideways; see Ch. V.4) is naked; she has thrown her legs over his shoulders, bringing her knees close to her chin (both feet are shown). She clings to him with her (visible) left arm passing under his forearm, her hand on his back. His right arm disappears from view half way down; apparently he has folded his forearm round her left thigh to support her. With his left arm he holds her up, his hand round her neck (badly drawn).

The embrace in Pl. 3b (No. 5, 'Vienna Hephaestus') looks similar: here the girl holds on to the forearm of her uncouth partner, her left hand is round the back of his head, clasping his luxurious hair. She clings to him by pressing her thighs round his. The satyr bends forward, cradling her head in his hand almost tenderly, their noses touch; their mouths approach for a kiss. The man of Pl. 41d is, of course, different from the satyr on this hydria, but on the reverse of the amphora (Pl. 41f) we see a sturdy, happily smiling satyr running along (on hooves like the Caeretan satyrs) with great sexual gusto, apparently (as the painter, I believe, meant to convey) desiring to take part in the exciting event on the obverse. This reminds us of the exceedingly impudent girl of the other reverse scene on No. 5 (Pl. 42a), who brutally interrupts an intimate embrace of a satyr by pulling his hair and beard, so as to take the place of her friend – who is thoroughly enjoying her satyr, riding him (as Aristophanes would say) saddle-fast with one leg over his tail (for other humorous or burlesque scenes, see Ch. VI.3.d).

The physique of the running satyr of Pl. 41f is powerful but the drawing shows the usual unconcern for anatomy so characteristic of Etruscan painting: note the rendering of the fingers, of the breast and belly (without transition from front to profile), the somewhat misshapen arms, thighs and calves, tiny hooves, etc. Yet, the figure has the sweeping zest of his colleagues on the hydriae, compare Pl. 42b, a rather grim satyr by the Busiris Painter who is off with his happy catch in his arms, a fine young lady indeed, in elegant full dress (No. 2, *'Boston Deer-hunt'*). The face of the satyr of Pl. 41f[180] is far happier and friendlier than that of the Caeretan monster: Pl. 42b (who, incidentally, lacks a tail).

In spite of these differences I find the similarity between the figures on the amphora and those on the hydriae so convincing that I still feel inclined to take the painter to be one of the Etruscan young men who learned the trade in the workshop of the hydriae: the joyous mentality, physical vitality and facial types are close indeed. Yet, as has been said, the only undoubted Etruscan 'student' of the Caeretan workshop is the 'Lotus Painter' of the La Tolfa Group (*CH* 189-90), not to mention the strange (ancient or modern) painter of the alabastron discussed above (Pl. 38). However, far closer seems the stylistic connection between the hydriae and the famous kneeling Agora boy.

V.4 Terracotta boy from the Athenian Agora

Agora Museum P 1231 (Pl. 43a-b). See *CH* 175, 185.

In this statuette the figure style of our painters recurs in sculptural form. It is, I think rightly, regarded as Samian by Walter-Karydi, but often misjudged as Attic.[181] This seems surprising for it is manifestly

[179] A Tyrrhenian amphora (Munich 1432), on which one of the men is standing, holding the girl, in the same folded position; with her right hand she strokes his chin while preparing to kiss (J. Boardman and E. la Rocca, *Eros in Grecia*, Milan1975, 77); see also the cup Florence 3921 (*ibid.*, 99, by the Brygos Painter).

[180] His physiognomy may be compared to the satyr of *CH* pl. 65b.

[181] Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VII, 31 and n. 88. Regarded as Attic, *e.g.*, by E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 426 ff., pl. 10, and J. Boardman, *Greek Art*, rev. ed. 1985, fig. 102. See *CH* n. 694.

East Greek and, besides, very close to some of the boys on the Caeretan hydriae: compare Pl. 5c (No. 19, 'Amsterdam Horse-tamer'; originally the skin of this boy was white, his hair red; see now *CVA* Amsterdam 6, pls. 339-44). The hairdo of the statuette, with a forelock combed forward from near the top of the skull (Pl. 43a), is typically East Greek and, on the Caeretan hydriae, favoured by the Busiris Painter, often for women: Pl. 44c, but also for centaurs (Pls. 8-9) and for men (*CH* 141, figs. 76-77; pls. 26-27, 93, 94a-b)[182] It is characteristic of much East Greek monumental sculpture and unknown elsewhere (*CH* 135, 175).

This crisply shaped statuette, which is relatively tall (25.5 cm), forms a strong contrast with specimens of what I have called the 'fleshy' Ionian style (*CH* 161-2), for example, with another East Greek kneeling boy, also shaped as a flask, in Würzburg (Pl. 43c-d; height 16.2 cm).[183] Compare the lack of energy of this figure with the fine physique of the Agora boy.[184] Judging from its anatomy, our statuette should be later than is often assumed; the modelling is subtle and progressive in most respects, though the lower boundary of the thorax forms an angle at the top; at any rate, it seems to belong to the last quarter of the sixth century.[185] My judgement in *CH* 185 was: "though its profile is steeper and the depth of its head from face to back is less, I confess that, had it been found in Etruria, I would have regarded it as strongly influenced by, if not produced in the Caeretan workshop". I now add that its quality seems a little above that of the hydriae, just like that of the figures on the Samian little master cups, to which it is closely related (*CH* 157-8). Yet, I keep wondering, how this fine parallel for the style of our painters could crop up in the far Athens.

V.5.a Ionian banded ware (amphorae and alabastra)

As has been pointed out, we must assume that a considerable body of pottery from our workshop has never been recognized as such (see Ch. VI.4). The workshop may, for example, have produced banded alabastra (see Ch. III.3 and n. 159) and other similar household ware, since the strap-handled amphorae of Figs. 24-25, Pls. 14b, 32 and the hydria No. 30 ('Louvre Odios': Fig. 22, Pl. 39c; *CH* pl. 106) are decorated with bands and lines (see *CH* 152 with n. 405; 179; pls. 19, 150b). There are banded amhorae with feet similar to those of the Caeretan hydriae , *e.g.*, the amphorae Munich 467-8 (Fig. 31; Pl. 44b). Another, but cruder example of this very common ware is the vase of Pl. 44a. It is an Ionian-looking amphora in the Dutch market, which is probably from Italy (see *CH* 179); its height is 28.8 cm, it max. diam. l9.1 cm.[186] Its clay and surface is like that of the hydriae, and the same tiny specs of micaceous material are visible in the surface. The black may be a bit more shiny and darker but that can be due to the good state of preservation of the surface. Reminiscent of the hydriae are the foot, with its concave outline and sturdy rim on which it rests, and the delicate necking ring (see the profile drawings in *CH* pls. 150-5). The vase itself is thin-walled but the wall of the foot is much thicker than that of the feet of the hydriae.[187] Though it is less subtle than the Castellani hydria of *CH* pl. 19,[188] this amphora could easily have been thrown and painted by a potter who devoted his working days to the bulk of ordinary ceramics on which the workshop must have subsisted (see below, Ch. VI.4). This is even more true of the amphora in Munich

182 The forelock of the males by the Busiris Painter is often long and combed backwards and upwards; it is my hairstyle 7a, see *CH* 175, fig. 3, p. 11; fig. 45a, p. 79; fig. 46, p. 80; and pls. 55, 80.

183 E. Simon, *Die Sammlung Kiselef: Minoische und griechishe Antiken der Universität Würzburg* II, Mainz / Rhein 1989, no. 109, pl. 37.

184 Also on the hydriae we find an inkling of the East Greek fleshy style: in the slack contour of the lower bellies of the dancing swordsmen of Pls. 8b, 9b, and of the two hunters on No. 2, Pl. 22e (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*: *CH* pl. 27).

185 Dated to the late sixth century by Dorothy Burr Thompson in *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book 3, Princeton1959, fig. 23.

186 I am grateful to Mieke Zilverberg for her permission to publish this amphora which is so near to her heart. For a very similar amphora but with a different foot: see *CVA* Amsterdam 6, pl. 315, inv. no. 3577.

187 This thickness must have caused the break at the juncture of the foot (see for the attachment of the feet Ch. I.2).

188 Of the Castellani amphora I have written in *CH* 167 that the clay is warmer and the paint a deeper glossy black and that, therefore, I regarded it not as a product of our workshop, rather as from another East Greek shop perhaps next-door to ours. I now believe that the bulk of undecorated ware of our workshops may have differed a little in these respects from the decorated hydriae, which may be the reason why this material remained unnoticed.

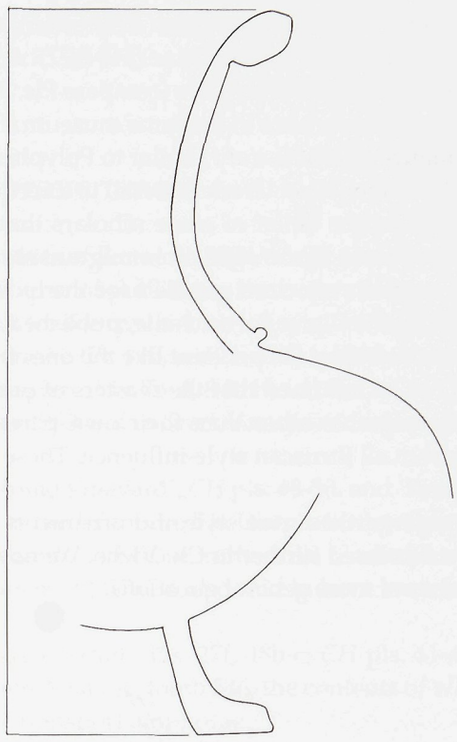

Fig. 31. Section of neck and foot of Ionian banded amphora, Munich 467; 1:2. Drawing F. W. Hamdorf. See Pl. 44b.

(Pl. 44b): its neck, necking ring and the generous swelling of its body show an outspoken family likeness with the Caeretan hydriae (compare Pls. 14a and 17b). In short, one may expect that vases of this type were made in our shop and, therefore, that they are to be found in Caere (where, after all, an astounding mass of interesting material has turned up, though 'trivial' finds of this sort must often have been discarded or, at least, neglected). For the curious alabastron of Pl. 38, see Ch. III.3; further I may recall what I have written about the colourful alabastra that are found in Etruria and may have been a sideline of our shop (*CH* 152 n. 407, pls. 148d, 149a; see also *Alabastron II* 47, fig. 1a-b). For the alabastron in Amsterdam, see now *CVA* Amsterdam 6, 2009, pl. 316.1 (but the possible connection with the Caeretan hydriae is not mentioned).

It is not superfluous once more to state that there is no reason to accept the theory that certain Etruscan wall paintings are closely connected with the Caeretan hydriae, as is often said especially of the Tomba degli Auguri. Though the painters of this and other tombs may conceivably have been acquainted with the Caeretan hydriae (mainly because of the curious knee-stylization, see *CH* 183, 191 with n. 1004), a direct dependence is out of the question: the figure style of these wall paintings lacks the keen consciousness of the structure of the human bones and muscles so characteristic of our two masters; in this respect their figures are defective in comparison with those of the hydriae (the detailed knowledge of muscles and bones as manifested on the hydriae is described in Ch.VI.2 on chronology and VI.3.e, where we shall return to the problem of the artistic parentage of the hydriae).

V.5.b Other objects from Caere similar in style to the Caeretan hydriae

However, parallels to the figure style on the hydriae are not rare in Caere: to remind us how congenial the city of Caere must have been to our masters, I insert two objects chosen almost at random: Pls. 43e, 44d.[189]

[189] Raumschüssel 1993, nos. 71, 72.

The first is a bronze caryatid of a mirror in the Albertinum in Dresden, a nude girl handling a flower and a pomegranate. Its date is slightly earlier than our hydriae (540 BC?). According to Martin Raumschüssel the girl's profile is like that of the women of our hydriae (compare Pls. 3b, 20d-e, 44c, e), and he supposes that the artist worked in Caere. The other bronze in the same museum (Pl. 44d), was once fixed to the end of a chariot pole and shows a ram's head that is very similar to Polyphemus' animals of Pl. 35e and *CH II* fig. 23a-d. The presence of such genuinely East Greek material in Caere and the likelihood that the artists produced these works there, support the belief of some scholars that our painters may have learned their trade, also their (purely East Greek) figure style, in immigrant shops in Etruria (see Ch. I.1). In this connection it must be pointed out that very close parallels for the lp.'s of the hydriae have been found in Caere on terracotta plaques from the Vigna Parrocchiale, published by Cristofani in 1992.[190] They are colourful like those of the hydriae (but they are pendant like the ones from Didyma: Fig. 35).

In spite of all this, it should not be assumed that the masters of our hydriae learned their figurative art at Caere from East Greek immigrants other than their own parents, who must have been purely East Greek in their art and free from all Etruscan style-influence. These parents themselves specialised, I believe, in architectural terracottas.

However this may be, the origin of the figure style and ornaments of the Caeretan hydriae remains a vexed question, which will be discussed further in Ch. VI.3.e. We now turn from individual vases and objects to a discussion of a number of more general questions.

190 M. Cristofani, 'Terracotte decorative', in: *Caere* - 3.1, Rome 1992, 29-57 *(Lo Scarica arcaico della Vigna Parrocchiale)* B41, Tav. V; see also B40 with the star-motif of the hydriae.

VI COMMENTS

VI.1 Tomb groups and provenances

See *CH* 158-9, the excellent summaries of Banaudo 2004, 13-20, and Rizzo 2006, esp. 392. Prof. Rizzo is at present investigating and in the course of publishing the excavations of R. Mengarelli in the *Banditaccia* in the years 1910-32. We must wait for the results but, I may mention a few details.

It has been said that the amphora A2 (Pl. 14b; see Ch. II.7) is likely to be from the same tomb as Nos. 25 and 29, '*Pholos*' and 'Phokè' (frontispiece; Pls. 7b-d, 8-9, 10c-d, 11-13; Ch. IV.1 and 3). This supposed 'tomb group' was published by H. P. Isler 1983 and in *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (1982, edited by H. Bloesch), 24-33 and 95-96.

Two hydriae, Nos. 9 and 20 ('Rome Vineyard', *CH* pls. 48-50, and 'Rome Polyphemus I', Pl. 39a), were found by Mengarelli in tomb 61, to the left of the Via Diroccata, together with many other vases, half of which were once exhibited in the same showcase in the Villa Giulia Museum, among them a Campana dinos. No. 26 ('Dunedin Horse-tamer': Pl. 17a) is also said to have been found together with a Campana dinos.

Rizzo tells us that No. 6 ('Caere Chariot': Pls. 27f, 48b-c; *CH* pls. 41-42) stems from the excavations Lerici in the necropolis of the Monte Abatone, tomb 546, the contents of which have been recomposed for the exhibition of Etruscan Archaic transport amphorae. [191]

Noteworthy is No. 16 ('Rome Nessus'; *CH* pls. 70-71), because it was found in the *dromos* of tomb II in the *Via Principale della Banditaccia*, not inside the tomb. This curious position is comparable to that of No. 1 ('London Battle': Pl. 39b; *CH* pl. 1a-b), see Banaudo 2004, 14 with fig. 1 (plan of the tomb and finds, as discovered in 1881 and reconstructed by M. Cristofani).[192] There were two funerals and the finds date from about 570-540, except, of course, the hydria No. 1: Pl. 39b; *CH* pls. 1a-b, 21-24 (which is to be dated about 530-525 BC; see below). This hydria was found immediately behind the entrance of the tomb, where it must have been deposited when, at least a decade after 540 BC, the tomb was re-opened for some funerary ritual. A similar occasion must have led to No. 16 being placed in the *dromos* of its tomb. Both hydriae must have contained water to cleanse those who entered for the ritual or left after it. Perhaps, however, the water was meant "to slake the thirst of the dead", as Erika Diehl 1964, 164-5 suggests. For this she cites a gold leaflet from Pharsalus of the fourth century BC with an Orphic inscription, which ends with the words the deceased should speak on his descent into Hades: "I am dry from thirst; give me to drink from the source". On this and other Orphic leaflets the deceased is told to ask for a drink from the spring that flows from the lake of Mnemosyne. The use of hydriae as ash-urns is connected by Diehl with this mythical spring in Hades (see Ch. VI.3.c).

VI.2 Chronology, relative and absolute

The chronological development is treated in detail in *CH* 152-3 (and also, *e.g.*, 96-99) We need not repeat what has been said there. However, it should here be pointed out why Nos. 1-4 are to be regarded as early and Nos. 1-2 as the very earliest of all hydriae. On both Nos. 1 and 2 the standard system of decoration has not yet been established. No. 1 ('London Battle': Pl. 39b) is exceptional because of its stiff ovoid shape, the unusual reserved area under the figure frieze, because all tongues are red (and not red and white alternately), and because the tongues of the mouth are lying on top of the horizontal rim and do not descend into the mouth: inside the neck the narrow reserved band of the other hydriae (ca 5 mm wide) is lacking. This arrangement of the tongues on the mouth is also found on No. 2 ('*Boston Deer-hunt*'): *CH* pl. 14a-b.

[191] M. A. Rizzo, *Le anfore da trasporto e il commercio etrusco arcaico I. Complessi tombali dell'Etruria Meridionale*, Rome 1990, 87ff. See Rizzo 2006, n. 29, for the vases of that tomb.

[192] In *MonPiot* 63, 1980, 1-30, esp. 26.

A further anomaly is the shape and attachment of the handles of these two vases (*CH* 74, type *e*). They consist of one layer only (with three ribs) and their rivet-bars are flanged (in other words it is a thin bar that is curved outwards at either side). Besides, the lips of Nos. 1 and 2 are very thin and splaying upwards. That Nos. 3 and 4 (Pls. 1-2) are early is indicated by their unpainted, thinnish, strongly splaying rims (besides, these rims are grooved in the middle). Another indication of their early date is the primitive lp.'s of these four vases (Figs. 6, 13; Pls. 1-2, 46d, 47a), which also holds for No. 2 *bis* (Fig. 13; Pls. 1a-b, 26e). Because these lp. friezes are low, the figure frieze of Nos. 2-4 are the highest of all hydriae (see Pls. 1-2, but compare No. 7, Pl. 4a-b).

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that a thin, splaying lip may also occur on late vases, *e.g.*, on No. 8, Pl. 31 (compare the lip of the nearly contempory No. 7, Pl. 5c, which is thicker). Curiously enough, the lip of No. 19 *minus* is also unpainted, like the rims of Nos. 3-4 (Pl. 36), but this vase is certainly not very early (see also *CH* 64).

After these detailed observations, the reader must be warned that the development cannot, as might be expected, be inferred from the groups and series of the ornamentation (Table A). The cause of this is that, as we have seen in Ch. I.3.b-d, the ornaments of the vases of *Series* 2, Nos. 9-18 (see Table A) are by the hands of assistants (and not by the two masters, *e.g.*, Figs. 7-8; Pls. 18b-c, 19b-d, 22a, f, 37d),[193] and also because ornaments of Group B are partly by the Eagle Painter (*e.g.*, Figs. 5, 9-10, 17; Pls. 4a-b, 5a-b, 6a, 19a, 21a-b, 31, 39a, but not the shoulders of Pls. 37c, 39a) and partly by his colleague, the Busiris Painter (*e.g.*, frontispiece; Figs. 6, 13; Pls. 7b-d, 10, 13a, 14a, 17a-b, etc.).

While speaking of the chronological development in *CH* 98-99, I discussed the lotus palmettes: I must here return to this intriguing ornament because my treatment has proved to be insufficiently convincing.[194] These lp.'s were planned with great precision (*CH* 96); only rarely can we tell where the painter began and where he finished (*CH* n. 106), this in contrast with the belly-ivy wreaths painted by the assistants, in which we see a sudden rise and fall in the branch below the vertical handle and other irregularities: *e.g.*, Pls. 18b-c, 22a, f, 37c-d, etc. The lp.'s are extremely difficult to paint, especially on a curving surface. The spirals of the fully developed lp.'s, *e.g.*, those of frontispiece, Fig. 5, Pls. 4a-b, 6, 7a-c, 14a, c-d, 17a-b, etc., are reminiscent of (though perhaps not equal to) the exquisite volutes of Exekias and the Amasis Painter.[195] There is no sign of the use of some mechanical device such as one might expect: for example, a string that winds itself during fore-sketching round a thick pin, the point of which would leave a faint dint in the surface.[196]

The lp.'s by the Eagle Painter gradually change from a clumsy stage in which flowers are fat and volutes tiny (No. 1: Pls. 39b, 46d; *CH* pl. 164a) via the slightly more developed ones of Nos. 3-4 (Pl. 47a; *CH* pls. 135c-d) to the more elegant lp. of No. 5 (Pl. 47b) which is still of the simple three-leaved type. Then follow the very elegant lp.'s of the Nos. 6-8 (Fig. 5; Pl. 4a-b; *CH* pls. 136b-c, 165a) and of Nos. 19 *minus*, 19-21 (Pls. 6a, 36, 37b, 39a; *CH* pls. 137a-b, 166b). There is no doubt that this signifies an evolution and a chronological sequence.

A similar sequence is apparent in the lp.'s of the Busiris Painter, the early Nos. 2 and 2 *bis*, Figs. 6, 13, Pls. 26e, 29a, which are followed by the flawless and sharply drawn, widely spreading lp.'s of the later vases of Group B, *Series 3b-c*, Nos. 22-33, *e.g.*, frontispiece, Pls. 6b-d, 7b-c, 10, 14a, c-d, 17a-b, etc.[197]

In general, one is inclined to believe that the vases of Group A (*e.g.*, Pls. 1-2, 3a, c, 18b-c, 19b-d, 22a, f, etc.)[198] are earlier than those of Group B (*e.g.*, frontispiece; Pls. 4-16, 17a-b, 19a, 21, etc.; see Table A and *CH* 153); however, the fact that in Group A so many of the ornaments are by the hands of assistants, throws serious doubts on such seemingly obvious conclusions. On the other hand, there is a distinct change in the handle tongues, which exhibit a striking increase in length (*CH* 112, pls. 1-14, as can be seen, for

193 Besides, most of the neck ornaments of Nos. 1-4 (*Series 1*) are at least partly by assistents; see Pls. 1-2 and *CH* 101.

194 The critical review of Schaus 1985 and the even more severe criticism of Isler 1987 made me aware of the insufficiency of my discussion.

195 See P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*, Munich 1960, colour plates XV and XVIII.

196 On the other hand we do have light impressions of vertical strokes indicating the spacing of the flowers or palmettes and vague preliminary sketch lines in some flowers or spirals, see *CH* 96.

197 It should be noted that the Busiris Painter used a five-leaved flower right from the beginning in Nos. 2 and 2 *bis* (a stiff one, it is true, see Figs. 6, 13, Pl. 26e) which is an exception in the group, pointing forward towards the more mature five-leaved flowers.

198 For example, the figure friezes of Nos. 2-4 are the highest of all hydriae (*CH* 5 Table B), see Pls. 1-2 (but compare No. 7: Pl. 4a-b).

example, in Pls. 2b, 6d, 7c, 8b, 11a, 12b, and contrast, *e.g.*, Pl. 34b-c with Pl. 36c. However, these differences are at least partly due to the different hands: the Eagle Painter tended to paint shorter tongues. Far less obvious is the decrease in the number of leaves in the ivy wreaths on the shoulders from No. *25* onwards (see *CH* 93 and Table D).[199]

In the figure style there are details that are clearly more progressive than others but they have little value for the chronological development. The reason is this: though, as explained in *CH* 153, the painters knew of certain 'modern' renderings (for example in drapery), they were clearly not always interested in them. These details are, however, significant for absolute dating – as we shall see now.

Absolute chronology (530/525 to about 500 BC; *CH* 153, 157-8)
To the extensive argumentation in *CH* a few remarks may be added. The only more or less objective criterion is now provided by Rizzo 2006, 392, who concludes from the vases in the context of No. 25 *bis* (Pls. 40b-e, 41a-c; Ch. IV.2) that this hydria belongs to the last twenty years of the sixth century.

The most obvious indications of the date of the hydriae are provided by the Busiris Painter, who was far more advanced in his pictorial and anatomical 'knowledge' than his colleague. These indications are, in the first place, the fine dresses of the ladies on the reverse of No. *2* '*Boston Deer-hunt*': Pls. 42b, 44e (*CH* 157). Such complicated renderings of dresses and folds cannot be dated before 525-520 BC.[200] Those by the Eagle Painter, in the skirts of his warriors on his earliest vase No. 1, are shaped like rounded waves and clearly less advanced (Pl. 39b; see also *CH* pl. 22). We have seen above that No. *2* is very early in the series.

Therefore, the series started, at the earliest, between 530 and 525 BC. This is, to my mind, highly surprising, because the reverse of many of the hydriae are decorated with all kinds of very old-fashioned themes: numerous pairs of heraldic figures, such as eagles, sphinxes, horses (winged or not) and even winged bulls (see Ch. VI.3.b).[202] Such subjects for decoration were common in the third quarter of the century or earlier (*CH* 63) but not in the last third; apparently, the painters of the hydriae stemmed, as regards their pictures, from an old-fashioned tradition, whatever this may have been (certainly not a tradition of pottery, as has been shown in *CH* 168-9, 193, but more likely of ornaments and figurative embellishement of architecture, as we have seen above (see also Ch. VI.3.a).

However, even more advanced than these fine dresses are the anatomical renderings on this same vase No. *2* and on No. *21*, '*Rome Alcyoneus*': the arms, hands, legs and feet of the ladies and satyrs of No. *2* and of its nude hunters on Pl. 22e and those of Heracles and his victim Alcyoneus on No. *21* display a surprising anatomical knowledge of the bones and muscles of these parts (Pls. 42b, 44e, 45a-e; see Pls. 6a, 22e). Reichhold's drawings, Figs. 32-33, indicate what was known to most of the better Attic painters about 510 BC.

There is, it seems to me, a notable difference between red-figure painters and those who still worked in black-figure. The latter had a somewhat easier task in incising the outer contours of, for example, a forearm, a leg or feet (Pls. 44e); contrast the extremely detailed, 'learned' rendering of such anatomical details on the wonderful krater of the great red-figure painter Euphronios in Pl. 46a: apparently the one-hair 'brush'[203] employed for the relief lines of red-figure, forced the painter to draw curves that look sweeping but cannot do justice to the knobbly, uneven outline of muscles and bones.

The arm of the satyr of No. *2*, Pl. 45a (see Pl. 42b), shows a subtle distinction in the contours of the delta muscle, the biceps and the triceps (see also Pl. 44e) and of the stretcher in the forearm as distinct from the benders; the rendering of muscles and the bony structure is even more successful in Heracles'

199 I totally disagree with the chronological analysis of the ornaments by H. P. Isler 1983, 48ff.

200 An exact explanation of the dresses in Pls. 42b, 44e, is not easy (*CH* 130), but the fact that between the legs of the girl in Pl. 44e we see, through the opening in the skirt, its inside on the far-side (marked with horizontal folds), seems unusually progressive for this early date (525-520 BC).

201 Handle: *CH* 74, type e and Table C, p. 72. Further, *CH* 114, pls. 14.2, 72, 74, 152, 150d. Also the number of its tongues is exceptional: 217 (compare the number of 204 on No. 3).

202 *CH* pls. 23, 34, 42, 45, 54, 56, 58, 63, 66, 71, 74, 76, 91, 96, 99, 106, 112, 117.

203 I believe that these lines were 'laid down', as Seiterle discovered, by means of stiff single-hair brushes fed with 'fat', peptized clay slip; see J. M. Hemelrijk , 'A closer look at the potter', in: T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge 1991, 240.

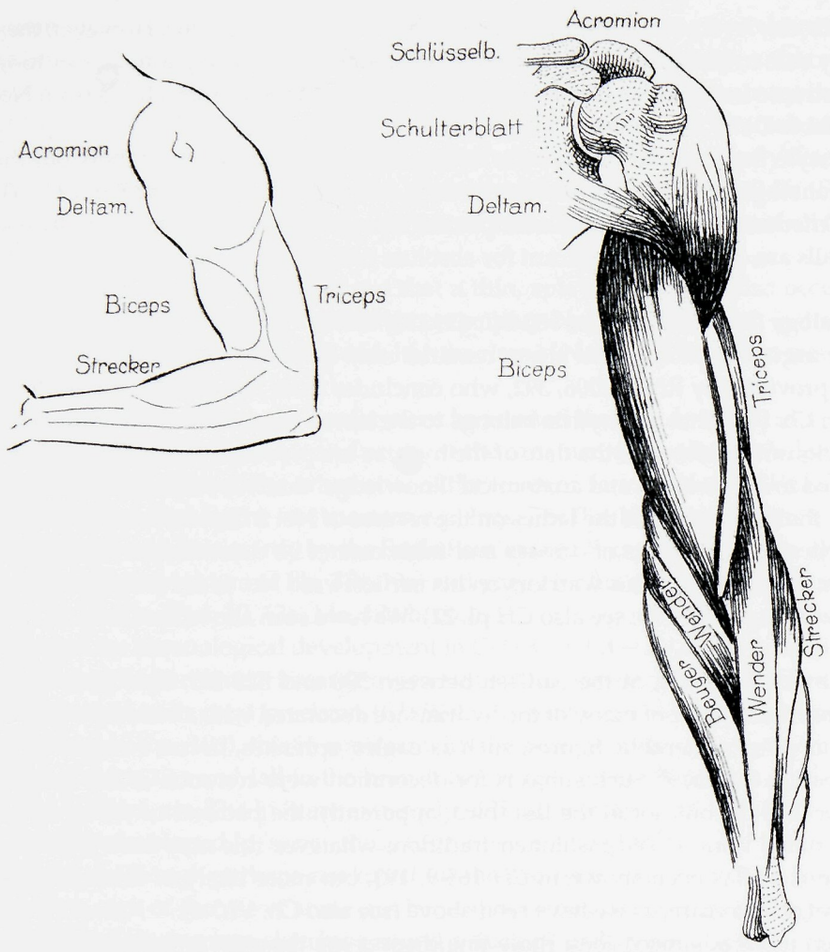

Fig. 32. Anatomy of arm as known to Greek painters of Late Archaic period. After K. Reichhold, *Skizzenbuch Griechischer Meister*, Munich 1929, pl. 17.

left forearm and hand on No. *21*, Pls. 6a, 45d (see also Pl. 35b: Triton's arm). Note also the fine indication of the wrist-knob of the ulna in Pl. 45a-b, and compare for all this the arm of Heracles by Psiax (Pl. 45g). Note that the more emphatic rendering of all these details by the Lysippides Painter in Pl. 45f seems somewhat overdone and finicky, and compare the drawing by Euphronius, who clearly was eager to show all details; the result is not unpleasing but far from natural: Pl. 46a (note the knob of the elbow and the hardly visible one at the end of the ulna at the wrist).

As for the legs and feet drawn by the Burisir Painter, those of No. *21*, Pl. 6a, are progressive indeed, especially the left foot of Alcyoneus (Pl. 45c), with its beautiful toes and powerful instep, and the left foot of Heracles (Pl. 45e), with its sturdy heal and its toes shown from below, visible under the ball of the foot.[204] As for hands: the left hand of Heracles in Pl. 45d is surely not less advanced than the hand that lifts Sarpedon by the arm pit in Pl. 46a (Euphronius). Compare the wonderful hand of the girl of the early vase No. 2, who is carried off, not unwillingly, by her brutish lover in Pls. 42b, 45b; note the slight bend in the little finger and the subtle swelling of the articulations in the other fingers. In such details the Busiris Painter shows that he is one of the great masters of Greek vase painting and in advance of his time.

Now look at the fine, but not quite naturalistic feet by the Berlin Painter in Pl. 46c: the outline is simple but lacks power, the heels are weak and the toes are too delicate and long. This may explain why, because

[204] Compare the less progressive but fine legs and feet by the Eagle Painter in Fig. 37, Pl. 12, and contrast Pls. 8b, 9b, 45c-e. Reichhold's drawing of legs in Fig. 33 seems defective in one respect: good Greek painters always distinguished between the in- and outside of the calves, as for example in Pl. 44e, but this is not made clear in his drawing.

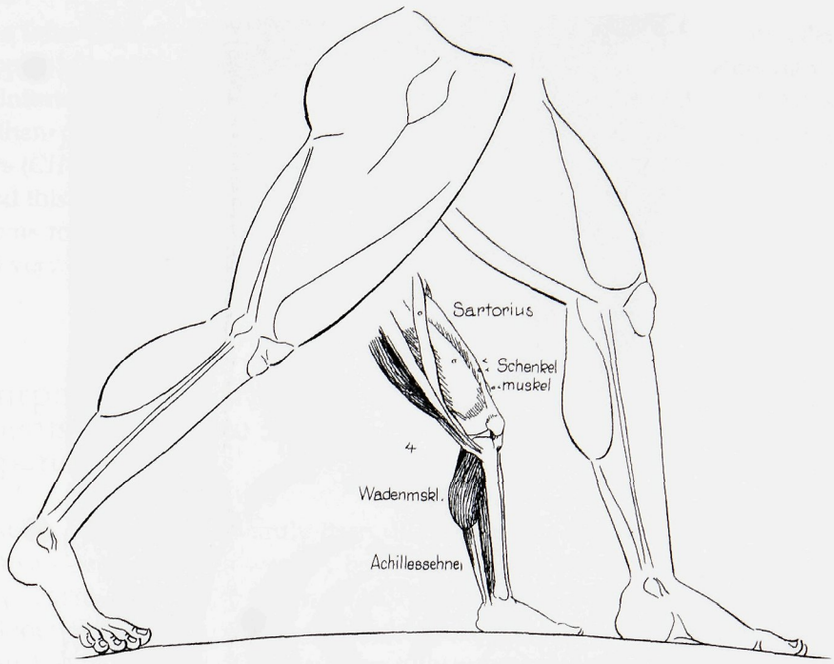

Fig. 33. Anatomy of legs as understood by Greek painters of Late Archaic period. After Reichhold, *op. cit.*, pl. 13.

of the most progressive traits of our hydriae, a date áfter 500 BC has sometimes been proposed.[205] Yet, it is, perhaps, still possible to date No. 2 (at the very earliest) to 525-520 BC (its rather primitive lotus-palmette, Fig. 6, suggests as much); at any rate, it seems not entirely certain that the series ended before 500 BC. (As the reader may notice, I resist the temptation to propose to lower the chronological span of the hydriae by a decade, to 515-495.)

As has been mentioned above, also the lotus-palmettes form a rough indication of the date of the hydriae. (The problem is discussed in *CH* 169-70.) A glance at the lp.'s of the Siphnian treasury (Pl. 46b) shows that the ornament on the early hydria No. 1, 'London Battle' (Pl. 46d), is more or less of the same type (note the very small spirals),[206] and therefore, probably of the same date. It is typical of almost all early lotus-palmettes in architecture, that in the centre of the volutes there is a small roundel, whereas, on the hydriae, such roundels are lacking except on No. 5, 'Vienna Hephaestus', Pl. 47b (the painter marked these centres with white dots).[207] Further, on architectural friezes, there are spikes both under the flowers and under the palmettes (Pl. 46b); this does not occur on the hydriae, except on No. 2, where they are all white ('*Boston Deer*-hunt': Fig. 6; *CH* 97, pl. 164b). On the other hydriae spikes may be altogether lacking (Pls. 6a, 37b, 39b, 46d, 47b), but usually they are seen under the flowers (*e.g.*, Pl. 47c, 'Basle Centaurs'; see further, *e.g.*, Figs. 5, 9; frontispiece; Pls. 6b-d, 7b-c, 10c-d, 14a, etc.). Once, however, there are drop-shaped supports under the palmettes: Pl. 47a, No. 3, 'Louvre Hermes'.

As I noted in *CH* 170 and 173 (e), a wonderful coincidence has preserved for us some perfect East Greek parallels for the altar at which Heracles, on No. 34, so heroically butchers his squeaking victims, the Egyptians ('*Vienna Busiris*'), Pl. 16: clearly the painter copied the three volutes from altars from Samos, Abdera and Didyma (Fig. 34). These altar-fragments have now been published systematically by Aene

205 As Prof. A. W. Bijvanck once did in a lecture for students.

206 The spirals of Nos. 3 and 4 are also smallish: Pls. 1c, 2 and 47a; compare those of Nos. 2 and 2 *bis*: Figs. 6, 13 and Pls. 1a-b, 26e.

207 I am not sure that there were no such white dots on other hydriae on which all colours are lost.

Fig. 34. Late Archaic anta capital from Didyma (in Berlin), side view. Compare altar on No. 34, Pl. 16a-b. After E. G. Wiegand, *Didyma* I, pl. 207.

Fig. 35. Late Archaic anta capital from Didyma, now in Berlin: front. After E. G. Wiegand, *Didyma* I, pl. 206.

Ohnesorg.[208] The lotus-palmettes on the front of these anta-capitals (Fig. 35) are excellent parallels for the most developed lp.'s on the hydriae, *e.g.* Pls. 6, 47c (though the flowers are pendant and have only three petals!). Unfortunately, the date of these fine marbles is uncertain: Wiegand dates them 450 BC, Dinsmoor calls them post-Persian, but Buschor regards one as Archaic and the other as a copy made after the Persian wars (*CH* nn. 590, 663); Ohnesorg, *op. cit.* 149-50, now dates them to the last quarter of the sixth century and this agrees with my conclusion.

Again, it seems to me that the most developed hydriae, at least judging by their lotus-palmettes, should be dated very late in the sixth century.[209]

VI.3 The purpose the hydriae served and the meaning and origin of a) the ornaments and b) the scenes. c) Possible funerary use. d) Humor. e) Their parentage

Finally the question that so far has hardly been discussed: why did the workshop not produce other richly decorated vase-forms, though we may be sure that other pottery (without elaborate decoration) was turned out in quantities (see Ch. V.5 and VI.4)? This question[210] can only be answered by assuming that the demand for ornate hydriae was such that the workshop had no need to produce other decorated shapes: the production of ornate hydriae may have fully occupied the two master-painters. Therefore, we have to ask for what purpose the hydriae were made?[211]

It seems obvious that they were made for storing water for ceremonial puricification, both in private and public buildings, water that was to be kept for rituals, water to be poured into jugs, *chernibes*, *loutrophoroi* and other ceremonial vessels (*loutèria*, kraters and such), before it was actually used. Such water served domestic and municipal rituals. Ritual water required special containers, special care and cleanliness. It was to be used for all family rituals: at birth, coming of age, marrying, death, and the countless lesser occasions for feasting and for cleansing during sacrifices. Such lustral water had to be kept apart from the considerable amount of water used in the household; it had to stand ready in ornate containers, such as the Caeretan hydriae actually are – though they are only of a second-rate material, not of hammered metal like the six Paestan ones (see last note). In short, the hydriae were 'multifunctional'.[212] Such containers of 'holy' water should be decorated in a festive, rich way, with scenes that are *meaningful for all kinds of occasions,*[213] illustrating human life, human strife, tragedy and comedy; and also scenes pregnant of the superhuman, the mysterious world that transcends human life and understanding.

We shall turn to the narrative scenes in a minute, but first a few words about the ornaments.

208 A. Ohnesorg, *Ionische Altäre. Formen und Varianten einer Architekturgattung aus Insel- un Ostionien*, Berlin 2005, 139, pl. 71,1-2; 146-51, pls. 71,7 and 72,1-2. For the capital from Samos, see p. 140 and pl. 4: this one she seems to date to the middle of the fifth century. Clearly the dating of these interesting capitals is not definitely settled.

209 When studying the numerous examples of architectural lp.'s that are found all over the Greek and Etruscan world, one is disappointed to find that there is so little agreement about the date of the different types; it seems as if the artists did not follow the natural development of the ornament but chose varieties for reason of personal taste or were led by the wish of their clients; in short, a thorough study of this most attractive ornament is sorely needed. See my review of A. Malwitz, *XI Olympia Bericht 1999* in *BABesch* 77, 2002, 192. The chronologies proposed by Mallwitz and Heiden suggest that the easy-flowing stylistic development of the ornament was not followed closely by the terracotta workshops at work in Olympia. Or can this be doubted? The lp.'s. of the Caeretan hydriae are East Greek in shape and in the use of reservation between the elements (*CH* 169).

210 *CH* 63, 120; *CH II* 115.

211 The hydriae come from Caere and all were found, I believe, in graves. Yet they were not, I am sure, made exclusively for funerary purposes (two possible exceptions are mentioned below). The meaning of the figure scenes of the hydriae is the subject of the study by Bonaudo (Bonaudo 2004). I have criticized her theories in *BABesch* 82, 2007, 277-80 and need not return to it here. In his foreword to Bonaudo's book (pp. 8-9) G. Colonna says that the hydriae must have had a *precisa valenza rituale* for funerals, both in Etruria and Greece (referring among other things to the six bronze hydriae in the cenotaph of Paestum: presumably filled with honey). I object to his words *'precisa valenza'*.

212 The curious fact, however, is that hydriae are less frequently depicted in ceremonial scenes than one should expect (one thinks, of course, of the North frieze of the Parthenon); these conspicuous containers of lustral water apparently lead a rather concealed life in vase-painting.

VI.3.a The ornaments

These too have a festive character, not made for a single sort of ritual. There are the luxurious wreaths of ivy and the wonderful wreath of myrtle on No. *34* (Fig. 39; Pl. 18a). The ivy wreaths are in their particular form, size and position unparalleled in pottery (*CH* 168-9) and, no doubt, depict actual garlands of leaves and berries that were laid round the vases at certain occasions. (They may, of course, also fit a funerary context, as Diehl 1964, 163 and n. 271, points out.) The lotus-palmettes have been discussed in Ch. VI.2; they derive from East Greek architecture and therefore belong to a sphere of solemnity.

The rim ornaments (*CH* 104, fig. 61)[214] are mainly found on the textiles of statues (well-preserved on terracotta sculpture),[215] but also in architecture, both in marble and terracotta, some on pottery (*CH* 168). They definitely do not derive from other pottery fabrics.

The maeander- and spiral-crosses that adorn the necks of Group A (Swastika-spiral Group; *CH* 101-5, pls. 142-3; here Fig. 7, Pls. 1b-c, 2c, 18b-d, 36, 37a, d) derive from fillers found in open spaces on East Greek pots but also in representations of drapery; they do not play so prominent a role in any other ceramic school (for all these motifs see *CH* 170-2): their character is eastern Greek. The quadruple volutes of Pl. 26a-b (No. 2 *bis*, 'Arimaspian II') derive from Samian ware. Samos also provides the most elegant parallels for our ivies (see for the close relation with the best Samian work *CH* 184-5).[216]

VI.3.b The scenes

Now back to the narrative themes of the hydriae. An enumeration shows that they are bewilderingly numerous (see *CH* 117-21; *CH II* 104). The painter (formerly the hydriae were believed to be the work of one painter only) has been described by Webster in 1928[217] as a "great comic descriptive artist, he likes seeing somebody done in" and it is true: catching and killing an enemy or victim is one of the main subjects on the hydriae.[218]

Peasants hunt wild animals or defend their cattle against beasts of prey (Nos. 2, 8: Pls. 4c, 22e; Nos. 15, 18, 19: Pl. 5b; No. 22: Pl. 6b; No. 29: Pls. 10d, 12b, 13b; No. 31 *bis*: Pl. 14a; No. 33: Pl. 14c; No. 35: *CH* pl. 126a); animals are caught by animals, whether it is a hare or stag chased or caught by an eagle (No. 4: Pl. 2d; No. 7: Pl. 4b; Nos. 22, 26: Pl. 17e), a bull mauled by a panther and a lion, mules attacked by one or two huge felines (No. 8: Pl. 4c; No. 18: Pl. 22f; No. *31bis*: Pls. 14a, 33d), or deer attacked by lions (which is a recent addition to the repertory: No. 2 *bis*: Pls. 1a-b, 29).[219]

And then, in the mythical sphere (see the extensive treatment of the myths, *CH* 117-21 with nn. 127-202; *CH* II 104), we have the embassy to Achilles with Odios (No. 30: Figs. 22-23); young men fighting centaurs (No. 7: Pl. 4a; No. 27), satyrs catching maenads (No. 2: Pls. 42b, 44e; No. 5: Pl. 3b, 42a; No. 28: Pl. 10b) and the Calydonian boar confronting Atalanta and her comrades (Nos. 10, 24: Pls. 21a, 22a-c);

213 Not restricted to one special goal, for example, for the education of Etruscan aristocratic youths, as Bonaudo 2004 argues.

214 The reader is kindly requested to correct *CH* 104, fig. 61, as follows: left column, third from bottom (simple crenellation), read '10', and put its caption (reading '11/34 and (narrower) 27/31') lower down, under the maeander (second from bottom).

215 See Patricia S. Lulof, *The Ridge-pole Statues from the late Archaic Temple at Satricum*, Amsterdam 1996, figs. xi and xii, pp. 28-29 and 196.

216 In *CH* 161-2 and 172-82 the East Greek character and origin of the style of the hydriae is discussed; for the prediction that no obvious forerunner of it in pottery is to be expected ever to crop up in Eastern Greece: see p. 162. However, mention may now be made of the curious white-ground lekythos-like hydria from Samos (with two rows of dancing women; see, *e.g.*, J. Boardman and C. Vaphopoulos, *Chios, a Conference at the Homereion in Chios, 1984*, 194, colour pl. III) , which is earlier (from about the middle of the century, though dated here much too early: 590/80); it seems definitely related, in physiognomy, in the filling ornaments (star ornament like those on the necks of the hydriae and also a double Ionian volute ornament, like the quadruple one on the neck of No. 2 *bis*: Pl. 26a-b). In *CH* 160, I wrote: " ... it might be wiser to propose Samos as the original home of the painters", but that may seem so, because we know far more of Samos than of Phocaea.

217 T. B. L. Webster, *JHS* 48 (1928), 196-205.

218 Those who have Bonaudo's book (Bonaudo 2004) near at hand, can easily follow my references because Bonaudo gives a full catalogue with pictures.

219 Many of these scenes are, I believe, inspired by Homeric similes as I have explained in *CH* 143 and *CH II* 107-9.

Polyphemus is swindled or blinded by the comrades of Odysseus (Nos. 19 *minus*, 20: Pls. 36-37a, 39a). Heracles is extremely popular but, surprisingly, he is never accompanied by Athena: he is wrestling with the Nemean lion (No. 24: Pl. 23a-b), chasing away the centaurs of Pholoë (No. *25*: Pls. 8a, 9a; and possibly the reverse of the 'Rizzo' hydria, No. 25*bis*: Pl. 41b-c), catching Cerberus (Nos. 4, *11*: Pls. 2c, 18c-d), killing Busiris (No. *34*: Pl. 16), or Nessus (Nos. 16, 17: Pl. 20a; No. 17*bis*: Pl. 19b-d; No. 20: Pl. 39a). Alcyoneus (No. *21*: Pl. 6a) or Hydra (No. 23: Pl. 6c), and breaking the horn of Acheloüs (No. 35: *CH* pl. 126a). Further, an Arimaspian with gold in his bag is caught by the monstruous griffin (No. 2*bis*: Fig. 16; No. 28: Pls. 10a, 27c); but there is also a very peaceful scene with "Leda between her fine sons, Castor and Pollux", as I call it (No. *32*: *CH* pl. 112c); a nude hero attacks a sea monster with a sickle and a rock to rescue an innocent *phokè*, the foundation myth of Phocaea (as I believe, No. 29: Pls. 10c, 11c); and, as I suggest, the youthful Alcmaeon sent on his way to an unknown destination by his coquettish wife, the princess Arsinoë (or Alphesiboia; No. 8, see Ch. II.5; Pls. 28a, 30b).

Other scenes are enacted in a loftier sphere: Apollo and Artemis kill Tityos (No. 12: *CH* pl. 57); the baby-thief Hermes is found out by Apollo in his cradle (No. 3: Pl. 1c-d); Eos chases Cephalus (No. 3: Pl. 2a); Triton chases the Hippocamp (No. *31 bis*: Pls. 34a-c, 35a-b; see Ch. III.1); Europa is kidnapped by the Zeus-bull (No. 10: Pls. 18b, 37d; No. 13: *CH* pl. 61a); Hephaestus is made drunk by Dionysus and brought back to Olympus (No. 5: Pl. 3a; No. 14: *CH* pl. 64a). Besides, there are the puzzling giant-like, nude boys holding two horses by their bridles ('horse-tamers', No. 19: Pl. 5a, c; No. 26: Pl. 17a) and some equally puzzling sword-dancers (No. *25*: Pls. 7b, 8b, 9b; No. *31*: *CH* 127-8, nn. 244-50; pl. 111a, c).

There are ordinary, peaceful scenes too: boxing and wrestling (No. *21*: Pls. 3c, 24a; No. 36: Pl. 23c; see Ch. II.2), racing *bigae* (No. 6: Pl. 27f; No. *31*: Pls. 17b, 27d); a wild, rather provocative dance of half-nude girls and naked men (No. 12, shoulder: *CH* pls. 59-60); an elaborate sacrifice of a bull (No. 15: *CH* pl. 67), and, at a more divine level: Dionysus supervising his frolicking satyrs during vintage time (No. 9: *CH* pls. 48-50). But – and this is very unusual in Greek vase painting – , there is only one 'ordinary' human battle scene (No. 1: Pl. 39b; *CH* pls. 21-22).[220] Besides, as we have seen, there are many non-narrative pictures, such as calmly perching eagles (No. 27: *CH* pl. 99) and lonely prancing horses, some winged (Nos. 11-12, 16: Fig. 3; *e.g.*, *CH* pl. 7c) some wingless (Nos. 13-14; e.g., *CH* pl. 8b, d), there is an unexpected, Oriental looking pair of winged bulls (No. 33: Pl. 14d) and a surprising number of decorative (funerary?) sphinxes (Nos. 6, 17, 17 *bis*, 23, 30, 32: Pls. 6d, 7a, 39c, and two tails on pl. 19d).

For only forty vases this is an overwhelming number of narrative themes (in which, however, gods are rare).[221] The painters had this great store of myths and sagas in their minds, and clearly loved to 'recount' them, and, as they were highly gifted draughtsmen, they could conjure up all these stories in fine pictures for their clients.

But how and where did they acquire this visual treasure? This is a difficult question. One should realize that, though the painters could write and read, 'books' did not exist, they probably never saw anything like a written story. I doubt that they ever attended a performance in a theatre (they surely had not the slightest idea of what was brewing and growing in Athens in this respect). If the two grew up in or near Caere (which seems unlikely to me), they must have acquired their wealth of stories there and then. But in spite of the numerous fine East Greek objects found in Caere, some of which I have pointed out in Ch. V.5, it seems certain that there was insufficient Greek culture and Greek poetical and theatrical activity in Caere (or anywhere in Etruria) to produce such a wonderfully inspiring effect on young Greeks. Therefore, I have always assumed that they were born in East Greece. Their 'roots' undoubtedly lay in Eastern Greece where the Homerids were at home and, therefore, their command of myths contains much that is familiar to us. They sailed, I believe, as children with their parents about 545 BC from Phocaea to the far West (probably via Egypt, because of the Busiris scene in which Heracles slaughters the squeaking Egyptians in a very pharaonic manner, see *CH* 173).[222]

220 Interpreted by Bonaudo 2004 as an armed dance.

221 Gods are restricted to the vases of *Group A*, except for Hermes on No. *21* (Pl. 6a) and Triton on No. *31 bis* (Pl. 34a): we have Zeus as bull on Nos. 10 (Pl. 18b) and 13 (*CH* pl. 61a); Hermes, Maja and Apollo on No. 3 (Pl. 1c-d); Apollo, Artemis and Leto on No. 12 (*CH* pl. 17); Hephaestus on Nos. 5 (Pl. 3a) and 14 (*CH* pl. 64); Eos on No. 3 (Pl. 2a): all appear in narrative scenes, hardly elevated above the other figures in the depicted myths.

222 Against this assumption Brendel 1978, 173, protests: he suggests that the "familiarity with Egyptian mannerisms of style which characterizes the Busiris hydria might well have been derived from imports" of Syro-Phoenician metal bowls, the iconography of which included a rich assortment of Egyptian reminiscences.

They had, no doubt, learned these stories in the first place from their grannies and mothers (and perhaps from their fathers), but as they grew up somewhere in Ionia (or in a Greek city in the West) they must have attended recitals by the Homerids or other rhapsodes, and listened to hymns and epic recitals during festivals; for they clearly were familiar with the episode of the embassy to Achilles, so important in the *Iliad* (No. 30: Figs. 22-23, Pl. 17d; see Ch. II.6), and they knew the funny epullion about Hermes (No. 3: Pls. 1c-d, 48g) and the epos about the Arimaspians (Nos. 2 *bis* and 28: Fig. 16, Pls. 10a, 27b-c, e; Ch. II.3-4); besides, they must have listened to an epos, called the Alcmaeonid (No. 8: Pls. 28a, 30b; Ch. II.5).

And then, there are the numerous animal-scenes (*e.g.*, Pls. 1a-b, 2d, 4b, 17e) which strongly remind us of Homeric similes or omina with eagles swooping down and the like (*CH* 143).[223]

Their knowledge of myths was surprising and, therefore, we may expect that some of their stories are unknown to us. We tend to forget that there were hundreds and hundreds of Greek communities all around the Mediterranean, and all these communities undoubtedly had their own local legends and stories. In fact, our knowledge of Greek myths is extremely one-sided and limited: we have little or no knowledge of the legends, for example, of Napels, Phocaea, Marsilia, Byzantion etc. When dealing with the work of artists from outside the well-known regions (such as our hydriae) we can be sure to stumble on references to stories foreign to the known schools of pottery: I am referring to my interpretation of Alcmaeon on No. 8 (Pl. 28a), to the Phocaean nymph who was, I believe, 'transfigured' into a *phokè* on No. 29 (Pl. 10c) and to the lady I have called Leda on No. *32* (*CH* pl. 112c) We should also mention that time and again scenes or details remind us of the art of the Near East (see *CH Index*: "Oriental Art and Influence").

VI.3.c Possible funerary use

There is no doubt that all hydriae were found in the tombs of Caere. This does not, of course, indicate that they were made for that purpose; of the thousands and thousands of Greek vases that have been found there, none, to my knowledge, were made specifically for the grave (lekythoi are rare in Etruria). The possible funerary use of the hydriae has been discussed in *CH* 120 with notes 196-8 and *CH* II 109-115. The two vases that were found in the dromos of a tomb (Nos. 1 and 16; see Ch. VI.1) were manifestly used for a funerary ceremony, but there is nothing about them that destines them for such a use (No. 1, 'London Battle', Pl. 39b, and No. 16, 'Rome Nessus': *CH* pls. 21c, 70-71). Some of the scenes on the hydriae are perhaps more significant in a funerary context than as mere ornaments. This holds for the figures without a clear narrative context: for the curious swordsmen of No. *25* (Pl. 7b; *CH* 120, n. 194) and No. *31* (*CH* pls. 109-11, this vase is remotely reminiscent of Achilles ambushing Troilus who would be on his chariot on the obverse and the siren flanking the kneeling swordsman is then a daemon of death; *CH* 118 and n. 188); customary for tombs are the sphinxes on Nos. 6, 17, 17*bis*, 23 (Pl. 7a), 30 (pl. 39c), *32*, the siren of No. *31*, just mentioned, perhaps also the winged bulls on No. 33 (Pl. 14d); possibly the winged horses of Nos. *11*, 12, 16 (see *CH* pl. 7c, n. 214, and for winged animals p. 173); and eagles catching hares (Pls. 2d, 17e; *CH* n. 198) on Nos. 4, 7, 26;[224] add now the animal fights of No. 2 *bis*: Pls. 28b, 29. All these may indeed be suitable for funerary use but are surely not exclusively meant as such (see the discussion of the purpose of the hydriae in Ch. VI.3).

Yet, there are two hydriae which, because of the ornaments on their necks, may have been made for ash-urns: Nos. 6 and *21* ('Caere Chariot' and '*Rome Alcyoneus*': Pl. 48a-c; *CH* 171, pl. 141). I do not know if any Caeretan hydria was ever found with remains of ash, but it seems likely that the Nos. 6 (*CH* pl. 141) and *21* (Pls. 6a, 19a, 48a) were designed for it. The neck of No. 6 (Pl. 48b-c) is made into a female 'head': there are two fine eyes[225] and, on either side of the neck, an ear elaborately adorned with a typically east

[223] For *Tierkampfgruppen*, such as in Pls. 28b, 29a-c, see, *e.g.*, Emily Vermeule, *Death in Greek art and poetry*, London 1979, 233 and n. 4.

[224] See further *CH* 122, 158, 193. One wonders if the prancing horses on the reverse of many vases could also be interpreted in a funerary sense. Bonaudo believes that they are connected with the *komos* and are dancing (to the flute, as a kind of circus act?) at the symposia; an odd assumption, based on much later texts (Bonaudo 2004, 40).

[225] *CH* 171: the eyes were white with red irises and black pupils (and no incisions); there was a black edge to the eyes like that around Caeretan tongues! It is curious that no nose was added under the eyes: such details are very common in East Greek pottery.

Fig. 36. Diminutive monkey tied to frieze border on the reverse of No. 5 (see Pl. 47b); 1:1 Eagle Painter. After *CH* 37, fig. 26c.

Greek ornament,[226] while No. *21* (Pl. 48a; see Pls. 6a, 19a) is made into a lady's neck with no fewer than three costly necklaces, one with a 'gold and silver' pendant with the shape of a bull's head in its centre (*CH* 171). Such a decoration of the neck of a vase seems to change the vase into a human body, designed to contain the ash of the deceased woman. (Incidentally, the painting of both necks is by the Busiris Painter, for it was he who decorated the neck of No. 6, though the figures are by the Eagle Painter.)[227]

VI.3.d Humour

We cannot omit the discussion of one of the finest traits of our painters: their striking sense of humour and love of comical details; we may summarize here the extensive treatment in *CH* 151-2 and *CH II* 151-2.

Look at the diminutive monkey tied to the frieze line under the lotus-palmette on No. 5 (Fig. 36; Pl. 47b; *CH* pl. 38d), the (badly painted) face on the bottom of No. 10 (Pl. 48e; probably painted by one of the Etruscan helpmates), the funny ape commenting on the great battle of the Calydonian boar, from under the safe cover of the horizontal handle of No. 10, Pl. 48f (explained as a caricature of Thersites by N. Plaoutine; see *CH* 119, 124 n. 222; pl. 52f), and the innocent portrait of the kleptomaniac baby Hermes, hiding deep under the blankets in his cot on wheels on No. 3 (Pls. 1b-c, 48g; *CH* n. 192). Hardly less obvious is the funny intention of the way in which Heracles scares his boss, Eurystheus, into a colossal pithos, by driving the horrendous Cerberus towards him (Nos. 4 and *11*, 'Louvre and *Rome Cerberus*'; Pls. 2c, 18c-d) or Europa riding her fine Zeus bull over the sea, while comfortably sniffing a flower, on her way to the idyllic isle of Crete full of trees and hares (No. 10, 'Atalanta I', Pl. 18b; contrast the serious rendering of the scene on No. 13, *CH* pl. 61a). And look at the fast riding, crippled schoolboy Hephaestus on Nos. 5 and 14 (Pl. 3a; *CH* 119 n. 193: "*les orteils sont crispés comme si on lui chatouillait la plante des pieds*" says Plaoutine). Many comical details are found in the genocide of the Egyptians by Heracles on No. *34*, Pl. 16. Even cruder, but perhaps not less comical is the *symplegma* of No. 5, Pl. 42a, where the girl who is being penetrated by the colossal satyr, keeps herself in position by throwing her arms round his back and her leg over his sturdy tail, but her friend, draped in a nicely decorated dress, hurries near to interrupt the embrace by pulling the satyr's hair and beard. We are left in the dark whether she interferes because she is shocked or jealous (compare the other amorous couple of this vase in Pl. 3b).

Some jokes are more difficult to grasp, at least for us: take the heron-like bird on the neck of No. 10, 'Atalanta I' (Pls. 22a, 48d): why is it there? There are no narrative figures on the neck of any other hydria! The answer is a complicated story (*CH* 126): the Europa scene on the reverse of No. 10 is, as we have seen, a playful variation of the very serious rendering of the myth[228] on No. 13, 'Rome Europa', *CH* pls. 61-62, where the bull and his girl are accompanied by a goddess of love or victory (or Iris) meant as another incarnation of the great god. On No. 10, however, the scene is relegated to the reverse and made to fit the awkward, narrow and high spaces at both sides of the handle (Pl. 18b). The painter "may have regretted leaving out the fine bird flying in front of Zeus on No. 13 but he managed to find a place for it: there it is, on the neck (Pls. 22a, 48d), surely meant to be the same bird, though now changed into a kind of heron"

[226] *CH* 173: the ear ornament of Leda on No. *32* and on the neck of No. 6 are clear proof that the painter must have lived in East Greek surroundings. This ear ornament is discussed in detail in *BABesch* 38, 1963, 28-51.

[227] The central ornament on the neck of no. *21*, Pl. 48a, is regarded by Bonaudo (2004, 38) as a symbol in connection with the education of youths of the Etruscan aristocracy.

[228] Rather like the way in which 'Polyphemus II' varies the usual story as shown on Polyphemus I (see Ch. III.2, Pls. 36, 37a, 39a).

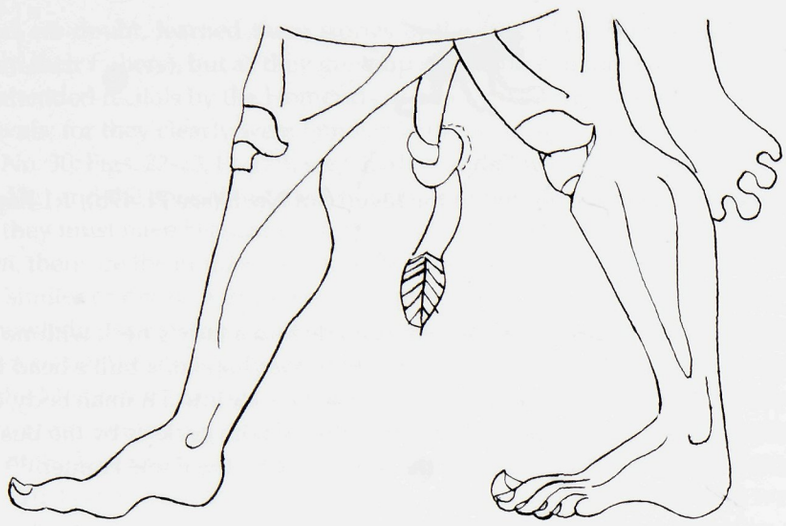

Fig. 37. Heracles' legs and knot in tail of *leontè*. No. 4 (see Pl. 2c). Eagle Painter. After *CH* fig. 44d.

(*CH* 126). Such playful deviations from the standard repertory are not always easy to recognize and are, therefore, often overlooked.

Some pictures seem to be meant to please or to amuse us in a very inconspicious way: sometimes a faint but perceptible smile is seen, for example, on the faces of girls engaged in en erotic exercise. Such a, modest, use of facial expression is a remarkable feature in the vase painting of the time, but it may have been inspired by the 'archaic smile' on the pretty faces of korai. The effect is reached by making the line between the lips slant upwards and by adding a slight curve at its angle. Examples are: No. 5, girls engaged with huge satyrs (Pls. 3b, 42a), No. 12, a girl wildly dancing with nude men (*CH* pl. 50f); compare the less pleased faces of the girls on No. 2, being carried off by formidable satyrs: Pls. 42b, 44c, e.[229] That this facial expression is intentional, is proved by the opposite emotion, fury or greed or fright, as expressed in the mouths and eyes of heroes, heroines and satyrs or centaurs, mainly by a downward curve in the line between the lips and by the unusual shape of the eyes: see Pls. 9a, 12a,16b, 23b-c, 35f.

Sometimes we recognize humour in what just possibly may not be meant as such. There is a certain creepy funniness in the colossal crab that, in Pl. 6d, tries to cut Heracles' heel-tendon, while raising its right claw as if applauding his own courage. This is not meant to be simply scary , I believe. I also believe that the plight of the little phokè on No. 29, Pl. 11b-c, was drawn by the Eagle Painter with a secret smile of satisfaction: she is jumping up and down with so much gusto looking at her impending liberation that the extremely decorative monster, in spite of its monumentality, looses most of its horror. The painter wanted us to smile.

One detail for which I had found hardly any parallels, is the knot in the tail of Heracles' *leonté*, which was meant to prevent him from tripping over it (Fig. 37; Pls. 2c, 18c-d; *CH* 151, 184). But some years ago Patricia Lulof[230] drew my attention to the knot in the tail of a very fragmentary East Greek Heracles terracotta from Veji, Pl. 48h, which is probably a little earlier than our hydriae.[231] Therefore, I am forced to admit that this detail, which gave me so much pleasure in attributing it to 'my' painters, is the fanciful invention of an earlier East Greek artist.

229 She defends herself against the assault by menacing with her fist. There seems to be a faint smile on the mouth of Atalanta in Pl. 20d, where it is not expected .

230 Patricia Lulof , 'Una bottega-tettoia ionica a Caere', in: *Dinamiche di Sviluppo della Città nell' Etruria Meridionale, Veio, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del xxiii Convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici*, Rome 2005, 209-12, pl. 1c.

231 Bonaudo also refers to this Portonaccio terracotta of Heracles with the knot and gives a picture, quoting Patricia Lulof (Bonaudo 2004, 101, fig. 59).

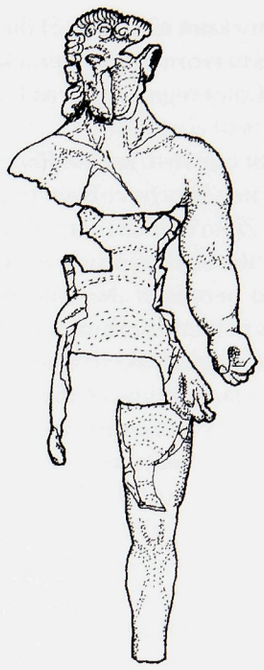

Fig. 38. Drawing of terracotta statue of Heracles with knot in tail of *leontè*. From Portonaccio sanctuary at Veji. After G. Colonna, *OpRom* 16, 1987, fig. 1.

VI.3.e The parentage of the Caeretan hydriae[232]

A summary of this vexed question is found in *CH* 193. My conclusion was that the ornaments and the figure style of the Caeretan hydriae are closely related to East Greek sculptural, plastic and glyptic art and to architectural decoration (see *CH* 163, 170, 184-8; here Ch. V.4-5; Figs. 34-35; Pls. 43a-b, e, 44a-b, d, 46b, 48b-c), but that there is no clear relation to any known East Greek school of pottery. This seems proof that the painters were not educated in a pottery workshop somewhere in East Greece (*CH* 163, 193). In Etruria their work exercised some slight, but just perceptible, influence on certain Etruscan pottery workers (Ch. V.1-3).[233] Such influence is totally lacking in East Greece.

The hydriae are extremely original in shape and decoration in comparison with other Greek fabrics; therefore, I suggested that the parents of our masters dealt not in pottery but in some other East Greek trade, probably architectural terracottas. Indeed, the case of the Caeretan hydriae is comparable to that of the architectural terracottas from Satricum, Rome (Sant'Omobono), Caere, Veji, Caprifico and the like, as discussed by the expert in this field, Patricia Lulof. She regards these terracottas as the work of (perhaps the second generation of) East Greek immigrants, not as that of Etruscan artisans. As for the origin of the style of the figures and the ornaments of these roof-decorations, she can point to East Greek examples such as found in Larissa (see also *CH* 187-8). In short, it seems not unlikely that the two Masters of our workshop were born in the families that produced East Greek architectural terracotta reliefs, paintings and figures in Italy and Etruria. This would explain, for example, their use of the particular form of lotus palmettes which is clearly at home in architecture, both in East Greece and Caere (as we have seen above) and not at home in pottery (Figs. 34-35; Pls. 46b, d, 47). We have mentioned East Greek parallels (among them from Didyma: Fig. 35), but there are also beautiful painted ones on terracotta plaques from Caere, very like those of Group B, but pendant (Cristofani 1992, 49, B40-41, fig. 100, tav. V; see also the star-motif of B40, which is similar to those on the necks in Group B).

[232] It is usually the shape that indicates the parentage of a class of vases. This is not the case with our hydriae: at the time of the Caeretan hydriae, the shape is rare in East Greece and Etruria. Shape and details of our hydriae were in many respects adapted from bronze examples and not from other clay pottery (see *CH* 165-6).

Besides, as we have also seen, the funny knot in the tail of the *leontè* of Heracles (Pls. 2c, 18c), so dear to the two painters of the hydriae, was already worn by the Heracles who, together with Athena, formed the acroterion of the temple of Veji. Patricia Lulof regards this as Eas Greek work, dating the group between 540 and 530.[234]

I take it that the two master-painters of our hydriae left East Greece (Phocaea) before the age at which they would become adult ceramicists.[235] They may have been in the company of the parents of Parmenides (born about 540 BC) and even of those of Zeno of Elea (born about 490 BC). The refugees from Asia Minor fleeing from the Persians in the forties of the sixth century, who wanted to found a new home in Corsica, must have been about the best educated people of the time and among them, we gather, our painters grew up; this explains their great interest in literature and mythology. As for their age: the battle of Alalia took place about 538 BC. Roughly ten year later the workshop was founded. After arriving in Etruria, they began working in a pottery shop (or started one of their own), though their parents were probably producing architectural terracottas. They may have been induced to specialize in their particular branch of pottery by the urgent local demand for elaborate, ceremonial water-vessels that were less costly than the same vessels in bronze.

VI.4 The total output of the workshop and the time required for the production of a hydria: a very rough estimate

The basic assumption of this chapter is that the workshop lasted (no more than) twenty years. Further: the painting of vases was only a very minor part of the labour and toil of vase-production. The workshop of the hydriae may seem to have been small, but we cannot assume that the ornate hydriae were its only products. We shall study below how many of these hydriae may have been potted and painted, but their number is surely insufficient for the subsistence of the shop. A pottery shop needed a goodly output, at least a yearly production of several thousands of pots (unpainted ones or decorated with simple bands).[236] These have so far largely escaped notice, which is, I suppose, at least partly due to the custom of treasure hunters and early excavators from before 1900 to discard whatever seemed uninteresting and valueless. How long this habit continued I cannot tell; but even until late into the 20th century, the less interesting and seemingly valueless fragments and bits were collected in chests that were hardly ever properly studied afterwards. Fortunately, Prof. Rizzo and others have now started to investigate the chests of the finds of Mengarelli made during his excavations at Caere from 1910-1932.

In fact, we do have, as we have seen, knowledge of some of the other products of the workshop: the strap-handled amphorae of Figs. 24-25 and Pl. 32a-g (Ch. II.7), and other objects that may have been made in the workshop: alabastra with coloured bands such as I have discussed elsewhere,[237] not to mention the curious painted one of Pl. 38a-d (Ch. III.3); besides, there is the banded Castellani hydria of *CH* 59, pl. 19, which is very close indeed. There must have been whole classes of other pots and therefore I have proposed that also ´Ionian´ banded amphorae such as those of Fig. 31 and Pl. 44a-b may have been made in our workshop (Ch V.5).

But now back to that part of the workshop in which the ornate Caeretan hydriae were made. There were two painters, who may also have worked as potters (of course, other potters must have produced the mass of unpainted material that has been postulated just now) and , besides, there were two or three helpmates who, apart from other chores, were allowed to paint ornaments on some of the vases (according to our present knowledge, they painted the ornaments of at least one in four hydriae: especially those of *Series 2, Belly-ivy Series*, see Table A).[238]

233 *CH* 188-93: Clearly influenced was the Lotus Painter of the La Tolfa group and possibly the Tityos and Silenus Painters of Pontic vases.

234 I thank Patricia Lulof for her comment on this question.

235 *CH* 160.

236 Note the quantities that are sometimes proposed for the average Attic workshop per year: 1400-2500 vases ; see Stissi 2002, 30.

237 In *Alabastron II*, 48, fig. 1a-b, and *CH* pls. 148d, 149a.

238 They also painted the handle palmettes of *Series 1*, Nos. 3-5 (Pl. 2a, d; *CH* pls. 2-3) and the neck ornaments of these vases (Fig. 7; Pls. 1a-c, 2c, 18d).

Circa forty hydriae have been preserved (Table A). If this were one percent of the total output (usually the guesses are much lower)[239] some 4000 elaborately decorated hydriae would have been produced (see *CH* 66). This, my first impression tells me, can hardly be true, even for twenty years. What is preserved is, I think, more likely to be nearer to 2 percent,[240] which leads to an output of 2000.[241] This, however, means: only hundred hydriae a year, since we have put the duration of the workshop at 20 years. This number seems far too small, but the output of unpainted (or striped) wares may, as we have said, have been large indeed.

Clearly we must try and check the number of 100-200 hydriae per year by applying another calculation. For this we have to guess how many hours the decoration of one hydria roughly would take, and how many hours a day, and how many days per year, the painters could have worked.

In this calculation I make two assumptions; the first is that there were no more than 90 (or 120) days a year for painting (that is one fourth or third of the total), and the second is that I feel confident that a painter could not be working (on and off with the necessary breaks and interruptions) for more than four hours a day with the tense concentration required for this very delicate and exacting work.[242]

Let us imagine that we observe the Busiris Painter at work on his greatest master piece preserved, the Busiris hydria: Fig. 39, Pls. 15-16, 18a (No. *34*: *CH* 50-54).

I believe that he did not hold this big vase (height 42 cm, diam. with handles 39.4 cm, *CH* 6 Table B) on his lap while painting it (see Stissi 2002, pls. 29a, 33c, 35, 37b-c), but that there was some contraption on his table on which the vase could easily be held in the right position.

There are no less than 156 tongues on this vase:[243] in the mouth, on the foot and around the handle attachments (see *CH* 111 Table H). These he had to plot, to draw, to paint and finally to colour: this would take at least one minute for each tongue and so about 2.5 hours in all. (They were painted carefully with 'black' clay paint – with the term 'paint' I refer to the thickish, peptized clay slip used for this purpose – [244] and subsequently the red and white cores had to be brushed on. This painting material had to be prepared and kept in the right condition, ready for use; also, there had to be some time for drying.)

On the exquisite myrtle branch on the shoulder (Fig. 39; Pl. 18a), there are 17 twigs on the inside and 21 on the outside of the central branch (38 in all), each with 7-8 leaves and 7-9 white berries, all on tiny twigs:[245] this totals to ca. 300 leaves and about the same number of berries. This means that the painter had to paint (in black and white) 600 details attached to, and sprouting from the two very elegant central branches (not counting the tiny twigs of the leaves and the berries). If we suppose that the painter could

239 See A. Johnston, in: *Looking at Greek* vases, Cambridge 1991, 208-17. All problems of the production capacity and the time involved are summarized and discussed by Stissi 2002. Literature about the questions broached in this paragraph, is huge: I will refer only to Stissi's book, which gives a full report of all other treatments of the subjects here under discussion. Stissi, *op. cit.*, 26-33, gives estimates of the rate of survival used by different scholars: 0.3 to 1% for the Panathenaic amphorae. In his Table III.5 he uses as the most probable rate 0.25-0.5 % , which seems too low for our hydriae.

240 The survival rate of the Caeretan hydriae may have been higher than for other vases because they were mainly (though perhaps not exclusively) made for Etruscan customers in Caere and so could find their way into the sturdy tombs of that town.

241 Even so, two thousand may at first sight seem too many for it is the great number of details that makes me hesitate: the same holds for such enormous achievements as the famous calyx krater by Euphronios of Pl. 46a, which (what with the fantastically fine ornaments and the great number of very detailed figures) could, I guess, not be finished within even two days, but would require at least three and perhaps even more. We should distinguish between these great works of refined art like this krater (not to speak of the François vase) and the less elaborately painted vases, such as the cups by Makron.

242 I am not speaking, of course, of four hours working at a stretch, without pause, but of parts of the day filled with extensive spells of concentration on the work, alternating with the usual breaks and interruptions; thus the four hours of my hypothesis would fill a whole day – as long as the daylight would allow. I come to this conclusion from my intimate knowledge of the time Melle Oldeboerigter, a well-known Dutch surrealist, devoted to his work: he never worked more than four hours a day on his very detailed and precisely painted pictures, and usually less.

243 In what order he painted the ornaments is of no importance at the moment, but, as can be seen in Fig. 39, the handle tongues came after the branch on the shoulder: the tips of some of these tongues are painted over leaves of the myrtle branch.

244 Noble 1988, 85-90 with Table II on p. 199.

245 See Erika Kunze-Götte, *Myrte*, Kilchberg 2007, 13 n. 15; she has discovered that the white berries of the myrtle branch once had tiny crownlets (comparable to those of pomegranates), as they ought to have, though they are hardly visible on the vase and not rendered in the fine drawing of *MonInst* 1864-68, pls. 16-17; here Fig. 39.

Fig. 39. Hunting frieze around lower belly and myrtle on shoulder of No. *34* (see Pls. 15a-b, 16a,18a). After *MonInst* 1865, vol. 8, pl. 17.

manage 5 elements per minute (which seems fast), the work must have lasted two hours. The intense concentration needed for this kind of delicate drawing asks, of course, for a break from time to time. Besides, I have not included the time needed for plotting the ornament.

Then there is the elaborate ornament on the neck (Pl. 15a-b; *CH* 100-1, pls. 118, 140e), consisting in three palmette-stars and three double lotuses (the part behind or under the vertical handle was very difficult to paint); this is an intricate and colourful ornament which cannot have been painted freehand without very careful plotting: I guess that it would take our painter not less than half an hour at the least.

The fine rim ornament, a maeander in black and red, cannot have been painted in less than 10 minutes (*CH* 104-5). The 24 rays at the base are black, white and red (*CH* 111, Table H); they were probably painted right at the beginning, when the vase could be placed upside down on the table. Together with their plotting this could, I think, be done in about 5 minutes. Finally, the rather unusual palmette in three colours under the vertical handle – here provided with an extra set of white spirals (one turned in the wrong direction: Fig. 15, Pl. 15b-c) and a sketchy flower in its top – would require at least about 10 minutes.

All this adds up to nearly 5.5 hours – without breaks for 'lunch' or a moment of relaxation and without the constant attention required to keep the clay-paint in condition. This was the first half of the work.

There are no less than three figure scenes on the vase; the killing of Busiris and his servants on the obverse (Pls. 15-16) with 12 men in the most impossible positions and attitudes (*CH* 53, fig. 41); on the reverse (Pl. 15b-c) the five fine black officers of the king's body guard, in white and red loincloths and, in the narrow lower frieze under the main pictures, a long row of 8 hunters and 7 dogs attacking a fierce boar (Fig. 39; *CH* pls. 124-5).

The main scene must have been difficult to design – perhaps there were sketches or complete scenes in the studio that served as models. (Incidentally, I do not believe in model-books: books were not available at the time nor anything else approaching their use.) The composition had to be built up, the figures had to be plotted and roughly sketched (probably with charcoal which leaves slight grooves in the surface after it has burnt away in the firing) and subsequently they were drawn in silhouette. When the figure was to be painted white or red, this silhouette was usually thin and streaky, as can be seen in the kneeling youth of Pl. 5c or Heracles on No. *21*, Pl. 45c-e, who originally were coloured. These 'scumbled' brush strokes were meant to serve as a kind of underpaint for the colours but also as preliminary sketching. Finally, the figures were coloured and incised.[246]

It may be estimated that each figure would require at an average (for the larger and the smaller ones) 10 minutes. For a total of 33 figures this would amount to some 330 minutes or 5.5 hours. The total time required for the painting of this wonderful hydria should therefore be at least 11 hours; not counting the inevitable interruptions and breathing spaces. Clearly the painting of the hydriae required great concentration and precision, and, as I have said, I do not believe that a painter can work with this strenuous intensity for more than four hours a day. Therefore, if I conclude that the Busiris Painter worked nearly three days on this hydria (11 hours), I will not be far from the mark, though it is far more than is usually accepted.[247]

Can we make a similar estimate for the other vases? We are lucky in having a certain knowledge (see Ch. I.2.b) of the number of workmen employed in the workshop, but for the moment we may ignore them: we continue in the same way, guessing at the time the painting required. Let us concentrate on the vases of *Series 3* (*Lotus-ivy Series*), Nos. 19 *minus* - *34* (Group B), *e.g.*, Pls. 7-16.

First there are the ornaments of the *rim* and *neck*, often executed with three colours (though red and white are often lost). The neck ornaments of Group B,[248] are, as we have seen, complicated and difficult to draw (*e.g.*, frontispiece; Pls. 4a-b, 6b-d, 7, 14a, c-d, etc.). For lack of other evidence, we are forced to believe that they were painted free-hand, with great skill, to be sure: the painting may not have lasted more than 20 minutes.

246 I do not know whether all this took place for all figures at the same time or for each figure separately but the clay of the vase would absorb the moisture of the paint, and dry paint, as we have seen above, can impair the precision of the incisions.

247 Stissi 2002, 31. Johnston takes it that a painter decorated one red figure krater a day, but our vases are more elaborate. I feel that my estimate of three days is rather too short and conservative.

248 Except No. 19 *bis*, the neck of which belongs to Group A: Pls. 36, 37a.

Much time was, no doubt, required for the fine ivy wreaths on the shoulders (Fig. 10; Pls. 7d, 13a, 21b). How the masters managed to produce them (without templates), I do not know. In none of them have I ever come upon a mistake with a correction![249] The precision suggests that they were painted with great proficiency: perhaps not much more than half an hour may have sufficed.

The plotting and painting of the lotus-palmettes (frontispiece; Pls. 4a-b, 6, 7a-c, 10, 11a, etc.) was the hardest task. There is a great difference between the early ones (*Series 1;* visible in Pl. 46d; *CH* 96, pl. 135a and d) and the later ones (*Series 3*; compare Fig. 9, Pls. 21a, 46d, 47a-b and *CH* pls. 135-9), but all consist of 7-9 units (Table E, *CH* 94-95).[250] There were 14-18 spirals and 7-9 flowers and the same number of palmettes. Templates or rulers were used for the flowers in *Series 1* (see Pl. 46d; *CH* 96, visible in pl. 135a and d), and there the spirals are still a little uneven (Pls. 46d, 47a), but the lp.'s of *Series 3* are admirable and surprisingly precise (*e.g.*, Pls. 4a-b, 6-7, 10-11a, 47c; *CH* pls. 136-8): how they were plotted is unknown,[251] but, it seems almost inevitable to assume that some appliance was used for drawing the fine, springy spirals, if not for the beautiful outer leaves of the lotuses, or the delicately curved leaves of the palmettes. The task was to plot, paint and colour a minimum of 14 spirals, 7 flowers (each with five leaves, coloured calyces and pointed spikes), 7 palmettes (each with 5-7 finely curving leaves): this is a total of about a 100 items. It seems to me that the frieze could not be prepared, painted and coloured in less than 1.5 hours. The earlier, more primitive examples of *Series 1*, Nos. 1-5 (such as Fig. 13, Pls. 1-2, 26e, 46d, 47a) were also painted by the masters (and not by helpmates);[252] in that period they were, apparently, less experienced. The painting would probably not have taken less time than later on.

The palmettes of the vertical handles of *Series 3* are admirably elegant and well-shaped (Fig. 5; Pls. 4b, 5b, 7a-b, 10b, d); yet, the two masters may not have spent much time on them: 5-10 minutes, I would guess. We have spoken of the rays of No. *34* and need not say more about them: 5-10 minutes would suffice (they are red and black, or red, white and black, see *CH* 111, Table H). This totals for the ornaments of the vases of *Series 3* to nearly 2.5 hours.

However, the ornaments of one in four vases (namely the ten vases of *Series 2*, Nos. 9-18, and some ornaments on Nos. 1-5) were painted by the (often clumsy) assistants; one fourth may therefore be subtracted from the 2.5 hours the painters needed: this leaves about 2 hours as an average for the painting of the ornaments of a hydria.

The painting of the *two scenes* on the hydriae Nos. 1-33, would surely take less time than those on the Busiris hydria, but, with designing and plotting the composition, the preliminary sketching, and the extreme perfection with which certain colourful figures, even after 2500 years, fill us with wonder (see the stag and doe of No. 29, Pl. 13b), the painter certainly worked on them for 1-1.5 hours.

It seems probable to me that the two painters often worked side by side (though not always, for one of them may have been busy at the wheel; see below). This means that the workshop could produce the figure scenes of two hydriae in 1-1.5 hours or of one in ½-¾ of an hour. Adding to this the 2 hours for the ornaments just mentioned we come to the conclusion that it is safe to say that, as an average, it took the entire team of painters 2.5 - 3 hours to decorate one hydria; which amounts to nearly three vases in two days. This is a very rough estimate but perhaps not too far from reality.

I have assumed that there were not more than 90 (or 120) days in a year that could be devoted to painting. This means that the workshop produced (90:2) x 3= some 135, or (120:2) x 3 = 180 Caeretan hydriae a year.[253] On so small an output no workshop can, of course, subsist; I repeat, it must have produced quantities of unpainted or black pots and vases and household ware, which so far have escaped notice (see Ch. V.5). I believe that the workshop lasted for about 20 years: its total output of Caeretan hydriae would then

249 The number of leaves decreases after No. 25: see Table D, *CH* 92.

250 But No. 1 has ten sets: Pls. 39b, 46d.

251 See *CH* 96: "Sometimes the ornament was set out with vertical strokes indicating the place where two spirals should meet (*e.g.*, Nos. 22, *33*) and besides, vague preliminary sketching lines may be found in the flowers and spirals (*e.g.* Nos. 3-5, 7 19, *21*-23)".

252 Though templates were used for plotting them (see Pl. 46d) which were later abandoned for this ornament.

253 This is an extremely low number if compared to other estimates; Stissi 2002, 31, n. 93, quotes scholars about the yearly output of individual painters: Reichhold: 50; Scheibler: 200-300; Kunisch : 200-300; this would mean that Makron, who is supposed to have worked 20-25 years would have produced some 4000-6000 cups or more; but there is a very different calculation in his Table III.5 where Stissi notes 10.900 vases if the survival rate were 0.25%. At any rate, all these calculations make a bookish, hardly convincing impression.

roughly have been 20 x 135 = 2700 or 20 x 180 = 3600, which is more than, but not too far off, from our earlier estimate of 2000. This number seems still surprisingly high to me, though not to most scholars. Perhaps the painters did not work twenty years (their eyesight may not have endured for so many years); if so, their style must have developed faster than I have always believed[254] and their total production may have been smaller.

But let us end this risky guessing and turn to the question: what filled the rest of the year?[255] So far I have not spoken of the way the clay was procured and prepared.

It was dug out of a (nearby?) clay pit, transported to the shop, stored, broken up, prepared for purification and levigation in basins (Noble 1988, 16-17), was left to age, was refined and kneaded for throwing; small quantities were peptized and thickened and so made into 'clay-paint' (Noble 1988, 85). For all this, large quantities of water were needed. The white and red/purple kinds of clay had to be obtained (from where and how?) and prepared for use.[256] Many of these things would happen simultaneously, but all this would take weeks and weeks, and recurred over and over again each year.

Further, we have not yet looked at the central craft of the production: the potting. It seems probable to me that the painters (or one of them) regularly worked at the wheel (though perhaps not for the banded or unpainted ware): let us suppose they did.

Potting vases – throwing them on the wheel, building them up with the separately made parts such as handles, feet and perhaps necks, and then finishing them with "self-slip" – , all this proceeds at a much quicker pace than painting: the process, however, must be interrupted several times, for the clay to stiffen for building up, and to become leather-hard for painting and, after painting, to become 'bone dry' to be ready for the kiln. Even so the production of any potter would have been much too fast for our painters, if he had only produced 'Caeretan hydriae' meant for elaborate decoration.

For firing 135 or 180 Caeretan hydriae (together with numerous other pots) the kiln must have been used some four times a year (see Stissi 2002, 127). For each firing it had to be repaired and brought into working order, the fuel had to be fetched, stored and made ready. The kiln would be loaded with some 40 hydriae and hundreds of unpainted or banded crockery (amphorae, pots, plates or other items), then it was fired, after which it had to cool down. The supervision of the kiln required continual expert knowledge and care and could not be left to the less experienced. Subsequently, the pots were unloaded and stored; they were put on show near the shop or brought to the market; there were negotiations with merchants and ordinary customers, many vases may have been 'sold'[257] straight from the shop. All this took much time and attention, and was repeated perhaps some four to five times a year.

And if all this, in our opinion, might not suffice to occupy the 275 or 245 days, that remained after the subtraction of the time for painting (90/120 days), there are the long autumns and winters, when the wet and cold weather prohibited potting and painting and when firing a kiln is difficult and wood and freshly shaped pots will not dry and, besides, daylight is insufficient. And we should perhaps not forget the regularly recurring heat waves that may have interfered. At any rate, there are the very frequent festivities and solemn occasions which were for the potters a vacation from their dirty work, like Sundays and holidays are for us.

Though all this is, of course, extremely hypothetical, our conclusion must be that the workshop probably produced some 2500 to 3500 hydriae, which is, in my view, a surprisingly high number indeed.

In spite of all uncertainties, it is useful, I believe, to have tried and counted the hours of intense concentration the painters had to spend on such very elaborately decorated hydriae and to guess how many hours a day they may be supposed to have maintained the strain.

254 However, it is not possible to assume that the Busiris Painter started his career at a later date than the Eagle Painter: his early work, No. 2 and the ornaments of No. 2 *bis*, prove that he worked in the shop right from the beginning.

255 The whole process of the making of a Greek vase is summarized in two pages by Noble 1988, 166-7.

256 Miltos or ochre (see Noble 1988, 126-7) was not used (not even known to the masters, I believe). To make the surface shiny they applied what I call self-slip, a thinned wash of clay-paint (which is usually lost). I do not belief that the pots were burnished, as Noble assumes.

257 A. Johnston, in: *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge 1991, 205-24: "Transaction must have been carried out on a non-monetary basis" and "coined silver was something of an innovation even in the fifth century". Barter-trade would, I should think, be time-consuming compared to our easy buying and selling.

VI.5 The technical proficiency of the masters

In the foregoing I have repeatedly pointed out that the potting and firing of the vases is far from perfect, not rarely even defective (Ch. I.2.b and *CH* 63, 67, 73). Often, it seems, the kiln was not in good order: part of the surface of almost all hydriae is badly oxidized. This must have been due to an air current that the potter(s) did not succeed in preventing – which is, of course, due to a flaw in the kiln, but should be blamed on the potter(s) (and one of them may have been the Busiris Painter himself).

On the other hand, the painting of the two masters was almost without exception impeccable.[258] I know of only one major failure, or even a blunder: the painter or, more probably, one of the assistants, spilled half a beaker of 'paint' over No. 3, 'Louvre Hermes', when it stood completely finished, ready to be stored for drying. The paint spoiled the right-hand part of the obverse (Pls. 1c-d, 47a, 48g). Someone did his best to repair the damage by scraping and rubbing, but to no avail: the picture of the gods standing around the wheeled cradle of Hermes, arguing about his guilt (Pls. 1d, 48g; *CH* pl. 29), is disfigured and the lotus-palmette frieze under it is badly smudged (Pl. 47a).[259] I imagine that the Eagle painter deeply regretted that his fine, funny picture had been spoilt all but irreparably.

[258] In technical terms, their work is, of course, far below Attic standards. Not only are the shine and colour of the hydriae, and especially the 'black' paint far from Attic perfection, the painters also had no knowledge of, or no use for, the precision tool of the Attic pot-painters: the relief line.

[259] For less conspicuous smears and blobs, some also wiped out without success, see *CH* n. 69: we find them on Nos. 2 (*CH* pls. 26-27), 5 (arm of maenad on *CH* pl. 39a; and tongue on the shoulder).

VII NOTE ON PONTIC VASES

In addition to the extensive treatment of the Pontic vases in *CH*[260] it seems appropriate to point out once more that in my opinion the Paris Painter too was a non-Etruscan, with close links with East Greece (Chiot, according to A. Rumpf; see *CH* n. 944), but his style is far less moulded by the unsurpassable Greek stylistic discipline than that of our hydriae, and Etruscan influence in the Pontic workshop appears soon, *e.g.*, in his amphora with Heracles fighting Juno Sospita (Hannestad 1974, no. 11). Many scholars are against an East Greek origin of the Paris painter: see A. Amyx, 'A Pontic Oinochoë in Seattle', in: *Hommages à Albert Grenier, Coll. Latomus* 58, 1962, 124-33 (esp. 131). Three new vases have been published by D. Williams in *Aeimnestos, Miscellanea di Studi per Mauro Cristofani*, 2006, vol. 1, 352-60; he attributes them to a new painter, the Eyre Painter, and says (p. 358) that he was one of the first Athenian-trained black-figure vase-painters to migrate to Italy. I disagree with this: the ornaments, the direction of the scenes and – a very telling detail – the down-curving cheek-pieces of the horses (which are purely East Greek; see *CH* 176) disprove this; the three vases discussed by Williams, are, I think, by the early Paris painter. It seems to me that, apart from all else, his very originality in telling Greek myths[261] proves his East Greek origin: there is the famous vase with the Greek delegation (Hermes, Chiron and Talthybios?) coming to fetch Achilles from Skyros (Hannestad 1974, no. 10), which was recognized as such by O. Brendel (Achilles is the one in the centre of the reverse, in the background, without a head scarf, hiding between the girls and looking worried). Then there is the fragmentary vase in the Louvre with the old man imploring a young man who is drawing his sword, Hannestad 1974, no. 29, pl. 20 (Louvre E704; Gaultier 1995, pls. 18-19): this is, I believe, Priam asking Achilles for the body of Hector, Achilles reacts with anger and threatens Priam (the followers are carrying gifts; Hector's body is either lost or was omitted). And then there is the well-known, striking picture of the judgement of Paris, Hannestad 1974, no. 1, pls. 1-2. The originality of the pictures is comparable to the Clazomenian fragments of a hydria with the killing of Troilos(?) and the royal family sitting and looking on from afar (E. Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI. 1, no. 976, pl. 119).[262]

I may also use this occasion to protest once more against the mis-attribution of two splendid Corinthian hydriae to the Paris Painter (Hannestad 1974, nos. 35–36, pls. 24-25); their shape, precision and, especially, their artistic discipline are far beyond this mediocre, though amusing painter, whose style of potting is definitely weak. That the two hydriae in question are Late Corinthian is obvious from a comparison with the jug no. 1405 in Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 42, 2-3 , which is clearly by the same hand, showing exactly the same scene with cocks and florals. Yet Hannestad's attribution seems universally adopted, *e.g.*, by D. Williams (*loc. cit.*, p. 354): and also by Kordelia Knoll in the catalogue of the Dresden collection, *Die Antiken im Albertinum* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden 1993) no. 40, p. 70.

260 See *CH* Index, *s.v.* Pontic vases, esp. 188-90 with nn. 941-987.

261 See especially Brendel 1978, 153-4: "the principle of representation is the preparatory moment, it stages a situation in the making; knowledge of the future the observer must supply."

262 But see for another opinion Anna Lemos, 'The Trojan Cycle in Preclassical Imagery of East Greece', *Archaiognosia* 10, 1999-2000, 23. The thymiaterion in the hands of the herald is surely unexpected.

Abbreviations and bibliography

1. My own publications on the hydriae are:

CH: J. M. Hemelrijk, *The Caeretan Hydriae*, Mainz / Rhein, 1984.

CH II: J. M. Hemelrijk, 'Three Caeretan Hydriae in Malibu and New York', in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6, Malibu 2000, 87-158.

NY Alabastron: J. M. Hemelrijk, 'An alabastron by the workshop of the Caeretan hydriae', in: *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco, Atti, Florence, May 26 – June 2, 1985*, Rome 1989, 2; 729-32.

Alabastron II: J. M. Hemelrijk, 'A fake or not a fake...An ancient practical joke?', in: *BABesch* 83, 2008, 47-60.

***CVA* Amsterdam 6:** The Netherlands 12, Appendix, 63-72, pls. 339-44 (J. M. Hemelrijk).

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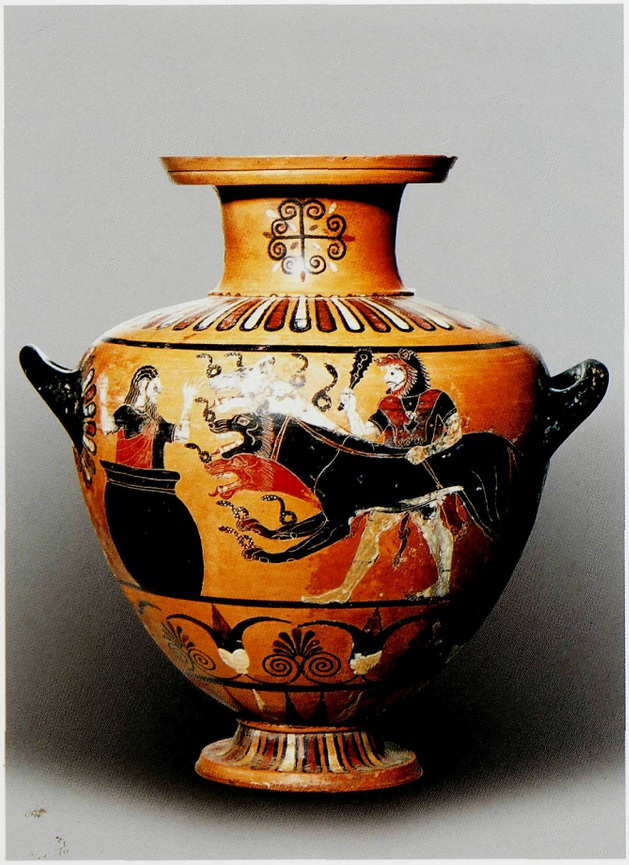

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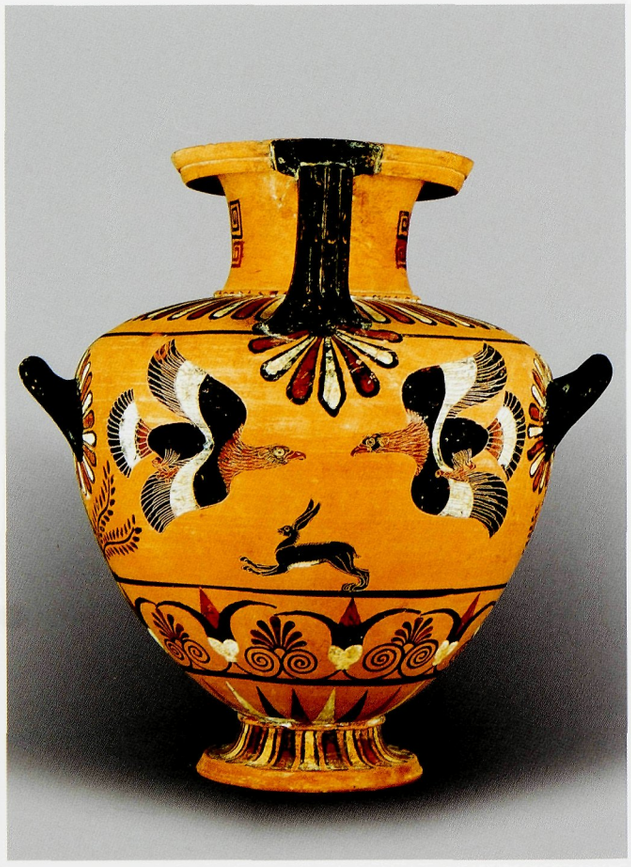

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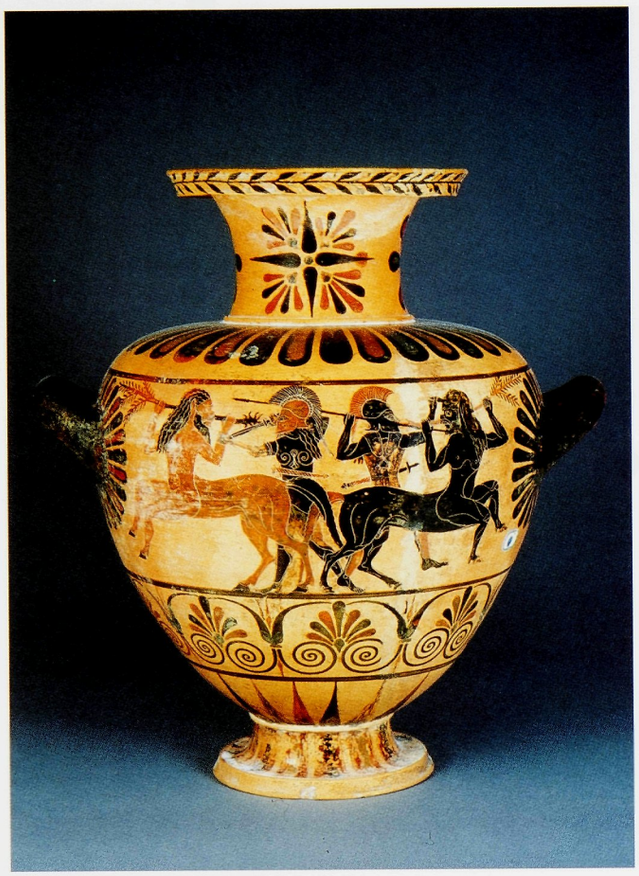

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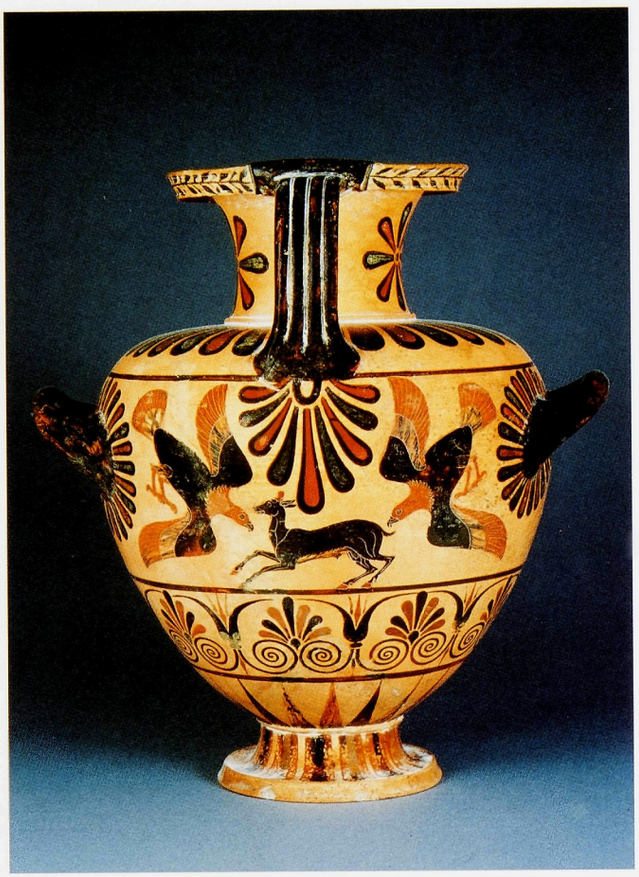

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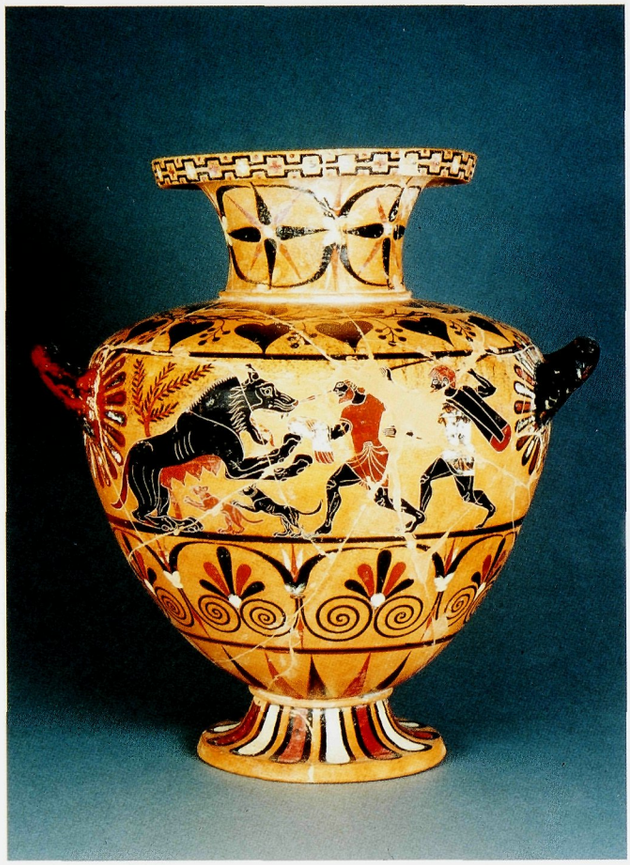

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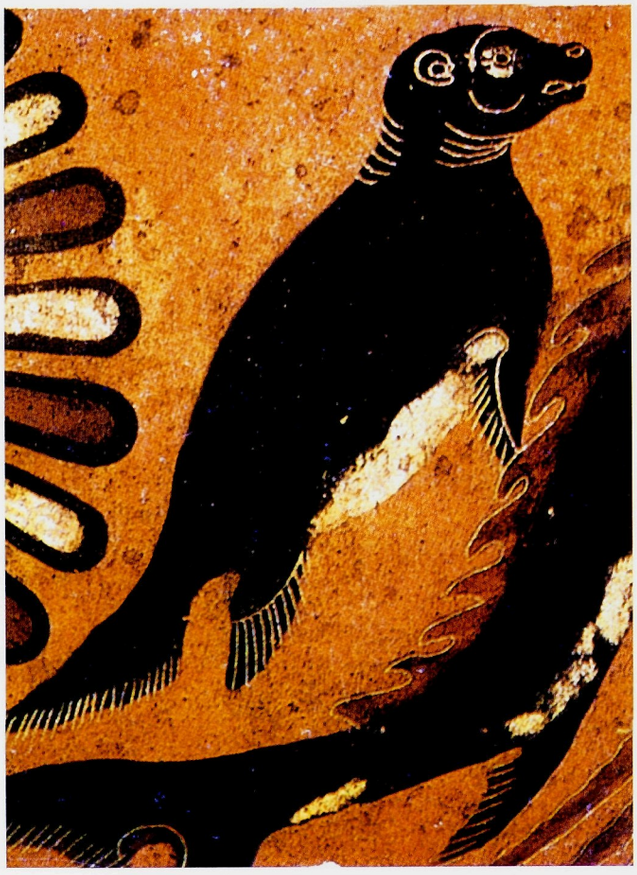
Pl. 10a. No. 28. London, BM 1923.4-19.1 ('London Arimaspian I'). Arimaspian fleeing before griffin. Fragments α and β incorporated. Eagle Painter, ornaments Busiris Painter.

Pl. 10b. No. 28. London, BM 1923.4-19.1 ('London Arimaspian I'). Reverse. Satyrs and maenads. Fragment γ and face of right-hand satyr incorporated.

Pl. 10c. No. 29. Formerly 'Zurich Monster', since 1993 Athens, Niarchos coll. (now: 'Athens Phokè'). Hero fighting sea-monster. Eagle Painter, ornaments Busiris Painter.

Pl. 10d. No. 29. Formerly 'Zurich Monster', since 1993 Athens, Niarchos coll. (now: 'Athens Phokè'). Reverse. Hunt of stag and billy goat.

Pl. 11a. No. 29. ('Athens Phokè'). Side view of Pl. 10c-d. Eagle Painter, ornaments by Busiris Painter.



Pl. 11b. Youthful seal jumping high up from the sea. No. 29. Detail scene Pl. 10c. Eagle Painter.

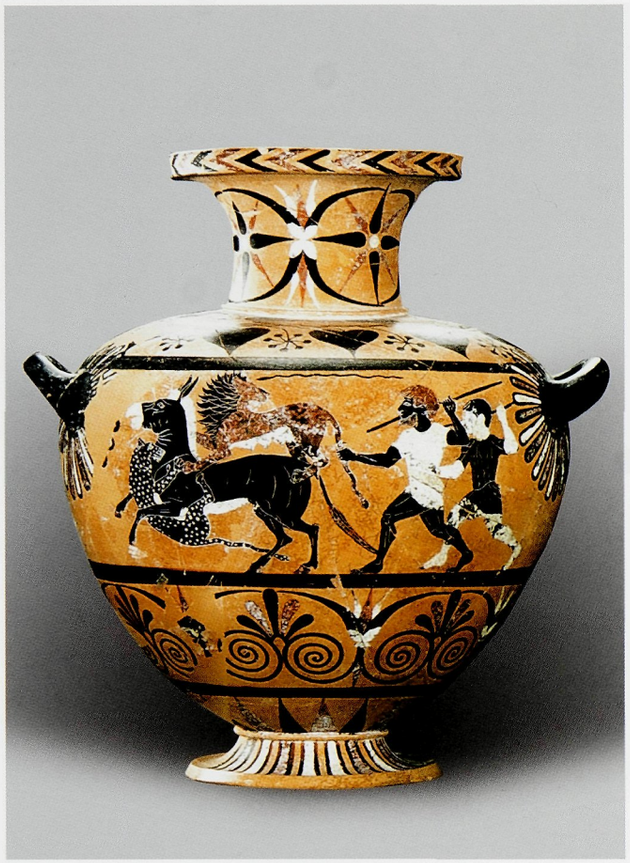
Pl. 11c. Sea-monster, dolphins, octopus, seal. No. 29. Scene Pl. 10c. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 12a. Hero fighting sea-monster. No. 29. Detail Pl. 10c. Eagle Painter.

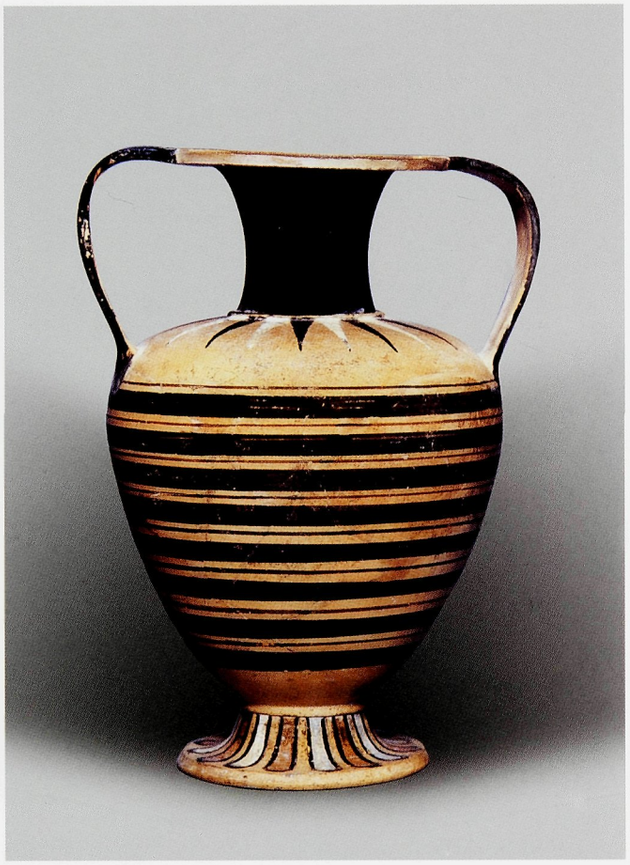
Pl. 12b. Hunter and hound. No. 29. Detail Pl. 10d. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 13a. Ivy on shoulder of No. 29. Formerly 'Zurich Monster', since 1993 Athens, Niarchos coll. (now indicated as: 'Athens Phokè'). Ornaments Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 10c.

Pl. 13b. Hunt of stag and billy goat. No. 29. Detail Pl. 10d. Eagle Painter.



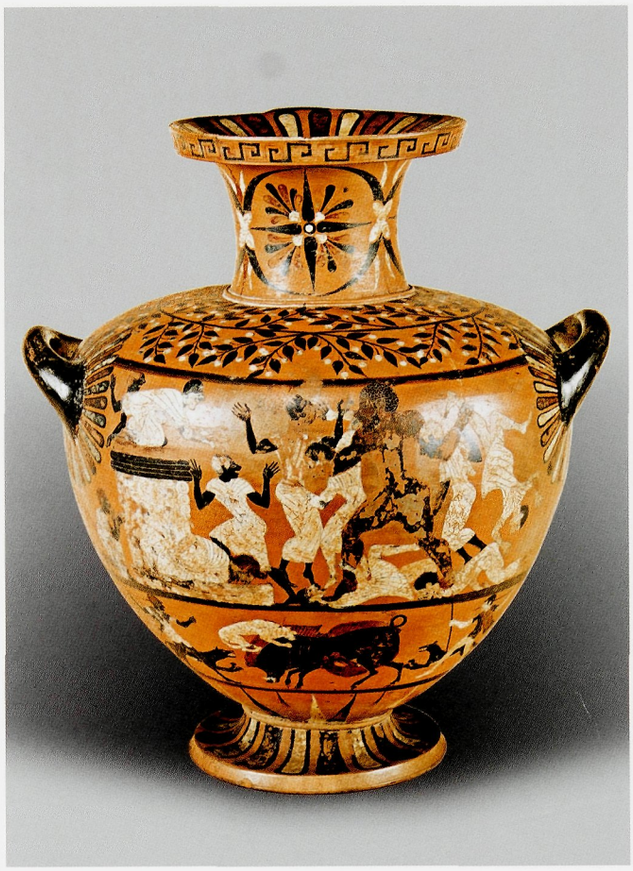
Pl. 14a. No. *31 bis. 'Rome, ex-New York Mule'*; formerly Shelby White coll. 742. Defending mule against lion and panther. Busiris Painter. See also Pls. 33d, 34a-c.



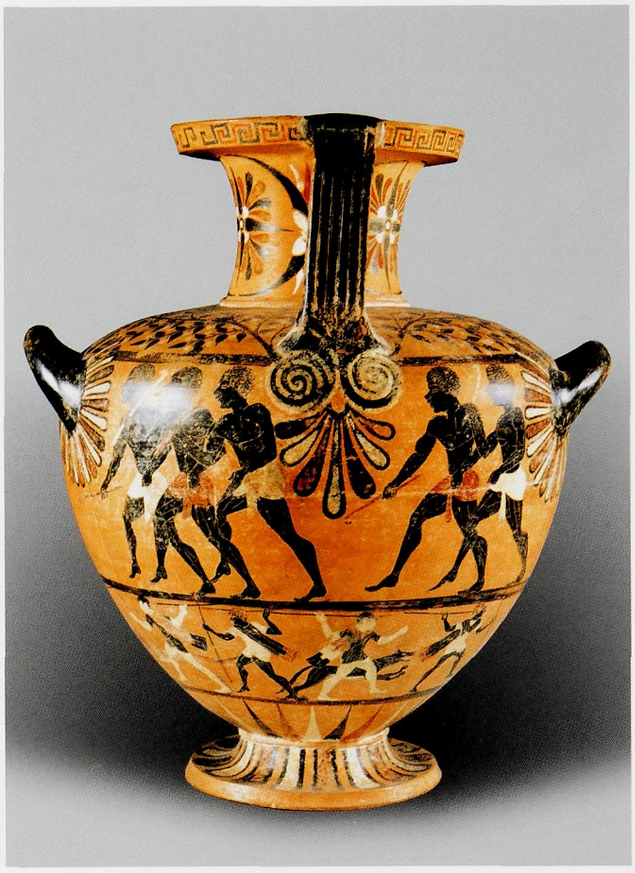
Pl. 14b. Caeretan amphora A2. Formerly Hirschmann coll. Compare Pl. 32.

Pl. 14c. No. 33. Louvre E 697 (*'Louvre Deer-hunt'*). Busiris Painter. Rim by assistant.

Pl. 14d. No. 33. Louvre E 697 (*'Louvre Deer-hunt'*). Reverse. Winged bulls. Busiris Painter.



Pl. 15a. No. *34.* Vienna, KHM 3576 (*'Vienna Busiris'*). Heracles killing Busiris and his servants. Name-vase Busiris Painter.



Pl. 15b. No. *34.* Vienna, KHM 3576 (*'Vienna Busiris'*). Reverse. Five black bodyguards hurrying to the rescue. Name-vase Busiris Painter.

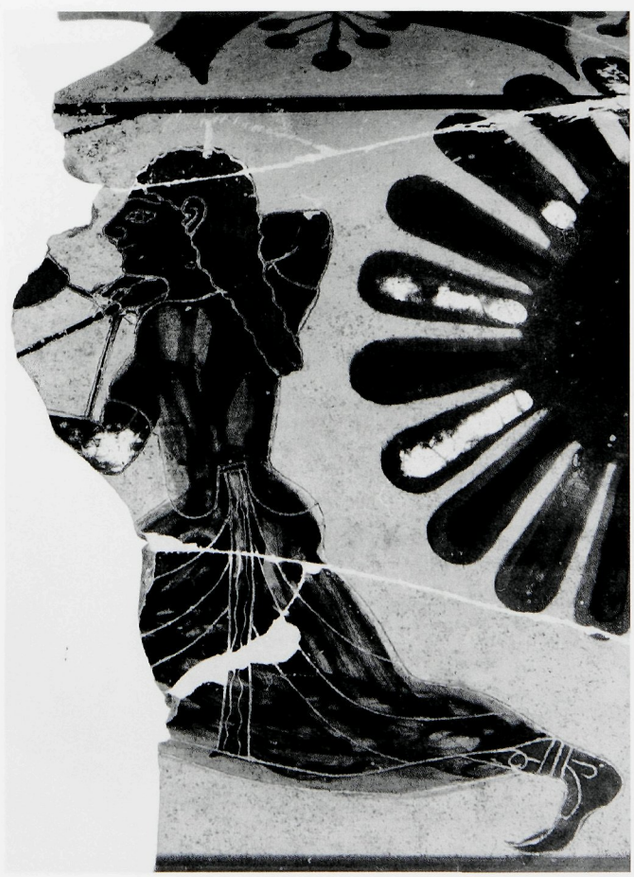
Pl. 15c. Drawing of five black bodyguards hurrying to rescue. No. *34.* See Pl. 15b. After FR I, 1904, Pl. 51.

Pl. 16a. Heracles killing Busiris and his servants. No. 34. Detail Pl. 15a.

Pl. 16b. Drawing of Heracles killing Busiris and his servants. No. 34. See Pl. 16a. After FR I, 1904, Pl. 51.

Pl. 17a. No. 26. Dunedin, Otago Museum F53.61 ('Dunedin Horse-tamer'). Eagle Painter, ornaments Busiris Painter.

Pl. 17b. No. *31*. Villa Giulia Museum 74988 (*'Rome Chariot'*). Racing chariot. Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 27d.

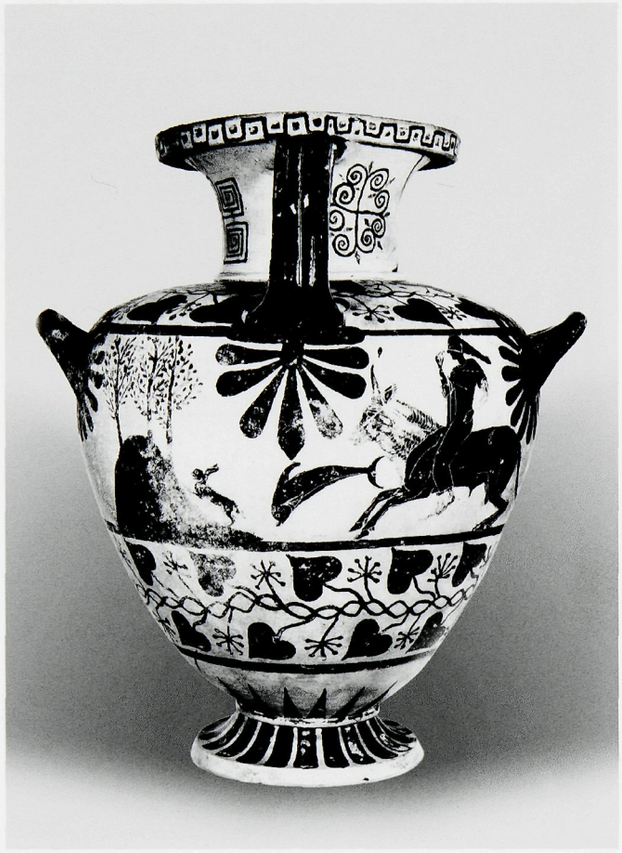


Pl. 17c. Atalanta. No. 24, fragment c. Munich 9466 ('Munich / Louvre Atalanta II'). Eagle Painter. See Pl. 21a.

Pl. 17d. Inscription on No. 30, Louvre Cp 321 ('Louvre Odios'). Eagle Painter. See also Figs. 22-23.

Pl. 17e. Eagle and hare on reverse of No. 22. Louvre E698 ('Louvre She-wolf'). Eagle Painter. See also Pl. 6b.

Pl. 18a. Myrtle on shoulder of No. 34. Vienna, KHM 3576 (*'Vienna Busiris'*). Busiris Painter. See also Fig. 39, Pl. 15.



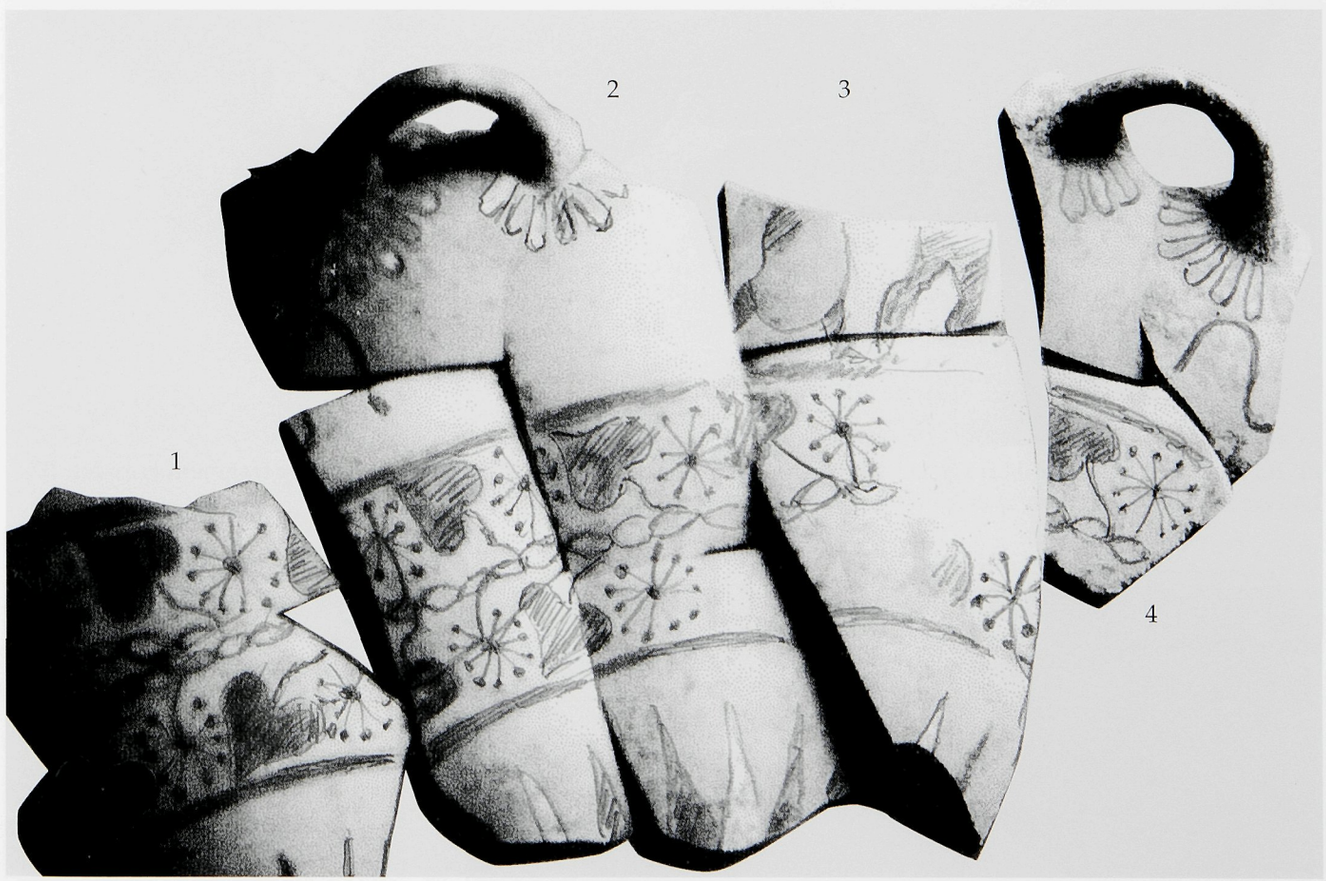
Pl. 18b. No. 10. Louvre E696 ('Louvre Atalanta I'). Reverse. Europa. Eagle Painter, neck and ivy by Wind-blown Ivy Painter, rim by other assistant. See also Pls. 22a-c, 37d.

Pl. 18c. No. *11*. Villa Giulia Museum 50.649 (*'Rome Cerberus'*). Heracles and Cerberus. Busiris Painter, ornaments by Wind-blown Ivy Painter, neck and rim by other hand.

Pl. 18d. Spiral cross on neck of No. 4. Louvre E701 ('Louvre Cerberus'). Neck: Wind-blown Ivy Painter? See also Pl. 2c-d.

Pl. 19a. No. *21*. Vatican 16521 (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*). Side view. Busiris Painter, also neck. Ornaments Eagle Painter. See also Pls. 3a, 6a, 24a, 45c-e, 48a.

Pl. 19b-c. See Pl. 19d, fragments 3.



Pl. 19d. Fragments of unknown hydria with Heracles and Nessus. No. 17 *bis* ('Nessus IV'). Whereabouts unknown (Pl. 19c and d pencilled by author). See also Pl. 3d. Eagle painter, ornaments by assistant.

Pl. 20a. Heracles and Nessus. Scene of No. 17. Louvre Cp 10228 ('Louvre Nessus'). Eagle painter.

Pl. 20b. Calydonian boar on fragment *a*, Munich 9466 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II') joining fragment *b*, ex-No. 37, Louvre AM 1364 (formerly 'Louvre Hoplites Hunting'), now part of No. 24. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 20c. Detail of right-hand of fragment *b* in Pl. 20b. Ex-No. 37.

Pl. 20d. Head of 'Atalanta II'. Detail of fragment *c* in Pls. 17c and 21a.

Pl. 20e. Head of 'Atalanta I'. Detail of No. 10. Louvre E 696. See also Pl. 22c.

Pl. 21a. Combination of frr. a-c, photomontage. No. 24. Fragments a-b, with Calydonian boar; fragment c, with Atalanta (Pl. 17c); fragment of base-rays. Munich 9466 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II') joining ex-No. 37, Louvre AM 1364 (formerly 'Louvre Hoplites Hunting'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 21c. Front part of killed dog under boar. No. 24. Detail Pls. 20b, 21a.

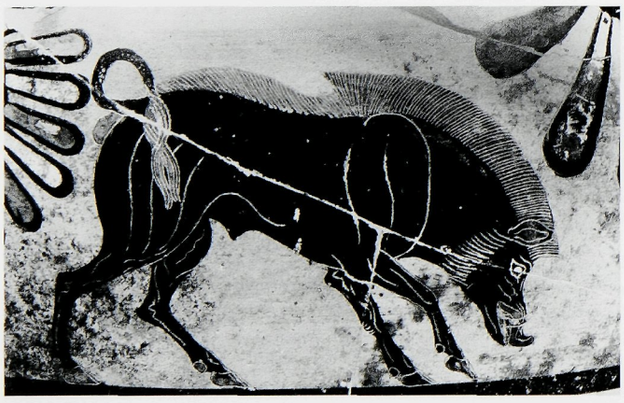
Pl. 21b. Shoulder fragments 1-3, with ivy; scene with boar (Pl. 20b). No. 24. Munich 9466 ('Munich/Louvre Atalanta II'); Eagle Painter.

Pl. 21d. Hind part of killed dog above boar of No. 24. Detail Pls. 20b, 21a.

Pl. 22a. No. 10. Louvre E696 ('Louvre Atalanta I'). Calydonian boar hunt. Eagle Painter, ornaments by Wind-blown Ivy Painter, rim by other hand. See also Pls. 18b, 48d-f.

Pl. 22b. Hunting the Calydonian boar. Detail Pl. 22a.

Pl. 22c. Atalanta and comrades hunting. Detail Pl. 22a.



Pl. 22d. Boar on reverse of No. 15. Copenhagen, NM 13567 ('Copenhagen Sacrifice'). Eagle Painter.

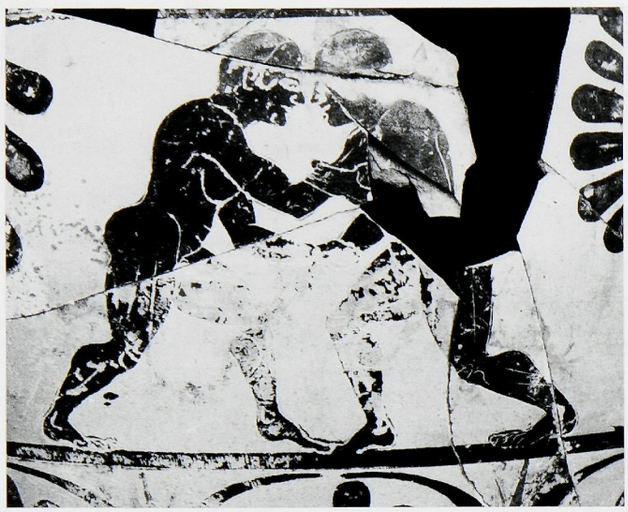
Pl. 22e. Stags hunted by youths. No. 2. Boston, MFA 67.598 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*). Busiris Painter.

Pl. 22f. No. 18. New York, MMA 64.11.1 ('New York Bull'). Bull killed by panther (?) and young lion. Eagle Painter, ornaments by assistant.

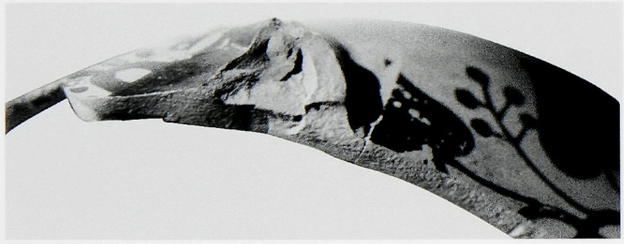
Pl. 23a. Heracles and the Nemean Lion. Photomontage of fragments d and e of reverse of No. 24. Louvre Cp 10229 ('Louvre Nemean Lion') and fragment e in Munich. Reverse. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 23b. No. 24. Detail of fragment d (see Pl. 23a) and tracing of fragment e.

Pl. 23c. Wrestlers on fragment f. No. 36 . Munich, Mus. Ant. Kleinkunst 893 ('Munich Wrestlers'), perhaps belonging to the reverse of No. 24 . Eagle Painter.

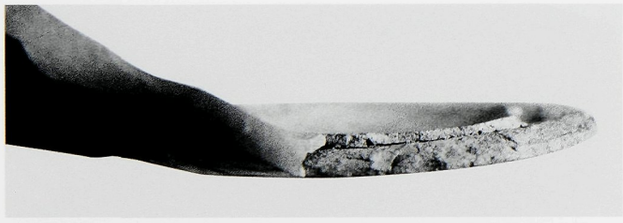


Pl. 24a. Wrestlers on reverse of No. *21*. Vatican 16521 (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*). See also Pl. 3c, right. Busiris Painter.



Pl. 24b. Broken attachment of vertical handle on fragment *e* , No. 24, seen from above (compare Pl. 23a, top).

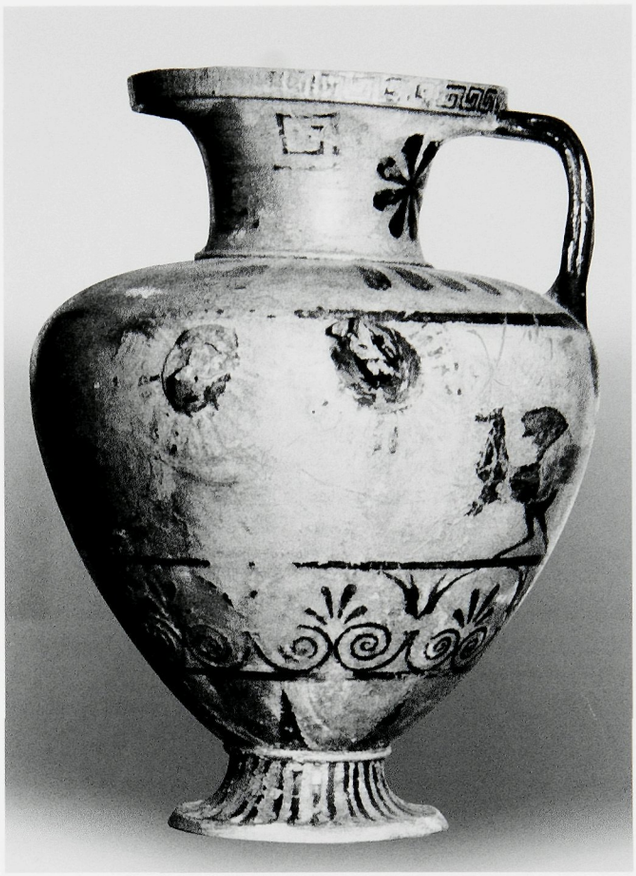
Pl. 24c. Inside of fragment *e*, No. 24 (Pl. 23a, top right) showing layer of clay of repair.



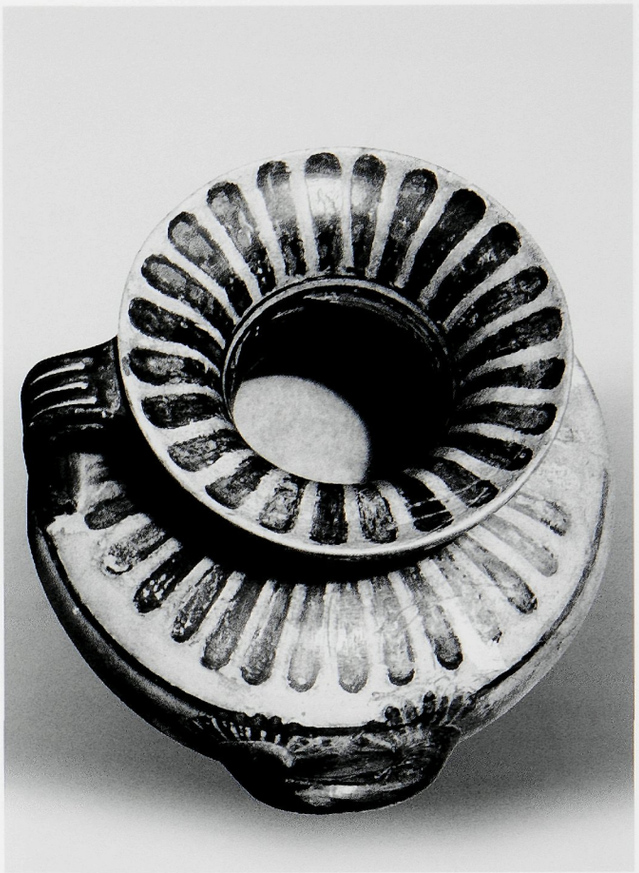
Pl. 24d. Side view of fragment *e*, No. 24, showing the same, very thin inner layer of clay as in Pl. 24c.

Pl. 24e. Inside of fragment *d*, No. 24; edge on left seems filed (or perhaps cut with a knife when still soft).

Pl. 24f. No. 2 *bis*. Cerveteri, no inv. no. ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Amaspian fleeing before griffin. Eagle Painter, ornament by Busiris Painter and others. See Fig. 16, Pl. 27b.



Pl. 25a. No. 2 *bis*. Cerveteri, no inv. no. ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Eagle Painter, ornaments Busiris Painter (perhaps assistant for neck and rim). See also Pl. 1b.



Pl. 25b. No. 2 *bis*. From above: mouth and shoulder with (repainted) tongues. See also Pl. 1a-b.

Pl. 25c. No. 2 *bis*. Detail of Pl. 1b.

Pl. 25d. No. 2 *bis*. Badly damaged and wrongly repainted maeander-cross on neck. Detail of Pl. 1b.

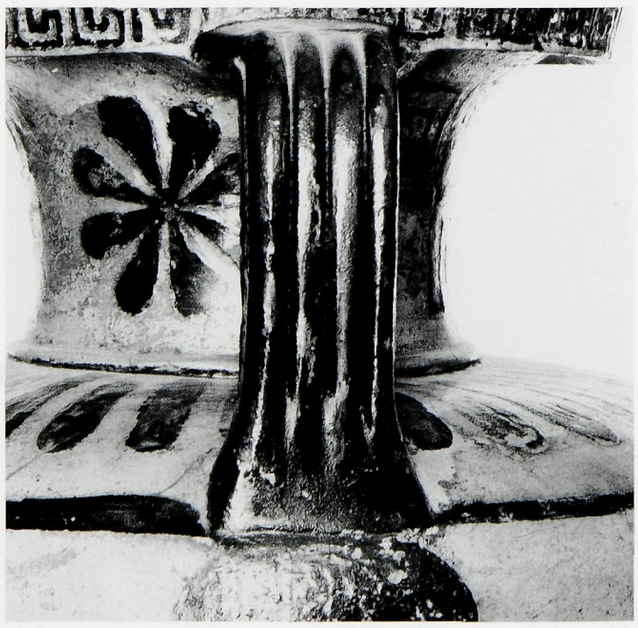
Pl. 26a. No. 2 *bis*. Ornament on neck: quatrefoil of Ionian volutes, damaged. Cerveteri, no inv. no. ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Busiris Painter or assistant. See Pl. 25c.

Pl. 26b. No. 2 *bis*. Same ornament, lines pencilled by author in photograph of Pl. 26a. See also Pl. 25c.

Pl. 26c. Samian cup with same ornament as in Pl. 26a -b. Osborne House, Isle of Wight.

Pl. 26d. Samian cup with same ornament as in Pl. 26a -b. Athens, NM K 1383.

Pl. 26e. Badly worn lotus-palmette of No. *2bis*. See Pl. 1a-b; detail. Busiris Painter.



Pl. 26f. Neck, vertical handle and part of handle ornament heavily repainted. *No. 2 bis*. Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 1a.

Pl. 27a. Handle palmette of No. 30. Louvre Cp 321 ('Louvre Odios'). Eagle Painter. See Pl. 39c.

Pl. 27b. Badly worn and badly repainted horses of *biga*. No. 2 *bis* ('Arimaspian II'). See also Pl. 24f.

Pl. 27c. Arimaspian fleeing in chariot before griffin. Fragments α and β incorporated. No. 28. Eagle Painter, ornaments by Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 10a.

Pl. 27d. Racing chariot. Obverse of No. 31. Villa Giulia Museum 74988 (*'Rome Chariot'*). Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 17b.

Pl. 27e. Grooves in wings and tail of griffin and round handle-tongues. No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'). See Fig. 16.

Pl. 27f. Chariot horses on obverse of No. 6. Cerveteri ('Caere Chariot'). Eagle Painter. See also Pl. 48b-c.

Pl. 28a. Youthful charioteer departing from royal lady on obverse of No. 8. Once Berlin 3345 ('Berlin Chariot'). Lost since WW II. See also Figs. 20-21, Pls. 4c (reverse), 30. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 28b. Animal fights and handle-palmette. Detail of Pl. 1a, No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 29a. Left-hand animal fight. Reverse of No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Detail of Pls. 1a, 28b. Eagle Painter, lotus-palmette by Busiris Painter

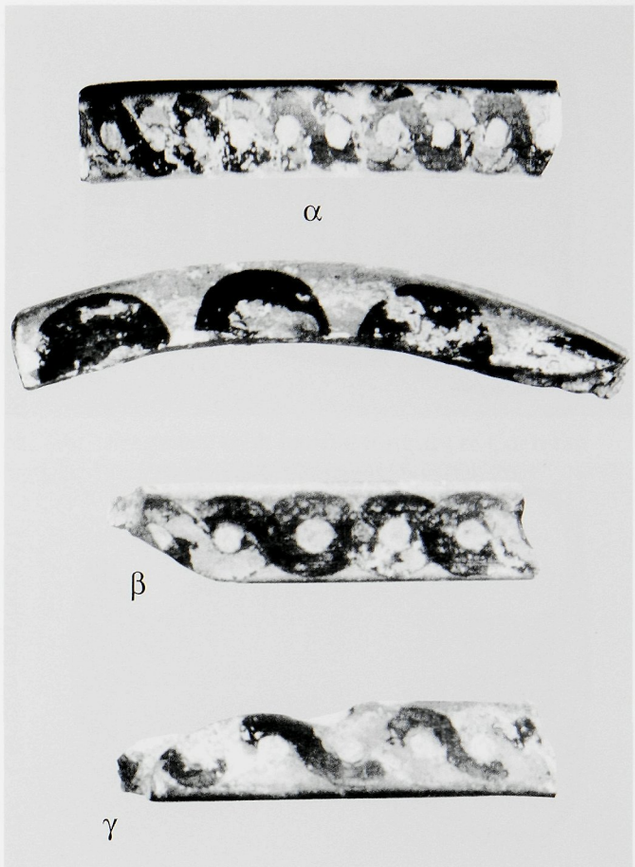
Pl. 29b. Detail of Pl. 29c

Pl. 29c. Right-hand animal fight. Reverse of No. 2 *bis* ('Caere Arimaspian II'). Eagle Painter. Detail of Pl. 1a.

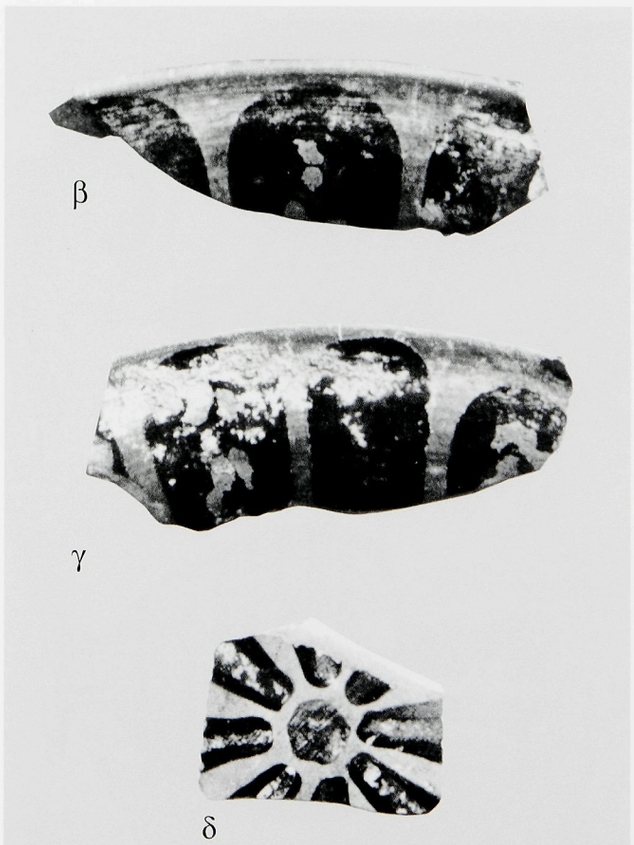
Pl. 30a. Youth attacking lion which mauls mule, reverse of No. 8. Once Berlin 3345 ('Berlin Chariot'). Eagle Painter. Photomontage by H. A. Cahn: fragment η inserted into palmette in drawing *Antike Denkmäler* II, 1898, pl. 28 (see Pl. 4c).

Pl. 30b. Youthful charioteer departing from royal lady. Obverse No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot'). Lost since WW II. Eagle Painter. Old photo of what is drawn in Pl. 28a. Note necklace and fine folds in lady's skirt.

Pl. 31a. No. 8. Once Berlin 3345 ('Berlin Chariot'). Reverse. Youth attacking lion which mauls mule. Eagle Painter. See also Pls. 4c, 30a.



Pl. 31b. Fragments belonging to No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot').



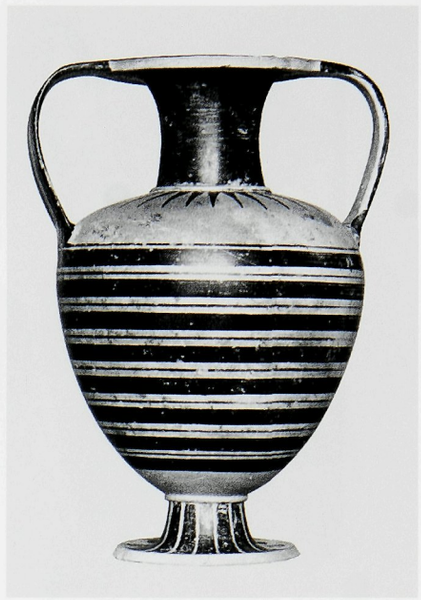
Pl. 31c. Fragments belonging to No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot').

Pl. 31d. Fragments belonging to No. 8 ('Berlin Chariot').

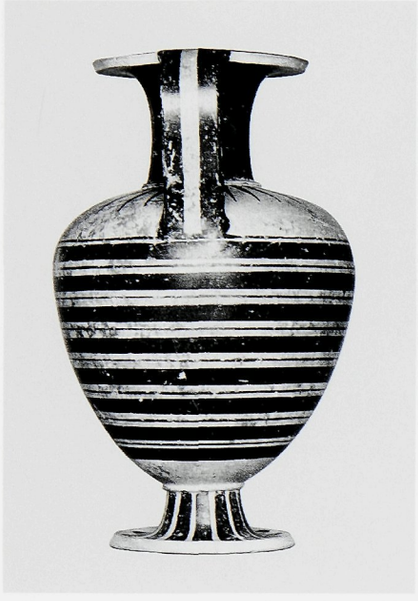
Pl. 32a. Caeretan amphora A4. Louvre S 4123. Ht. 29.5 cm.

Pl. 32b. Caeretan amphora A4. Louvre S 4123. Side view.

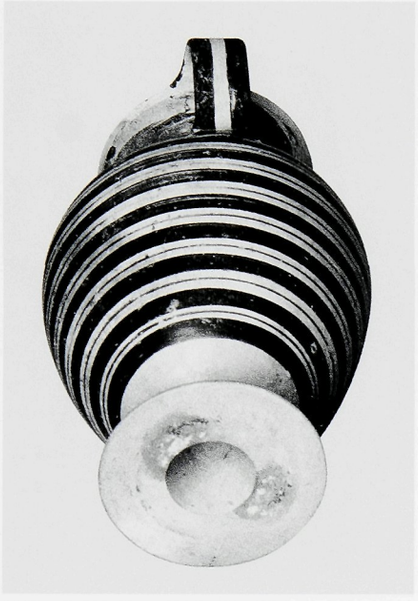
Pl. 32c. Caeretan amphora A1. Philadelphia, University Museum 405.



Pl. 32d. Caeretan amphora A3. Ludwig coll.

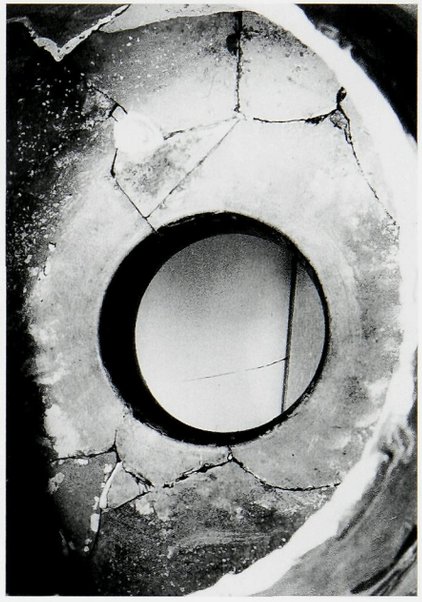


Pl. 32e. Caeretan amphora A3. Ludwig coll. Side view.



Pl. 32f. Caeretan amphora A3. Ludwig coll. From below.

Pl. 32g. Caeretan amphora A3. Ludwig coll. From above.



Pl. 32h. Inside of neck of hydria No. 17 ('Louvre Nessus'). See also Pl. 20a.

Pl. 33a. Fragments of lotus-palmette similar to the lp. of No. 32 (*'Louvre Leda'*); 1:1. Whereabouts unknown. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 33b. Fragment with handle tongues of Caeretan hydria; 1:1. Private coll., Germany. See Fig. 26.

Pl. 33c. Inside of same fragment.

Pl. 33d. Defending mule against lion and panther. No. *31 bis*. Scene of Pl. 14a. Busiris Painter.

17 ('Louvre Nessus'). See also Pl. 20a.
Ludwig coll. From above.
Ludwig coll. From below.
Ludwig coll. Side view.

Pl. 34a. No. *31 bis*. Rome, 'ex-*New York Mule*'; formerly Shelby White coll. 742 ('New York Mule'). Reverse of Pl. 14a. Hippocamp attacked by Triton. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 34b. No. *31 bis*. Side view (vertical handle modern). Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 14a.

Pl. 34c. No. *31 bis*. Side view. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 34d. Doe attacked by panthers. Deatil of eye cup by Nikosthenes. Florence 3880.

Pl. 35a. Hippocamp on reverse of No. *31 bis*. Rome, ex-Shelby White coll. 742. Detail of Pl. 34a. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 35b. Triton on reverse of No. *31 bis*. Detail of Pl. 34a. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 35c. Hippocamp and Triton confronting. Detail of cylinder-stamped brazier. Zurich, University collection L377.

Pl. 35d. 'Pontic' amphora. Amphiaraos Painter. Munich 838. Heracles and centaurs, and hippocamp. See Pl. 40a

Pl. 35e. Escape under the ram. No. 19 *minus*. Detail Pl. 36a.

Pl. 35f. Cyclops, drinking and bawling. No. 19 *minus* ('Polyphemus II'). Detail Pl. 36b. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 36a. Escape under rams. No. 19 *minus*. Rome, ex-New York, Shelby White coll. 688. Eagle Painter, shoulder (and neck?) by Wind-blown Ivy Painter.

Pl. 36b. Polyphemus and lambs. No. 19 *minus*. Rome ('ex-New York Polyphemus II'). Reverse. See Pl. 36a. Handle-palmette by assistent.

Pl. 36c. No. 19 *minus*. Side view. Painters as in Pl. 36a, but tongues possibly by Eagle Painter.

Pl. 36d. No. 19 *minus* ('Rome, ex-New York Polyphemus II'). Side view. See Pl. 36c.

Pl. 37a. No. 19 *minus* ('ex-New York Polyphemus II'), before restoration. Polyphemus. Eagle Painter.

Pl. 37b. Lotus-palmette of No. 19 *minus* ('ex-New York Polyphemus II'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 37c. Ivy on shoulder of No. 19 *minus*, after restoration (compare Pl. 37a). Wind-blown Ivy Painter.

Pl. 37d. Europa. Reverse of No. 10, Pl. 22a, Louvre E696 ('Louvre Atalanta I'). Eagle Painter. Ornaments by the Wind-blown Ivy Painter and assistant. See also Pls. 18b, 48d-f.

Pl. 38a. Alabastron. New York, MMA 1981.11.7. Obverse. Above: Heracles and centaur. Below: girl holding goose by the neck and flautist. Imitation of Busiris Painter (above) and Eagle Painter (below). Photo made before cleaning.

Pl. 38b. Heracles. Detail upper frieze of alabastron (Pl. 38a). After cleaning.

Pl. 38c. Girl holding goose. Detail lower frieze of same alabastron (Pl. 38a).

Pl. 38d. Woman playing double aulos. Detail (Pl. 38a).

Pl. 38e. Woman playing double aulos. Detail obverse of No. 15 ('Copenhagen Sacrifice'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 39a. No. 20. Villa Giulia Museum, no inv. no. ('Rome Polyphemus I'). Blinding of Polyphemus. Eagle Painter, ivy by Wind-blown Ivy Painter.

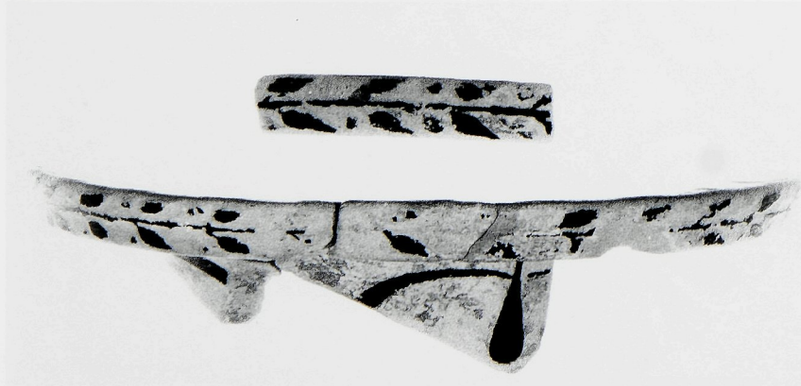
Pl. 39b. No. 1. London, BM 1887.7-25/30 (B59) ('London Battle'). Combat of four hoplites. Eagle Painter. See also Pl. 46d.

Pl. 39c. Sphinxes on spiralscrolls on reverse of No. 30. Louvre Cp 321 ('Louvre Odios'). Eagle Painter. For obverse see Figs. 22-23, Pl. 17d.

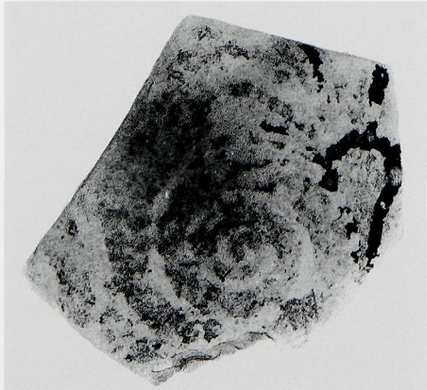
Pl. 40a. Heracles fighting centaurs. Detail of 'Pontic' amphora by Amphiaraos Painter. Munich 838 (see Pl. 35d).

Pl. 40b. Fragments with tongues in mouth. No. 25 *bis*. Villa Giulia Museum 109730 ('Rizzo hydria').

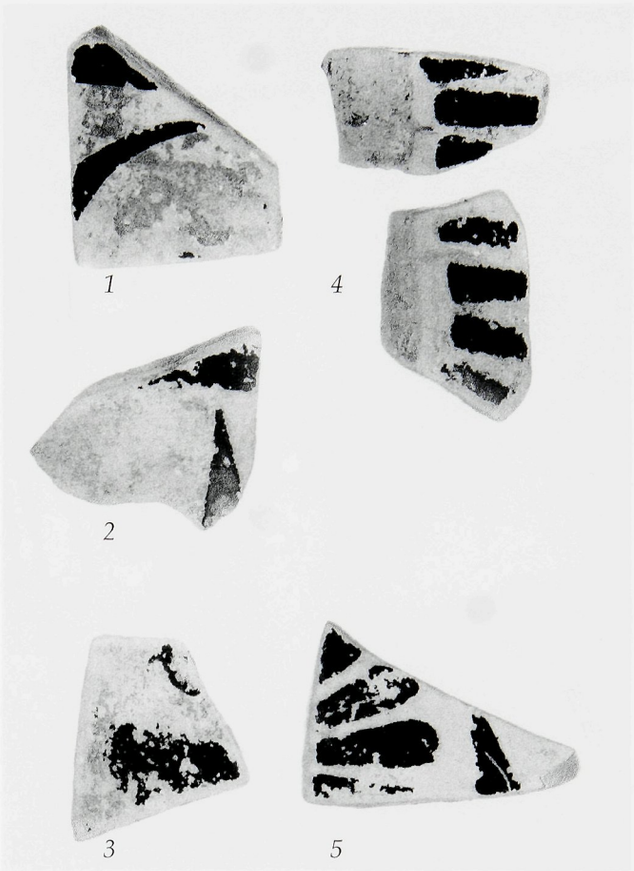
Pl. 40d. Fragments of shoulder with ivy and base of neck of No. 25 *bis*. Eagle Painter.



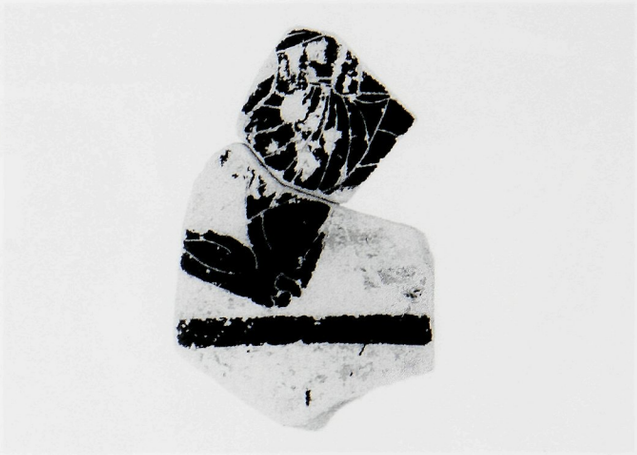
Pl. 40c. Parts of rim and neck of No. 25 *bis* ('Rizzo hydria').



Pl. 40e. Part of lotus-palmette and spirals of No. 25 *bis*. See Fig. 29b.



Pl. 41a. Fragments of No. 25 *bis* ('Rizzo hydria'): *1*, lotus flower; *2*, base-ray; *3*, ?; *4*, tongues of handles?; *5*, tongues of handle with arm or leg of obverse.



Pl. 41b. Heracles running and shooting bow (originally to left of handle palmette). Reverse of No. 25 *bis* ('Rizzo hydria'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 41c. Fleeing centaur. Right-hand part of reverse of No. 25 *bis* ('Rizzo hydria'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 41d-e. Symplegma on amphora, New York, MMA 22.139.38. Etruscan painter perhaps trained in workshop of Caeretan hydriae.

Pl. 41f. Running satyr. Reverse of amphora in Pl. 41d-e. Style reminiscent of Eagle Painter.

Pl. 42a. Interfering in embrace of satyr and nymph on reverse of No. 5. See for obverse Pl. 3a-b. Vienna, KHM 3577 ('Vienna Hephaestus'). Eagle Painter.

Pl. 42b. Satyr with nymph. No. 2. Boston, MFA 67.598 (*'Boston Deerhunt'*). Busiris Painter. See also Pls. 44e, 45a-b.

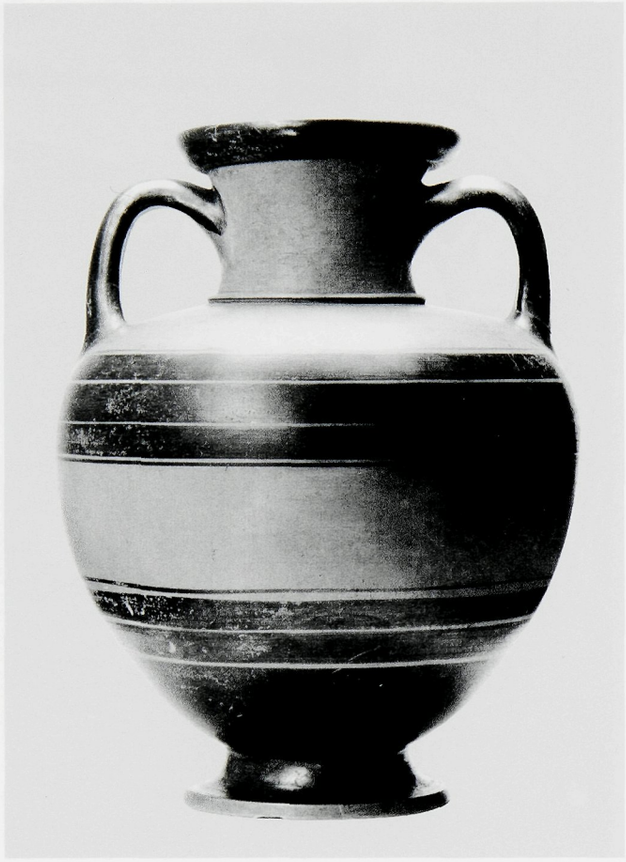
Pl. 42c. Detail of symplegma on Tyrrhenian amphora. Munich 1432. Compare Pl. 41d-e.

Pl. 43a-b. Terracotta flask, kneeling boy, binding ribbon around hair. Agora P 1251.

Pl. 43c-d. Terracorra flask, kneeling boy. Würzburg K1895.

Pl. 43e. Bronze caryatid of mirror, 'from Caere'. Dresden ZV 30.5.

Pl. 44a. Banded amphora. Art market. Such vases may have been made in workshop of Caeretan hydriae.

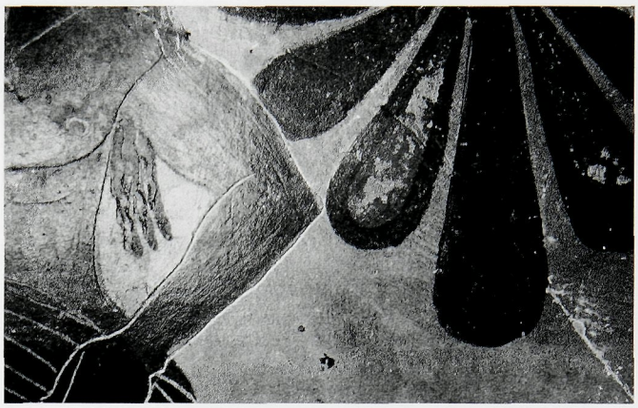


Pl. 44b. Banded amphora. Munich 467.

Pl. 44c. Head of fleeing maenad. Detail of Pl. 44e.

Pl. 44d. Bronze ram's head from end of chariot pole, 'from Caere'. Dresden ZV 30.68.

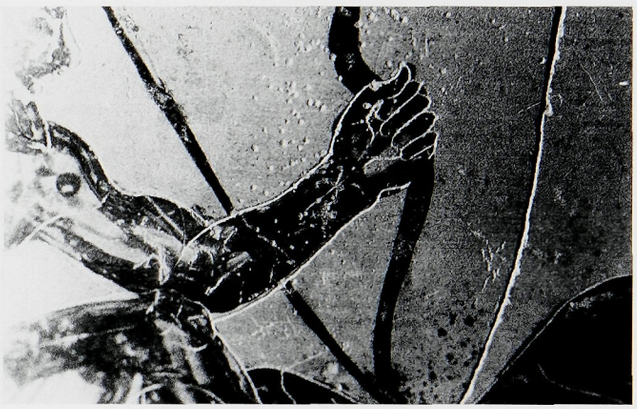
Pl. 44e. Satyr assaulting fleeing girl on reverse of No. 2 (*'Boston Deer-hunt'*). See also Pls. 42b and 44c. Busiris Painter.



Pl. 45a. Left arm of satyr. Detail Pl. 42b. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 45b. Right arm and hand of maenad. Detail Pl. 42b.

Pl. 45c: Legs and feet of Heracles and Alcyoneus. No. *21* (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*). Busiris Painter. See also Pl. 6a.



Pl. 45d. Left arm and hand of Heracles. No. *21* (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*). Busiris Painter. See Pl. 6a.

Pl. 45e. Left leg and foot of Heracles and legs and arm of Alcyoneus. No. *21*. See Pl. 6a.

Pl. 45f. Satyr playing cithera. Detail of hydria by Lysippides Painter. London, BM 302.

Pl. 45g. Herakles and lion. Detail of amphora by Psiax. Brescia, Museo Civico Romano (no inv. no.).

Pl. 46a. Sarpedon killed. Detail of calyx krater by Euphronios, formerly in New York, MMA 1972.11.10, now returned to Italy.

Pl. 46b. Lotus-palmette of the Siphnian Treasury.

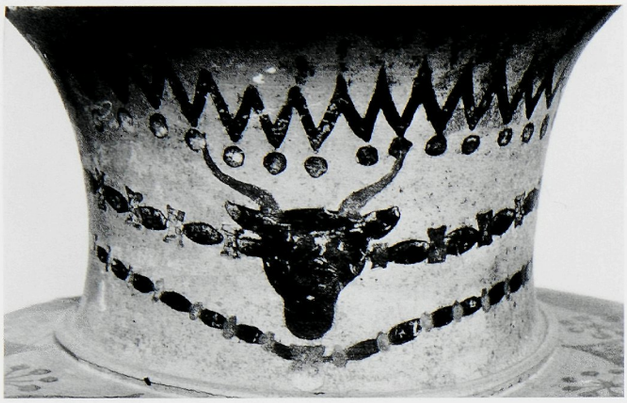
Pl. 46c. Fragment of hydria by the Berlin Painter. Malibu 81.AE.206 B1.

Pl. 46d. Lotus-palmette of No. 1 ('London Battle'). Note the lines drawn around templates. Eagle Painter. See Pl. 39b.

Pl. 47a. Lotus-palmette of No. 3 ('Louvre Hermes'). Note spilled paint in lotus-palmette. Eagle Painter. See also Pl. 1c-d.

Pl. 47b. Lotus-palmette of No. 5 ('Vienna Hephaestus'). Note tiny monkey tied to borderline. Eagle Painter. See Pl. 3a-b.

Pl. 47c. Lotus-palmette of No. 27 ('Basle Centaurs'). Busiris Painter.



Pl. 48a. Necklaces round neck of No. 21 (*'Rome Alcyoneus'*). See also Pls. 6a, 19a.

Pl. 48b. Eyes on neck of No. 6 ('Caere Chariot'). See also Pl. 27f.

Pl. 48e. Doodle under foot of No. 10 ('Louvre Atalanta I'). By assistant rather than Eagle Painter? See Pls. 18b, 22a-c.

Pl. 48c. Right-hand ear with ornament on neck of No. 6. Busiris Painter.

Pl. 48d. 'Heron' on neck No. 10. Eagle Painter. See also Pl. 22a-c.

Pl. 48f. Ape under handle of No. 10 ('Louvre Atalanta I'). Perhaps caricature of Thersites (N. Plaoutine). Eagle Painter. See also Pls. 22a-c, 37d.

Pl. 48g. Hermes wide awake with folded cushion under his head. Above his head, spilled clay-paint was scraped off. No. 3 ('Louvre Hermes'). Eagle Painter. See Pl. 1c-d.

Pl. 48h. Knot in tail of Heracles' *leontè*. Detail of back of terracotta statue of Heracles from Portonaccio sanctuary at Veji. Villa Giulia Museum. See Fig. 38, compare Fig. 37.