

HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH

(PLATES 85–88)

SOME years ago Miss Hazel Palmer kindly sent me photographs of certain Attic red-figured fragments found by the American School of Classical Studies in their excavations at Corinth. Among the fragments were three, from one vase, that seemed to me of exceptional interest. Mrs. Josephine Platner Harwood and Miss Palmer invited me to publish them, in advance of the official publication, and I am grateful to them for their generous action. A few months later Dr. J. L. Caskey, Director of the American School, sent me clearer photographs of the three pieces, and also photographs of two other small fragments from the same vase: to him also I feel much indebted (Pl. 85). In 1953 I was able to examine the originals at Corinth, though but hastily. They come from a hydria of exactly the same common type as those in Boston and London reproduced on Plate 86. In the Boston hydria (Pl. 86, b)¹ the base and foot are modern, so I give the picture only: the shape of the vase, and the position of the picture on it, will be plain from the London hydria (Pl. 86, a).²

In the first fragment (A) one sees the upper part of a man—from the waist or near it—, facing to the right, the body almost frontal, but turned slightly in the same direction as the head, both arms bent at the elbow and the forearms raised. The man wears Oriental costume:—first, a garment of thick material ornamented with a bold pattern of black circles, each having the centre marked in brown; secondly, on the head, a kidaris (bashlik), the long flaps of which are preserved, while the rest is missing; the kidaris too may have been ornamented, at least the black remains just before the fragment ends look like part of a spot; thirdly, worn shawl-wise over both shoulders, a dark wrap with a thin light border. The dot-and-circle pattern is seen to stop at the right armpit, where there is a thin edging-band. There is no pattern on the arms, and one cannot tell whether they were sleeved or bare: the fragment ceases before the wrists, where cuffs would have made a sleeve certain. In front of each arm one sees a pair of uprights, decorated with a row of round black spots. I take these uprights to be sceptres of the well-known Greek type—long staves with the same decoration, here summarily indicated, as a barber's pole.³ The curved appearance of the sceptres, especially of the one in the left hand, is due, I think, to the strong curvature of the vase. What one makes out in the triangle below the man's right arm, between his ribs and the sceptre in his right hand, is, on the right, the back part—the

¹ See below, p. 310.

² London E 167: *AJA*. 1917 pp. 39-40; *CV*. pl.73, 1 and pl.79, 1: *ARV*. p.376, Leningrad Painter no.63.

³ See *AJA*. 1939 p.629.

inside—of the dark wrap, then, to left of it, its light border, then a piece of the black background. A chip has removed the eye. The nose is large. The long light-coloured beard shows on each side of the forward flap of the headdress. It is contoured by a relief-line; another relief-line marks the moustache, a third the full nostril. This figure is on a somewhat larger scale than the others. The lower part of it is concealed by the upper part of a pyre, the left-hand corner of which is missing.⁴ One sees a thin upper edge or listel; below it, the hithermost of a course of logs laid lengthwise; below that, a course of logs laid end-on; below that, the top of a course like the first; then the fragment ceases. The pyre is alight: flames are shown in red.

To right of the man, and partly concealed by his arm, are the wrist and hand—ball of the thumb, ‘mount of the moon’—of another Oriental, with the cuff of his sleeve. Above this is a pair of transverse lines, perhaps part of a staff or the like, held in the other hand, which would in that case be raised.

Fragment B does not join A, but it gives the lower right-hand corner of the pyre. Parts of the three lowermost courses are preserved, with more flames. They rest on a low base or *κρηπίς*, which we should have difficulty in recognizing if it were not figured on many other vases, where it is usually surmounted by a tumulus of half-oval form: so for example on the Vagnonville krater in Florence, on a cup by Makron in the Louvre, or on a white lekythos by the Bosanquet Painter in Athens.⁵ In these the *κρηπίς* is set with a row of dark rounds—holes—, from which, in the Vagnonville vase as in ours, flames are seen to rise.

The dark horizontal line below the *κρηπίς* marks the lower edge of the picture and the upper edge of the framing-line below it. To right of the pyre one sees first what appears to be the lower end of a sickle-like object, and then a small part of a person in Oriental costume. These remains are puzzling. One would expect them to belong to the same figure as the hand in fragment A, one of whose feet might come hereabouts: but what we see is not part of a foot. As to the sickle-like object, Andrew Gow suggests to me that it may be an implement for tidying and confining the fire and fuel: “under the eaves of English houses and churches you often see a horizontal row of rings to take a pole which was used for raking away the thatch if it had caught fire. The poles themselves are sometimes preserved, now usually inside the building. The pole has a metal sickle-like end.”

⁴ Good examples of pyres on Myson’s amphora in the Louvre (G 197: FR. pl.113; CV. pl.35: ARV. p.171 no.47); on a bell-krater in Villa Giulia (AJA. 1953 pll.45-6); on a pelike by the Kadmos Painter in Munich (2360; FR. pl.109, 2; ARV. p.805 no.1); on a bell-krater by the Painter of London F 64 in the Mustilli collection at S. Agata de’ Goti (FR. ii p.257 fig.90); on another by Python in London (F 149: JHS. 11 pl.6; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* pl.15); on a volute-krater in Naples (FR. pl.89: A.P. style).

⁵ Florence: JOAI 8 p.145 and 10 p.118; *Mon.Piot* 29 pl.5: ARV. p.184, Flying-angel Painter no.28. Louvre: *Bull.van de Vereniging* 1954 pp.12-13. Athens 1935: JOAI 10 p.119; Riezler pl.23, whence Pfuhl fig.534: ARV. p.807 no.1. See Engelmann in JOAI 8 pp.145-55 and 10 pp.117-26 and Pottier in *Mon.Piot* 29 pp.151-5.

I imagine the implement on our vase as not unlike the *δορυδρέπανον* used, though for a different purpose, by the gallant Stesileos in Plato's anecdote.⁶ But who is holding it? If, as we guessed, the thing above the hand on fragment A is a staff or the like, held by the person to right of the pyre, he cannot also be holding the sickle-like object. It might be in the hand of another person to right of him; or it might be in the air, dropped and falling. Possibly, too, the person on B is not the same as the owner of the hand on A, but another, to right of him: squatting, perhaps, to right, the remains being part of buttock and shoe. All this is doubtful.

Fragment C has parts of two figures. An Oriental, with body frontal, moves to right, looking round to left, with pursed lips, leaning back and grasping his kidaris with his right hand in a gesture of astonishment and dismay. He wears the same kind of costume as the chief man in fragment A, with the same pattern, but he has no wrap, and his kidaris is a little simpler, has no border in front. The beard is shorter, with a rounded end, and the moustache is but lightly indicated. The cuff of the right sleeve is preserved; and the sleeve is proved by the drawing at the armpit to be part of an undergarment over which the patterned vest is placed. Of the kidaris only the top is wanting. The arc below the little finger is the lower edge of the loose top, flopping over in front. The mass of the headdress is pulled down tight over the forehead and is encircled by a thin band. To left of this man are the hands, outstretched to right, of another, who would seem to have been on a lower level, crouching for example.

The fourth fragment (D) has the shank and foot of an Oriental moving quickly to left. The trousers are patterned with rows of lozenges alternating with wavy lines. The contour of the foot is without relief.

The fifth and last fragment (E) has parts of two figures. On the right, an Oriental starts, or falls, back, facing to right, chin up; the left arm too was probably raised, the right is not. All that remains of the face is the rounded end of the beard. Much of the kidaris is preserved, and the upper part of it can be interpreted with the help of fragment C. The costume is the same as there. The vest is ornamented with the circle-and-dot pattern, the sleeve with a row of rays (or lozenges half seen), a wavy line, and perhaps a star. The figure looks like a pendant to the man on fragment C, and the raised hand probably grasped the bashlik in front as there. The sleeve on fragment E enables us to explain the scanty remains of pattern on the left sleeve in fragment C.

To left of this Oriental, at his back, and in profile to right, is an unexpected figure: a Greek youth playing the flute. His head is bent a little. The hair is short. He is dressed in a thick garment, one part of which is patterned with black circles (the centre marked in brown), light against a dark background, the other part with a large maeander, the left boundary of which is missing. The head is wreathed with red

⁶ *Laches* 183c-184a.

leaves (hardly visible in the photograph) and wears a chaplet which is probably of wool or linen, circular in section, and stuffed. The two tubes of which the flute consists are seen, and the phorbeia is carefully rendered—the oval mouthpiece (perforated); the broad band drawn tight round cheeks and nape, concealing the lobe of the ear; the thin strap attached to the band by eyelets and passing round the hair near the crown of the head. This flute-player is not an Oriental, but a Greek in the full-dress costume worn by ἀλληταί on the concert-platform, at athletic contests, or in the theatre, and familiar to us from countless representations beginning in the late archaic period.⁷ A good example is on the Boston hydria reproduced on Plate 86, b. The costume usually comprizes sleeves: in our fragment the arms are missing. Sleeves, whatever their origin, must have been welcome to the flute-player, with his raised arms, in cold weather, whether the performance was indoors or out of doors.

For the respective positions of the five fragments there is not much evidence apart from the subject matter. Fragments A and B go together, but do not join, and the exact distance between them is uncertain. The pyre was probably in the middle of the picture or near it. Fragment C must have been to right of A and B; fragment E to left of A and B. The flute-player on E must have been at the left edge of the picture or near it. Not clear whether fragment D was to left of the pyre or to right. The man whose hands are seen on the left of fragment C must have been placed lower than his companion, cowering, or scrambling away: he might perhaps be the person whose scanty remains on fragment B have given us so much trouble. Again, to left of the forehead on fragment C, and below the right forearm, there are a pair of lines that do not belong to the forearm and might conceivably be from the same object as that in the top right-hand corner of fragment A. We do not know how many figures there were in the picture. In hydriai of this type at this period, the picture often runs from the rear edge of one side-handle to the rear-edge of the other, with a rough average of six or seven figures; but sometimes it runs right round the vase.

Looking at the fragments themselves, I noted, from the curvature, that the middle of the pair of hands on fragment C was about level with the top of the pyre, and that the little finger of the man grasping his head on fragment C was about level with the second spot from the top on the sceptre in fragment A, and with the lower edge of the visible part of the flute-player's ear: but these are only approximations.

Oriental, one of them seen behind a pyre; he calm, the others agitated; and a Greek flute-player. In what circumstances can a Greek flute-player be seen in the

⁷ Early examples on a Nolan amphora by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy in London (E 288: *CV*. pl.47, 3: *ARV*. p.278 no.93) and on a cup by the Briseis Painter in New York (27.74: Richter and Hall pl.10: *ARV*. p.267 no.10). Costumes with fitted sleeves (the only sense in which the word 'sleeve' is used throughout this article) were of course worn by other persons: an early example is on a black-figured neck-amphora by the Camtar Painter, second quarter of the sixth century, in the Louvre (*Bull.MFA*. 47 p.88).

company of Orientals on a solemn occasion? Not in life, either in the Orient or in Greece. Nor, surely, in legend. The only place I can think of where the combination is possible is the theatre in Athens. A play about Orientals. Not, evidently, a comedy, or a satyr-play: a tragedy. Actor, and chorus; and the flute-player who provided the music of the drama, and who, as we shall see, is often represented on vases, wearing this costume, and in the company of chorus, or actors, or actors and chorus both. Is any other kind of performance possible? Not pantomime. Not none. Dithyramb perhaps: in that case what would be represented would be not anything seen, but something narrated, the plot of a dithyramb. Surely a play is more likely; and the analogies to which we shall point presently speak for a play.

I will say at once that I do not think we can identify the play or the persons; at least I cannot myself; others may be more fortunate. We can describe the situation: Orientals gathered round the pyre of a great Oriental, we may call him a king. The pyre is lighted. Then, to the terror of the company, the dead king is seen to rise from the pyre, or behind it, supporting himself on two staves.

We have called them Orientals. They are probably Persians: but it is just possible, I suppose, that they might be another people of Asia Minor, for instance Phrygians, wearing the same costume (originally, it seems, Median) which was worn, except on the highest occasions, by the Persians.⁸

Let us now speak of style and date. Enough of the vase remains to show (as Miss Palmer had already observed) that it is a characteristic product of that great sub-archaic Mannerist Group of Attic vase-painters which began at the end of the archaic period and continued for two generations or even longer. A list of the vases composing the group—some hundreds of them—is given in *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, and some comment in *Potter and Painter*.⁹ One of the three or four favourite types of vase in this workshop was the hydria, and the hydria decorated in the same fashion as ours, with a picture, framed, on the shoulder. The painter of our vase is one of the early mannerists, those of the first generation: the Leningrad Painter. The London hydria reproduced on Plate 86, a is also his;¹⁰ and on a third hydria, his best piece, formerly in the Caputi collection, now in Rome in private hands, he has actually given us a glimpse of the workshop in which he painted.¹¹ The extremely conservative character of the drawing makes the Mannerist vases distinctly harder to date than the 'straight' work of the period, but within limits one can speak with confidence. The Corinth vase must have been painted between 480 and 450, and in all probability between 470 and 460 or 450.

We shall now examine the other vases on which a flute-player, wearing formal

⁸ On Persian costume, Gow in *JHS*. 48 pp.142-52.

⁹ *ARV*. pp.369-400 and 959; *PP*. p.13.

¹⁰ See above, footnote 2.

¹¹ *Annali* 1876 pl.D-E, whence *FR.ii* p.307, Richter *Craft* p.71; see *PP*. pp.11-13.

costume, is seen *in strange company*: that is to say, not on the concert-platform (alone, or with another flute-player or a singer); and not on the sports ground, accompanying athletic exercises or contests. We begin with the hydria in Boston (Pl. 86, b) which we have already quoted more than once.¹² It is of just the same type and period as ours, and the style of drawing is very like. It is by one of the early Mannerists: it is very close to the Leningrad Painter, and is probably from his hand. The picture, as Edward Robinson recognised, represents a scene from a satyr-play.¹³ Five satyrs are shown. In two of them the middle of the body is missing; the other three wear the distinctive drawers of the satyr-play: ¹⁴ they are therefore not simply satyrs, but satyrs of drama. Facing them is the flute-player, bearded, but in other respects very like the musician of the fragments in Corinth. Short hair; long thick robe, sleeved, and ornamented with the same dot-and-circle pattern as in the Corinth vase—the circles black, the centres brown; spotted chaplet; shoes ornamented with dot-and-circle; phorbeia as in the Corinth fragments, except that there is no vertical strap passing over the crown of the head. He bends a little as he plays, and beats time with his right foot. Behind him, up against the side-border, stands an old man dressed in a himation, who is not characterized as an actor or other performer: we shall have other examples of 'the civilian' in such pictures, and shall often find him hard to name: our man might be the choregus.

The satyrs dance up in various attitudes. The leader has just set down one leg of a piece of furniture—probably a couch rather than a throne—on a low platform.^{14a} The other three legs are carried by the three satyrs who follow him. The couch is being put together for some kind of celebration. In the remaining satyr the back of the head is concealed by the side-border, and the face except the forehead is missing. He too brings a piece of furniture or part of one. In the play, other satyrs, the rest of the chorus, may have fetched other requisites, or may have been content to encourage the workers and get in their way. One may fancy that the job was not done without much jostling and confusion, and some knocks and tumbles, grunts, howls, and screams.

The rectangular legs fetched by the first four satyrs are of a familiar type which would suit either couch or throne, but a couch is perhaps the more likely. The thing held by the fifth satyr might be expected to be another part of the same piece of

¹² Boston 03.788; bought in Athens: Brommer *Satyroi* fig.18 and *Satyrspele* p.14; [Frances F. Jones] *The Theater in Ancient Art* (Princeton, 1951-2) fig. 1: *ARV*. p.377 no.5. It will be republished in Caskey and Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in Boston* iii. The fractures are repointed; in the foremost satyr, parts of the thighs, of the knees, of the left forearm, are modern, also the right foot, and the right foot of the satyr behind him.

¹³ *BMFA Report* 1903 p.71 no.57.

¹⁴ The earliest example is on a cup by Makron in Munich, about 480 (2657: Brommer *Satyrspele* p.13: *ARV*. p.312 no.191). See also my article in the volume dedicated to Guido Libertini.

^{14a} On platforms under couches, Studniczka *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II* pp.148-50, and *CV*. Oxford p.110.

furniture; but it appears to be something else, a seat with stretchers and turned legs, held, of course, upside down, and the foot cut off by the upper border. I cannot quote an exact parallel to the shape, but for the leg compare the wooden one in Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 94, and for the stretchers *ibid.* figs. 8 and 38. If the two objects are couch and seat, one thinks of those many reliefs and pictures in which a god, a hero, or a man reclines on a couch, while a woman sits facing him on a chair or stool.

Here then we have, from the same period as our fragments, from the same workshop, and probably by the same painter, a scene from drama, with the chorus, and the flute-player.

Plate 88, b shows one of the four small pictures on the neck of an Attic volute-krater in the Museo di Spina at Ferrara.¹⁵ It is not a mannerist work: the artist is the Painter of Bologna 279—a follower of the Niobid Painter—and the date is about 450. The flute-player, bearded, wreathed, and wearing the phorbeia, stands near the left edge of the picture, dressed in the festal robe, which has sleeves and is ornamented with crosslets and with the dot-and-circle pattern. In the middle of the scene a goddess, crowned and sceptred, and wearing, over the chiton, a himation which veils the back of the head, rises out of the ground. Behind her stands a man who holds what seems to be a long torch in each hand. He is wreathed and wears a short chiton, visible only at the shoulders, and over it another chitoniskos which is of thicker material. To left and right of the pair are satyrs, each of whom has a large hammer or mallet. They greet the goddess excitedly: two of them drop their hammers and caper; a third, his tail cleaving to his buttocks, grasps his forehead as if dazzled or dumbfounded. The gesture recalls the Persian to the right of the pyre on the Corinth vase. A small boy joins in the excitement; and on the left another satyr, making six in all, is half seen bolting.¹⁶ On the right a man in ordinary dress, a simple himation, stands looking on. He is not wreathed (but neither is the satyr next him). He is perhaps the choregus. The satyrs are not distinguished as satyrs of drama, since they do not wear drawers: but this has always been taken to be an episode from a play, freely rendered. Idealistic art, when representing performers—actors or chorus-men—tends to substitute the character for the impersonator. It is not certain who the persons are. The goddess has been thought to be Pandora, and the man behind her Epimetheus: but Buschor is

¹⁵ *ML.* 33 pll.1-3 and p.6 (Guarducci), whence *RM.* 47 p.124: Aurigemma¹ pp.215-9 = ²pp. 257-61; Brommer *Satyrsplele* p.46: *ARV.* p.428, middle, no.1. Our illustration is taken from the reduced drawing in *ML.* 33 p.6: see also the photographs *ibid.* pll.1-3.

¹⁶ The uprights to left and right of the picture have been thought to represent the παρασκήνια of the theatre with the end-figures disappearing into them: but they are framing-bands only, not indicating any building or structure. They recur in the neck-picture on the other side of the vase, which figures Herakles and Busiris and has no connection with the theatre, and also to left and right of the floral bands on the upper section of the neck; on other volute-kraters too, for instance New York 07.286.84 (*FR.* pll.116-7; Richter and Hall pll.97-8 and pl.171, 98), which is by another follower of the Niobid Painter (*ARV.* p.427 no.1).

more probably right in calling her Persephone, and the man the high priest at Eleusis.¹⁷ The boy is not characterized as a satyr-boy. Whether satyr or not, if he took part in the play, he must have been, from the point of view of the choregus, a parachoregema, making use of a lad, or a midget, with a gift for drollery. The identification of the figures is not essential to our present investigation: enough that we have surely the central incident, freely rendered, of a satyr-play; in which a character rises out of the ground, as in the *Peace* of Aristophanes or the *Persians* of Aeschylus.

We return to the Mannerist workshop with a pelike in Berlin (Pl. 87).¹⁸ Many years ago it was described, and one side of it reproduced, by Furtwängler. We figure the other side too, from a faded photograph. The artist is an early mannerist, and his work is contemporary with the hydria in Corinth. There are two figures in each picture, a maenad and a flute-player. The musician, a youth with short hair, stands on the right, bending a little as he plays. He wears the formal robe, which is sleeved, and ornamented with the usual dot-and-circle pattern; wreath and chaplet; phorbeia of the same sort as in the Corinth fragments; shoes (in one picture; bare feet in the other). On the obverse, the maenad dances to right, head frontal, hair loose, holding a sword in the right hand and in the left the severed hind-leg of a kid. Her only garment, which reaches to the knees and leaves the right shoulder and breast bare, as well as part of the left breast, may be defined as a himation of the old 'Ionic' mode: very like it, the himation of the Nereid behind Achilles on another mannerist pelike, close to ours in style, London E 363.¹⁹ On the other side of the vase the dress of the maenad and the position of her arms, with sword and leg of kid in the hands, are the same as before, but she strides to left, looking round, with the face in profile. The hair of both maenads is long and dank; in one, parted in the middle and drawn down so that it hides most of the forehead; in the other mounded high in front, with a long curl hanging down in front of the ear. Now 'real' maenads, if we may so call them,—maenads of myth—have nothing to do with flute-players in full dress. These are not maenads of myth, but maenads impersonated. Maenads of drama—that is, of tragedy? It will be objected that the artist has given them feminine breasts, and cannot therefore have meant them for chorus-men. The answer may be that, as in the Ferrara vase just described, the artist substitutes the character for the impersonator, or, to put it differently, as he gazes in his mind at the maenads of drama, they dissolve and the maenads of myth or 'reality' take their place. Obviously the maenads of tragedy did not flourish mangled animals or their property equivalents: these also are due to the painter's imagination, or to a shift in his vision.

Furtwängler noted the unusual rendering of the faces and especially of the wig-

¹⁷ Buschor *Feldmäuse* pp.19-20. He takes the man on the right to be another member of the royal house at Eleusis.

¹⁸ Berlin inv.3223: B, *Anz.* 1893 p.90, 43: *ARV.* p.397 no.39.

¹⁹ *Mon.* 11 pl.8: *ARV.* p.397 no.44. The two pelikai are not far from the Oinante Painter.

like hair, and one may really ask whether they do not show the influence of tragic masks.

One side of the Berlin pelike has recently been republished by Weinreich,²⁰ who believes the dancer to be not a chorus-man or an actor but a woman dancing solo in character, an ὀρχηστρίς, a pantomimus, as Wüst had already suggested: "the stimulus, however, came from a drama, for the flute-player wears theatrical costume." This is a possible alternative, which some may judge less far-fetched than the explanation just proposed.^{20a} Above the head of the maenad in one of the pictures there is an inscription. It is not ΚΑΙΕ but ΚΑΙΟΣ. I do not press this, but it is worth recording.

In the last two vases it was not easy to define what may be termed the bifocal standpoint of the artist with regard to his theme. There is no such difficulty with pictures which show the flute-player in full dress together with members of the dramatic chorus or even the whole cast of the drama, and in some of which the chorus-men rehearse their dance, or at least fetch a frisk or two, while there is no attempt to reproduce the plot of the drama or any episode in it, whether played or narrated. These pictures are nearly all well known and we can be brief. A fragmentary dinos of about 425 or 420 B.C. in Athens has the flute-player, four members of a satyr-chorus, wearing drawers, and four 'civilians,' one of whom should be the poet, another the choregus.²¹ Three fragments of a bell-krater by the same artist, in Bonn, have the flute-player and three members of the satyr-chorus, wearing drawers.²² The Pronomos vase in Naples,²³ a volute-krater painted at the end of the fifth century, has the whole cast of a satyr-play, chorus and actors, together with the famous flute-player Pronomos, a lyre-player, the poet Demetrios, and the lord of the festival, Dionysos, besides. The picture must be derived, as Bulle has established beyond cavil, from a votive picture dedicated to Dionysos by Pronomos himself.²⁴ Fragments of

²⁰ Weinreich *Epigramm und Pantomimus* pl.1, with pp.125-6.

^{20a} According to Weinreich the 'ὀρχηστρίς' is dancing the part of Agave; but there is no indication of this.

²¹ Athens 13027: *AM.* 36 pl.13, 1-2 and pl.14, 4-5, whence (part) Pickard-Cambridge *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* [*DFA.*] fig.30; Nicole pl.17; part, Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.10; *ARV.* p.796 no.1. The youth in *AM.* 36 pl.14, 4 is not a singleton but belongs to the group of flute-player and satyr. The frontal person *ibid.* pl.14, 5 must be a satyr.

²² Bonn inv.1216.116-119: *CV.* pl.30, 16; Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.11; Pickard-Cambridge *DFA.* fig.31; *ARV.* p.796 no.2.

²³ Naples 3240: *FR.* pll.143-5, whence Bieber *HT.* pp.14 and 34 and Pickard-Cambridge *DFA.* fig.28; Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.9; *ARV.* p.849, Pronomos Painter no.1.

²⁴ Bulle *Eine Skenographie* pp.27-9. One may surmise that, in the *Hesione* of Demetrios, Pronomos won special applause by his musical description of the sea-monster's approach: this would at least be consonant with the trend of music in his day; and not only in his day, seeing that the venerable πολυκέφαλος νόμος at Delphi was traditionally held to have been composed by Athena in imitation of the hissing of the snakes on Medusa's decapitated head (*Pind.P.* 12, with schol. on line 15).

another volute-krater, from the same period as the Pronomos vase and of kindred style, in Würzburg,²⁵ also figure the cast of a play, actors and chorus, this time not a satyr-drama but a tragedy, since the chorus are habited not as satyrs but as women; the poet and the flute-player are also there, and Dionysos. This picture, too, as Bulle showed, must be derived from a votive pinax, dedicated, however, not by the flute-player but probably by the poet.

To these vases we may add first, the mosaic, from the Casa del Poeta Tragico at Pompeii, in Naples,²⁶ which depicts preparations for a satyr-play, with the poet and, well to the fore, the flute-player, a laboured and debased copy of a much earlier painting; and secondly, two minor vases, both oinochoai of shape 3, choes. One of them, a small piece, a present for a child, of about 400 B.C., in Oxford, shows a flute-player, and two youths in long robes, actors, perhaps, rather than chorus-men.²⁷ The other, somewhat later, in Leningrad, has three actors of comedy besides the flute-player and another person: all five have an infantile look, and this vase, too, was probably a present for a child,²⁸ τοῖς παιδίοις ἔν' ᾗ γέλως.

The pictures hitherto considered have either certainly referred to the drama, or could best be understood as referring to it: but the flute-player, in costume, was in place at other performances. In the dithyramb the auletes was so important that the official records of victories regularly contain his name as well as those of the tribe, the choregus, and the poet. It might be held that some of the pictures in which a flute-player appears in the company of legendary figures were inspired by dithyramb: but I do not know any in which this is at all probable. The bell-krater by Polion in New York,²⁹ of about 425 B.C., does not, of course, belong to this category, since the subject is not from legend. There are four figures. On the right stands a young flute-player in a long sleeved robe on which the dot-and-circle pattern alternates with groups of three dots. He wears a wreath but no phorbeia, and as in several of the vases just mentioned is not playing, but holding one aulos in each hand. Three old satyrs move towards him with citharae, singing. They have white hair and beards, and their bodies

²⁵ Bulle in *Corolla Curtius* pll.54-6, with pp.151-7, whence Pickard-Cambridge *DFA*. fig.40: *ARV*. p.965.

²⁶ Herrmann *Denkm. der Malerei* pl.14; Bieber *Denkm. des Theaterwesens* [*Theat*]. pll.49-50 and *H.T.* p.16.

²⁷ Oxford 1927.4468: *CV*. pl.63, 10-11.

²⁸ Leningrad: *Compte Rendu* 1870-1 pl.6, 1 and 8, whence *Jd I* 8 p.69, Bieber *Theat*. p.137 fig.124 and *H.T.* p.85, Pickard-Cambridge *DFA*. p.192 fig.80.

²⁹ 25.78.66: *RM*. 47 p.130 and p.146, b; Richter and Hall pl.155; A, Bieber *H.T.* p.6: *ARV*. p.797 no.7. No one seems to have discussed the grammar of the inscription, perhaps because it was thought obvious. Are the two words connected or not? If not, Παναθήναια would be the title of the picture, for which one might perhaps quote the Πατροκλέους ἄθλα which Sophilos wrote, long before, on his dinos from Pharsalos in Athens (15499: *Mon.Piot* 33 pp.44-7 and 49 and pl.6; *AM*. 62 pll.52-3): but such titles are very rare on vases. If the words are connected, what is the construction? (νικῶντες) Παναθήναια? Neither of these explanations seems to me likely.

(except face, hands, and feet) are covered with small white tufts. We could hardly have been quite sure whether they were meant for satyrs—Papposilenoi—or for men disguised as satyrs, were it not that the artist has added an inscription, *ῥῥδοὶ Παναθηναία*, from which we learn that they are singers at the Panathenaic festival. Dithyrambs were sometimes performed at the Panathenaia, and our picture has been thought to represent an extract from a dithyramb. This does not seem very likely; if it is accepted, the performance of the 'singers' must have been an interlude or inset—a trio if Polion's number of satyrs is to be taken literally. The performance may also have been an independent item; and one would like to know if there is any connection with earlier, black-figure pictures of satyrs playing the cithara: the five old satyrs on a lekythos of the early fifth century in London;³⁰ the three satyrs on a neck-amphora of the end of the sixth century, now in Dr. Karl Peters' possession in Berlin.³¹ Cithara-players do not dance, but a form of goose-step was admitted: it appears on Dr. Peters' vase, and is lamely executed by the third of Polion's Papposilenoi. The leader strikes an affected pose intended to suggest the rapt look of the inspired musician.³²

A volute-krater in Taranto,³³ by an Italiote artist of the late fifth century, represents the celebration of the festival of Apollo Karneios in a Dorian city of South-east Italy, for the word *KAPNEIOΣ* is inscribed on a small pillar. A flute-player in full dress is seen not playing but holding his flute in one hand and his phorbeia in the other. Round him are kalathiskos-dancers, as we call them, naked youths, and a woman, wearing or holding two or three kinds of ritual headdress, one of which is huge and elaborate, a real trendle of a crown. Dancers and flute-player, with a 'civilian,' occupy the lower range of the picture; above them, in the upper range, Perseus holds out the gorgoneion amid a throng of terrified satyrs. Neither he nor they are characterized as creatures of drama, but the group is probably derived from a satyr-play: the artist has depicted the climax of the plot, or an impressive tableau, although not in theatrical terms. It is improbable, in a work of such magnificence, that there is no connection between the two ranges, and the whole picture must surely be based on a votive pinax dedicated to Apollo and commemorating a successful celebration of the Karneia. One may conjecture that the kalathiskos-dance was an original performance at the Karneia, and that dramatic performances were a later addition to the programme. The satyr-play figures on the vase, but it is likely enough that there were tragedies as well. At another Italiote festival—or indeed the same—, as is indicated by the phlyax vase in New York,³⁴ the programme included tragedy as well as

³⁰ London B 560: Class of Athens 581 (Haspels *ABL*. p.223 no.34).

³¹ Gerhard *AV*. pl.52.

³² Compare the hydria formerly in the Fauvel collection (Stackelberg pl.20).

³³ Taranto 4358: *Rev.arch.* 1933, ii, pp.4-21 (Wuilleumier); part, Trendall *Frühit.* pll.24-6; *CV*. IV d r pll.1-6. The inscription, *Rev.arch.* 1933, ii, p.12.

³⁴ New York 24.97.104: *Bull.Metr.* 22 p.56 and p.57 fig.3 (Richter); *RM.* 47 p.134 (Messer-

farce. Two other Italiote vases, besides the volute-krater in Taranto, show the flute-player in the company of kalathiskos-dancers: a bell-krater by the Sisyphos Painter in the Victoria and Albert Museum;³⁵ and a vase of the same shape in Berlin,³⁶ where Artemis is also present, doubtless as the deity at whose festival the dance is taking place. A third Italiote bell-krater, in the Louvre,³⁷ records another mixed programme. There are three figures. The flute-player stands in the middle and accompanies a young satyr who dances. Behind the musician stands a naked woman holding a helmet and a targe: her contribution will have been a variety of the pyrrhic. The other two figures are not so easily explained. One can understand that the dancer is not characterized as a human being in disguise; but it is odd that the flute-player should have the head of a satyr. Perhaps the painter has simply assimilated him to the dancer. This is preferable to supposing a masked flute-player, who would find a mask very uncomfortable. The small pillar in the picture may mark, as in the Karneios vase, the boundary of the sacred precinct, but it is uninscribed.

The last Italiote vase to mention is a bell-krater in Princeton, where the flute-player's companion is an actor in farce, a phlyax.³⁸

We have left a well known Attic vase to the last: the calyx-krater with two rows of pictures in the British Museum (Pl. 88, a).³⁹ The date is about 460-450, and the artist is the Niobid Painter. The decoration of the upper zone falls into two groups: an eight-figure representation of the creation of Pandora, Πανδώρας γένεσις, and an eight-figure representation of a χορός γυναικῶν, which in its turn is made up of two groups, a six-figure group of a flute-player in full dress accompanying five dancers who are female or in feminine costume, and a small group of two figures—another female dancer, just like the five, and facing her, a 'civilian,' a man in everyday attire.

Alexander Murray, who first published the vase, concluded that there were two different and unconnected subjects in the upper zone. This division has won general assent, and as friends of dissociation we might be ready to accept it, but for the fact that in vases of this type—calyx-kraters with two rows of pictures—, while in the lower row, where the handles produce a natural break, the picture on one side has often

schmidt); Trendall *Frühit.* pl.28,b; Bieber *H.T.* p.282 fig.381; *AJA.* 1932 pl.32. Attributed to the Tarporley Painter by Trendall. See *AJA.* 1952 pp.193-5.

³⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum: *BSR.* 11 pl.12: attributed to the Sisyphos Painter by Miss Moon (Mrs. W. F. Oakeshott).

³⁶ Berlin inv.4520: part, *RM.* 24 p.119: see Neugebauer *Führer* pp.139-40.

³⁷ Louvre: *El.* 4 pl.31. There is some repainting in the faces, but it does not affect the subject-matter.

³⁸ Princeton: [Frances F. Jones] *The Theater in Ancient Art*, Dec.-Jan. 1952 fig. 1; *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 1952 pp.30-3. Connected by Miss Jones with the A.V. Group and assigned by Trendall to the Foundling Painter.

³⁹ London E 467: *JHS.* 11 pl.11-12, whence our reproduction and (A) Bieber *Theat.* pl.101; A, *ibid.* pl.51; Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb* figs. 14-15; details, *Metr.St.* 5 p.138; Webster *Niobiden-Maler* pl.14-15: *ARV.* p.420 no.21. See Buschor *Feldmäuse* p.18.

nothing to do with the picture on the other; in the upper row, which is beyond the reach of the handles, there is always only one subject, running right round the vase.⁴⁰ We must ask whether the two groups of eight in the London krater may not be connected. The story of Pandora is not susceptible of tragic treatment, but is suitable matter for the satyric drama, and we actually know of a satyr-play on the subject by Sophocles. The chorus on our vase, however, consists not of satyrs but of women. It may be that the artist, perhaps taking his cue from a votive picture, has made a selection of the possible topics provided by a tetralogy: has chosen on the one hand the subject of the satyr-play Pandora, and on the other the female chorus from one of the tragedies. His *Πανδώρας γένεσις*, of course, does not give a view of anything that took place before the spectators in the theatre. He represents 'Pandora,' and not as a single figure, but in the midst of the gods who dower her with gifts. In any case the decoration of the upper zone falls into two groups, but there may be a connection between them.

The identification of the middle figure as Pandora has recently been challenged by Brommer,⁴¹ who pertinently observes that Ares, hastening towards her, is more appropriate to a 'Birth of Aphrodite' than to a *Πανδώρας γένεσις*, and that a similar figure of Ares actually occurs in a picture of the Birth of Aphrodite.⁴² On the other hand, the figure in the middle is very like undoubted Pandoras,⁴³ and rigid as it is, doll-like, small, passive and humble, it is not at all like a great goddess, who from the beginning of her days would face the world with perfect assurance. Moreover the goddess beside her, who offers her a wreath, is surely Athena, and Athena has no special connection with Aphrodite, whereas with Pandora she has:

ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

As to Ares, the writer of a satyr-play, for all we can tell, may have freshened the oft-told tale by introducing Ares into the plot, borrowing the motive, it may be, from the story of the Birth of Aphrodite. Without claiming it as any proof, I recollect that Voltaire, in his poem *L'origine des métiers*, which is about Pandora, introduces Mars

⁴⁰ The only exception is the Circe krater in New York, a rough work by the Persephone Painter (41.83: Richter *Handbook of the Greek Collection* pl.82,a) and it is not quite a full exception. On the front of the vase, Odysseus pursues Circe; on the back, women flee for protection to a man. The artist has eked out the pursuit scene as if it were one of the many amorous pursuits in which the companions of the victim flee in terror to their father.

⁴¹ Brommer *Satyroï* p.14; see also Rumpf in *Jd I* 65 pp.168 and 171.

⁴² Hydria in Syracuse, 23912 (*CV*. pl.24, whence, (this picture), *Marb.Jb.* 15 p.26 fig.34, Brommer, and *Jd I* 65 p.167 (Rumpf): *ARV*. p.701, Group of Polygnotos, no.99).

⁴³ White-ground cup by the Tarquinia Painter in London, D 4 (Murray *WAV*. pl.19: *ARV*. p.570 no.33). Crocodile rhyton by the Sotades Painter in London, E 789 (*JHS*. 9 p.220 fig.1 and p.221; *CV*. pl.37, 4 and pl.39, 2: *ARV* p.451, no.7). Base of the Parthenos as rendered on the copy from Pergamon (Winter *Altertümer von Pergamon vii*, i Beiblatt 3; Becatti *Problemi fidiaci* pl.11, 32).

as her first lover.⁴⁴ I cannot find that Voltaire had any classical authority for this—one thinks of Phaedrus, but it is not there—, but a simple motive that occurred to a poet in one age might occur to a poet in another.

The lower register on the front of the London krater shows another flute-player accompanying a group of dancers in disguise. The flute-player, however, is not in full dress, wears an ordinary himation, and the dancers are not horse-men but goat-men, not satyrs but Pans. It has been conjectured that the satyrs of drama may on occasion have been replaced by Pans, for example if the subject was the Birth of Aphrodite. This is at any rate preferable to the notion that a comic chorus is represented. As the musician is not in formal costume, the painter may be thinking of an early exercise and not of the performance or even of a dress rehearsal: but it would be foolish to insist on this, and the informal costume may be due to a desire for variety.

In the last scene on the vase, in the lower register on the reverse, the painter leaves the world of the performer and leads us into the heart of satyr-land: a party of satyrs playing ball. It is like a family picnic: the father is there, the nymph his wife, the small son with his hoop, the grown-up brothers. A satyr-chorus may have played ball in the theatre: since there was ball-playing in the *Nausicaa* of Sophocles, in which the poet in person distinguished himself, there may have been ball-playing in a satyr-drama: but, if so, the tone of the episode would have been very different from this.

That exhausts, so far as I remember, the list of flute-players, fully dressed, *in strange company*. On the four Italiote vases, the flute-player was twice associated with a solemn ritual dance—with kalathiskos-dancers; once with a satyr, where the reference to a satyr-drama was uncertain; and once with an actor of farce, a phlyax. In one of the Attic vases his companions were *κίθαροδοί* disguised as satyrs, for a performance of uncertain nature at the Panathenaia; in another he accompanied a dancing maenad, who might be either a chorus-man of tragedy, or possibly a female solo-dancer in a rôle imitated from tragedy; in a third, he accompanied a chorus of women who were not certainly a tragic chorus but from their context might well be one; in the remaining six, as well as in the mosaic, the connection with drama was certain. The closest analogy to the Corinth picture was furnished by a vase of the same shape, period, and style, the Boston hydria with which we began, one of the few vases that give a view of an actual scene in a drama.

If the subject of the Corinth vase is taken from a play, the play was not a satyr-drama but a tragedy. We know of five tragedies with Persian subjects. Two of them belong to the fourth century and therefore hardly concern us. The others are the *Capture of Miletos*, by Phrynichus, the *Phoenician Women*, by Phrynichus, and the *Persians* of Aeschylus. The *Capture of Miletos*, which must have been written shortly after the disaster of 492 B.C., scarcely comes into account: the chorus must surely have

⁴⁴ Voltaire *Oeuvres complètes* (ed. 1825) xiv p.70.

consisted of Milesian women. The *Phoinissai*, probably produced in 476, took its name from the chorus of Phoenician women, but Persian counsellors seem to have made their entry shortly after the prologue, and it is thought that they may have formed a second chorus. It is not known that Dareios appeared, but considering the resemblance the play is said to have borne to the *Persians* of Aeschylus we cannot exclude the possibility.⁴⁵ The *Persae* of Aeschylus, produced in 472, is preserved complete. When I knew only three of the five fragments from Corinth, and those in an imperfect photograph, I thought of the *Persae*, and in particular of the situation at line 680. At first it was not clear, on the evidence I had before me, that the structure in front of the chief figure was a pyre; when it became clear, there ceased to be any hope of referring the picture to the *Persae*: for if the word *πύρα* seems sometimes to be used as equivalent to *τάφος*,⁴⁶ that does not help us in this case.

The pyre makes one think of Croesus; and it will be remembered that Croesus on the pyre is the subject of a picture by Myson on his amphora of about 490-480 B.C. in the Louvre;⁴⁷ and that Myson was the 'father' of the early Mannerists. His Croesus, however, wears pure Greek dress; and if the chief figure on the Corinth vase had been Croesus, he would surely have been well distinguished in costume from the Persians about him.

There were tragedies the scene of which was laid in other parts of the East besides Persia. The *Carians* of Aeschylus is an example.

New finds may one day solve the problem: for the present we must resign ourselves. A lost tragedy, surely, with an Oriental, probably a Persian, subject.

J. D. BEAZLEY

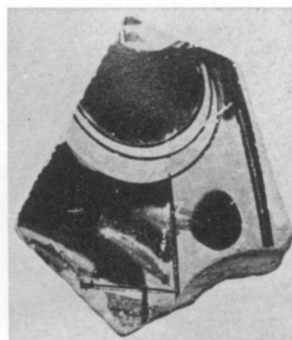
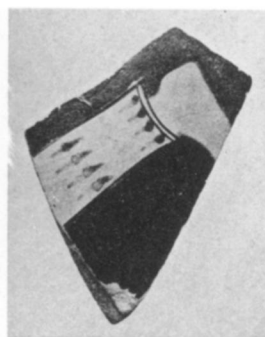
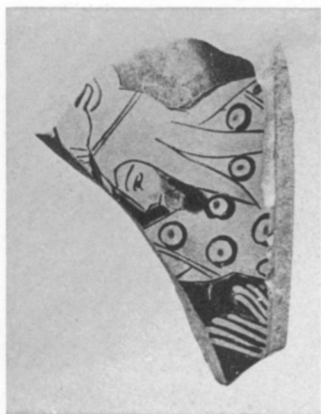
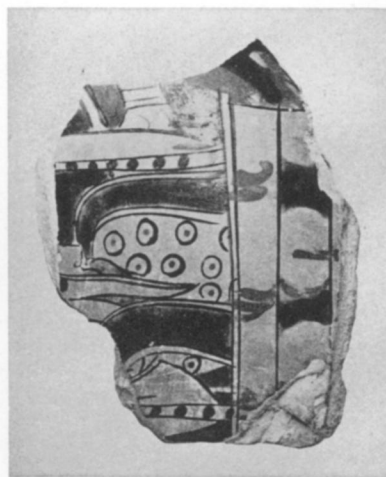
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

⁴⁵ Γλαῦκος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι (Arg.Aesch.Pers.)

On the Persian plays of Phrynichus, Anti in *Arch.class.* 4 pp.23-45.

⁴⁶ Soph. *El.* 900-1.

⁴⁷ See footnote 4.

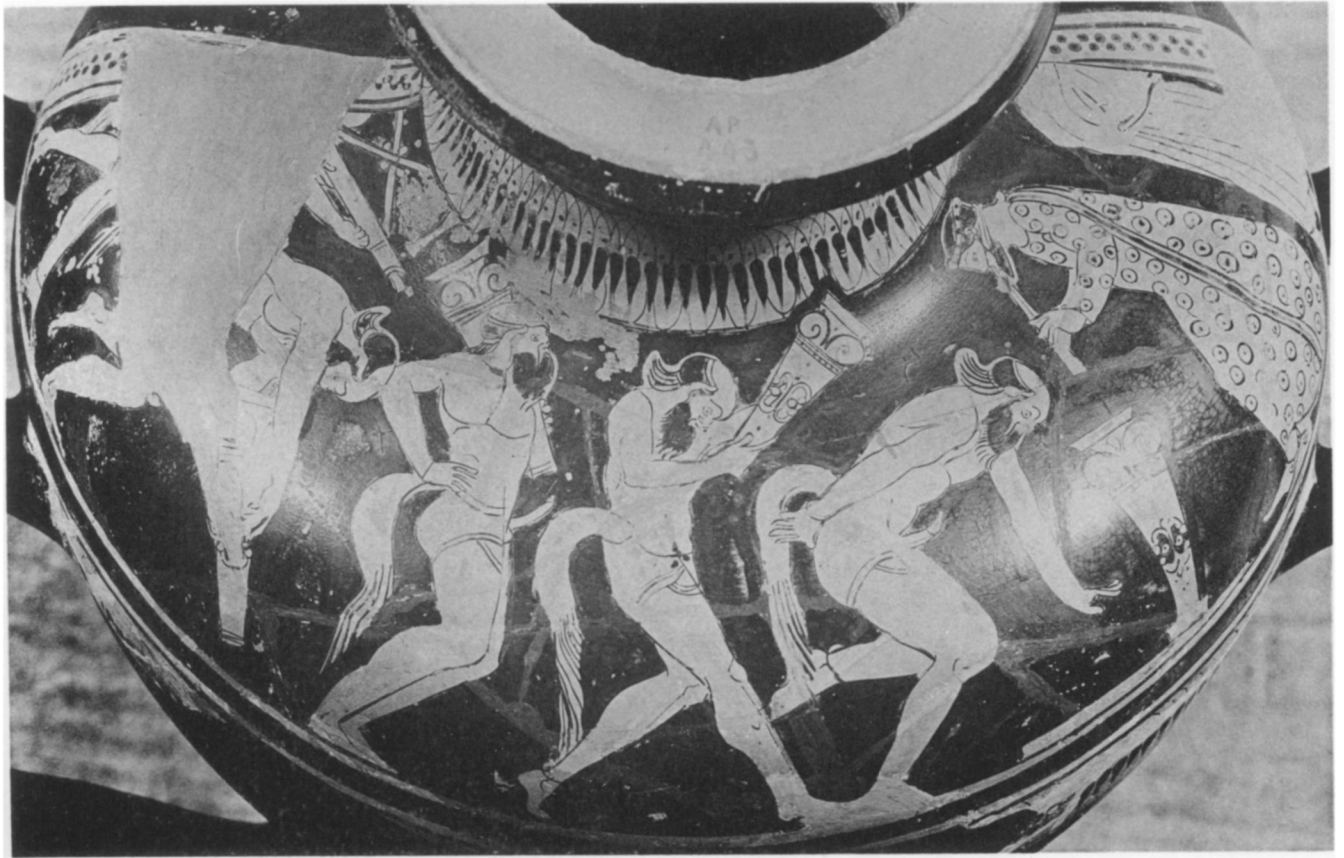


Hydria-Fragments in Corinth, T 1144

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH

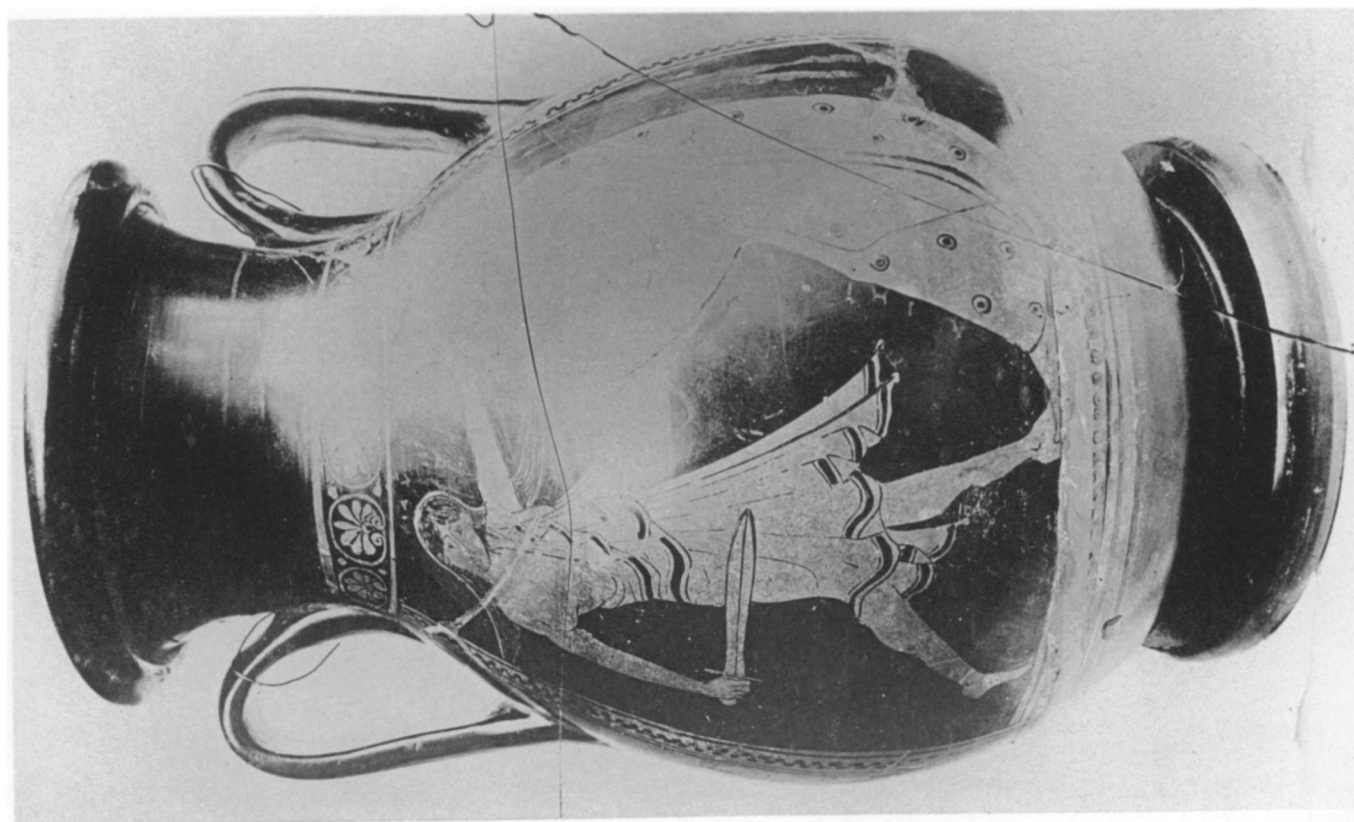


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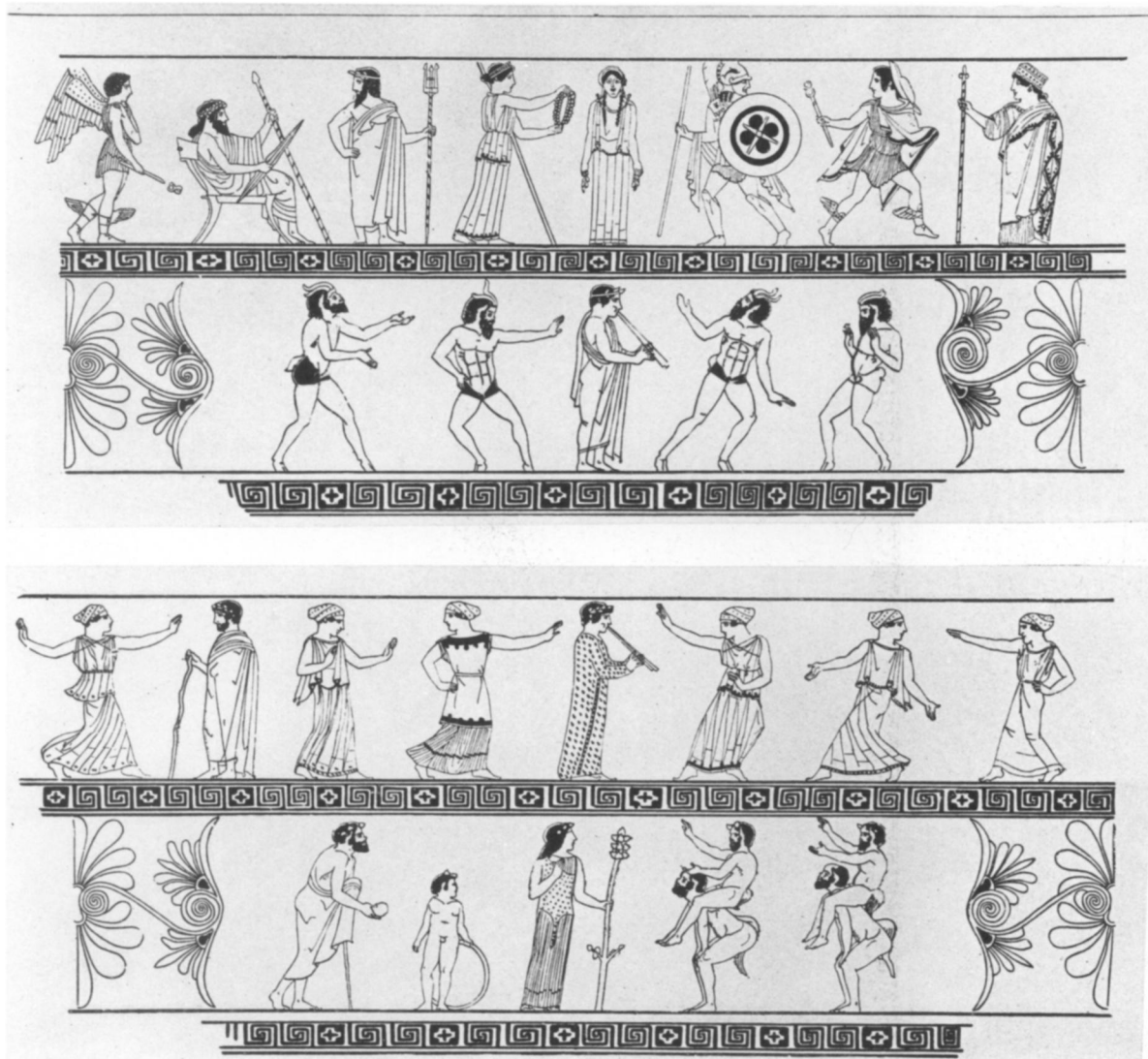
b. Hydria Boston 03.788

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH

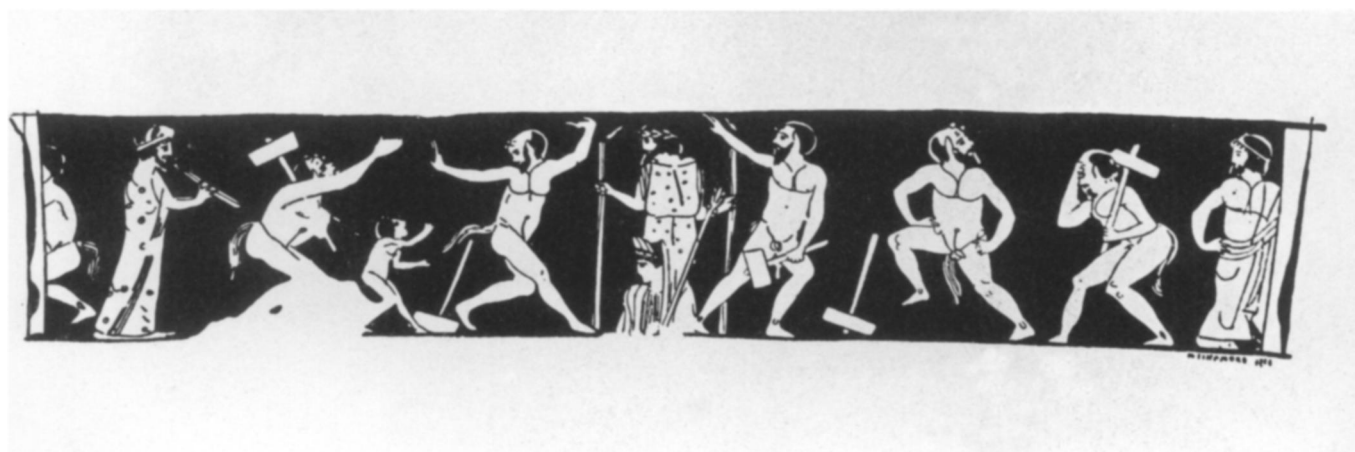


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J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH



a. Calyx-Krater London E 467



b. From a Volute-Krater in Ferrara

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH