

# EARLY BOEOTIAN POTTERS

(PLATES 44–52)

*Amico et magistro  
bene merenti d. d.*

WHEN Joseph Clark Hoppin published his *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* in 1924 he included in his section on Boeotia (pp. 17-24) nine vases with the signatures of five potters: Gamedes, Gryton, (I)phithadas, Menaidas, Mnasalkes. Since that time six additional vases signed by the same potters and five by a new one, Polon, have become known from museums and private collections. It seems worthwhile, therefore, to re-edit the material with photographs and to re-examine some of the problems raised by a study of this rather homogeneous group of vases.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Our study began with the Heidelberg alabastron (Menaidas 5) which was put at our disposal by Roland Hampe; from him and from his associates, Hildegard Gropengiesser and Erika Diehl, we received generous help throughout the work. In the study of the Bonn aryballos (Menaidas 4) we enjoyed the assistance of Christiane Grunwald. For the photographs of the vases in the Louvre (Gamedes 1, Menaidas 1, Polon 1-4), in the British Museum (Gamedes 2), and in Athens (Mnasalkes 1) we are grateful to P. Devambez, Ann Birchall, Barbara Philippaki, Dina Delmouzou, Semni Karouzou. Karl Schefold and Reinhard Lullies called our attention to the Solothurn aryballos (Mnasalkes 3) and to the Berlin aryballos (Gryton 1) respectively, and we received photographs of the former from its owner Rudolf Schmidt and of the latter from Elisabeth Rohde and Huberta von Littrow. Finally, Cornelius Vermeule put the valuable material from Boston (Gryton 2, Mnasalkes 2, Polon 5) at our disposal, and Fritz Eichler and Rudolf Noll gave us information and photos of the Vienna aryballos (Phithadas 2), Ulrich Gehrig and Norbert Kunisch of the Berlin exaleipteron, Klaus Vierneisel of the unsigned Mnasalkes aryballos in Munich, and Neda Leiper of the unsigned snake in Toronto.

Our debt to all these scholars and friends is so great and so obvious that we must ask the reader not to hold any of them responsible for any error he may detect in the following account. This applies also to the advice we have had from A. Greifenhagen, Herbert Hoffmann, Erika Simon, Annie Ure, and especially from John Boardman and Dietrich von Bothmer.

For permission to publish this rich harvest of photographs we want to thank not only those who generously sent them to us but also the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Trustees of the British Museum, London; the Antikensammlungen, Munich; the Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto; and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. A generous grant from Stanford University made the publication of extra plates possible.

## GAMEDES

1. Oinochoe. Paris, Louvre, MNB 501. Pl. 44, a-c.

Bibl.: Hoppin, pp. 18-19; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pp. 127-129, fig. 94; R. Elgnowski, *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin*, pp. 34-38, pls. 17, 11 and 19, 4.

Provenience: Tanagra.

Height, 0.33 m.

Shape: See Elgnowski, *op. cit.*

Clay: Misfired false red.

Paint: Brownish black, purplish red, white.

Decoration: Foot and lower part of body are solid brownish black. There are abundant incisions on all figures, and there are purplish red and white dots on the animals. Four rosettes are scattered among the animals; these rosettes have added red and white. Below the frieze is a row of Doric leaves in dark red on white ground and above it alternating red and white leaves. On the collar and on the lip are white dots. There are double palmettes on the upper part of the neck.

Inscription: Γαμέδες ἐπόεσε, painted twice, once inside the trilobate lip and again on the frieze on either side of the man.

Acknowledgments: P. Devambez.

2. Aryballos. London, British Museum, 73.2-8.2 (old number A 189). Pl. 44, d-e.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 17; J. D. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 195.

Provenience: Acquired in 1873, probably from Thespieae.

Height, 0.09 m.

Shape: Well known Corinthian type with square lip (H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Nos. 378, 638, 1262, 1294) of which many examples were found in Rhitsona; see P. N. Ure, *Aryballoï and Figurines*, pl. IV, 99: 50, 52; 13: 12; 89: 5; 86: 252; 97: 10. Ure (pp. 23-25) assigned these vases to his Class IV. The prototype was possibly Assyrian, transmitted through the East Greek faience aryballos; see R. D. Barnett, *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 233 and note 108, pl. XXII, 1-2.

Clay: Pinkish brown, fine textured, without mica or grit.

Paint: Reddish brown at bottom, shaded to darker brown on body and neck. Laboratory analysis showed that the paint is a fired slip.

Decoration: The fired slip has penetrated into the incised decoration which must have been made before the firing of the vase.

Inscription: Γαμέδες ἐπόεσε, incised on a band between chevrons which were incised afterwards. Laboratory analysis showed that the inscription was incised before firing and that the slip penetrated into the letters. The letter forms are the same as those on the painted signature (1).

Acknowledgments: Ann Birchall.

## GRYTON

1. Ring Aryballos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiquarium, Inv. 3395. Pl. 45, a-b.

Unpublished.

Provenience: Unknown.

Height, 0.096 m.; diameter, 0.076 m.

Shape: Tubular ring with flattish sides. Profile of lip is round. There is a strap handle from lip to rim.

Clay: Rather fine, yellowish brown.

Paint: Brownish black and purplish red.

Decoration: Horizontal and vertical lines on the handle. On the body, a series of seven concentric bands, with ladders on the two nearest to the rim, on both sides.

Inscription: Γρύτον ἐπόλεσε, incised on the rim from the bottom up. The last six letters are scratched over and into the decoration on the handle, thus showing that the inscription was incised after the firing of the vase.

Acknowledgments: Huberta von Littrow, R. Lullies, Elisabeth Rohde.

2. Plastic Vase in the shape of a sandalled right foot. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.897. Pl. 45, c-d.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 20; A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases, Boston*,

*Museum of Fine Arts*, I, pp. 183-184, pl. LI, no. 536; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 33, note 2; J. Boardman, *J.H.S.*, LXXXV, 1965, p. 235.

Provenience: Acquired in 1898, from Thebes. Height, 0.074 m.; length, 0.092 m.

Shape: The foot is modelled only in meager details; the straps are not rendered plastically as on other sandalled foot vases, e.g., *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 64. There is another plastic foot in Würzburg, with an incised inscription (*Λευκόλοφος*) which Langlotz (*Katalog*, p. 21) considered of doubtful genuineness.

Clay: Dull gray with small lumps of white and black particles.

Paint: Shiny brownish black decoration on a dull gray slip.

Decoration: There are laddered straps across the toes (which are not plastically indicated), crisscrossing at instep, and going up to the middle of the foot where they end in a rectangular plate (which held the straps together), with spirals above and below. The ankle bone is surrounded by circles. Below the neck is a band of carelessly painted pendant leaves. On the lip are radiating lines, on the handle, transverse bars.

Inscription: *Γρύτον ἐποίησε*, incised on the sole of the foot, in letters similar to those on the Berlin aryballos (1).

Acknowledgments: Erika Simon, C. C. Vermeule, III.

### MENAIIDAS

1. Globular Aryballos. Paris, Louvre, CA 128. Plate 46, a-b.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 22.

Provenience: Thebes.

Height, 0.065 m.

Shape: Ball shaped aryballos without handle, with round lip (similar to that of the ring aryballoi in this catalogue). No exact parallels are available; see the aryballos (with handle) on the "Boeotian" stele in Boston, F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, p. 63, notes 53

and 54; G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, pp. 22-23.

Decoration: Lip and upper part of neck are covered with paint; concentric bands are painted, two on the shoulder and three on the body.

Inscription: *Μενάιδας ἐμ' ἐποίησε Χάρουτι*, incised around the middle of the body between two of the painted bands.

Acknowledgments: P. Devambez.

2. Globular Aryballos. Paris, Louvre, ODF (objets douteux ou faux) 53.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 22, quotes a note from Pottier who reports that he acquired another aryballos similar to Menaidas 1 without decoration and with the same inscription. Pottier listed the vase among the "doubtful or false" objects and Devambez was unable to find it in 1965.

Acknowledgments: P. Devambez.

3. "Corinthian Pilgrim's Bottle." Athens, Private Collection.

Height, 0.105 m.

Inscription: *Μενάιδας ἐμ' ἐποίησε Χάρουτι*.

Acknowledgments: D. v. Bothmer.

4. Pomegranate shaped Aryballos. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität, 2128. Pls. 46, c; 47, b.

Bibl.: A. Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, cols. 400-401, fig. 56.

Provenience: Unknown; in the Museum since 1910.

Height, 0.055 m.

Shape: Derived from earlier, even geometric, aryballoi; see, e.g., E. Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beilage XIX, 4; B. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 139, pl. IV, 2; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 170; K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 8, 124, no. 41. The Bonn vase, however, does not have any plant-like forms; the smooth thorn at the foot has merely a slight indentation, probably caused by the vase being set on a point for the painting. The lip is round (as on Menaidas 1 and 5), and there are no suspension holes.

Clay: Very fine fabric of yellowish brown color with tiny amounts of mica.

Paint: Purplish bands with brownish contour stripes and narrow brown stripes.

Decoration: Alternating wider and narrower concentric bands. Groups of incised lines (triglyphs) are on the widest of the bands, incised perhaps after firing.

Inscription: *Μεναίδας ἐμὲ ἐποίησε Χάροπι*, incised perhaps before firing, since the paint of the central band seems to be present in the letters.

Acknowledgments: Christiane Grunwald.

5. Piriform Alabastron. Heidelberg, Archäologisches Museum der Universität, Z 1. Pls. 46, d; 47, a.

Bibl.: I. K. Raubitschek, *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 174.

Provenience: Unknown.

Shape: There are no comparable piriform alabastra without handles and with round lip; the closest analogies which we could find are *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 153, fig. 632-633; D. M. Robinson and C. G. Harcum, *Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto*, p. 45, pl. XI, 153, C 650; H. Cahn, *Korinthische Vasen*, pp. 5-6, no. 11.

Clay: Yellowish brown with lumps of gray and brown in it; there are also white mica particles throughout the otherwise fine fabric.

Paint: Purplish red.

Inscription: *Χάροπι ἐμὲ ἐποίησε Μεναίδας*, incised on the unpainted clay ground around the middle of the vase. There is another inscription continuing the circuit, in a different and more careless hand, the last five letters being written below the beginning of the original inscription, *Γοργίας τόπόλονι*.

Acknowledgments: D. Amyx, Hildegard Gropengiesser, R. Hampe.

## MNASALKES

1. Ring Aryballos. Athens, National Museum, 12218 (841). Pl. 48, a-b.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 23; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ*, p. 129,

note 126; P. N. Ure, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 46, no. 1, pl. XI, 3a.

Provenience: Boeotia.

Height, 0.084 m.; diameter, 0.075 m.

Shape: Tubular ring aryballos with strap handle from lip to rim. The lip is round (not square), the one (outer) side is slightly convex, the other (inner) flat.

Clay: Light reddish yellow, with intrusions.

Paint: Brown.

Decoration: On the outer side is a band of chevrons framed by narrower and wider bands; a strikingly similar decoration is found on the ring aryballos from Solothurn (3) and on an unsigned ring aryballos in Munich; Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 47, no. 8, here illustrated on Pl. 48, e-g. The mouth has a daisy pattern, and there are vertical lines on the handle (according to Ure).

Inscription: *Μνασάλκης ποίεσε*, painted twice on the outside rim, beginning at the mouth and separated at the bottom by painted hooks which hang from the outer edge.

Acknowledgments: Dina Delmouzou, Semni Karouzou, Barbara Philippaki, K. Vierneisel.

2. Ring Aryballos. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.513. Pl. 49, a-c.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 24; A. Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, p. 184, pl. LI, no. 538; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 92; P. N. Ure, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 46, no. 3, pl. XI, 3c.

Provenience: Acquired in 1899, from Boeotia.

Diameter, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Shape: Tubular ring aryballos with neck and handle missing. The one (outer) side is more convex than the other (inner).

Clay: Pale brownish yellow with white particles in it.

Paint: Purplish red and brownish black.

Decoration: On the outer side a wide band of ladder loops and chevrons framed by wider and narrower red and black bands. On the inner side is a band of squares with dots in them, framed by narrow and wide bands in black and red. The ring aryballos in Munich (Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 47, no. 8) is so similar to the three aryballoi signed by Mnasalkes that it may be con-

sidered an unsigned work of the same potter (Pl. 48, e-g).

Inscription: *Μνασάλλε(ς) ποίεσε*, painted on the rim.

Acknowledgments: C. C. Vermeule, III, K. Vierneisel.

3. Ring Aryballos. Solothurn, Collection Dr. R. Schmidt. Pls. 48, c-d, 49, d.

Bibl.: K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griech. Kunst*, Basel, 1960, pp. 142-143, pl. II, 106, "böotisch."

Provenience: Not stated.

Diameter, 0.075 m.

Shape: Tubular ring aryballos with almost flat sides. The lip is round and the handle is missing.

Decoration: The decoration on the outer side is almost the same as on the Athens and Munich aryballoi (1), only the chevrons are larger. The rim is elaborately decorated, starting on both sides of the neck with ladder-like loops similar to those on the Boston and Munich aryballoi (2), but filled with solid black tongues. Continuing these loops are two interlacing wavy lines filled with dots. The spaces between this pattern and the rim are filled with double loops.

Inscription: *Μνασάλλε(ς) ποίεσε* 'Εμπεδιόνδα· αὐτ[ὰ]ρ ἡ δόκε φέρον φιλοτάσιον Αἰσχύλοι αὐτό, incised in the black paint on the edge of the rim. For the hexameter, see *Odyssey*, XXI, 366; αὐτὰρ ὁ θῆκε φέρον . . .

Acknowledgments: K. Schefold, R. Schmidt.

#### PHITHADAS

1. Gourd Aryballos. Formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection.

Bibl.: Hoppin, p. 21; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ*, p. 129, note 126.

Provenience: Acquired in 1897; its present location is unknown.

Height, 0.105 m.; diameter, 0.093 m.

Shape: So-called "Pilgrim's bottle," similar to the ring aryballos; see P. N. Ure, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 46, no. 5. There is a strap handle from the rounded lip to the rim. One side is flat, the other (outer) convex. There is a very

similar gourd aryballos from Thebes in the Hague, *CVA*, Pays Bas 18, Musée Scheuleer, fasc. 1, pl. 6, no. 7, but without inscription; see also Menaides 3.

Inscription: *Φιθάδας ἐμ' ἐποίησε*, painted on the rim.

2. Ring Aryballos. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, IV 1864. Pl. 45, e-f.

Bibl.: F. Eichler, *Glotta*, XVIII, 1929/30, pp. 1-4.

Provenience: Acquired in 1896, from Thebes. Height, 0.091 m.

Shape: Tubular ring aryballos with slightly flattened sides. Profile of lip is round; the handle is missing.

Clay: Light gray.

Paint: Brownish black and white.

Decoration: On rim, there are three zones of alternating vertical and slanting lines, then a band of large black circles with white dot rosettes inside, finally a band of small dots. On the sides narrow and wide bands, and one zone of slanting tongue-like lines.

Inscription: *Φιθ(άδας) ἐμ' ἐποίησε*, scratched on the inside of the ring.

Acknowledgments: F. Eichler, R. Noll.

#### POLON

1. Fragment of Aryballos. Paris, Louvre.

Bibl.: *CVA*, France 9, pl. 385, Louvre 6, pl. 1, no. 6.

Provenience: Acquired in 1887, said to come from Thebes.

Inscription: *Πόλον ἐμ' ἐποίησε*, incised; Pottier doubted the genuineness of the inscription.

2. Plastic Vase ending in a bull's head. Paris, Louvre, CA 938. Pl. 50, a-d.

Bibl.: M. I. Maximova, *Vases plastiques*, p. 108, note 1; J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford*, p. 105 note 5.

Shape: Only the bull's head is rendered in detail. The wide opening is said to be characteristic of Boeotian plastic vases; see K. Tuchelt,

*Tiergefässe*, pp. 94-97. The bull's eyes were hollowed out and were possibly set in separately.

Decoration: The face of the bull has dots painted on it to represent the skin (as on Corinthian monkeys and lions). There are also three laddered loops enclosing solid tongues on both sides of the eyes and between them; the same decoration appears on two ring aryballoi of Mnasalkes (2 and 3). There is a black boukranion painted between the ears on the forehead, with careful incisions to mark eyes, nose, eyebrows, and mouth. There are heavily engraved lines marking the folds around the eyes and mouth of the bull; see the similar face of the Oxford bull in Boardman, *op. cit.*, p. 108, no. 402, pl. XXXVIII.

Down the middle of the spine is a band reserved for the painted inscription. To the left and right of this band is a series of laddered chevrons filled with black triangles; see Mnasalkes 2. The corners between the chevrons are filled with an ornament which resembles an alpha with a broken middle hasta; see the similar ornament on the shoulders of Proto-geometric stirrup jars from Crete, J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, nos. 158, 219, pp. 18-20, 26, pls. 12, 138, 141.

On the main part of the body, running from one side of the bull's head to the other, a heroic scene is painted. This scene is flanked on the left by a griffin rendered in black-figured technique with well drawn incisions, and on the right side by a recumbent animal the head of which cannot be seen clearly enough for identification. The main scene consists of a man with his right leg stretched back and with his left leg bent forward, and with his right arm bent at the elbow, that is, in a pose familiar from representations of Herakles. Of his adversary not enough is preserved to allow an identification; see the similar representation on the chest of a Boeotian bird-faced figurine illustrated by F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, fig. 14.

The neck of the vase is wide open (see, for comparison, Tuchtelt, *op. cit.*, pl. 23) and it is decorated with a zigzag and a palmette set in the corner of a chevron. The palmette consists

of carefully drawn petals which grow out of a strawberry shaped hatched core.

Inscription: Πόλον ἐπόεσε, painted on the back, beginning at the bull's head.

Acknowledgments: J. Boardman, D. v. Bothmer, P. Devambez, H. Hoffman, Annie Ure.

3. Plastic Vase in the shape of a coiled snake. Paris, Louvre, CA 638. Pl. 51, c.

Bibl.: Robinson and Harcum, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 40-41; W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, p. 257 ("the inscription is modern"); J. Boardman, *J.H.S.*, LXXXI, 1961, Arch. Reports, pp. 55-56 ("probably a forgery"); J. Ducat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, p. 433, note 2.

Shape: The last loop of the snake forms the mouth of the vase which is like a ring aryballos with a hole in the middle. J. Boardman notes (in a letter) that the vase "had burst in the firing so could not have been used as a vase" (i.e. to contain any liquid).

There are two similar plastic vases in the form of snakes in Toronto (Pl. 51, a, courtesy of Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto; Robinson and Harcum, *op. cit.*, acquired in 1898 from the Tyszkiewicz collection) and in Oxford (Pl. 51, b; Boardman, *loc. cit.*) respectively. The Oxford snake comes from the Helbing collection (as does Polon 4) and carries the inscription Γρύτες Ἑρμαῖαι ἔδοκε incised on the outer coil (see Mnasalkes 3 for the use of ἔδοκε).

Decoration: The scales were made with a small punch in the form of a horseshoe. It seems that the scales on the Toronto and Oxford snakes were made with the same instrument. The heads of these two snakes are also alike and painted in a similar manner. The Louvre and the Oxford snakes have chevrons painted on their coils while the Toronto snake has a reticulate pattern.

Inscription: Πόλον ἐμ' ἐπόεσε, incised in heavy strokes on the outer coil. The inscription seems to be by the same hand as that on the animal head (4) and on the monkey (5).

Acknowledgments: J. Boardman, D. v. Bothmer, P. Devambez, Erika Diehl.

4. Plastic Vase in the shape of an animal's head. Paris, Louvre, CA 1634. Pl. 51, d-e.  
Bibl.: *Katalog Helbing*, Mai 1-2, 1899, p. 14, no. 286.

Provenience: Attica.

Height, 0.08 m.

Shape: Head of a fantastic animal with the teeth of a rodent, surmounted by an aryballos neck and mouth with strap handle. Snake-like plastic locks surround the face. For comparison, see the lion's head from Syracuse, J. Ducat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 436-439, and the two Rhodian lion's heads in the British Museum, R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, II, nos. 1633 and 1634, pl. 14.

Decoration: Painted are the eyes, some of the hair, and the plastic locks. There were also incisions marking the eyes and the teeth.

Inscription: Πόλον ἐμ' ἐποίησε, incised on the rear part of the head in letters which resemble closely those on the snake vase in the Louvre (3) and on the monkey in Boston (5).

Acknowledgments: D. v. Bothmer, P. Devambez.

5. Plastic Vase in the shape of a seated monkey. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.115. Pl. 51, f-g.

Bibl.: A. Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, no. 502, pl. XLIX; G. M. A. Richter, *Animals*, pl. LVIII, 85; W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, p. 257, no. 387.

Shape: There is an opening on top of the monkey's head.

Clay: Dull, coarse gray, like that of the foot signed by Gryton (2).

Paint: Pure black dots on the face.

Inscription: Πόλον ἐμ' ἐποίησε, incised on the back of the monkey, along the spine, by the same hand as the inscriptions on the snake (3) and

on the animal head (4). The inscription was considered modern by L. D. Caskey (on the Museum's inventory card) and by McDermott (*op. cit.*).

Acknowledgments: C. C. Vermeule, III.

## PROKLEES

The vase in the shape of a female head with the inscription Προκλέες ἐποίησε is here excluded although it was found in Tanagra; see Hoppin, pp. 318-319. J. D. Beazley, *Attic B.-F. Vase Painters*, p. 350. It is now exhibited in the Museum in Charlottenburg (7449 = F 2202) among the archaic Attic vases.

## THEOZOTOS

Also excluded (but illustrated on Pl. 52, c-d) is the kyathoid vase in the Louvre (F 69) with the signature of Theozotos; see Hoppin, pp. 352-353; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, p. 349. As a work of art, this vase belongs to the Attic tradition although its potter may have been a Boeotian and although it shows Boeotian originality and affinity to the oinochoe signed by Gamedes (1) in shape, figural representation, and ornaments. The signature Θεόζωτος μ' ἐποίησε also belongs to the Attic tradition of the third quarter of the sixth century.

## TEISIAS

Also excluded are the vases with the signatures of Teisias, in Toronto (Robinson-Harcum, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151) and from Rhitsona (P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 34; *Black Glazed Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 9) although he evidently worked in Boeotia. Teisias signed himself, however, as an Athenian; see Hoppin, pp. 347-349.

## ORIGIN AND SHAPE

The vases collected in this catalogue have been found in Boeotia (Gamedes 1, 2; Gryton 2; Menaidas 1; Mnasalkes 1, 2; Phithadas 2; Polon 1) or they are of unknown provenience; none has been found in an excavation and none can be attributed to an area outside Boeotia.

Best known are the ring aryballoi which were identified and described by P. N. Ure.<sup>2</sup> To his list can now be added Gryton 1, Mnasalkes 3, Phithadas 2, and the "pilgrim's bottles" Menaidas 3 and Phithadas 1. The cross section of these Boeotian ring aryballoi is in general rectangular and not round like that of the Corinthian examples, but the outer side of the Boeotian vases is sometimes convex, the inner side flat. The lip is not square as on the Corinthian aryballoi but conical or round in profile. The clay is not only yellowish brown but often of a rose beige shade. One of the most characteristic decorative elements is the laddered loop (or horseshoe), alone or combined with the laddered chevron; see Mnasalkes 2 and 3 and Polon 2. Ure observed<sup>3</sup> that all these ring aryballoi belong to about one generation which may be dated around the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Less well defined and less well known, because not treated as a group, are the plastic vases of Boeotia which seem to draw their inspiration from the Ionic East as well as from Corinth.<sup>4</sup> In this catalogue the only plastic vases are those with the signatures of Gryton (1) and Polon (2, 3, 4, 5), and these are all unique. Even some of the ordinary vases with signatures have unique shapes (Menaidas 1, 4, 5).

One type of tall-necked oinochoe has been recently studied by R. Elgnowski<sup>5</sup> and attributed to Boeotia; one of the examples carries the signature of Gamedes (1). Another group of vases, the exaleiptra, has been examined by I. Scheibler<sup>6</sup> and attributed to Boeotia; none of the known examples has a signature, but one<sup>7</sup> has a painted *καλός*-inscription.

The ingenuity and independence of the early Boeotian potters is thus well attested by the shapes of the vases which they made.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 38-50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> M. Robertson, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 41-50; J. Schäfer, *Studien zu den griechischen Relief-pithoi*, p. 89; J. Boardman, *B.S.A.*, LII, 1957, p. 9; J. Ducat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, p. 433, note 2; K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefässe*, pp. 94-97.

<sup>5</sup> *Festschrift E. v. Mercklin*, pp. 32-40.

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXXIX, 1964, pp. 90, 95-96.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 16; see our Pl. 52, a-b.



## INSCRIPTIONS AND DATE

Pride in his skill as a potter must have been one of the reasons for the makers of vases to add their signatures. This was certainly true of the earliest potter signatures which belong to the seventh century.<sup>8</sup> Compared with these scattered examples of early signatures the material presented in this catalogue represents one large single group. That this group belongs to Boeotia and to the early sixth century is indicated not only by the shape and decoration of the pottery but also by the inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> Characteristic are the round-topped alpha and pi, the round delta, and the chi in the form of an Ionic psi.

Only one of the vases (Gamedes 1) can be dated independently because of its shape and decoration. To it may be added the exaleiptron in Berlin (V. J. 4859; see Pl. 52, a-b) published by O. Kern<sup>10</sup> and dated by I. Scheibler<sup>11</sup> to ca. 575 B.C. The inscription on the underside of the cover (Pl. 52, b) is cursively painted, while that on the rim (Fig. 1) may be compared with the other painted signatures on our vases. N. Kunisch, to whom we owe the fine drawing, informs us that the inscription on the rim should be read: Πολυτ[ι]μίδας καλὸς Πανχύτ[οε] vac. εἶναε. Another piece for comparison is the so-called roof tile from the Ptoon sanctuary<sup>12</sup> which may be the upper part of a ladle or strainer. It carries a metrical inscription.<sup>13</sup> The letter forms of this inscription resemble rather closely those of the incised signatures, and they are dated, though not independently, around the middle of the sixth century. It seems likely, therefore, that the signatures as a group belong to the first half of the sixth century.

There are few differences among the signatures to suggest a relative chronology: three-stroke or four-stroke sigma, sometimes reversed; use or omission of the digamma. Gamedes, Mnasalkes, and Polon omit digamma while Gryton, Menaidas, and Phithadas have it. On the other hand, Gryton, Mnasalkes, Phithadas, the Oxford snake (see Polon 3), and the painted Polon signature (2) have four-stroke sigma, while Gamedes, Menaidas, and the incised Polon signatures have three-stroke sigma. Thus the evidence is inconclusive. Nor can one deduce much from the spelling: use or omission of the augment, inclusion or exclusion of the iota in ἐποίησε, omission of the nu ephelkystikon. Gamedes and the painted Polon signature (2) have ἐπόεσε, and Mnasalkes omits the augment consistently. Menaidas, Phithadas, and Polon (3, 4, 5)

<sup>8</sup> See the surveys by L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 83-84, 88 (no. 22), 230-231, 234 (no. 2), 270 note 3, 338, 343, 377 (no. 42e); P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 274-275; L. H. Jeffery, *B.S.A.*, LIX, 1964, pp. 45-49.

<sup>9</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 89-90, 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae*, pp. IX-X, pl. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*, in note 6.

<sup>12</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 92, no. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Well illustrated by P. Guillon, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, p. 27, fig. 2.

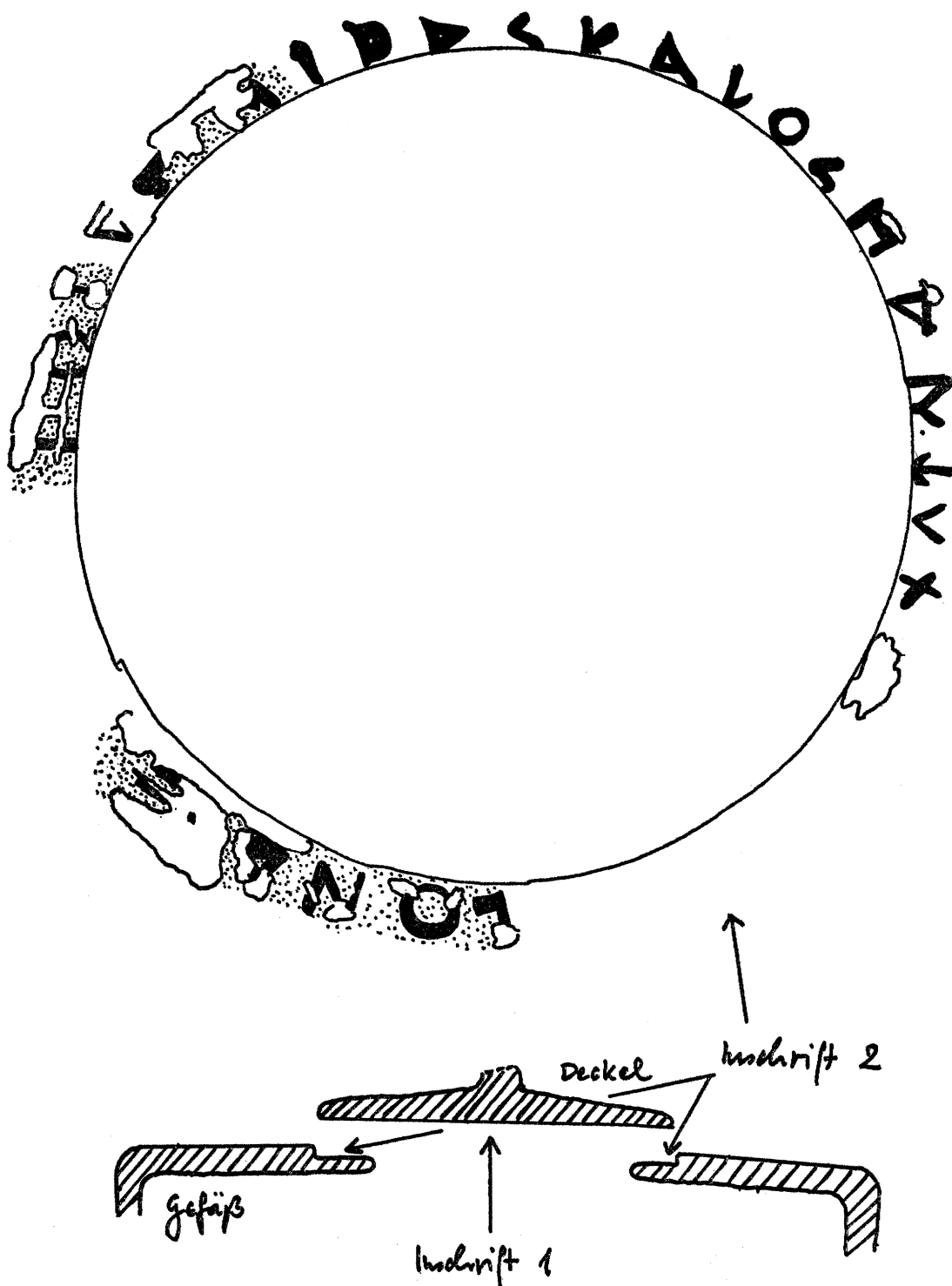


FIG. 1. Painted Inscription on Rim of Berlin Exaleipteron, with Cross Section of Upper Part of Vase showing Positions of the Two Inscriptions (Drawing by N. Kunisch)

use the pronoun ἐμέ, normally elided to ἐμ' ἐποίεσε; only in one signature (4) does Menaidas sign ἐμὲ ἐποίεσε. There is no example of final nu in ἐποίεσε or ἔδοκε. Once again, no conclusion can be drawn from this evidence for a relative or absolute chronology.

There can be no doubt, of course, that the painted signatures are contemporary with the vases on which they appear: Gamedes 1, Mnasalkes 1 and 2, Phithadas 1, Polon 2. In the case of the incised inscriptions, however, it must be examined whether or not they were incised before firing. In the case of the incised signature of Gamedes (2) a laboratory analysis (for which we are grateful to Ann Birchall) shows that the name was incised before firing, and in the case of the Menaidas signature in Bonn (4) analysis by Greifenhagen, confirmed by Christiane Grunwald, suggests that the incision was perhaps done before firing. In the case of the other incised signatures no such proof has been offered, but it should be noted that there is no reason why a potter should not sign his name on a vase after it was fired.

### SIGNATURES

The majority of the signatures contain only the potter's name and the verb, sometimes with the addition of ἐμέ which lets the vase speak to the reader, a device well known from the signatures of sculptors. There are, however, also several longer inscriptions in this group which represent a type hitherto unknown among signatures; these have a name added in the dative case "Menaidas made me for Charops" (1, 2, 3, 4, 5); "Gorgias (gave me) to Apollo" (Menaidas 5); "Mnasalkes made (me) for Empediondas, but he (i.e. Empediondas) gave it, bringing it as a gift of love, to Aischylos" (Mnasalkes 3); "Grytes gave (me) to Hermaia" (see under Polon 3). To these certain examples may be added the inscription "Pyrrhos made me ('the son of' or 'for') Agasileos," which is painted on a Protocorinthian-shaped lekythos in Boston.<sup>14</sup> As Miss Jeffery judiciously observed,<sup>15</sup> "the impression that Pyrrhos, who made this ordinary little pot, only inscribed it thus for some personal reason remains even if we reject the dative . . . and read here a genitive instead." Of course, in all the other cases the dative is clearly used and there must have been a personal connection between the potter and the person for whom he made the vase.

This interpretation does not offer any difficulty in the case of Grytes' gift to Hermaia (see under Polon 3) or Mnasalkes' to Empediondas<sup>16</sup> and Empediondas' to Aischylos (Mnasalkes 3). It is surprising, however, to find this expression used for Gorgias' gift to Apollo (Menaidas 5) and for Menaidas' to Charops (Menaidas 1-5), if Charops is but another name for Herakles.<sup>17</sup> And yet, there is a clear and

<sup>14</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 84, 88 no. 22.

<sup>15</sup> *B.S.A.*, LIX, 1964, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> For the name Empediondas see *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> See Pausanias, IX, 27 (6), 32 (2), 34 (5); N. G. Papadakis, *Δελτίον*, II, 1916, pp. 235-256; W. Peek, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1940, pp. 26-29.

contemporary example from neighboring Eretria of the hero's name used in this case and in this position: <sup>18</sup> [— — —]δρος τοῖ Ἡρακλεῖ ποίϛ[εσε]. The last three preserved letters **OIF** run downward to avoid the handle, and this means that not more than the three restored letters are missing, and that this inscription follows the same formula as the Boeotian signatures discussed here. The inscription on the clay ladle or strainer from the Ptoon sanctuary (see above, p. 162) may also be mentioned here because, in spite of its fragmentary state, the verb ποίϛεσε has to be connected with the dative *φάνακτι*, and it must be presumed that Echestrotos *made* the dedication to Apollo. Evidently the dative was used for gods, heroes, and mortals, and once the vase had been made by the potter for one person, this person might pass on the gift to another. We do not know how Gorgias could give to Apollo what Menaidas had made for Charops, but there is no reason to question the interpretation as a whole.

ISABELLE K. RAUBITSCHKE

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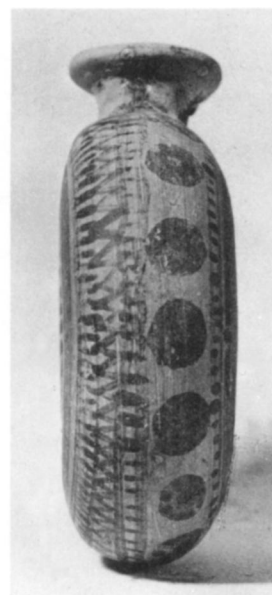
<sup>18</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 85, 87 no. 10.



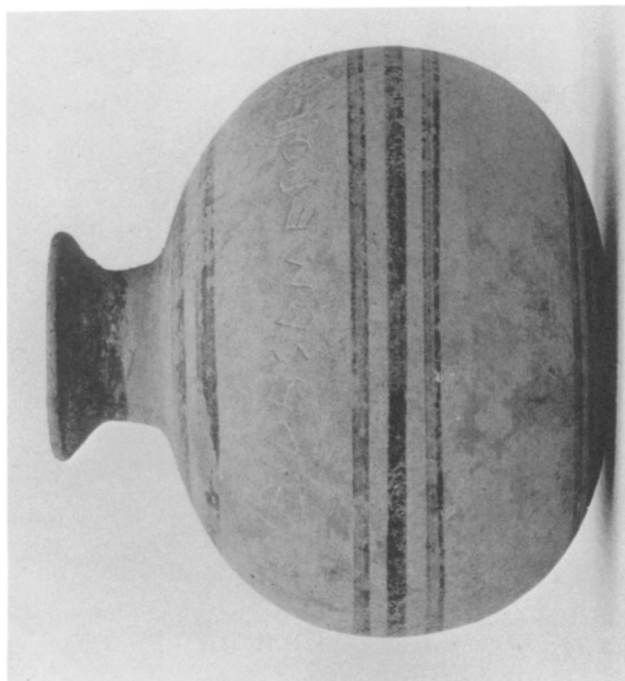
a-b. Gryton 1. Berlin, Antiquarium.



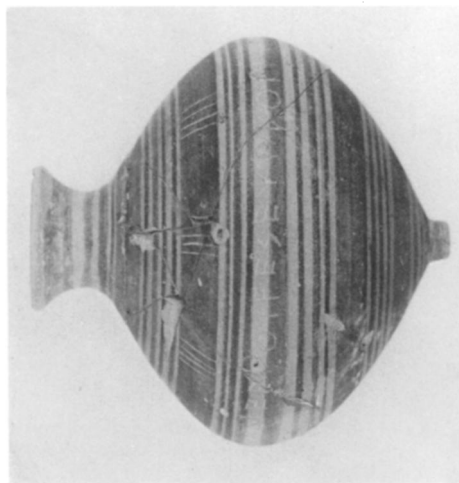
c-d. Gryton 2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



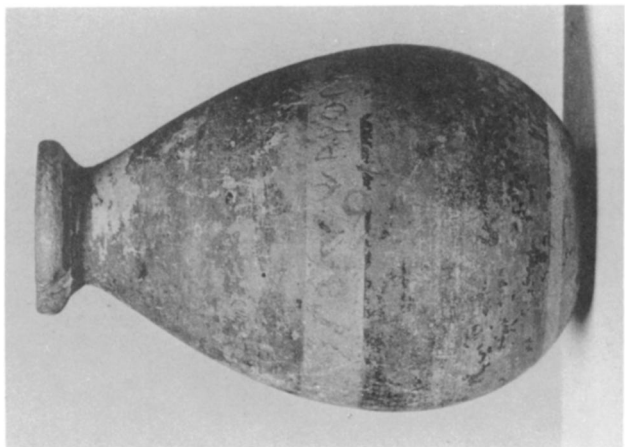
e-f. Phithadas 2. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



a. Menaidas 1. Paris, Louvre.



c. Menaidas 4. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum.



d. Menaidas 5. Heidelberg, Archäologisches Museum der Universität.



b. Menaidas 1. Paris, Louvre.

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a. Menaidas 5. Heidelberg, Archäologisches Museum der Universität.



b. Menaidas 4. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum.

ISABELLE K. RAUBITSCHKE: EARLY BOEOTIAN POTTERS

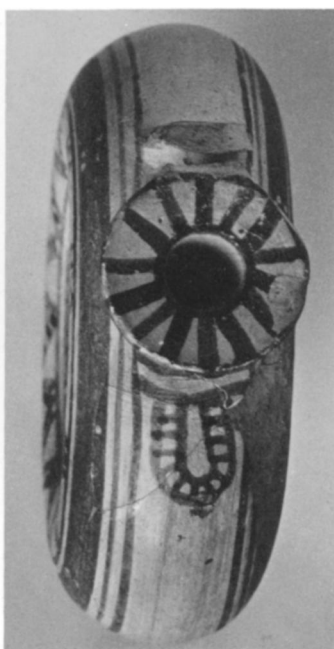




c-d. Mnasalkes 3. Soluthurn, Collection Dr. R. Schmidt.



a-b. Mnasalkes 1. Athens, National Museum.

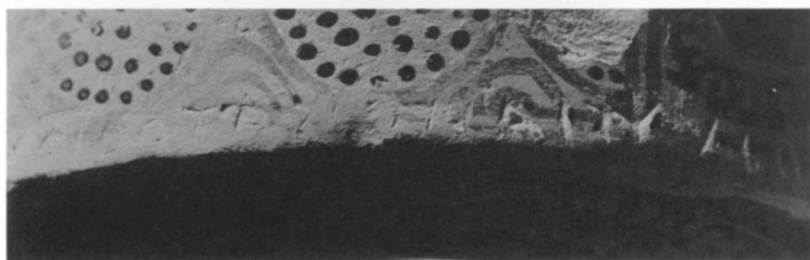
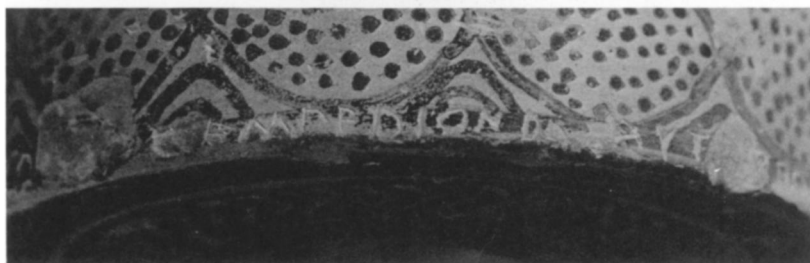


e-g. Mnasalkes Unsigned. Munich.





a-c. Mnasalkes 2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



d. Mnasalkes 3. Soluthurn, Collection Dr. R. Schmidt.



a-d. Polon 2. Paris, Louvre.

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a. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (cf. Polon 3).



b. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (cf. Polon 3).



d-e. Polon 4. Paris, Louvre.



c. Polon 3. Paris, Louvre.



f-g. Polon 5. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



a-b. Exaleipteron. Berlin, Antiquarium.



c-d. Theozotos. Paris, Louvre.