

FRAGMENTS BY THE KLEOPHRADES PAINTER FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 7-12)

AT least six vases by the Kleophrades Painter, with another near him in his earliest period, are represented by fragments from the Athenian Agora.¹ The

¹ Preliminary work on this paper was done when the writer was a student at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1957. Professors H. A. Thompson and Eugene Vanderpool kindly gave me the opportunity of studying the material at that time; for help and criticism I am further indebted to Professor Machteld Mellink and Mrs. B. S. Ridgway of Bryn Mawr College and to Professor P. E. Corbett of London University; I am especially grateful to Miss L. Talcott for her help at several stages of this paper. The drawings on Plate 7 are by Hero Athanassiades; the photographs are by Alison Frantz.

In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following short titles are used:

ABV—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1956.

Arias, Hirmer and Shefton—P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. B. Shefton, *Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1963.

A.K.—*Antike Kunst*, Basle, Switzerland, from 1958.

*ARV*²—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1963.

Beazley, *DABF*—J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951.

Beazley, *VA*—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, 1918.

Blümel, *Sport*—C. Blümel, *Sport der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1936.

Bothmer, *Amazons*—D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957.

Brommer—F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur Griechischen Heldensage*, Marburg, 1960.

Caskey and Beazley—L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, I, London, 1931; II, Boston, 1954.

FR—A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold and others, *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*, 3 vols., Munich, 1904-1932.

Gardiner, *GAS*—N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London, 1910.

Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*—B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, Berlin, 1925-1933.

KI—J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, Berlin, 1933.

Langlotz, *Würzburg*—E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich, 1932.

von Lücken—G. von Lücken, *Greek Vase Painting*, the Hague, 1921.

Lullies and Hirmer—R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit*, Munich, 1953.

Olympia-Bericht—*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Bericht über die Ausgrabung in Olympia*: II. E. Kunze and H. Schleif, Berlin, 1938; VI. E. Kunze, Berlin, 1958; VII. E. Kunze, Berlin, 1961.

Pfuhl—E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, Munich, 1923.

Richter and Hall—G. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936.

Schildbänder—E. Kunze, *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Olympische Forschungen II, Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin, 1950.

For vases the most conveniently available or cogent illustration is usually cited, as well as the *ARV*² reference.

shapes included are stamnos, calyx krater, psykter and Panathenaic amphora. The pieces here numbered **1-7** all appear in Sir John Beazley's lists,² but only one has been previously published and the importance of the painter makes it worthwhile to present them in detail, and to attempt to determine their place in the history of the artist's development during the first half of his career.

1. Fragment: Stamnos (?) Herakles with Club. Pl. 7.

P 7241. D 7:2, P. H. 0.095 m. *ARV*² 189, 79; Caskey and Beazley, II, p. 8, C 5; Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases, A Survey*, New Haven, 1946, p. 67, note 19.

Wall and shoulder fragment. Outside: good black glaze; small chip between clavicles; red discoloration on left shoulder, pectoral, hand and wrist. Inside: unglazed; traces of burning, after breaking, along the right hand edge and inside, extending from the tongue pattern to below the rock.

Hair contour incised, elsewhere relief contour. The moustache in dark brown glaze; the outline of the lower lip, the shoulder and arm muscles, and the lion skin are in diluted glaze, now worn. The sequence of painting is noteworthy: the club appears to have been painted in outline first, the exterior knobs and the hand of Herakles were then set on top and the glazed lines inside these knobs and the hand were *erased*. (Corrections were similarly made on the pointed amphora, Munich 2344: FR, I, p. 235; *ARV*² 182, 6). The traces of the original lines are visible, especially in the knobs nearest the nape. The short glaze stroke below Herakles's wrist appears to be a false start for the edge of the lion skin. Rock shows in the area below and to the right of Herakles's elbow and in a small segment along the lower break. To the right of the rock, at the fragment's corner, is a minute triangle of some unidentifiable object; see drawing. Above Herakles's head appear some of the square-ended tongues with unglazed centers from the border.

This fragment, from the Kleophrades Painter's extremely early period, was originally inventoried as a psykter. The profile drawing shows, however, not the gradually flaring line of a psykter shoulder but rather the high-set angular curvature of the shoulder of a stamnos.³ The subject, a favorite one, is Herakles. The hero is drawn gripping his club in his left hand. His large rolling eye stares towards his extended (but lost) right arm. The enlarged pupil and raised eyebrow give an impression of intense interest; the downstroke to the mouth hints at self assurance. At his back, tossed over a rock, lies his lion skin.

At first glance the hero seems to be resting, leaning against the rock; perhaps he gestures with his free hand towards some companion or stretches out a kylix or a kantharos,⁴ asking for more wine. In this case he must be sitting on something, pre-

² *ABV* 406, 6: **7**; *ARV*² 185, 38: **3**; 185, 39: **4**; 186, 41: **2**; 186, 46: **4** (part); 189, 79: **1**; 191, 99: **6**; 193, 1: **5** "near." A fragment of a black-figured neck-amphora from the Agora is also noted as recalling those by the Kleophrades Painter, P 19879: *ARV*² 194, iv a, 2.

³ The border pattern is not like that of the Kleophrades Painter's two other psykters which have solid tongues bordered by a glazed line; reserved band beneath. But if this fragment is from a stamnos, its pattern is equally unusual among stamnoi of the Kleophrades Painter, a divergence perhaps explained by the earliness of the piece. (I have not seen Florence V 15: *ARV*² 187, 60 nor Louvre C 10748: *ARV*² 187, 55, to compare patterns.)

⁴ See, e.g. Basle, Private: K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basle, 1960, p. 194, no. 208. Cup. Herakles sitting on a stool, his club resting on his left arm, in his right hand a phiale. Berlin 2534: *ARV*² 826, 25; E. Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Berlin, 1848, pl. 8. Cup by the Painter of Louvre G 456. Herakles holding a kantharos, but close to his body.

sumably a continuation of the rock. Granted that the ground line of the picture may be high up on the vase,⁵ the rocky seat would, it seems, need to be extremely large in order to fill the space beneath the figure, and it would have to be of a curious shape in order to serve both as seat and as elbow rest.⁶ Herakles is not however leaning against the rock; his figure nowhere touches it; in fact it looks as if the artist had gone to some trouble to leave a narrow strip of background between his body and the rock, just above the wrist. More likely Herakles is upright, standing near the rock, his left elbow in front of, not resting upon it. The strong slant apparent in his chest contour would then not be that of a person leaning, but the curve of a swiftly moving figure.⁷ The firm grip with which he holds his club,⁸ his alert expression, and the position of his head, high in the picture field, are features which contribute to the impression that the hero is standing and active.

If Herakles resting is not the subject matter, we must ask ourselves what is. Since Herakles directs his attention backwards towards something which he threatens with his raised club, a possible identification among the Labors is the scene where he drags Kerberos up from Tartaros. There are good parallels for the subject in the work of the early red-figure cup-painters,⁹ where the rightward rushing movement, the raised club, extended arm and backward glance may all be found. An objection to this interpretation lies in the fact that for such an undertaking the hero should be wearing the lion skin; it should not be thrown carelessly over a rock. Indeed in his encounter with Kerberos he needed it particularly, as protection against the venomous fangs of the monster's serpent tail. Moreover in the many representations of Herakles on vases by the Kleophrades Painter (at least seventeen)¹⁰ there is none in which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the hero appears without the skin, except of course in his initial struggle, with the lion. If the reconstruction of the pose, as suggesting

Louvre G 11: *ARV*² 180 above; Pfuhl, pl. 342. Cup, near the Carpenter Painter. Herakles holds out a kylix.

⁵ As on the painter's Philadelphia stamnos, L-64.185: *ARV*² 187, 62; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 452.

⁶ Cf. the satyr's rocky couch on the kotyle Brussels R 258: *ARV*² 973, 18; *CVA*, 2(2), pl. 19(72), 2 b, by the Lewis Painter.

⁷ Herakles, when opposing the bull on the Olympia metope, stands with a very pronounced thoracic curve; G. Rodenwaldt and W. Hege, *Olympia*, Berlin, 1937, pl. 72.

⁸ The firm grip on the raised club is most unusual for a resting Herakles, but it does occur on a hydria by the Painter of the Munich Amphora, Compiègne 1054: *ARV*² 246, 10; *CVA*, 1(3), pl. 15 (113), 3. In general, when Herakles rests with his club up, his grip is relaxed; cf. *ARV*² 1727, index: Herakles reclining or resting, and *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 178 (Trendall).

⁹ Berlin inv. 3232: *ARV*² 117, 2; *Jahrb.*, VIII, 1893, pl. 2, 1, Cup by the Epidromos Painter. Boston 01.8025: *ARV*² 163, 6; Pfuhl 356; Caskey and Beazley, I, pl. 1, Plate by the Cerberus Painter.

Würzburg 472: *ARV*² 137, middle; Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 141. Cup, not far from the Aktorione Painter.

¹⁰ *ARV*² 181-193: 2, 10, 12, 13, 42, 49, 51, 59, 62, 66, 70, 78, 103, 106; I have no information on numbers 64, 67, 79.

the Kerberos encounter, may be accepted, the casual disposition of the skin might, however, be regarded as consistent with the early experimental character of the piece, painted before the artist's version of his favorite hero had become standardized.

The early character of the fragment shows in its Euthymidean touches; the solid black eye and the face seen against the shoulder stand out among other renderings. An old-fashioned trait that continues for some time in the artist's work is the retention of incision around the head. Further characteristics of the painter's early style are the large heavy body-form and the big head with its equally big features (in later work the face and gestures diminish in scale), the large aquiline nose and nostril-hook (which later, among other forms, appears as an 's' curve and then becomes a simplified arc); the unbordered lips, the ear with its central dash, the large eye with its big, solid black iris, and the black hooks of the clavicles.

The revelers on the Würzburg amphora,¹¹ painted by the Kleophrades Painter before 500 B.C., are contemporary with our Herakles. Individual renderings are similar¹² even though our drawing is careless in comparison; for example, the lines for neck, clavicles and pectorals are disorderly;¹³ the nostril hook is set too far back and no extra care was lavished on the lion skin which lacks the usual darker neck ruff, scalloped border around the mouth¹⁴ and tufts of fur edging the mane.¹⁵

2. Calyx-Krater Fragment: Bearded Head. Pl. 8.

P 17211. Area A 20. P. H. 0.053 m. *ARV*² 186, 41; *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 211, pl. 47, 2; *A.K.*, I, 1958, p. 8, note 1 (Beazley).

Wall fragment, from near top; a little of the reserved band below the rim is preserved. Inside: glossy black.

Relief contour used throughout except the beard. Hair contour reserved. The fillet in purple paint; fairly thick diluted glaze for iris and pupil, thinner glaze for the muscle or tendon of the neck.

Early, but not so early as the Herakles piece, is the calyx-krater fragment preserving the head of a bearded man standing and facing right. Related stylistically are the New York calyx-krater¹⁶ and that in Tarquinia.¹⁷ The nose forms are similar,

¹¹ Würzburg 507: *ARV*² 180, 1; FR, pl. 103.

¹² Among the male revelers, note the simple nostril hook, the unbordered lips, the wavy edged moustache. Cf. the early psykter, Compiègne 1068: *ARV*² 188, 66; *CVA*, 1(3), pl. 16 (114), 1-2; similar eye outline, beard, moustache, unbordered lips and club of Herakles, nostril hooks of others.

¹³ For the clavicle hooks which do not come together see the athletes on the neck-amphora Vienna 3723: *ARV*² 193; von Lücken, pls. 83-84, listed as near the painter in his early period.

¹⁴ This is hard to see but the black area at the right edge of the fragment is the space between the lion's jaws.

¹⁵ For these details see the lion skin on the Compiègne psykter (note 12 above); detail, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 107, fig. 10 or on the later neck-amphora, New York 13.233: Richter and Hall, pl. 15; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 107, fig. 12, which is later. On the early Vatican amphora: *ARV*² 182, 3; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 107, fig. 11, the neck ruff is not darker but the other details appear. The dilute glaze wash that here distinguishes the lion skin from the rock is a particular mannerism of the Kleophrades Painter.

¹⁶ New York 08.258.58: *ARV*² 185, 36; Richter and Hall, pls. 12-13.

¹⁷ Tarquinia RC 4196: *ARV*² 185, 35; *Kl.*, pls. 16-18; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton, figs. 119-121.

the large blunt-ended type that has just a faint depression to its outline. On the Agora piece the nostril is full, and drawn, as that of the trainer on the Tarquinia vase,¹⁸ side B, with the small 'c' of the nostril opening set beneath the tail of the large 'c' of the nostril itself. The dot-in-circle eye¹⁹ is used for the warriors of the New York krater. The man on our piece is talking, for his lips are parted.

3. Calyx-Krater Fragments: Youth and Old Man. Pl. 8.

P 20244. Area D 16. P. H. a) 0.048 m.; b) 0.065 m. *ARV*² 185, 38; *A.K.*, I, 1958, p. 8, note 1 (Beazley).

Two upper wall fragments: glossy black glaze inside. Relief line throughout except for the outline of the man's hair. Slightly diluted glaze for iris and pupil on a); dilute glaze for chiton folds and arm muscles on b). Creamy white for hair and beard. Red for the double fillet and the letter in the background of a).

Two extremely fine pieces, also from a calyx-krater and also of the same period as **2**, follow. It is possible, though not certain, that both of these come from the same side of the krater. Piece a) preserves the beautiful head of an old man. In the field is a fragmentary letter of his name,²⁰ but whether a Φ (of Phoinix; the white-bearded Phoinix of the Würzburg amphora,²¹ whose name extends out from before his head as here, leaps to mind) or a Θ is unclear. Whoever he is, he has aged handsomely. Although turned white, his curly hair and jutting beard are abundant. His eyebrow contrasts in its blackness. He wears a double fillet and carries a staff or scepter at a slant. He stands and is talking, possibly to the personage on b) who, since he stands dressed in a crinkly chitoniskos and heavy cloak,²² is setting out for a journey, and could be Hermes or a herald. His right arm is drawn back, possibly to carry a staff or caduceus.²³ Even if the old man is Phoinix and the younger is Hermes we cannot be sure they confront each other, for one may stand on the front, the other on the back of the krater.

The face of the old man, his long pointed nose, the 's' curve of his nostril, the eye and lip forms are to be found among the maenads on the Munich pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, particularly the maenad with a snake wrapped round

¹⁸ Note 17; see especially *KL*, pl. 17.

¹⁹ The Kleophrades Painter at first uses the dot-in-circle eye for women only, but he soon adopts it for men too.

²⁰ The Kleophrades Painter feels no compulsion to name his figures for his interest lies not in mere names but in people. The Vivenzio hydria (*ARV*² 189, 74) serves as an example; it has no names and hardly needs them. This is not to say that names never appear (i.e. Würzburg 508: amphora, *ARV*² 182, 5; and the Theseus cup, Cab. Méd. 536: *ARV*² 191, 104) but just that the Kleophrades Painter is interested in character, emotions, movements, and is not inclined to tag each person with a name.

²¹ Würzburg 508: *ARV*² 182, 5; Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 176.

²² The section of the cloak that hangs down the back is visible beneath the chitoniskos sleeve.

²³ As on the column krater by the Painter of Bologna 228, Ferrara T 308: *ARV*² 511, 5; N. Alfieri and P. Arias, *Spina*, Florence, 1958, pl. 27.

her arm.²⁴ The date of our fragments must be close to that vase, a work then early in the mature phase of this artist.

4. Calyx-Krater Fragments: A, Achilles in Retirement. B, Fight. Pls. 9, 10.

P 6103, P 10509, P 18278, P 19582. Found in various places along the west side of the Agora area, from near the Tholos and southward.²⁵ Fifteen fragments, some mended; here lettered a)-o). Diameter at rim est. ca. 0.58 m.; P. H. of largest fragment, i), 0.13 m. *ARV*² 185, 39; *A.K.*, I, 1958, p. 8, note 1; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der Griechischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1965, fig. 72. Also, P 10509 (here o), *ARV*² 186, 46; Bothmer, *Amazons*, p. 151, no. 59, p. 156.

Of the fifteen fragments, six (a-f) come from the rim (b-f are not illustrated); five more (g-k) are wall fragments which may be assigned to Face A; on j) the reserved band beneath the picture is preserved. The remaining four fragments may be assigned to Face B: l) from the upper wall, m) and n) from the upper wall with the start of the rim, o), a wall piece.^{25a}

The fragments from the upper section of the krater have the glaze somewhat discolored and mottled, often to a whitish tinge. On o) the discoloration is reddish. Piece i) has a lustrous black glaze background. The interior of the krater is glossy black.

Relief contour used throughout except for the hair of the men and their beards. The frontal hair of Achilles is rendered by raised black glaze dots. Arm and neck muscles on m) are in thin glaze. Some signs of preliminary sketching in Achilles on i). His forefinger was longer in the first sketch. The inner and outer rim of the shield on o) is marked by relief lines and compass incised circles. The latter show traces of red miltos. Red for the fillet of Achilles.

These shattered bits from what must once have been a magnificent vase are tantalizing in the extreme; we may never be certain of the exact position of each piece nor of the details of the scenes which the two sides carried, but the quality and the subject matter require us to exhaust the possibilities, so far as we can, and to present a possible arrangement.

The fragments of the picture zone can be divided for the sake of convenience into two groups: group one consists of the heads and/or torsos of four clearly distinct people; the figures of group two are more fragmentary, with snatches only of bodies, clothing and armor. In the first group Achilles is the obvious starting point and he happens also to be the best preserved. The hero (i) is unmistakably Achilles, although no name remains, for he is young and sulking and sits with his bowed head supported on the palm of his right hand. His cloak is bunched high around the back of his head and neck, and cloakfolds cover much of his right forearm and drop well below his knee, leaving only his right shoulder bare. His eye is rolled dramatically upward towards

²⁴ Munich 2344: *ARV*² 182, 6; Lullies and Hirmer, pl. 46.

²⁵ Shattered at the time of the Persian sack, the vase became widely scattered. The fragments, appearing over a period of years, were recognized as belonging together by various members of the Agora staff and their colleagues, but the present writer must assume responsibility for the arrangement and interpretation suggested here.

^{25a} There is some question whether this piece belongs with the others of Face B here, or to another very similar vase. There is a difference in thickness between this fragment and the others, at relevant positions in the wall, of from 0.001 to 0.0015 m. Since considerable variation in thickness is to be found within a given large vase, my conclusion on examining the fragments was that the difference was not significant. Professor Corbett, however, tells me that he regards the difference as significantly great, and he would prefer to keep the piece separate.

some visitor. The combination of glance, muffling cloak and huddled attitude charge the scene with intense emotion. He sits on a klismos (j); a tiny scrap of its back leg and much of the front one, behind which protrudes the tip of a spear, remain.

A second person in the first group is a standing male (h), in frontal pose, head turned right. We have only the point of his dotted beard, a section of his naked chest and his left shoulder covered by his himation.

The third figure in this group is a woman (g) who stands turned right, holding out her arms, the left in advance. Her right thumb is just visible at the lower break. She is wearing a long-sleeved tight-fitting dress closely covered with a fine diamond shaped reticulation. Its high neck is bordered by two black bands.

The fourth person is a trumpeter (o), who has puffed his cheeks preparatory to blowing. His Attic helmet has the cheek guards either raised or missing. Its neck piece is square and a triple row of dots decorates the crest holder. Not enough of his shield is preserved to show the device, if it existed.

Of these four people, Achilles is the key figure for his peculiar pose restricts the scene to one of four occasions: ²⁶ 1) Achilles sulking while Briseis is led away from his tent by the heralds, 2) Achilles receiving Phoinix, who, accompanied by Aias and Odysseus with the heralds Ochos and Eurybates, attempts to placate Achilles, 3) Achilles mourning the death of Patroklos, 4) the mourning Achilles receiving his armor from Thetis.

The helmeted trumpeter does not belong in any of these four scenes; therefore he must come from the other side of the krater.

If we leave (h), the bearded man, and (g), the female figure, for a moment and turn to the fragments of the second group it is plain that they are part of some kind of armed fight and therefore belong on the trumpeter's side of the vase. One piece (m) gives the elbow area of a powerful right arm which is bent back over the head and is about to deliver a slashing blow on the unfortunate wearer of the helmet visible below,²⁷ who, judging by his height, is crouching or falling. Piece l) gives a shield thrust out in defense by a fighter, who attacking right, poises his spear for a downward thrust.²⁸ One can postulate that we have in m) and l) a three-figure group: the falling or crouching helmet-wearer attacked both from the right by the arm delivering the sword blow and also attacked (or possibly defended) from the left by the owner of the shield. The small helmet-segment on n) is difficult to place; it might be from the attacker on m) or from the trumpeter or from a figure not preserved, in

²⁶ M. Laurent, "L'Achille voilé dans les peintures de vases grecs," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIII, 1898, pp. 153-186, groups the muffled Achilles by the four scenes in which he occurs.

²⁷ This curved segment is clearly a helmet and not a shield. Cf. Kaineus attacked, on the stamnos Louvre G 55: *ARV*² 187, 58; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1901; *CVA*, 1 (1), pl. 7(45), 3.

²⁸ A common action; for one example see the Berlin Painter's stamnos, Munich 2406: *ARV*² 207, 137; Lullies and Hirmer, pl. 62.

which case n) would then add a fifth figure to the picture. The scene could even include a sixth figure if the shield-carrier is fighting his own separate battle against an unpreserved opponent.

The shield, l), is interesting because of its detail. Its interior is set apart from the exterior by a dilute glaze wash. Two close-set parallel lines mark the rim from the body. At the lower left a pair of lines indicate cords ²⁹ that swing across the decorated arm-band which is shown just up to and including the lower flange of the arm-buckle. To the left of this buckle is a dotted shield-cord ³⁰ from which hangs a five-strand tassel. The arm-band and buckle are elaborately decorated ³¹ with paired silhouette figures; those on the band appearing in squares stacked vertically. The trapezoidally ³² shaped buckle is painted with rampant heraldic lions; ³³ they face each other, legs braced apart, both forepaws touching, tails curled. The adjacent scene on the strap seems to show two standing figures, legs spread, arms held out; the left man (the

²⁹ Cf. the cords swinging across the attachment-end of the arm-strap, the five-strand tassels and the dilute-glaze interior on the shield of the kneeling Greek on the Vivenzio hydria, Naples 2422: *ARV*² 189, 74; *Kl.*, pl. 27; *FR*, pl. 34.

³⁰ For a dotted shield-cord see the shield of Achilles on the calyx-krater by the Tyszkiewicz Painter, Boston 97.368: *ARV*² 290, 1; Caskey and Beazley, II, pl. 35.

³¹ Within the artist's work there are no similarly elaborate bands and buckles. There are straps with trapezoidal staples but the straps are without silhouette scenes: cf. the neck amphora Harrow 55: *ARV*² 183, 11; *Kl.*, pl. 29, 1 and the cup London E 73: *ARV*² 192, 106; *Kl.*, pl. 32, 1. As for the silhouette mode of decoration, one example is the lizard painted on the shoulder-flap of the cuirass worn by the warrior on the New York calyx-krater, note 16, above.

Outside the artist's work and later in time, but close to the spirit of the Agora shield, are the elaborately decorated shields on the calyx-krater in the neighborhood of the Penthesilea Painter, Bologna 289: *ARV*² 891, middle; *FR*, pls. 75-76. No one of the shields on this vase duplicates the Agora fragment, but many bear elements of similarity. The shield of the first Greek has silhouette sphinxes on the buckle flanges, but the lower sphinx is upside down. The shield of the Amazon hoplite has sphinxes on the arm-strap flange, the lower placed like ours, with the lions right side up; but the technique is reserved, not black-figure. The shield of the second Greek has black-figure animals on the arm-strap but these animals are arranged in a row running along the strap-length and not set into boxes; moreover the buckle has no animals. Still later, on the Helen and Menelaos oinochoe in the Vatican: *ARV*² 1173, bottom; *FR*, pl. 170, 1, Menelaos's shield-strap is ornamented with two (?) sets of black-painted antithetical animals.

On the kantharos fragment by Nearchos in Athens, Acr. 612 b: *ABV* 83, 3; Graef, *Akropolis*, I, Berlin, 1909, pl. 36, a shield-strap is decorated with white-painted figures set in metopes which are stacked vertically, but these are single, not paired, figures.

³² The acute lower angles of the trapezoid, the proportions of the short top to long base, also the bordered bottom, may be considered late features in the development of the arm-buckle trapezoid. Cf. *Olympia-Bericht*, VI, pp. 82, but see also p. 90.

³³ Among remains of actual shields, a good comparison in respect to the trapezoidal staple and the use of lions and their orientation on the staple is the arm-buckle in Olympia, B 3382: *Bericht*, VI, pls. 21 right and 22. Heraldic lions were favored in this location on the shields found, *ibid.*, p. 88, but the lions on the shield of the Agora fragment differ from most bronze relief examples because they are rampant and face inward. However, one example of this less usual in-facing rampant lion motif does occur on an arm-band (not the buckle) from Olympia, B 1002: *Schildbänder*, pl. 48, no. 35 d and Beilage 3, no. 1.

aggressor) may be casting a spear.³⁴ Below stands a winged figure, a mistress of animals, who seems to hold a small animal in her right hand;³⁵ her left is empty, possibly an oversight as the design seems sketchy and incomplete. Beneath is a home-coming in which a figure moving left bends forward and touches in welcome a second person who stands facing him holding a spear to his shoulder.³⁶ The lowest picture is incomplete and preserves only the upper parts of two standing figures. The black-figure technique inside the shield clearly stands for relief work in metal,³⁷ and follows the models with unusual precision.

D. von Bothmer identifies the trumpeter o) as an Amazon.³⁸ The beardlessness of the face favors such an explanation but the trumpeter lacks an earring or long hair. If the dotted segment on the shield, l), is part of a sleeve, then the Amazonomachy theory carries more weight, but the dotted bit may actually be a shield cord. One would like to imagine such an appropriate subject as Achilles fighting Penthesilea on the krater's back, but the possibility has too little evidence to be more than a suggestion.

If we now return to the bearded man h) and the standing woman g), it is clear that the quiet himation-clad man hardly fits in the fight; nor does the woman seem any more at home, for she is inactive and apparently unarmed. (She might conceivably be Eos or Thetis watching Achilles fighting Memnon but in that contest we cannot account for the third warrior³⁹ or for the trumpeter.)

³⁴ These could perhaps be Achilles and Penthesilea, as shown on the Noicattaro bronze strap: *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, pl. 4, mid scene of left strip; *Schildbänder*, Beilage 2, mid scenes of left strip; and on the Delphi bronze strip, inv. 4479: P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, Paris, 1908, p. 123, pl. 21, left strip, middle; Kunze, *Schildbänder*, pl. 50, 38 w. The same scene also appears on Olympia B 969, *Schildbänder*, pl. 20, pp. 148 ff. For other such scenes in bronze relief see Bothmer, *Amazons*, p. 4.

A less likely, but possible, explanation for the Agora vignette is Herakles seizing an escaping Geras as on B 1010, *Schildbänder*, pl. 15, the best preserved example from Olympia.

³⁵ Cf. winged woman holding birds, top scene, tripod leg, Olympia, B 3600, *Olympia-Bericht*, VII, pl. 79, p. 187.

³⁶ Cf. *Schildbänder*, pl. 35 XI b; a young man with spear is greeted by an unarmed older figure who extends both arms.

³⁷ For the scheme in metal of a series of figured metopes stacked vertically and capped by a trapezoidally shaped staple, see the bronze relief strap B 412, *Olympia-Bericht*, II, p. 71, fig. 45.

³⁸ *Amazons*, p. 151, no. 59, p. 156. The trumpet is not an instrument restricted to Amazons and the curly hair is not necessarily feminine. An Amazon on a volute-krater by the Kleophrades Painter, Louvre, G 166: *ARV*² 186, 51; *CVA*, 2(2), pl. 18(88), 1 in a similar pose, starts to blow her trumpet, but this does not make the Agora trumpeter an Amazon.

³⁹ Among the listings of representations of Achilles and Memnon (Caskey and Beazley, II, pp. 14 ff.) helping warriors are rare. They occur on the calyx-krater by the Altamura Painter, Louvre G 342: *ARV*² 590, 12; *CVA*, 2(2), pl. 4(98), 3, and on a cup by the Brygos Painter, Tarquinia RC 6846: *ARV*² 369, 4; *Mon. Inst.*, XI, pl. 33; *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pl. 50, 2, where poses are similar to the Agora scene. But it is not clear that the Brygos Painter intends to show Achilles fighting Memnon. The involvement of three warriors and the building appearing at the left cause one to question this identification. Even if a parallel may be found for

If we picture the bearded male, the woman and Achilles as belonging together, the woman, who faces right, can hardly be behind Achilles, unless one postulates a second figure to whom she looks, turning her back on the hero and distracting attention from him; hardly a likely scheme. Neither can she be immediately to the left of Achilles for the figure in this position holds a spear, as is indicated by the spear-point on j); the shaft would have to show on her piece and none does. The woman probably stands in front of Achilles but not next to him. The bearded man could stand anywhere in this area; the folds of drapery from the lower hem of a cloak on k) might be from his clothing.

Among the four possible explanations for the seated Achilles, the woman seems out of place in two, that is, the embassy and the mourning for Patroklos. There are no parallels for the ambassadors appearing with a female attendant,⁴⁰ and although it is not absolutely impossible that one be present in the mourning for Patroklos, it is unlikely. Two possibilities remain; one is that this is Briseis taking leave of Achilles. But we would expect Briseis to be wearing her traveling cloak.⁴¹ However, there is no fixed canon⁴² for this moment so perhaps the cloak lies on a chair or was omitted. If this is Briseis the bearded male can become one of the heralds, Eurybates or Talthybios. The alternative possibility is that the scene shows Thetis bringing Achilles's armor. Since Thetis normally leads the procession⁴³ and is the spear-bearer too (which this woman cannot be), we could postulate g) as an attendant of Thetis, who is holding out the helmet⁴⁴ and/or greaves.⁴⁵ (Her pose does not exclude her from the third warrior of the Agora piece, there still remains the difficulty of the trumpeter, who cannot be present in the Achilles-Memnon contest.

⁴⁰ She can hardly be attendant on Achilles yet turn her back to him. For listings of the embassy: cf. *ARV*² 1720; Brommer, pp. 256-257. For examples of women attending Achilles see Louvre G 374: *ARV*² 485, 28; *CVA*, 8(12), pl. 45 (525), 1-4, 6. Pelike by Hermonax; two women stand behind Achilles. Cab. Méd. 265: *ABV* 527, 24; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, p. 176; *CVA*, 2(10), pl. 64 (450), 3, pl. 65 (451), 1. Black-figured oinochoe; a woman stands behind the seated Achilles.

⁴¹ I thank Sir John Beazley for this observation.

⁴² Among the illustrations of Achilles with Briseis (cf. Brommer, p. 255) the skyphos by the Briseis Painter in London, E 76: *ARV*² 406, 1 is the only version that shows Achilles seated mourning on the same side of the vase as the departing Briseis. On the skyphos by Makron in the Louvre, G 146: *ARV*² 458, 2, on side A Briseis departs, but there is no Achilles; he only appears, seated, in the embassy scene on side B. On an Apulian amphora, Lecce 571: *CVA*, 1(4), pls. 1-2 (182-183) Achilles is shown on the same side of the vase with Briseis, but he stands and is not muffled up, mourning her loss. Both on the British Museum amphora by Oltos, E 258: *ARV*² 54, 4; Beazley, *VA*, p. 9, and on the namepiece amphora of the Achilles Painter in the Vatican: *ARV*² 987, 1, Achilles stands alone on one side, Briseis alone on the other.

⁴³ A well-known exception, where Thetis arrives behind a nereid, is on the white ground lekythos by the Eretria Painter, New York 31.11. 13: *ARV*² 1248, 9; Richter and Hall, pl. 143.

⁴⁴ On a volute-krater in Paris, connected with the Geneva Painter, Thetis holds the spear and steadies the shield at her side, while behind her a female attendant holds out a helmet; a second attendant behind Achilles extends greaves; Louvre G 482: *ARV*² 615; *CVA*, 5(8), pl. 30 (371), 1-3, 7.

⁴⁵ Cf. the pelike by the Pan Painter in Ferrara: *ARV*² 554, 83.

steadying the shield at her side, but Thetis more rightfully bears this important piece of armor.) The bearded male will bring up the rear as an unknown Greek, or possibly as Phoinix.⁴⁶ A minor point in favor of this interpretation is the unusual dress of g); its pattern suggestive of sea-nets is fitting for a nereid. In conclusion, g) may be Briseis or a nereid attendant on Thetis, the second suggestion perhaps more likely.

Above the picture field runs a very fine border of upright encircled palmettes. The surrounding tendrils of alternate palmettes support, at upper right and left, small spirals curling outwards.⁴⁷

The date of this krater, judging by the precisely controlled, tight draughtsmanship and by the details noted below is in the early part of the middle phase of the painter's work; it is contemporary with, if perhaps slightly after, the fragments 3, the white-haired old man and the traveler. The ear form of the trumpeter is especially typical of the early middle phase: the innermost ear stroke is curled over and nearly, but not quite, touches the line marking the ear rim.⁴⁸ Noteworthy on h) are the clavicles which are without the return hooks characteristic of the very early period yet without the center dip usual in the later.⁴⁹

5. Psykter Fragments: Athletes. Pls. 11, 12.

P 7240. D 7:2. P. H. of largest fragment, a) 0.18 m. *ARV*² 193,1; Caskey and Beazley, II, p. 8, C 6. Six fragments, lettered a)-f).

Exterior: good black glaze; interior, unglazed. Not enough of the shoulder is preserved to show whether the vase had ears or not. On a) there is a band of chipping below the border; inside is a blackish discoloration, from burning? On b) there is also a band of chipping; the reserved areas are a somewhat deeper red than on the other fragments and there is a white discoloration on

⁴⁶ A man is not out of place; cf. British Museum E 363, a pelike by an undetermined mannerist: *ARV*² 586, 36; *Mon. Inst.*, XI, pl. 8, Phoinix (?); also the Louvre volute-krater, note 44 above, Phoinix (?); and the Ferrara pelike, note 45.

⁴⁷ Among the calyx-kraters by the Kleophrades Painter the only exact comparison I have found for this border is on the calyx-krater in Tarquinia already noted (p. 23 note 17). See on Side A, the seven-leaved palmettes with slightly pointed top to the encircling line, and the alternate palmettes bearing out-curling spirals. However, the Tarquinia krater has two reserved bands beneath, not a single fairly thick one. The border on the calyx-krater in New York (note 16 above) is similar in all respects even to the single band, but the artist has embellished it with small circles between the palmettes. On Louvre G 48: *ARV*² 185, 33; Pottier, pl. 93, the differences are greater. The palmettes have five, rather than seven leaves, the encircling line is round, not pointed, and there are rather large reserved dots between the palmettes.

In addition to kraters, this palmette ornament also appears on kalpides by the Kleophrades Painter, in the decorative band between the handles: on Louvre G 50: *ARV*² 188, 70; Pottier, pl. 94, the palmettes are fuller and have nine, not seven, leaves; on Munich 2427: *ARV*² 189, 72; *A.K.*, I, 1958, pl. 6, the palmettes vary in size from seven to nine leaves.

⁴⁸ Cf. the Herakles cup, Cab. Méd. 535: *ARV*² 191, 103; *Kl.*, pls. 8 and 10, 1.

⁴⁹ The reversed upside-down 'e' of the trumpeter's nostril occurs both early and late in the painter's career.

Early instances: Panathenaic amphora, Boston 10.178: *ARV*² 183, 9; Caskey and Beazley, I, pl. 5. Youths. Neck amphora London E 270: *ARV*² 183, 15; *CVA*, 3(4), pl. 8 (173), 2d. Pipe-player.

Late instances: Calyx-krater frags., Athens, Kerameikos: *ARV*² 186, 45; *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, p. 185, fig. 1. Hector. Amphora, Würzburg 508: (above, note 21). Side A, Ajax.

the glaze. Fragment f) is perhaps not from the same pot (see p. below note 65a); the wall is thinner, the curvature more open and vertical, and the clay more micaceous and rather browner than in the other pieces.

Relief contour is used throughout except on f), where only a small area below the knee and another around the ankle are in relief. Traces of preliminary sketching frequent. Dilute glaze, now worn, for indicating muscles. On a) the reserved area about the trainer's beard is invaded by the short black glaze beard strokes. On b) the pick-handle tip was drawn square in relief line but this was subsequently ignored and rounded. On e) the head contour is incised. To the right, in red, KA [λος].

Beazley places this piece near the Kleophrades Painter; one may note that the drawing is looser than the painter's own, and less detailed; the clothing is simplified and the renderings of the feet (ankle-bones, toes) lack the usual indications. Yet the parallels are so often with the painter's own work that it is of interest to include it here with the pieces attributed to him.

Most of the fragments come from the mid part of the vase or below, and unfortunately no faces are preserved. The chipping or wear seen on a) and b) shows where the vase rested in a container or stand. On e), the only bit from the shoulder, is a zone of black tongues above;⁵⁰ below the scene a simple maeander left, a pattern much favored by the painter. At least eight men or, if f) belongs, then ten, encircle the pot.⁵¹

The largest piece a) contains figures from two groups. In the middle of this fragment stands a trainer, wearing a himation;⁵² in his left hand he raises a staff against his shoulder; with his right he probably directs the pair of wrestlers off to the left, whom he faces. Crossing in front of the trainer's feet is a second staff.⁵³ At the left corner of this fragment is the left foot, weight on the ball, of one of a pair of wrestlers.

At the trainer's back is a naked running male who fits into a second group. He could be a runner, an acontist, a jumper or a diskobolos, but since there is no sign of an arm held in back for balance, as it would be in the case of a runner or acontist, it is quite likely that this athlete runs into a jump⁵⁴ or moves in to throw the discus.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ This solid tongue pattern appears on the psykters painted by the Kleophrades Painter but both Compiègne (1068: *ARV*² 188, 66; *CVA*, 1(3), pl. 13 (111), 7-8, pls. 15-16 (113-114) and Louvre G 57: *ARV*² 188, 65; *CVA*, 8(12), pl. 58 (514), 2, 5, 8, have a reserved band below the tongues. This absence of a reserved band beneath a solid tongue pattern, accompanied by a key pattern below the picture, is present on stamnoi by the artist; see Philadelphia L-64.185 (note 5, above).

⁵¹ Compiègne 1068 has eight figures; Louvre G 57 has nine. Phintias manages to include twelve without crowding on his psykter, Boston 01.8019: *ARV*² 24, 11; Caskey and Beazley, II, pls. 31-32. Oltos confines himself to eight figures, New York 10.210.18: *ARV*² 54, 7; Richter and Hall, pl. 4.

⁵² The thick upturned toes without toe divisions are careless drawing and do not signify boots.

⁵³ This second staff is not a javelin being thrown by the owner of the foot at the left because there is not room for an acontist's body; cf. Gardiner, *GAS*, pp. 349, 351.

⁵⁴ See the cup by Onesimos, Boston 01.8020: *ARV*² 321, 22; Gardiner, *GAS*, p. 305; Caskey and Beazley, II, pl. 40.

⁵⁵ Cf. the tondo of the Boston Onesimos cup (note 54). The possibility that this is a wrestler

The fragment c) belongs to the left of a) ; it gives the right hand of the wrestler (whose foot shows on a), touching the foot of his opponent, the winner.⁵⁶ The leftmost wrestler probably performs a body hold from in front which, Gardiner writes, is "difficult to obtain, but when obtained is extremely effective."⁵⁷ The right wrestler here "has already lost his balance, and is supporting himself with . . . /one/ hand on the ground."⁵⁸ The winner may, as on a kylix in Philadelphia,⁵⁹ hold his opponent's right arm down with his own left hand and with his right prepares "to take a body hold and roll him over."

The position of the following two fragments is uncertain; d) could lie to the right of a) but so could b). On d) we see parts of two nude youths. One, occupation unclear, walks right. The other sits in a pose less commonly seen in the palaestra. We may guess, since he must be supporting his head in his left hand⁶⁰ and his left arm on his knee, that he rests after an exhausting workout.

At the left on b) is a pipe-player (or paidotribe)⁶¹ wearing a long dress decorated with two heavy vertical stripes; he is turned towards a student acontist, who tests the binding of his javelin. The action and stance of the acontist are duplicated in two well-known pieces, the Boston psykter by Phintias⁶² and the famous archaic statue base in Athens.⁶³ Gardiner explains the action: "Resting one end of the javelin on the ground, and holding it firm with their left hand, they pass the right hand along the shaft to see that the binding is secure."⁶⁴ The Agora piece lacks the supporting left hand and only the tips of the right hand which tests the *amentum* remain. Our figure is rather more upright than the youth named Etearchos on the Boston psykter, and is closer to the acontist on the base.⁶⁵ A pick, dug into the soil, is seen in the background.

is remote as this athlete does not bend his knees sufficiently, nor lunge forward, as for example the wrestlers on the amphora by the Andokides Painter, Berlin 2159: *ARV*² 3,1; Blümel, *Sport*, p. 124.

⁵⁶ Fragments c) and a), close together, seem to leave no ground-space for the second foot of the losing (right hand) wrestler. His second foot, as that of Antaios wrestling with Herakles, was probably lifted off the ground: Munich 1761: bf. oinochoe, *ABV* 430, 22; E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1840-1858, pl. 70; *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, p. 284, fig. 20 (Gardiner).

⁵⁷ Gardiner, *GAS*, p. 389.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁵⁹ Philadelphia 2444; Manner of the Antiphon Painter: *ARV*² 344, 64; Gardiner, *GAS*, p. 392. As on the Agora fragments, the right hand wrestler touches his right hand to the ground near his opponent's foot and his back heel is off the ground.

⁶⁰ Cf. Tusculum mosaic, Roman: Gardiner, *GAS*, p. 177, lower left figure. There the head is supported on the right hand but the right elbow is not resting on the leg.

⁶¹ The ankle-length, close-clinging dress is less often worn in the palaestra by paidotribes, more frequently by pipe-players, which this may be.

⁶² Boston 01.8019 (note 51 above).

⁶³ Nat. Mus. 3476: *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pl. 6, 2; Blümel, *Sport*, p. 73; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, London, 1957, no. 59.

⁶⁴ Gardiner, *GAS*, p. 347.

⁶⁵ Two related acontists by the Kleophrades Painter are:

Leningrad 609: *ARV*² 184, 19; *Kl.*, pl. 21. Neck amphora. The figure here is close, but the right leg, not the left, is frontal.

The shoulder fragment e) gives the back of a head, which could be that of the acontist on b) or of the right-hand man on f), if f) belongs.

The association of f) with the psykter is open to doubt as the wall is thinner and the clay darker, and, more significant, the curvature of f) more open. If f) belongs, it should come from the back of the pot as there is less use of relief contour and the drawing is more careless.^{65a}

This fragment is interesting mainly because the preliminary sketch was modified (Pl. 12).⁶⁶ The scene preserves parts of two draped facing figures. Originally the left-hand man was drawn with outstretched arm, his hand held palm down, the fingers lightly clasping a limp bag.⁶⁷ Subsequently this hand was raised (it is now lost) and given something else (perhaps a wreath),⁶⁸ of which only a red dot remains. Also the drapery folds hanging from the wrist were removed. This man may be leaning on a staff, if that is the correct interpretation of the diagonal line crossing the drapery behind his elbow.⁶⁹ The drapery of the person at the right who receives the gift has a stiff look because the garment lines are sparse and irregular.

The athletes are the large heavy-limbed type of the early fifth century and the forms of knee and toe place this vase not far from the satyr on the Panathenaic amphora in Leyden,⁷⁰ and the acontists on the Leningrad amphora.⁷¹ The frontal toes

Tarquinius RC 4196 (note 16, above). Calyx-krater. Here also the right, not the left, leg is frontal; the toes only touch the ground, and the figure bends right. There is a pick placed as on our fragment, in the field behind the left leg; its handle is angular.

For further discussion of acontists cf. Caskey and Beazley, II, p. 4.

^{65a} Since this article was written it now seems probable that fragment f) does not belong with a) -e) but comes from a different psykter; there is a discrepancy in the curve of the wall and we are not sure that it is by the same painter.

⁶⁶ The Kleophrades Painter is known to change his mind *in mediis rebus* and the change-over can cause difficulties: Villa Giulia 47836, neck-amphora: *ARV*² 184, 18; *Mon. Ant.*, XLII, 1955, p. 1016, no. 52, the hare offered by one boy to another is omitted; New York calyx-krater (above note 16); cf. Richter and Hall, p. 35, note 3; shield position changed. Another instance occurs on the neck-amphora in Harrow, *ARV*² 183, 11, as Professor Corbett, who will publish the details, has kindly informed me.

⁶⁷ Cf. Copenhagen inv. 3634, pelike by the Tyszkiewicz Painter: *ARV*² 293, 51; *CVA*, 3(3), pl. 132 (134), 1 b; man extending a purse to a youth. Although the slant of the older man's arm is different, the subject, the two-figure grouping and the staff serving as a prop are comparable.

⁶⁸ A wreath-giver is drawn by the Kleophrades Painter on a fragmentary pelike, Athens, Acr. 612: *ARV*² 184, 23; Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, pl. 47; as on ours, the exchange is made between two draped males, the giver on the left. Another example is on the Panathenaic amphora (note 49 above), but the receiver of the wreath is nude and isolated on the reverse of the pot.

⁶⁹ See note 67.

⁷⁰ Cf. Leyden PC 80: *ARV*² 183, 7; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Heidelberg, 1922, pl. 25, no. 38. There the knee cap is pear-shaped and open at the top, but larger than our example.

⁷¹ Leningrad 609: *ARV*² 184, 19; *Kl*, pl. 21; pear-shaped, small, but closed at the top. See also the strigilist on Vienna 2723, neck-amphora in the Manner of the Kleophrades Painter, note 13

here are arcs, not the oval shapes of such earlier examples as the trainer and the frontal boxer of the Munich amphora 2305.⁷² On the Agora acontist, to the left of the big toe there is some indication of the foot in depth. The knee cap has become open at the top, although it is still small and pear-shaped. (The Kleophradean knee cap grows larger and rounder and later opens up at both top and bottom.)

6. Fragment: Stamnos (?) Legs of Male. Pl. 8.

P 19455. B 18:15. P. H. 0.046 m. *ARV*² 191, 99; *A.K.*, I, 1958, p. 8, note 1.

Lower wall fragment. Exterior: good black glaze. Interior: dull black bands alternating with streaky dilute glaze.

Relief contour throughout except along what remains of the upper part of the figure's left foot. Dilute glaze for the inner leg markings; traces of preliminary sketching particularly visible beside the left ankle. Black base line under the right foot and another line slightly below this.

This small piece comes from what appears most probably to have been a stamnos, although the wall is unusually thin for this shape. Only the shanks and part of the feet of a standing male figure remain. One leg is frontal, the other in profile, a common arrangement for the Kleophrades Painter. Here the black shin-bone is drawn as merging with the leg contour somewhat above the ankle, instead of continuing down and stopping inside the ankle⁷³ as in earlier pieces. A comparison for this detail and for the line beside the big toe is to be found on the Villa Giulia stamnos in the figure of Patroklos.⁷⁴ The date is transitional between the early mature phase of the artist's work and his later mature phase.

7. Panathenaic Amphora Fragment: Shield Device. Pl. 8.

P 4815. Area F 12. P. H. 0.093 m. *ABV* 406, 6.

Wall fragment; the ground glaze is mottled red near the winged horse. Interior: unglazed; traces of burning. Incised lines within the figure of Pegasos and incisions for the star on the dress. The two lines of the shield rim are compass-incised. Slightly outside the shield is the sketch line, also compass drawn, for a slightly larger, first version of the shield.

In addition to the red-figure fragments 1-6 the Agora collection preserves a fragment from a Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. On it appears some of Athena's shield, the device a white Pegasos.⁷⁵ Thick red circles,⁷⁶ now faded,

above, where the knee cap is pear-shaped and open above but slightly less so than the Agora example; the frontal toes are ovoids, not arcs.

⁷² *ARV*² 182, 4; FR, pl. 52.

⁷³ The earlier rendering is seen on the frontal acontist of 5, b, Pl. 11.

⁷⁴ Villa Giulia 26040: *ARV*² 188, 63; *Not. Sc.*, 1916, p. 47. Note also how the first three toes are large and almost the same size, the next two slightly smaller, as are the toes of the trainer on Leningrad 613, neck-amphora with twisted handles: *ARV*² 183, 17; *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 127. On the Agora piece the smallest toe was originally outlined in relief contour, wider than now.

⁷⁵ The separation of the two wing tips and the flattened curve of the tail find close parallels on the Panathenaics, New York 07.286.79: *ABV* 404, 6; Beazley, *DABF*, pl. 45, 2 and 10900: *ABV* 404, 1; *CVA*, I(1), pl. 28(46), 2, detail of shield.

⁷⁶ One complete and parts of two others.

with open centers,⁷⁷ lie on the shield rim. Beyond the shield is part of an incised star of Athena's peplos, a dress pattern favored by this painter.

The shield device draws attention because, so far as known, the Kleophrades Painter uses no other on his Panathenaics.⁷⁸ Such restraint and consistency is noteworthy in the work of an artist so inclined to experiment; the repeated use of the Pegasos charge might support the argument that the Kleophrades painter's birthplace was Corinth.⁷⁹

To summarize: we have discussed fragments from at least seven pots, six painted by the Kleophrades Painter, one near his work, arranging them in a conjectural chronological order through parallels in the artist's work. We began with the *very early* (before 500 B.C.) stamnos fragment **1**, contemporary with the amphora Würzburg 507, one of the earliest representations of Herakles painted by the artist, possibly illustrating the Kerberos story. The fragments **2**, **3** and **4** are from three calyx-kraters painted in the artist's *early mature* period and are contemporary with the calyx-kraters in New York (08.258.58) and Tarquinia (RC 4196) and the pointed amphora in Munich. Fragment **2** preserves a bearded head, **3** a youth and old man (Phoinix?) and **4** Achilles in retirement. Fragments **3** and **4** are extremely fine work. The Achilles scene, a problem because of its incomplete state, may show A) Achilles and Thetis or Achilles and Briseis; B) a fight, possibly an Amazonomachy. The psykter with athletes **5** is very simplified work, placed near the Kleophrades Painter by Beazley; it belongs with **6**, a stamnos fragment preserving the legs of a male, as *transitional* to the later mature work of the artist and contemporary with the Panathenaic Leyden PC 80 and the amphora Leyden 609. Fragment **7** is black-figure, from a Panathenaic amphora preserving the Pegasos device of Athena's shield.

NOTE ON AN ACROPOLIS FRAGMENT

An Acropolis stamnos fragment (Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, pl. 67, no. 773, Athena) probably by the Kleophrades Painter and apparently unrecorded in *ARV*² deserves new illustration here (Pl. 12) because of its close relationship in style to the early mature phase of the artist. The drawing of Athena's ear in particular is characteristic of the Kleophrades Painter: it is large in proportion to the head, the lobe has a pronounced double contour and there is a curled-over central ear stroke (cf. Cab. Méd. 535, 699, cup: *ARV*² 191, 103; *Kl.*, pl. 10, 1); the outlined lips, the

⁷⁷ Red circles decorate the shield-rim on the fragments Villa Giulia *ABV* 406, 7, and Heidelberg *ABV* 406, 8; perhaps also on the Corinth fragment, *ABV* 404, 10.

⁷⁸ Beazley, *DABF*, p. 94. Another instance (if one accepts Robertson's arguments) of a painter using a shield device for a purpose is the Berlin Painter who consistently paints a Gorgon; a fitting rebus if his name is Gorgos: "The Gorgos Cup," *A. J. A.*, LXII, 1958, p. 64.

⁷⁹ Schnitzler, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, II, 1955, p. 53, arguing on stylistic evidence, suggests Corinth as the birthplace of the Kleophrades Painter.

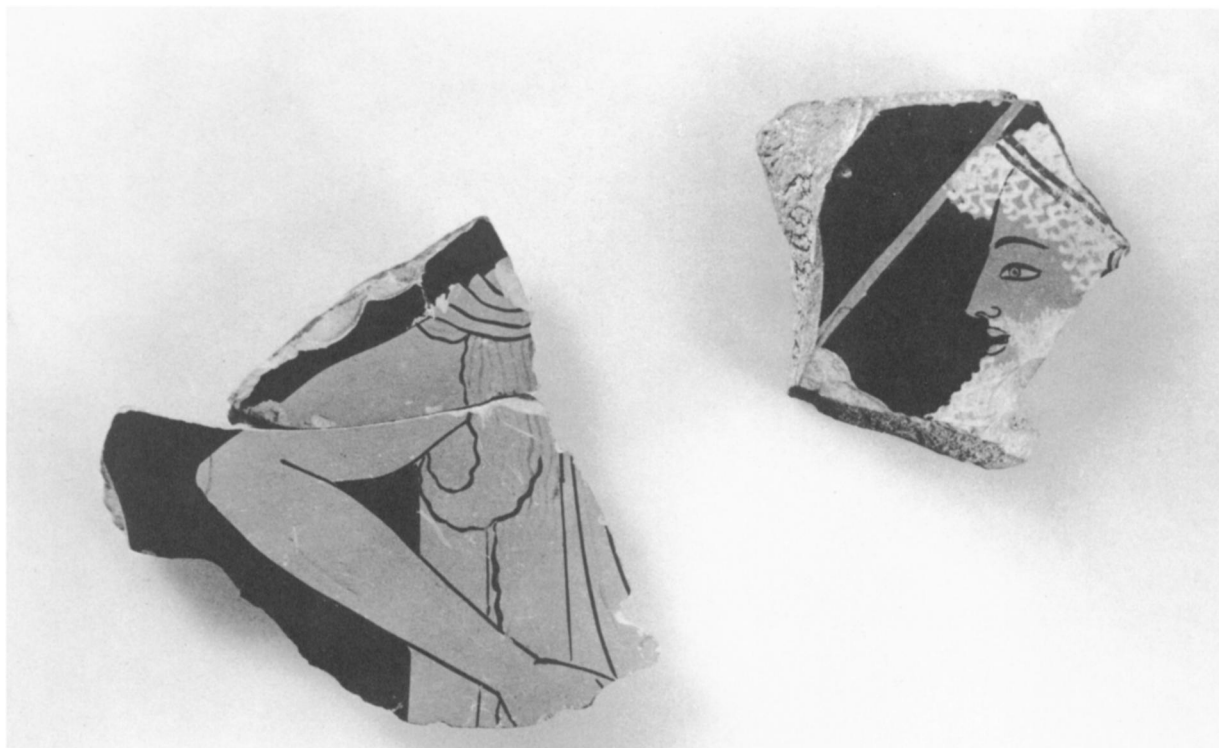
full chin, the long nose and the eyebrow line echoing the curve of the long eye are likewise Kleophradean. The helmet with its elliptically contoured crest, the triple row of dots on the holder (without a line above the top row), the angular neck guard set off from the head piece (here by a scale pattern) and the subtle curves of the forehead guard are typical (cf. *Kl.*, pls. 10-11, helmets of the Amazons). The aegis snake, the over-sized earring and lastly the tongue pattern with reserved band beneath (cf. Tübingen E 14, stannos fr.: Watzinger, *Tübingen*, pl. 18; *ARV*² 187, 56) all find parallels in the works of the Kleophrades Painter.

ANN H. ASHMEAD

HAVERFORD, PA.



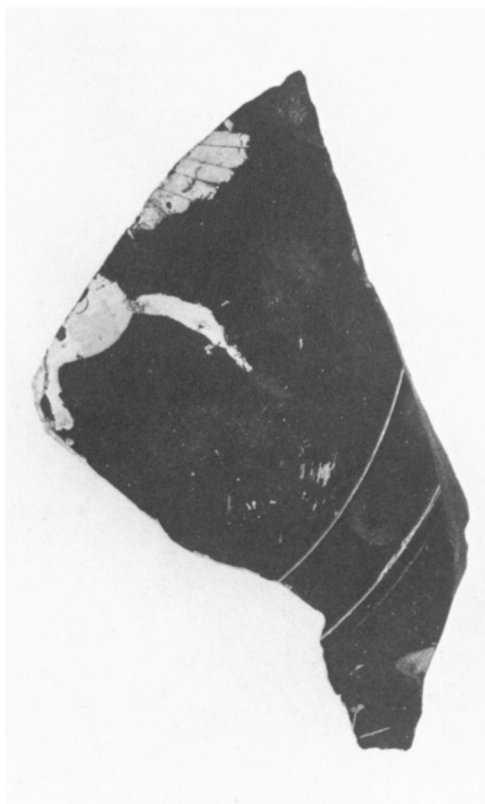
1. Stamnos (?). Herakles (1:1).



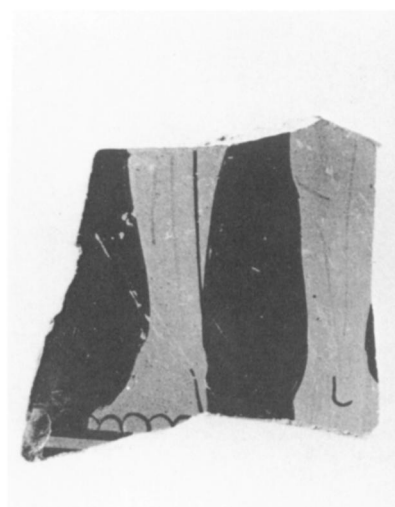
3. Calyx-krater. Youth and Old Man.



2. Calyx-krater. Bearded Head.



7. Panathenaic. Pegasos.

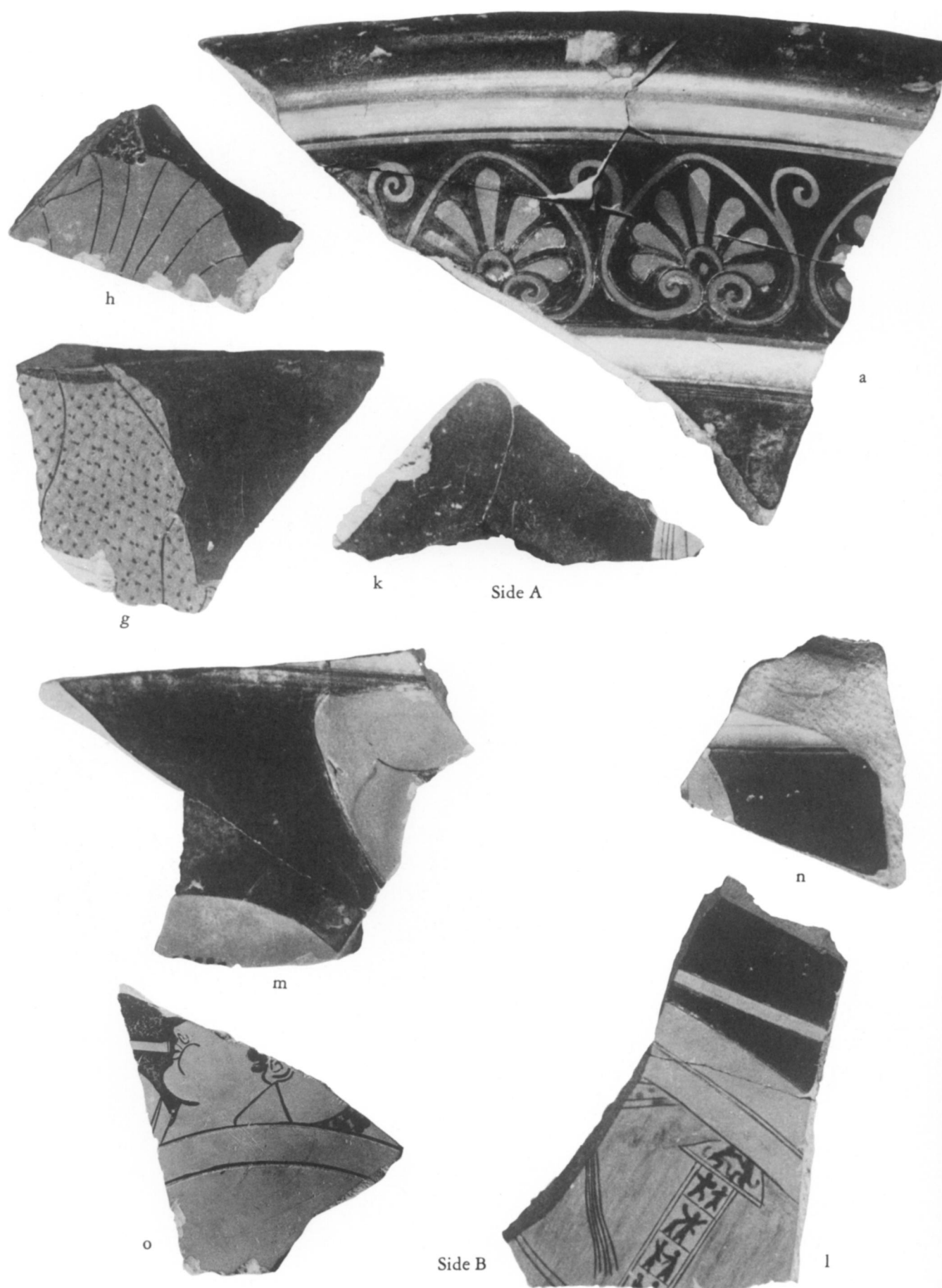


6. Stamnos (?). Standing Male

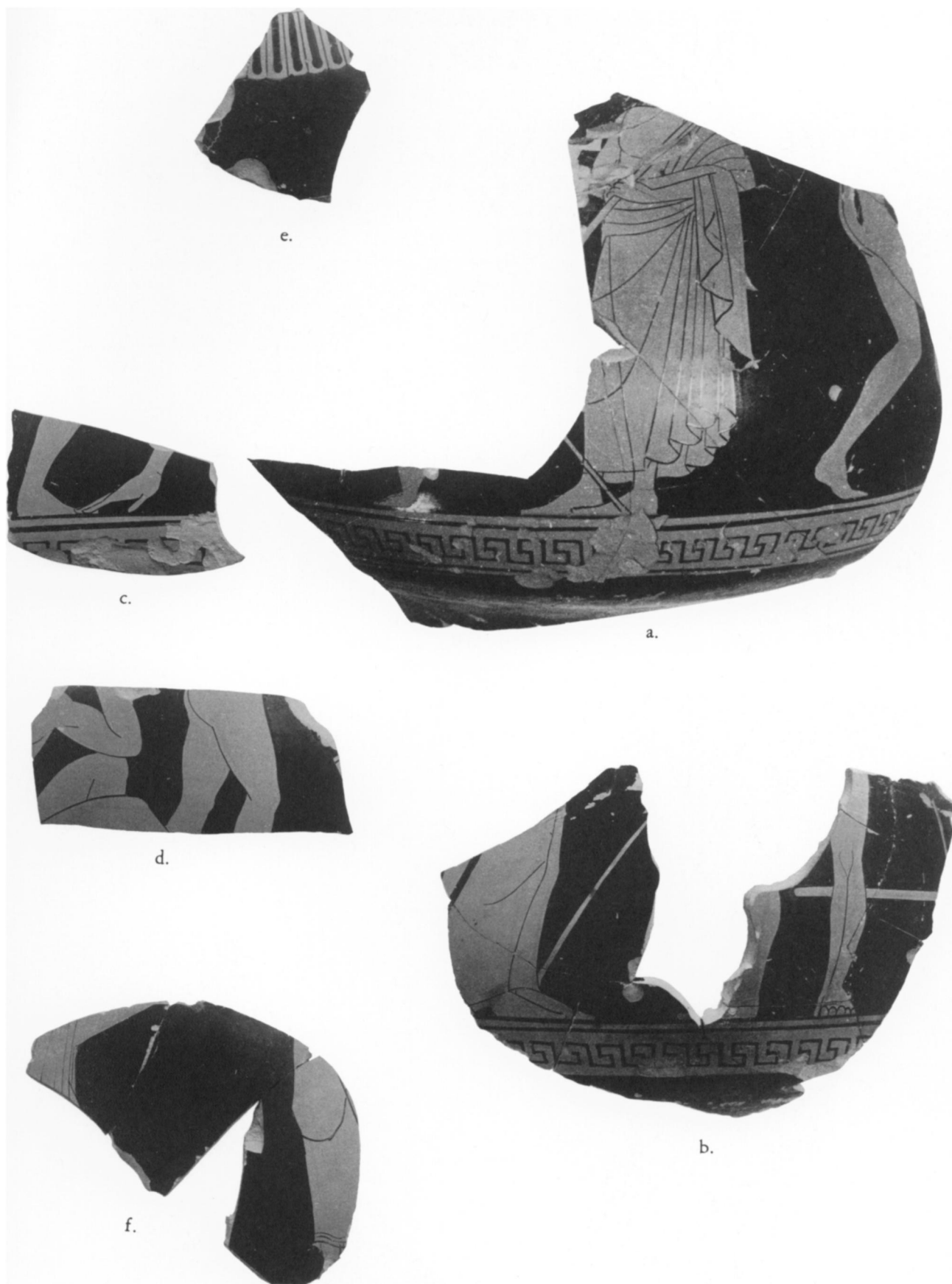
(1:1)



4. Calyx-krater, Side A, Fragments i and j. Achilles (1:1).



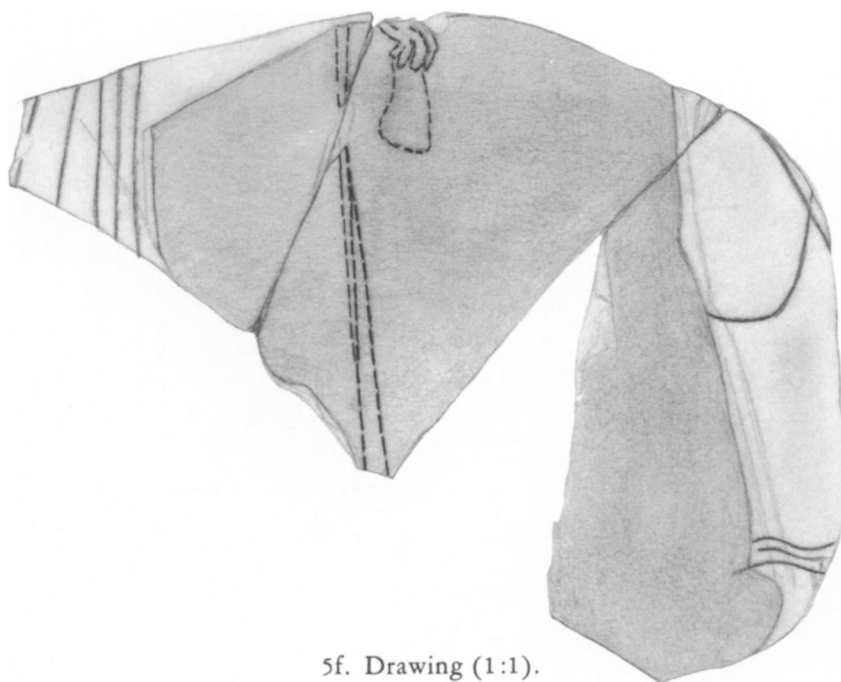
4. Calyx-krater. (1:1).



5. Psykter. Athletes (3:5).



Stamnos Acropolis 733 (1:1).



5f. Drawing (1:1).